ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND THE INTEGRATION OF CHALLENGED STUDENTS IN TWO SECONDARY SCHOOL SETTINGS: A CASE STUDY

By

Michael Earl Foley

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements For the degree of Doctor of Education
Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto

© Michael Earl Foley 1999
The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.
ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND THE INTEGRATION OF
CHALLENGED STUDENTS
IN TWO SECONDARY SCHOOL SETTINGS:
A CASE STUDY

Michael Earl Foley, Doctor of Education, 1999

Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education

University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

In 1988, the school board of this study articulated a vision that would see children with special needs being educated in a "regular" school setting and withdrawn for assistance as required. Guidelines for schools were provided by the board in its efforts to integrate students who were disabled with their non-disabled peers. No longer would students with special needs be taught in segregated special education classes by special education teachers. Their needs would now be met in the "regular" classroom setting under the guidance of regular classroom teachers. The vision was referred to as the Learning Centre Program Model.

Eleven years had elapsed since the creation of the Learning Centre Program Model and schools in the school
district were experiencing various levels of success in their implementation efforts. Two secondary schools in the board where the model was introduced were examined to determine the degree to which the vision as espoused in the Learning Centre Program Model was being realized. Following this, those elements of the school culture that affected the integration efforts were identified. Case studies of each school unveiled distinct cultures and priority issues for leaders if the vision of the Learning Centre Program Model was to reach fruition in their organizations.

In each school, the culture was learned and taught through a variety of explicit and implicit mechanisms. While the explicit mechanisms were easy to identify and seemed tractable, the implicit mechanisms were elusive but constituted the glue which held the organization together. The organizational glue had a strong consistency and firmly secured the operational ethos of the two secondary schools.

The study clearly illustrated the power of school culture and stressed the importance of understanding its potency. The researcher unveiled cultures that were forces in protecting sacred values and traditions in each organization and that were affecting the way in which students with disabilities were being accommodated. The study concluded with recommendations to shape the organizational cultures of two secondary schools in the school district of this study into a form that would better serve the interests of the special needs learners.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank John Davis for his patience and his persistence in making me stretch and helping me to see new possibilities. This thesis was a labor of love due to his support and caring. I am forever in his debt.

I thank Jack Miller and Richard Townsend for serving on my thesis committee and assisting with the finishing touches. Their advice and support was invaluable.

I acknowledge John Caldwell, Joyce Clayton, and Fred French who have been my mentors in tackling the tough issues around the inclusion of students with special needs. Their dedication to the cause has been my guiding light.

A special thank you to Don Trider who always managed to say the right words at the right time. He could not possibly know the impact of his words of encouragement.

My special gratitude to Leah Trider who assisted with the typing of the dissertation and, at times, kept me moving forward. Her frequent reminders that "it will all be worth it" are emblazoned in my mind forever. She was right.

A thank you to my good friends, Alan and Donna Mosher, who were there when an attitude adjustment was in order.

To Janice and the children for the sacrifices they have made in accompanying me on this journey, I am at a loss for words. Some quality family time is in order.

To my loving parents, Jean and Earl Foley, who have always believed in me, I dedicate this dissertation to them.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract \hspace{1cm} ii
Acknowledgments \hspace{1cm} iv
Table of Contents \hspace{1cm} v
List of Figures \hspace{1cm} ix
List of Appendices \hspace{1cm} xi

Chapter 1: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Introduction \hspace{1cm} 1
1.2. The Study \hspace{1cm} 2
1.3. Research Questions \hspace{1cm} 3
1.4. A Dynamic Model \hspace{1cm} 5

Chapter 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. The Inquiry Method \hspace{1cm} 12
2.2. Assumptions \hspace{1cm} 26
2.3. Limitations \hspace{1cm} 27
2.4. Definitions \hspace{1cm} 29

Chapter 3: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

3.1. Introduction \hspace{1cm} 33
3.2. Universal Aspects of Culture \hspace{1cm} 39
3.3. An Historical Perspective \hspace{1cm} 50
3.4. Organizational Life Cycles and the Evolution of Culture \hspace{1cm} 57
3.5. Ecological Functionalism and School Leadership \hspace{1cm} 62
TABLE OF CONTENTS

3.6. Ecological Functionalism and Organizational Politics 65
3.7. The Nature of Adolescence 67
3.8. School Culture as a Focus of Change 71

CHAPTER 4: THE BOARD’S VISION OF INCLUSION

4.1. Introduction 74
4.2. The Learning Centre Program Model 74
4.3. Events Leading to the Model’s Inception 78
4.4. Events to the Present 83
4.5. Summary 101

CHAPTER 5: ACCOMMODATING STUDENTS AT VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH

5.1. Introduction 104
5.2. Accommodating Students with Special Needs 107
5.3. A Day in the School Life of a Student with Disabilities 112
5.4. Integration at Valley Heights: Summary and Conclusions 131

CHAPTER 6: THE CULTURE OF VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH

6.1. Introduction 140
6.2. An Historical Perspective 142
6.3. An Evolutionary Perspective 151
6.4. An Historical Summary 190
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>An Ecological Perspective</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>CULTURAL IMPACT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>A Cultural Mosaic</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Cultural Impact on Implementation Efforts</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ACCOMMODATING STUDENTS AT OCEAN BOTTOM HIGH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Accommodating Students with Special Needs</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>A Day in the School Life of a Student with Disabilities</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>Integration at Ocean Bottom: Summary and Conclusions</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>THE CULTURE OF OCEAN BOTTOM HIGH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>An Historical Perspective</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>An Evolutionary Perspective</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>An Historical Summary</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>An Ecological Perspective</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**CHAPTER 10: CULTURAL IMPACT ON THE MODEL’S IMPLEMENTATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Cultural Impact on Implementation Efforts</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 11: CULTURE CHANGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>Barriers to Change at Valley Heights High</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>Barriers to Change at Ocean Bottom High</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>Inclusion: A Dream Unfulfilled</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>District and Provincial Views on Inclusion</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>A Change in Focus: A Focus of Change</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER 12: FOOD FOR THOUGHT: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>A Course of Action</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>Future Considerations</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>School Culture</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cultural Perspectives</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Five Value Orientations and the Range of Variations for Each</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Basic Underlying Assumptions Around Which Cultural Paradigms Form</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Reconstruction of the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck Table</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cultural Patterns of Valley Heights [Prior to 1950]</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cultural Patterns of Valley Heights High: The Founding Faculty 1950-1965</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Cultural Patterns of Valley Heights High 1965-1995</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Cultural Impact on the Learning Centre Program Model</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cultural Patterns of the Coastal Fishing Villages [Prior To 1965]</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Cultural Patterns of the Suburban Communities [Prior to 1965]</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cultural Patterns of Ocean Bottom High: The Founding Faculty 1965-1979</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF FIGURES [CONT.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Cultural Patterns of the Second Generation Faculty [1979-1995]</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Cultural Impact on the Learning Centre Program Model</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Parent Permission Form</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Teen Survey: What are Teens Saying?</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Figure 1 Value as Important by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 2 Relationships: Tell When Something Goes Wrong by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 3 Relationships: Tell When Something Great Happens by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 4 Personal Concern/Coping Skills: Do Well, Understood, Am Liked: VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 5 Sources of Decision Making: Career-VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 6 Sources of Decision Making: Sex-VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 7 Sources of Decision Making: Relationships-VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High School</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Figure 8 Sources of Decision Making: Having Fun-VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 9 Sources of Decision Making: Major Problems-VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 10 Drug Accessibility and Use: by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 11 Sexual Attitudes by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 12 Social Concerns by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 13 Involvement with Cults by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 14 Educational Expectations: Courses Interesting, Teachers Helpful, Work Meaningful, Doing Well-VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 15 Educational Expectations: High School, University, Vocational-VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Figure 16 Value as Important by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 17 Relationships: Tell When Something Goes Wrong by Gender</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for OBHS Senior High Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 18 Relationships: Tell When Something Great Happens by Gender</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for OBHS Senior High Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 19 Drug Accessibility and Use: By Gender for OBHS Senior High</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 20 Sexual Attitudes by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 21 Awareness of Problems in the Community: By Gender for</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OBHS Senior High Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 22 Travel Experiences-By Gender for OBHS Senior High Students</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 23 Educational Expectations: High School, University,</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational-By Gender for OBHS Senior High Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Figure 24 Educational Expectations: Courses Interesting, Teachers</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helpful, Work Meaningful, Doing Well by Gender for OBHS Senior High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Students</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Introduction

Several years prior to the inception of the Learning Centre Program Model, the school board of this study had begun to disband special education classes in favor of relocating students with special needs to regular classrooms. Special education teachers were instructed to assume the unfamiliar role of assisting regular classroom teachers in the delivery of program to students with special challenges. This fundamental shift in teaching pedagogy was met with scepticism by teachers who claimed that they felt unqualified to meet the needs of all the students who were now seated before them. Special education teachers expressed a sense of separation from students with whom they had worked so closely. Parents of students with disabilities questioned whether the change was motivated primarily for financial considerations.

The school board continued on its mission of disbanding special education classes without any clearly articulated stance on the inclusion of students with disabilities in the regular classroom setting. In the view of its critics, the school board rectified its "cart chasing the horse" image with the creation of the Learning Centre Program Model. Guidelines for successful implementation were
provided to schools in the district.

1.2. The Study

This study analyses the impact of culture on the efforts of two secondary schools to integrate students with disabilities into regular classrooms. It is a chronicle of the trials and tribulations of school staffs as they attempt to meet the needs of students who require special attention and major adaptations to their school programs. It illustrates the power of organizational culture in shaping the members' willingness to provide adequate support and services to those students.

The study takes the reader into the classroom and provides a glimpse of classroom dynamics and the complex interplay between students and teachers. It elucidates the degree to which the classroom teacher and the school are able to provide an enabling environment for students with disabilities.

The study then proceeds to decipher the cultures of the two secondary schools, and to analyse the cultural elements that perpetuate or lessen the chances of success in integration efforts. The analysis is derived from the work of Edgar Schein [1989] and a process is utilized that examines culture from three distinct, yet complementary perspectives. The cultural perspective proves particularly beneficial in providing the reader with an insight into
successful and failed attempts to integrate students with disabilities into the regular school setting.

The study examines the current professional cultures of the two secondary schools and their capacity to deal appropriately with issues of integration. It describes the schools in terms of cultural prototypes and offers recommendations for shaping the cultures into a form that is more conducive to meeting the needs of all learners, regardless of their ability.

1.3. Research Questions

The study investigated four problems in its search for relationships between school culture and the ability and willingness of two secondary schools to accommodate students with special needs. It commenced with an examination of the status of the integration of students with disabilities in the school district as a whole. The school board’s commitment to integration efforts constituted a major external demand on its schools and deserved close attention. An analysis of those efforts prior to and following the creation of the Learning Centre Program Model threw light upon the board’s position on issues of integration. The study then ascertained the extent to which the vision of the model had reached fruition in the two secondary schools. Dimensions of the model formed the basis of inquiry and clearly demonstrated its degree of implementation. The study
proceeded to probe the manner in which the schools' cultures could be described. It portrayed the cultures as being strong and consequential in effecting significant school reform. Finally, the study explored how each institution's organizational culture had influenced the process by which students with disabilities had been integrated into the mainstream of school life.

**Major Research Question**

How did the organizational cultures within each secondary school influence the process by which students with disabilities were integrated into the mainstream of school life within each school?

**Sub-question One**

At the time of the study, what was the position of the school board towards the integration of students with special needs?

**Sub-question Two**

How were the needs of students with disabilities initially met in two secondary schools in the school board?

**Sub-question Three**

What were the basic assumptions and beliefs of the members of the two secondary schools with respect to the integration of their special needs students into regular
classrooms?

Sub-question Four

What were the implications of those assumptions and beliefs on the schools' willingness to implement the Learning Centre Program Model?

1.4. A Dynamic Model

The conceptional framework for this study is developed from the work of Edgar Schein [1989] who defined organizational culture as a pattern of basic assumptions that define for a given group the manner in which it solves its problems, while teaching new members "the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" [Schein, 1989, p.9]. Schein also proposed that the culture of an organization might be examined from three perspectives, those of artifacts, values, and assumptions [See Figure 1]. The "artifacts" level is the most visible level of culture and is seen in such things as the behaviors of the members toward each other, the organization of programs, and the manner in which space is utilized in the building. While this level of cultural analysis is attractive to the researcher who wishes to observe culture at a glance, it cannot stand alone. The artifacts may be so numerous that it becomes impossible to discern pertinent data. The researcher can only make sense of the information by experiencing the culture on a more personal basis and
## FIGURE I

### SCHOOL CULTURE

| ARTIFACTS (Most Visible Level of Culture) | • Behaviors of Members  
• Organization of Programs  
• Utilization of Space |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| VALUES (Organization's Raison d'Étre)   | • Mission Statement  
• Goals and Objectives |
| ASSUMPTIONS (The Essence of Culture)    | • The Nature of Human Nature  
• The Nature of Human Activity  
• The Nature of Human Relationships  
• Relationship to the Environment  
• View of Reality and Truth |

### HISTORICAL PARTICULARISM (The Antecedents of Culture)
- Community Values
- Family Characteristics
- Grounding Assumptions of Public and Special Education

### EVOLUTIONISM (Critical Incidences)
- Birth and Early Growth
- Midlife
- Maturity

### ECOLOGICAL FUNCTIONALISM (Adaptive Functions)
- Formal Authority
- Informal Authority
- Student Culture

over a lengthy period of time. This time-tested approach to cultural analysis can be expedited if one chooses to examine the principal values of the organization.

The "values" level reflects the organization's view of itself, its raison d'être, and is the basis of its mission statement and the goals and objectives that have been set by mutual consensus. This level offers a deeper understanding of the culture of an organization. The values level describes a group's understanding of probable, natural, or logical occurrences in the organization. It proclaims what an organization "ought" to be [Schein, 1989, p.15] and constitutes the underpinnings of the "assumptions" level of cultural description. Only when the values withstand the test of time and become embedded in the culture's fabric do they attain the status of assumptions. The "assumptions" level constitutes the true essence of culture and guides the actions of its members. It affects their perceptions, feelings, and thoughts and reduces uncertainty by offering proven solutions to problems. Before proceeding with a detailed description of the assumptions level of cultural analysis, it is important to note that the three levels of culture interact with each other. Cultural patterns can only be understood when the levels of culture are considered in their entirety and in the way in which they are intertwined [Schein, 1989, p.20].
The assumptions of an organization arise from three distinct, yet complementary forces: historical particularism, evolutionism, and ecological functionalism [Schein, 1989, p.309]. Organizations inherit cultural characteristics from the communities they serve. The value orientations affect the pulse of the organization throughout its life cycle, from birth to maturity. Social class, family composition, and accessibility of work opportunities place parameters on the value of educational attainment and subsequently restrain inclusionary practices in educational institutions. The grounding assumptions of public and special education also extend their clutches into the life blood of a school and preserve obsolete structures. In combination, these historical forces exert a powerful influence on its members.

The manner in which an organization responds to critical incidents in its life cycle also constitutes important considerations as solutions that work repeatedly eventually do become embedded in its modus operandi. Schein [1989, p.9] notes that the basic assumptions of the organization emerge from repeated and successful solutions to problems of external adaptation and internal integration. Problems of external adaptation specify how the organization will cope with its changing environment by developing a common understanding of its purpose. Internal integration issues deal with "processes that make groups capable of
accomplishing things that individuals alone cannot accomplish" [Schein, 1989, p.65]. Culture therefore is a learned product of group experience and offers little variation within the cultural unit. Members develop a shared language, kindred attitudes, and a common identity. Together they learn how to survive and survival issues make up core cultural elements of the organization.

In the early stages of an organization's life, a leader's actions are judged by the leader's ability to solve problems effectively. As the effective solutions to problems work repeatedly, the opportunity for creating alternative solutions declines. Around group boundaries and criteria for inclusion and exclusion, power and status, rewards and punishments, and ideology, internal integration issues narrow and become entrenched in the perceptions and thoughts of the members of an organization. These elements reduce anxiety for the members and form a necessary precondition for coordinated action. A common category system evolves that teaches new members "the ropes". Their survival hinges on an understanding of the criteria for inclusion. These deliberations have serious implications for the inclusion of all members of an organization.

In this milieu, change may be seen as a threat. Wedded to tradition and committed to assumptions that arose during its "glory days", the organization may enter a period of stagnation and decline. New ideas are not embraced in this
environment unless they are seen by the members as being congruent with their culture. It is incumbent upon the leader to redesign the environment and the work activity to enable the group members to remain connected to the organization and productive in their work output. The evolution of the organization’s ideology around the nature of human nature and what it means to be human, the nature of human activity and how one is supposed to act, the nature of human relationships and the proper way for members to relate to each other, the organization’s relationship to its environment and its core mission, and its view of reality and truth, all these considerations dramatically affect the organization’s propensity for change. Schein [1989] noted:

Once we have cultural solutions, we can relax to some extent, and one reason why we resist culture change is that it is inherently anxiety producing to give up the assumptions that stabilize our world, even though different assumptions might be more functional [Schein, 1989, p.83].

Evolutionism offers an important perspective on the manner in which coherent patterns of behavior and shared assumptions evolve in an organization as it responds to critical incidents throughout its life cycle.

Culture is also shaped as the organization fulfills its adaptive functions. As culture creates patterns of perceptions, thought, and feelings for its members, it "sets the table" for its leaders. Culture embraces certain kinds of leadership. "Leaders create cultures, but cultures, in
turn, create their next generation of leaders" [Schein, 1989, p. 313]. The actions of the formal authority are closely scrutinized by the informal authority of the organization. The formal authority that does not give organizational culture its due and attempts to change that which does not want to be changed will inevitably feel the dissatisfaction of the informal authority. Organizational effectiveness hinges on the leader's ability to understand culture's function. "The final form of an organization's culture reflects the complex interaction between the thrust provided by the founder, the reactions of the group members, and their shared historical experiences" [Schein, 1989, p. 320].

Adolescent culture forms a primary consideration in this study. The assumptions of the student body will affect the manner in which its members behave and interact with each other. The experiences students bring to the setting will shed further light on the "stuff" of which each organization is made and how that impacts on inclusionary practices.

By unveiling cultural patterns across the three cultural perspectives, a dynamic model for deciphering culture unfolds and elucidates for the reader the manner in which cultural assumptions of two secondary schools influence the definition of their environments and the manner in which students with disabilities are accommodated.
CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. The Inquiry Method

How did the organizational cultures within two secondary schools influence the process by which students with disabilities were integrated into the mainstream of school life within each school?

a) At the time of the study, what was the position of the school board towards the integration of students with special needs?

b) How were the needs of students with disabilities then met in two secondary schools in the school board?

c) What were the basic assumptions and beliefs of the members of the two secondary schools with respect to the integration of their special needs students into regular classrooms?

d) What were the implications of those assumptions and beliefs on the schools' willingness to implement the Learning Centre Program Model?

Data to ascertain the position of the school board towards the integration of students with special needs at the time of the study were gathered from the following
sources: the provincial Education Act, provincial documents, Canadian and American legislation, school district reports, and a district staff member.

An analysis of changes to the provincial Education Act from 1967 to 1996 as it pertained to the accommodation of students with special needs in the public school system was beneficial in demonstrating the province’s commitment to the integration cause. The Education Act was an important political force in shaping the direction of special education in schools throughout the province. The year 1967 signified the first time that the Education Act recognized the rights of students with disabilities. Changes to the Act in later years reflected an evolutionary progression in the provincial government’s position of meeting the needs of special needs learners. The researcher obtained copies of the Education Act from the Department of Education and referenced the work of Little and Weber [1991] in their analysis of changes to the Act.

Several provincial documents were also considered influential political forces in the province of Nova Scotia. The reports were selected for the manner in which they demonstrated an advancement in and an affirmation of the provincial government’s commitment to promoting the needs of students with disabilities in public schools throughout the province. The researcher procured copies of the Kendall Report [1974], the Walker Commission Report [1981], and the
Haines Report [1989] from the office of the district school board and included them in the chronology of critical markers that shaped and depicted the basic assumptions of the Board on matters of integration.

Canadian legislation in the form of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and American legislation in the form of PL 94-142 constituted major catalysts in sensitizing nations to the rights of students with special needs. The researcher examined both pieces of legislation and recorded them as critical events in the history of the integration movement in the board.

A district report was beneficial in describing the status of integration in the school district. The researcher analysed a report of the school district that provided a comprehensive picture of the status of integration as seen through the eyes of teachers, students, and parents. The report described the successes and failures of the school district in its attempts to accommodate students with disabilities in regular classrooms and provided a snapshot of the attitudes of the key players. The researcher noted the similarity of findings in this report to those in the Report of the Task Force on Integration Implementation [1990] for the province. The district report was acquired through the office of the School Board and the Report of the Task Force on Integration Implementation was provided by the office of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union.
Several discussion papers were also obtained from the district office and the Department of Education which showed their concerted efforts to transfer a great deal of power to the local school level. The researcher focused on documentation from these two sources from 1993 to the time of the study to illustrate the shift of responsibility to the school site to offer appropriate learning experiences for all students. The data were chosen on the basis of discussions with the former Supervisor of Student Services for the district, the same person who was the principal author of the Learning Centre Program Model.

To determine the manner in which the needs of students with disabilities were met in the two secondary schools of this study, data were gathered through interviews with staff members and observations of students with special needs in each school setting. The Learning Centre teachers in the two secondary schools were asked the following questions: a) How does the school presently accommodate students with exceptionalities? b) What is the nature of program delivery for students in the Learning Centre? c) What roles do individualized programming, peer support, volunteers, cooperative learning techniques or other methods play in the accommodation of students with special needs? d) What are the eligibility criteria for Learning Centre support in the school? e) Who qualifies for Learning Centre support? f) Describe the referral process. g) Describe the assessment
tools. h) Who is involved in the assessment process? i) Who reports the assessment results? j) To whom are they reported? k) In the case of second opinion assessments, describe the process. l) What procedures [mechanisms] exist through which information regarding students is transmitted from teacher to teacher, grade to grade, and school to school? m) What is the status of the school-based team? n) Who comprises the team? o) How often does it meet? p) Who coordinates the meetings? q) Are parents a part of the team? r) Describe the nature of the individualized program plan? s) How is the plan developed? t) How is the plan reviewed? u) Describe the types of inservice activities in which the school staff has been engaged in the past two years. v) What are your major concerns for the Learning Centre Program? w) How can these concerns best be addressed?

The researcher then visited the two school sites for a total of sixteen school days and, through personal observations, established the validity of the responses of the Learning Centre teacher to the series of questions. As well, the researcher focussed on the manner in which programs were being adapted for eight students in each school setting who were presented with major challenges on the basis of disability. The Learning Centre teacher was asked to submit the names of candidates who demonstrated a wide range of disabilities. The researcher made the final selection after speaking with the Learning Centre teacher.
and carefully considering the scope and level of students' needs described in the students' individualized educational programs. The researcher had ready access to the students' files in his position as Student Services Supervisor for the schools in question. He was also familiar with the students whose names were being forwarded by the Learning Centre teacher. Selecting eight students for each school site was not an easy chore as every Learning Centre student presented with unique challenges. The researcher's final selection was based on his perception of those students who required the greatest degree of program adaptation by the Learning Centre teacher and the regular classroom teachers.

The study was presented by the researcher to the school staffs at a special meeting called by the school principals. The parents of the sixteen students who were chosen to be studied were informed of the nature of the study in a letter sent to their homes [See Appendix A]. All sixteen parents consented in writing for the researcher to observe their children in the school setting for the purposes of the study. The school board granted permission to conduct the study on the condition that anonymity of the interviewees and their respective schools would be maintained and that the researcher would share his findings with the board members.

To decipher the basic assumptions and beliefs of the members of the two secondary schools with respect to the
integration of their special needs students into regular
classrooms, data were gathered through a process that was
utilized by Schein [1989] in his deciphering of
organizational culture. The assumptions and beliefs of the
members of the two organizations were examined from an
historical, evolutionary, and ecological perspective [See
Figure 1]. The historical perspective encompassed the
dominant value orientations that existed in the communities
prior to the schools' inception. The ethos that guided the
correct way for its members to think, perceive, and feel was
revealed in an exploration of the social class, family
composition, educational attainment, and accessibility of
opportunities that constituted a way of life for communities
that were to eventually feed into the secondary schools.
This approach to analyzing culture necessitated an archival
search of board minutes, newspaper articles, and records
depicting life in the communities prior to the construction
of the two secondary schools.

Analysis of culture formation from an evolutionary
perspective requires the researcher to record the manner in
which the institutions respond to critical events from the
time of their inception to the present. Schein [1989, p.165]
contends that the basic assumptions and beliefs of members
of an organization are formed during critical times when
they are forced to respond to threats and/or opportunities.
Solutions to problems translate into an organization's way
of doing things that eventually become taken for granted by its members. Alternative solutions may be seen as a threat to the survival of an organization and are generally resisted in an institution that has been accustomed to operating in a certain way. In the case at hand, critical markers were discovered through interviews with staff members and parent/community members who have had present or past associations with the schools. Information was also gleaned through an archival search of newspaper articles.

Eight teachers were interviewed in each school setting to ascertain the critical events in the organizations' history. The teachers were selected on the basis of tenure and gender. Those who were interviewed had been associated with their respective schools from one to twenty-four years. Both genders were equally represented in the interview process. All interviews were taped and transcribed. Interviewees were asked the following questions: a) Do you recall incidents in the organization's history that would be considered critical? If so, what were they and what actions were taken? b) Do present activities exist within the organization that would be considered critical and without quick resolve? If so, what are they? Who is involved? What is being done?

Analyzing culture from the perspective of ecological functionalism uncovered elements that presently impact on the daily operation of the two secondary schools. The
elements were a product of forces that served to shape the school culture and affect the modus operandi of the organizations. School leadership, the individual power and political behaviors of members in the organizations, and the nature of adolescence, constitute important ruminations in the ability and/or willingness of each institution to respond to the needs of students who are presented with special challenges and require special support. School leadership was examined in relation to staff perceptions. The teachers who were previously interviewed were queried on the principal's approach to dealing with issues in the organization. Their responses were instrumental in ascertaining the principal's leadership style and their involvement in the daily decisions of the school. School policy and procedures manuals were also beneficial in determining the way things were done in the organization.

The individual power and political behaviors of the members of the two secondary schools became readily apparent as the same teachers were asked the following questions:

a] What attention is paid to target dates? b] How available is space in the organization and how is it used? c] Can one achieve status in the organization? If so, how does one do that? d] Are sanctions used in the school? If so, what form do they take? e] How does one become accepted? f] Can you think of a time when someone did not "fit in"? What happened? g] How would you describe staff relationships? The
responses provided a composite sketch for the researcher on the degree of influence felt by key members in each organization and their level of status. How time and space were defined in the two secondary schools offered important ruminations on basic orientations of the group toward the past, present, and future and their assumptions about the physical and social meaning of space. In essence, the members were providing information on the linguistic and behavioral rules of the organization. Basic underlying assumptions about the nature of human activity were divulged in their revelations about "fitting in". The culture dictated to its members whether it was acceptable to be active or passive in daily deliberations in the organization. Assumptions around the nature of human relationships became apparent as the interviewees expressed views of their own relationships on staff. Each question touched on the members' view of life in the school as being cooperative or competitive, individualistic or collaborative. The questions guided the personal observations of the researcher in the school settings as he noted behavior patterns, listened to the language, and witnessed the utilization of time and space by the members.

The compositional effect of age, gender, and tenure of a school staff on patterns of political behavior was considered in the process. Staff demographics explained levels of social integration in groups and their support for
or resistance to change. Demographical information for each institution was attained through an investigation of school and board records.

The adolescent culture in the two secondary schools was revealed through a teen survey administered to a sample of students [See Appendix B]. The student sample consisted of persons with a wide range of abilities at each grade level. Female and male respondents were equally represented. In Valley Heights, the sample comprised seventy-three percent of the student population. In Ocean Bottom High, twenty-four percent of the student body was represented. The large difference in the student sample between the two schools was due to the fact that the researcher selected two classes at each grade level to participate in the survey. At Valley Heights High School, there is a maximum of three classes at each grade level compared to seven at Ocean Bottom High School. The number of skewed surveys was negligible.

The students were asked to respond to a variety of issues ranging from relationships and personal coping skills to sources of decision making and confidence in institutions and services. The responses were tabulated and presented in graph form. The adolescent culture was also noted as the researcher recorded the students' actions and interactions in the school setting. The researcher especially referenced the interactions of the sixteen students with disabilities
with their peers. As he spent a day with each of these students, he recorded the nature of the teacher-student and student-student interactions and the context in which they occurred. The relationships and personal coping skills of the students with disabilities offered a description of the manner in which they were being accommodated in the school setting. The various dimensions of the Learning Centre Program Model provided the meter stick to measure that success.

Data were also recorded on the nature of the challenges for each of these persons with disabilities. A description of the etiology of the disability and accompanying symptoms accentuated the need for significant and appropriate program adaptations. The researcher focussed on the nature of those adaptations in his report.

The assumptions and beliefs of members of the two secondary schools were described in terms of cultural prototypes. The cultural prototypes were derived through a process of triangulation of the historical, evolutionary, and ecological characteristics of each organization. The dominant value orientations of the communities that existed prior to the inception of the two secondary schools and the critical markers which shaped the shared history of its members were cross-referenced with the elements that currently influence the way in which the two organizations cope with the demands of external forces. The triangulation
process uncovered organizational assumptions about their environments as well as their views of truth and reality, human nature, human activity, and human relationships. Schein [1989, p. 86] referred to these dimensions as the basic underlying assumptions around which cultural paradigms form [See Figure 2]. Schein's typology of basic assumptions closely resembled the five value orientations that formed the basis of the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck classification schema. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck [1961] postulated a rank ordering of preferences for a finite number of problems common to all human groups [See Figure 3, p. 41]. Davis and Wang [1995] broke down Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's five value orientations into ten categories and presented a range of variations within the categories using a Likert-type scale [See Figure 5, p. 47]. The researcher utilized the Davis-Wang classification schema to present the basic assumptions of the members of two secondary schools.

The implications of the assumptions and beliefs on the schools' willingness to implement the Learning Centre Program Model became readily apparent. The elements or adaptive structures [Schein, 1989, p. 50] and their response to external and internal pressures was a direct product of organizational culture. The analysis demarcated those cultural elements that nurtured or undermined the integration of students with disabilities.
## FIGURE 2

### CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>CULTURAL PATTERN #1</th>
<th>CULTURAL PATTERN #2</th>
<th>CULTURAL PATTERN #3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Humanity's Relationship to Nature</td>
<td>1. Mastery of nature.</td>
<td>1. One must subjugate oneself to nature.</td>
<td>1. One must coexist in and harmonize with the environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Locus of control is in the hands of the masters of nature.</td>
<td>2. The locus of control is in the hands of nature.</td>
<td>2. The locus of control is a symbiotic relationship between humanity and nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nature of Truth and Reality</td>
<td>1. Truth can be determined through debate and conflict.</td>
<td>1. Truth belongs in the domain of social reality (personal opinion, bias, and taste).</td>
<td>1. Truth is that which survives consensus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Pragmatic scientific view of reality is orientated to the future.</td>
<td>2. Orientated to the here and now.</td>
<td>2. Orientated to the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nature of Human Nature</td>
<td>1. Humans are perfectible. Human nature is proactive: mixed, variable, capable of being good or bad.</td>
<td>1. Humans are fixed at birth and must accept what they are. If possible, they may be able to compensate for being innately “bad” by their deeds.</td>
<td>1. Basic impulses are dangerous and must be controlled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nature of Human Activity</td>
<td>1. Nature can be controlled and manipulated.</td>
<td>1. Nature is powerful and humanity is subervient to it.</td>
<td>1. Humans in nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Doing orientation. Focus is on the task and efficiency.</td>
<td>2. Being orientation. One must accept and enjoy what one has. The focus is on relationships.</td>
<td>2. Being –in – becoming orientation. One must achieve harmony with nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nature of Human Relationships</td>
<td>1. Individualistic competitive relationships. One participates according to norms.</td>
<td>1. Coercive relationships. Relationships evolve as defense against authority.</td>
<td>1. Group cooperative relationships are based on group consensus and group welfare. Members conform to hierarchy, rules, clearly defined roles to help people curb and control their natural impulses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.
2.2. Assumptions

This study is based on the fundamental premise that culture is a real phenomenon that is deep and complex. Culture is that which provides meaning to situations. It is "patterned, potent, and deeply embedded in people's thoughts, perceptions, and feelings" [Schein, 1989, p. 44]. As such, culture reaches beyond the norms and espoused values of an organization and extends to the assumptions and beliefs shared by its members. Culture is apparent and teaches new members the correct way to think, feel, and perceive in relation to problems that are encountered in the organization [Schein, 1989, p. 9].

Culture's complexity makes it difficult to understand and equally difficult to change. There may be several cultures operating within the overall culture that serve to undermine change efforts. These subcultures may have different paradigms or no single set of assumptions. The complexity of culture notwithstanding, its strength can be measured. As one explores culture through the three complementary points of view of historical particularism, evolutionism, and ecological functionalism, the congruency of cultural patterns unveiled its potency to the culture analyst. A primary assumption of the study was that the data gathered from the three perspectives provided an accurate picture of the observed phenomenon.

Culture may constrain strategy and creativity in the
organization and subsequently dismiss innovations that are seen as a threat to local cultural assumptions. The innovation may have its own vocabulary and assumptions that do not match the assumptions of the organization. If this is the case, the innovation will surely be rejected. The responsibility falls on the leader to create and/or manage culture to achieve desired results. Schein [1989] contends that the creation and management of culture is the leader's fundamental responsibility and purpose. Another primary assumption of the study is that the principal of a school is in the best position to incite change.

Finally, the researcher concedes a bias by the very nature of his position as Student Services Supervisor. In the initial stages of the study, his observations were blurred by his belief that integration of students with special needs into the regular classroom was good and desirable in all cases. By the end of the study, he realized that his lenses were in need of adjustment.

2.3. Limitations

Although the cultural analysis in this study adhered closely to the method utilized by Schein in his study of corporate cultures, a fundamental difference and potential limitation lay in the fact that Schein utilized a clinical method to assessing culture while the researcher employed an ethnographic approach. The participant-observer relationship
between the clinician and clients is dissimilar to the relationship between the ethnographer and his or her "willing" subjects. Schein [1989, p. 22] states that the information that a "paying" client is willing to share may differ from that of a group member who is only willing to be studied. Schein believes that a clinical relationship leads to a deeper understanding of culture. The ethnographic approach left the researcher in a perplexing situation. His function was to provide insight into the means by which school staffs could better accommodate students with special needs in the regular class setting while never truly knowing if they wanted his help. As a result, he was forever in a quandry as to whether what was observed was real or a surface manifestation of the way the members wanted to be seen.

Another limitation lay in the fact that culture pervades everything [Schein, 1989, p. 46]. The researcher realized that the areas that were extensively examined were the areas that struck him as being important in the implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model. He also realized that due to the pervasive nature of culture, it was impossible to analyse all the cultural elements that impinged upon the implementation of the model. Therefore, there existed the possibility that the categories listed by the researcher as being important might be cast in a different light by another observer.
A third limitation was found in the amount of time the researcher spent with the special needs students. One day in the school life of a child with disabilities provided the researcher with a sense of the manner in which the student was being accommodated in the regular school setting and other data substantiated the findings. However, the researcher realized that this merely offered a snapshot of the child's school experiences.

Finally, a number of recommendations ensued from the study that were intended to institute change. However, "to truly understand culture is to face the possibility that cultural assumptions are virtually impossible to change" [Schein, 1989, p. 45].

2.4. Definitions

Reference is made in the study to a number of concepts which are now defined. The Learning Centre Program Model is described in detail in Chapter 3.

Culture is defined by Schein [1989] as

...a pattern of basic assumptions-invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration-that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems [p. 9].

The basic assumptions of a given group are the essence of culture that become "taken-for-granted" as they define how the organization describes itself in relation to its
environment. Culture addresses problems of external adaptation as it develops survival strategies to cope with its changing environment [Schein, 1989, p. 52]. Culture also addresses problems of internal integration as it creates group cohesion and establishes the boundaries for group membership [Schein, 1989, p. 65].

Cultural prototype refers to the culture of an organization in terms of the paradigm under which its members operate. It defines the modus operandi of the group. Cultural prototypes elucidate the power of culture in influencing what gets done in the organization and why change is so difficult [Schein, 1989, p. 147].

Historical particularism is an approach to studying culture in an institution by analysing the antecedents of an existing culture [Schein, 1989, p. 309]. Organizations inherit an ethos that instructs its members as to the correct way to think, feel, and perceive.

Evolutionism describes how organizations evolve through predictable stages, from the birth and early growth of a group to organizational "midlife" and finally to organizational maturity and decline or rebirth. Evolutionism explains how elements of culture become embedded in the organization's structures and processes, thus defining the instituted practices of its members [Schein, 1989, p. 283].

Ecological functionalism describes culture in terms of its adaptive functions and the elements that currently exist
within an organization that impact upon its ability to respond to the changing demands of its environment[s] [Schein, 1989, p. 309].

Critical markers or critical incidences refer to times in an organization's history when its members are forced to respond to threats and opportunities. The success of the group's response to the situation determines the degree to which it becomes a "legitimizing piece of the culture" [Schein, 1989, p. 166].

Adaptive structures are cultural elements that solve an organization's problem of survival and define its basic purpose or "reason to be" [Schein, 1989, p. 52]. Adaptive structures create the primary task of its members by fixing the boundaries of opportunities and constraints.

Imprinting is the process by which institutions place their stamps of approval upon their members by teaching them the correct way to think, perceive, and feel, modifying their behavior and inner lives in the process [Gerth and Mills, 1979, p. 173].

Students with disabilities or students with special needs refer to those students in the school setting who possess unique challenges and who typically require modifications to their school program and school routine in order to experience success.

For the purposes of this study, inclusion is defined as a philosophical stance that envisions all students being
accepted as contributing members of a community of learners. The school is the focal point for the accommodation of all learners.

Integration is defined as the act of accommodating students with special needs in the regular classroom. It may necessitate the use of extensive supports.

The literature review describes the complex interplay of elements that constitute the culture of an organization.
CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

3.1. Introduction

A trend in education has unfolded over the past three decades that has witnessed the integration of students with special needs into regular public schools. The movement to accommodate students in the least restrictive environment has cast segregated settings in an unfavorable light and has forced the closure of self-contained classes and special schools throughout the nation.

Despite the strong integration trend, educators and parents alike fall into different camps of support.

The trend toward integration is a reflection of our society's distaste for segregation. Self-contained special classes and schools have been under attack since research demonstrated that they provide few social or academic advantages to the segregated child... Among some of the advantages to the exceptional child are the learning of social competencies necessary to reduce social isolation and increased educational aspirations and achievements. The non-exceptional child, on the other hand, is given the experience to understand, help, and accept children with disabilities [Canadian Education Association, Toronto, Canada, 1985].

Winschel [1980] offers a different view:

The tide of literature on mainstreaming threatens to engulf us. Its selective interpretation by a vast army of proponents runs roughshod over dissent and ignores the disquieting evidence that places in doubt
the efficacy of current integration practices. Special class teachers are subjected to a questioning of their motives, parents are goaded to criticize the educational placements of their children, and students themselves are encouraged toward dissatisfaction. A growing disenchantment with these developments will restore a balance to the educational process, and in the aftermath, general and special educators alike will be more temperate in their attitudes toward change [Winschel, 1980, p.494].

A recent ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada to uphold an Ontario School Board’s decision to move a child with severe cerebral palsy from a mainstream classroom to a segregated program in a special classroom setting has called into question the efficacy of current integration practices [Eaton v. Brant County Board of Education, Supreme Court of Canada, February 7, 1997].

A unified system that merges special and regular education is growing in support. A merger would necessitate

...the reorganization of personnel preparation, flexible heterogeneous groups based on instructional needs, instant consultation efforts and an orientation toward the uniqueness of each individual student [Lieberman, 1985, p.513].

However, a unified system is not without its critics who see it as a loss of power for special education through assimilation.

I am reluctant to abandon special education as a system until I see evidence of a drastic improvement in regular educational teacher training and professional practice in the public schools [Mesinger, 1985, p.510].
Efficacy studies in program options and alternate student placements have done little to elucidate the matter. In the first place, the validity of the studies is wrought with difficulty. In many cases, it is unclear whether the studies are measuring differences in outcomes due to placement or differences in student characteristics [Fisher, Knight, and Hall, 1995]. Also, the validity of using standardized instruments such as sociometric tests and norm-referenced achievement tests has been criticized [Leinhardt and Pallay, 1982]. Finally, many factors affect student outcomes and a comparison of self-contained classes and regular classes is compromised by the variability that exists among and between them [Leinhardt and Pallay, 1982].

Subsequently, studies on the effect of placement on self-concept and academic achievement of students with special needs remains inconclusive [Semmel, Gottlieb, and Robinson, 1989]. The debate of whether particular instructional strategies or placements benefit students with disabilities rages on [Higgins and Boone, 1992; Phillips, Hamlett, Fuchs, and Fuchs, 1993].

Of equal concern is whether teachers are willing to change their practices to accommodate students with special needs in the first place. Their perceptions and attitudes constitute an important consideration in the integration discussion.

Diverse views of educators and significant others
toward the integration of students with special needs are a product of their perceptions and attitudes toward disabilities in general [Garvar and Schmelkin, 1989]. Much of the current research emphasizes the importance of attitudes on the integration process and has focused on the regular classroom teachers [Jobe, Rust, and Brissie, 1996; Hannah, 1988]. Decisions to include or exclude students with disabilities hinge on the teachers’ willingness to accept and support those students [Lanier and Lanier, 1996].

The readiness and willingness of school principals and those in administrative positions to integrate students with special needs into the mainstream of school life is also cited in the research as an important factor [Jamieson, 1984]. A strong correlation exists between the personal experiences of administrators and their sense of self-efficacy for accommodating students with disabilities in their schools. Familiarity with changes in special education practice is also imperative for today’s school administrators [Sage and Burello, 1994]. Fear of the unknown will affect their willingness to accept those who have significant challenges.

Research has also focused on the self-perceptions of students in classes where integration has occurred [Bear, Cleaver, and Proctor, 1991]. The way in which students think about themselves and the degree to which they are accepted in the school setting may be the result of the visibility of
their disability [Heward and Orlansky, 1988]. It is also argued that labels imparted to those with disabilities affect the manner in which they are treated by others [Henley, Ramsey, and Algozzine, 1993]. This causes students with special needs to be in a constant state of proving themselves beyond the stigma [Kendall and DeMoulin, 1993]. The pressures of trying to belong can create feelings of insecurity.

Martin [1974] believes that an understanding of attitudes is critical in meeting the needs of those with special challenges.

It is our feelings with which we must deal: our attitudes, fears, and frustrations about the handicapped, about something that is a little different. We can give skills and competencies, but our attitudes affect the delivery of them. We must look at the attitudes of everyone and make those attitudes the focus of our change efforts [Martin, 1974, p.152].

Our attitudes, fears, and frustrations do not exist in a vacuum but are manifestations of culture [Schein, 1989]. An understanding of how culture forms and shapes our feelings and value orientations will bring us closer to recognizing the factors that influence the integration of students with special needs into the regular classroom.

The literature review begins with an examination of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's theory of cultural variation that describes universal aspects of culture as value orientations. This is followed by Schein's [1989] dynamic
perspective of organizational culture that is based on the theory of cultural variation and the fundamental premise that societies adopt basic assumptions that are taken-for-granted and slip from conscious thought. The five value orientations that form the basis of the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck classification schema and describe a rank ordering of preferences for a finite number of problems common to all human groups are also found in Schein's typology of basic assumptions that guide behavior and tell group members the correct way to think, feel, and perceive about things. The discussion concludes with the work of Davis and Wang [1995] who reconstructed the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck categories of value orientations into subsets and offered a range of preferences for solutions to problems that are common to all humans.

The formation of culture from an historical perspective and the notion that the assumptions of an organization are formed prior to the organization's inception are examined. Historical particularism explains culture formation in terms of its antecedents: community value orientations, family characteristics, and the grounding assumptions of public and special education.

The literature review then proceeds to analyse organizational life cycles and the evolution of culture. To intervene in the culture of an organization necessitates an awareness of the historical causes of its current
configuration and the processes of cultural evolution [Moxley, 1989].

The discussion concludes with an examination of culture formation as a product of the organization's adaptation to requirements for survival. School leadership is a primary consideration in the ability of an organization to survive. Reference is made to the informal structures of an organization and the influence of organizational politics on its members. Consideration is also given to the nature of adolescent culture as it impacts on the daily operations of the public school and its ability to change.

3.2. Universal Aspects of Culture

There is a systematic variation in the realm of cultural phenomena which is both as definite and as essential as the demonstrated systematic variation in physical and biological phenomena [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.3].

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck [1961] developed a theory of cultural variation on the basic premise that there is a finite number of human problems in need of solutions. Preferences for solutions are present in all societies but vary in accordance to "their dominant profile of value orientations as well as numerous variant or substitute profiles" [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.10]. They postulated five universal human problems and a range of preferences for solutions which "give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts"
Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck referred to these universal human problems as value orientations that were complex but patterned. They purported that every society has common solutions to problems that are differentially preferred and then formulated a rank ordering of those preferences.

The five problems common to all societies fall under the headings of human nature orientation, man-nature orientation, time orientation, activity orientation, and relational orientation. The range of variability in the human nature value orientation was further divided into the subprinciples of mutability and immutability. The five value orientations and the range of variations postulated for each are captured in Figure 3.

Under the human nature category, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck define the character of innate human nature as being evil, neutral, a mixture of good-and-evil, or good. The range of variability is extended to include their mutability or immutability. For example, the Puritans ascribed to a belief that man was basically evil but perfectible through hard work and self-control [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.12].

The man-nature orientation describes man’s relationship to nature and supernature. The range of variations fall under the headings: subjugation-to-nature, harmony-with-nature, and mastery-over-nature. Is mankind
fatalistic by nature and subservient to the omnipotent forces of nature? Is humanity one with nature, a basic tenet of the Mormon faith? Or is humanity in control of nature, a dominant orientation of the western world? [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.13]

The time orientation addresses the temporal focus of human life. A society that lives in the past would pay homage to ancestor worship and family traditions. A society whose temporal focus is in the present would disregard the past and not plan for an unpredictable future. The American

Figure 3 The Five Value Orientations and the Range of Variations for Each

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Postulated Range of Variations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human nature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evil</td>
<td>Mixture of Good Neutral and Evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutable immutable</td>
<td>Good mutable immutable mut. immut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>Past Present Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activity Being</td>
<td>Being-in-Becoming Doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relational Lineality</td>
<td>Collaterality Individualism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is taken from Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck [1961,p.12]
way of life is future orientated and preoccupied with "getting things done" [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.15]

The activity orientation considers the modality of human activity. The "being" orientation emphasizes a "spontaneous expression in activity" and is illustrated in Mexican society's fiesta activities [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.16]. The "integrated self" exemplifies the being-in-becoming orientated society where one discovers harmony with nature and "the quality of the creative activity which can operate in one's emotional, intellectual and sensuous experience as well" [Morris, 1942]. A society that adopts a "doing orientation" stresses accomplishments that are measurable and is typical of the American "let's do something about it" way of life [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.17].

The relational value orientation addresses human relationships and whether society falls within the modality of lineality, collaterality, or individualism. An example of a lineal society is the aristocracy in England that emphasizes group goals and pays homage to a kinship system [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.19]. A society that is collateral in nature accepts group welfare before self interests. Immediate or laterally extended relationships that are found in biological families are typical of collateral relationships [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, p.18]. Individualism is a dominant value orientation in a
society that embraces personal autonomy as the ultimate indicator of success and personal goals as the primary way to get there. Competition is the norm.

Schein [1989] offers a classification schema for cultural variation that resembles most areas of the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck dominant profile of value orientations. Schein believes that organizations develop basic assumptions that become taken-for-granted by their members and guide how they perceive, feel, and think about things. The assumptions are a product of solutions that work repeatedly. The solutions are manifested in behaviors that are patterned, predictable, and automatic. Argyrus' [1976] theories-in-use closely parallel Schein's basic assumptions.

Schein also describes universal aspects of culture and postulates a finite number of solutions to a finite number of problems common to human groups. Schein adapts the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck "man-nature" dominant value orientation to ask whether key members of an organization believe that their relationship with the environment is one of "dominance, submission, harmonizing, finding an appropriate niche, or what?" [Schein, 1989, p.86]. Schein entitled this category "Humanity's Relationship to Nature".

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's "time" dominant value orientation was revised by Schein to focus on what members of an organization consider to be real and pertinent information on which to act. How time and space are utilized
have important implications for the linguistic and behavioral rules that evolve in an organization and define for its members what is real and valued [Schein, 1989, p.96].

Schein addresses what it means to be human in the organization. His assumptions around the nature of human nature are congruent with the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck "human nature" dominant value orientation. Schein also asks what it means to be human and whether human nature is good, evil, or perfectible. The answers to these questions influence the "incentive, reward, and control systems of the organization" [Schein, 1989, p.101].

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's "human activity" dominant value orientation is congruent with Schein's assumptions about the nature of human activity. Schein contends that members of an organization need to decipher the right way to act and choose between being "active, passive, self-developmental, fatalistic, or what?" [Schein, 1989, p.103]. He borrows from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck being, being-in-becoming, and doing value orientations, all classification schema to decipher whether "work, family, self-interest, or some form of integrated lifestyle is possible and desirable" [Schein, 1989, p.103]. This analysis leads to notions about work and play in the organization.

Schein adapts Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's "relational" dominant value orientation to decipher the "right" way for
people to relate to each other in the organization.
Assumptions about whether life in the organization is
individualistic, group collaborative, or communal will lead

Figure 4. Basic Underlying Assumptions Around Which Cultural Paradigms Form.

1. Humanity's Relationship to Nature. At the organizational level, do the key members view the relationship of the organization to its environment as one of dominance, submission, harmonizing, finding an appropriate niche, or what?

2. The Nature of Reality and Truth. The linguistic and behavioral rules that define what is real and what is not, what is a "fact," how truth is ultimately to be determined, and whether truth is "revealed" or "discovered; basic concepts of time and space.

3. The Nature of Human Nature. What does it mean to be "human" and what attributes are considered intrinsic or ultimate? Is human nature good, evil, or neutral? Are human beings perfectible or not?

4. The Nature of Human Activity. What is the "right" thing for human beings to do on the basis of the above assumptions about reality, the environment, and human nature: to be active, passive, self-developmental, fatalistic, or what? What is work and what is play?

5. The Nature of Human Relationships. What is considered to be the "right" way for people to relate to each other, to distribute power and love? Is life cooperative or competitive; individualistic, group collaborative, or communal; based on traditional lineal authority, law, charisma, or what?

This table is taken from Schein [1989, p.86].
to behaviors that are either cooperative or competitive in nature [Schein, 1989, p. 105].

Schein's typologies of basic underlying assumptions around which cultural paradigms form are found in Figure 4. The close resemblance to the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck model is readily evident.

Davis and Wang [1995] have constructed a classification schema that breaks down Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's five value orientations into ten categories. The authors use a Likert-type scale to present the range of variations. The schema is presented in Figure 5.

The first category of the Davis-Wang classification schema is entitled "Relationship of humanity to nature" and is congruent with the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck "man-nature" dominant value orientation. The authors postulate the following range of variations for this category: dominant, harmonizing, and submissive.

The second category is entitled "How truth is determined". Davis and Wang ask the fundamental question: Is truth discovered or revealed? To discover truth necessitates the power of our own exploratory efforts; to reveal truth is to have others provide us with the answers.

The category entitled "The Nature of Reality [Truth]" addresses the fundamental question: Is reality subjective and therefore personal or is it objective and factual? This is congruent with Schein's "nature of reality and truth"
assumption where the linguistic and behavioral rules of an organization define what is real and what is not.

The Davis-Wang "The Nature of Human Nature" value

Figure 5  Reconstruction of the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck Table

1. Relationship of humanity to nature
   1  2  3  4  5
   Dominant Harmonizing Submissive

2. How truth is determined
   1  2  3  4  5
   Discovered Revealed

3. The Nature of Reality [Truth]
   1  2  3  4  5
   Relative Factual

4. The Nature of Human Nature
   1  2  3  4  5
   Basically good Basically evil

5. The Nature of Human Beings
   1  2  3  4  5
   Perfectible Imperfectible

6. The Nature of Human Activity
   1  2  3  4  5
   Active Passive

7. The Nature of Human Relationships
   1  2  3  4  5
   Basically Cooperative Basic Competitive

8. The Nature of Authority
   1  2  3  4  5
   Evolving Traditional/Legal

9. The Nature of Space
   1  2  3  4  5
   Infinite Finite

10. The Concept of Time
    1  2  3  4  5
    Linear Cyclical
orientation category asks whether human nature is basically evil or basically good. This is the basis of Schein's "Nature of Human Nature" category where he postulates what it means to be human and the implications it has on the incentive and control systems that are built into organizations.

In the "Nature of Human Beings" category, Davis and Wang borrow from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck mutability-immutability subprinciples in their "Nature of Human Nature" dominant value orientation and suggest that the universal human problem of whether human nature can be changed [perfectible] or is relatively static [imperfectible] has major ramifications in the daily operation of a secondary school [Davis and Wang, 1995, p.7].

The Davis-Wang "Nature of Human Activity" category asks whether humans are

...active, concerned with accomplishments, or contemplative, concerned with self-development, or passive, more prepared to let the world unfold as it may [Davis and Wang, 1995, p.24].

This closely parallels the "human activity" dominant value orientation of the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck classification schema that sees humans relating to their relevant environments in a being, being-in-becoming, or doing mode.

Davis and Wang's "The Nature of Human Relationships" dimension draws on the lineality, collaterality, and individualism "relational" value orientation of the
Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck typology. The authors ask whether human relationships are basically cooperative or competitive. Schein argues that assumptions around relationships are interconnected with assumptions about "human nature, human activity, and the nature of reality, space, time, and the environment" [Schein, 1989, p.109].

Davis and Wang formulate a value orientation entitled "The Nature of Authority" and postulate that authority either evolves over time through human interaction or rests upon the "tradition and precedents of law" [Davis and Wang, 1995, p.25]. This view is congruent with Schein's [1989] typology of authority where assumptions around the nature of authority determine whether leadership is a position to which one aspires or whether one "inherits" the position by virtue of whom one is, rather than by what one accomplishes.

Davis and Wang created a dimension entitled "The Nature of Space" in which they postulate a range of variations along a continuum from space being infinitely available, informal, and highly interactive, to it being finite, formal, and highly private. Schein [1989] argues that the utilization of space in an organization speaks volumes of the deeper assumptions about relationships.

The final dimension in the Davis-Wang classification schema separates time into two categories: time that is linear and time that is cyclical. Linear time is infinitely divisible and can be "spent, wasted, or made good use of"
Cyclical time is less concerned with what can be accomplished and more concerned with relationships. Schein [1989] argues that how time is used carries deeper assumptions about relationships in an organization.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck describe a variability in the way of life human beings build for themselves. Schein adapted the theory of dominant and variant value orientations and applied it to organizational behavior. Davis and Wang further adapt the theory within an educational framework.

3.3. An Historical Perspective

From an historical perspective, culture and the subsequent assumptions and beliefs of members of an organization are formed prior to the inception of the organization. Historical particularism explains culture formation in terms of its antecedents: community value orientations, family characteristics, and the grounding assumptions of public and special education.

Every society has its dominant profile of value orientations as well as numerous variant or substitute profiles [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961]. Systems of meaning emanate from each society to its organizations and produce an ethos for them to follow. Stakeholder groups or individuals act in accordance to the information they
possess. The information comes from a variety of sources including the ordinary knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions that people have as members of a society [Connell, 1996]. Reisman [1952] viewed the imparting of information by institutions as a conformity process.

It will be seen that it is through the concept of conformity that character and society are linked in our analysis, for each type of society is seen as instilling a particular mode of conformity in its members, who then perpetuate the society as they go about its business, including the rearing of the young [Reisman 1952, p. 77].

Fontaine and Hammond [1996] argue that schools are actively engaged in the creation of social identities for groups who are stakeholders in the system and provide a basis for the cultural ascendancy of certain groups, including males and Anglos. Society imparts guiding metaphors to its institutions which in turn teach its members a sense of right and wrong [Durkheim, 1933]. MacKinnon [1996] criticizes the school that has historically offered guiding metaphors that conspire to promote privilege and advantage for select groups and engage in the production of social inequities. Hacking [1985] characterizes society's role as "making up people" by labelling them. The label serves to create and delineate fact from fiction as well as produce meaning. The instituted community is an organizer of public memory, imposing certainty on uncertainty. Personal identity is discovered as classification occurs through community
affiliation and creates discernible patterns of how people interact with others [Schotter, 1981; Gougeon, 1996].

Values promoted by instituted rural communities as compared to their urban neighbours is well documented [DeYoung and Lawrence, 1995; Howley and Howley, 1995; Sher, 1995; Seal and Harmon, 1995; Theobald and Nachtigal, 1995]. Rural communities are described as being more self-sufficient and having more frequent personal and social interaction [Herzog and Pittman, 1995]. Wilson [1985] describes the difference in terms of the tolerance level of urban and rural dwellers.

Urbanism, measured in terms of population size, has been found to be directly related to tolerance, by which we mean willingness to 'put up with' or allow expression of ideas or interests that one rejects, and willingness to treat others according to universalistic criteria that are independent of any particular difference between self and others in values and attitudes [Wilson, 1985, p. 117].

Societal variations are also discussed in terms of lifestyles, norms, and values and their relation to organizational channels of privilege and influence.

The importance of social class, family composition, and accessibility of opportunities as they pertain to marriage proposals has been documented in numerous studies [Mare, 1991]. Good labor market prospects attract. Oppenheimer [1988] states that educational homogeneity in marriages is directly proportional to the economic prospect
of the spouse. Epstein and Guttman [1984] conclude that barriers to marriage between educational strata will result in inequalities between families and variation in the socioeconomic status of children. Educational attainment becomes an important dimension of assortative mating and is a direct consequence of family background and social standing [Gedge, 1991; Jencks and Bartlett, 1979]. A child is born to parents of certain characteristics such as education, occupation, and ethnic origin. Values are transmitted from parent to child and, in a relatively homogeneous society, those same values will be reinforced by community members and community institutions. Culture is powerful in passing beliefs from generation to generation. Gedge [1991] noted how boys from working class families in Newfoundland left school at an early age to pursue a life in the fishing industry as had generations of families before them. Little value was seen in obtaining a high school graduation certificate. Student success in school was a direct result of the efforts of parents to instill good study habits and discipline in their children [Clark, 1983]. Culture exerts control on the assumptions and beliefs of society, community, and family members which in turn exert control on the assumptions and beliefs of their young. Values are instilled in its members as to the correct way of doing things and prescribes the accepted manner to think, feel, and perceive in relation to their environments.
Schools create social identities for groups and exert a strong influence on its members. Skrtic [1991] contends that the assumptions of public and special education are grounded in a functionalist paradigm that presupposes social reality to be objective, rational, and inherently orderly. Human and social problems are considered to be pathological. Special classes were created to provide special treatment for students with disabilities, excluding them from regular classes and social interaction with "normal" children, thus maintaining order in a "rational" school plant [Aviram, 1996; Skrtic, 1991; Lazerson, 1983]. Griffiths [1988] argues that educational administration, in its functionalist quest for rationality and order, promotes the notion of student disability. School failure is discussed in terms of student disability and has resulted in the continuous pursuit of modifying the functional characteristics of students with special needs [Hahn, 1994]. The functionalist approach for organizing and managing industrial firms was applied to schools during the social efficacy movement at the turn of the century. Aviram [1996] claims that educational institutions are dysfunctional because they "remain wedded to outmoded parameters in their aims, activities, structures, methods and perceptions of their clientele" [p. 421]. A gap exists between the system and its changing world. In the modern or industrial age, schools were organized in a hierarchical manner and stressed an order
that presupposed a medical model of disability [Aviram, 1996; Skrtic, 1991]. Students with disabilities needed special treatment in special classes and were labelled accordingly [Slee, 1993; Biklen, 1992]. Lipsky and Gartner [1996] refer to the sorting role of special education

...both for those consigned to it and for those students who remain in general education. It limits expectations of the former, and gnarls the attitudes of the latter [Lipsky and Gartner, 1996, p. 763].

Sergiovanni [1994] questions the way in which we operate our schools in a post-modern, post-industrial society when emphasis should be placed on the school as a social organization rather than a formal one. A sense of belonging goes unfulfilled in an institution where more concern is expressed for compliance rather than commitment. In an age of post-modernity, schooling should be about relationships and learning collaboratively with and from persons with varying interests, abilities, and cultural perspectives [Skrtic, 1991]. Hahn [1994] believes that celebrating strengths rather than trying to fix weaknesses in an individual will help to introduce our schools to the post-modern era.

Perhaps an increased appreciation of the strengths instead of the presumed deficiencies of disabled students might improve the attitudes of teachers whose negative perceptions of inclusion often seem to be based on the belief that they will be overwhelmed by an excessive need for attention and assistance [Hahn, 1994, p. 12].
Gartner and Lipsky [1987] attribute the marginal status of special education to a public attitude that portrays disabled persons as heroic individuals or pathetic cripples. They argue that the educational system needs to change.

The origin, growth, and shape of special education have in many ways been defined by general education and the attitudes and behaviors of mainstream educators toward students with handicapping conditions. Children with disabilities have been denied access to public education or have received an inferior education [Gartner and Lipsky, 1987, p. 141].

Skrtic [1991] believes that the issue of integration raises serious questions about the nature and functions of schooling. Secondary schools have often carried the bulk of the criticism in this regard. Hemming [1980] addresses the goodness of fit between the secondary school and its clients.

Secondary education is not, as a system, a milieu in which adolescents can flourish because it is not designed to suit them; rather, they have to fit as best they may into a framework of activities and demands which is imposed by habits of the past, and by authorities over which they have no control [Hemming, 1980, p. 31].

Secondary schooling has traditionally embraced an environment of subject coverage and mastery presented in a didactic manner by teachers to their students [Hargreaves and Earl, 1990; Cuban, 1984]. Academic achievement is rewarded in a meritocratic system that places narrow parameters on school success and causes a poor fit for those
who do not perform well on tests. The problem is exacerbated in a system that is departmentalized and exposed to a culture that promotes isolationism [Fullan and Hargreaves, 1991; Pink, 1988; Boyd and Crowson, 1982]. Radwanski [1987] attributes the isolation factor to the size and bureaucratic complexity of the secondary school system. Students are affected by the disruption in the pattern of relationships as they move from the stable and "protected" classroom context of the elementary school to a more diffuse and less structured network of individuals in the secondary school [Hargreaves and Earl, 1990; Shrum and Cheek, 1987]. They are exposed to a world of external incentives of success and failure in imposed curricula and examinations [Hargreaves and Earl, 1990]; to a structure that educates them in accordance to their academic abilities [Kilgore, 1991; Hargreaves and Earl, 1990; Lee and Bryck, 1988; Radwanski, 1987; Oakes, 1985]; and to a milieu where truancy and countercultures of opposition to school values exist [Leithwood and Lawton, 1988; Hargreaves, 1982].

3.4. Organizational Life Cycles and the Evolution of Culture

To intervene in the culture of an organization necessitates an understanding of the historical causes of its current configuration and are discovered in the processes of cultural evolution [Moxley, 1989; Cohen and Filipczak, 1989; Othersen and Othersen, 1987; Kimberly,
and Miles, 1980]. The evolutionary process is a natural one, without conscience and amoral in character [Gould, 1983; McKelvey, 1982]. Glenn (1991) describes the natural process of cultural evolution as complex and interlocking relationships among people in human cultures. Miller (1978) assigns the descriptor "living systems" to human cultures. Glenn (1991) believes that cultural evolution occurs as a result of fit, adapting to an environment in the past, worried about the present, and without regard for the future. It places an organization on a natural path of destruction from birth and early growth, to organizational midlife, and finally to stagnation and decline [Schein, 1989]. Hannan and Freeman (1989) refer to the large organizational cultures that disband when they discover they have outlived their usefulness.

At the birth and early growth stage, culture provides the fledging members of a group with a sense of meaning, purpose, and identity. Handlin (1992) states that during the early years of a newly founded culture, innovations are more likely to occur. It is a time of culture creation as its members learn formal role expectations and the informal norms upon which the members will operate [Gundry and Rousseau, 1994]. Organizations are imprinted during the environmental period of their founding [Kimberly, 1975; Stinchcombe, 1965] and cast at birth in a mold that will resurface throughout their life cycles [Pennings, 1980].
From their inception, they become concerned with issues of survival, adapting their functions to the demands of relevant environments [Mawhinney, 1992; Hannan and Freeman, 1989]. A good start for an organization presents fewer internal and external patterns of change [Oster, 1982].

The die is cast in the newly founded organization in the image of its first leader [Schein, 1989; Sarason, 1972]. Freeman [1984] noted that past experiences and beliefs of founding leaders will shape feelings and control the kinds of information that is dispersed to the members. Managers operate within constraints and those constraints emerge through institutionalization of past practices and the initial establishment of structures and routines. New roles are acquired through socialization [Gundry and Rousseau, 1994; Schein, 1989]. The creation of an organization is one of the most salient moments of its life cycle. Clarity and integration emerge in conjunction with the arrival of rules and procedures. The rules and procedures will mold organizational behavior for the duration of its life [Handlin, 1992; Schein, 1989; Pennings, 1980].

Organizational midlife marks a period in the organization when its culture provides stability rather than meaning to the group. It literally "gets a life" as it generates a history. Institutionalization sets in and lends stability and predictability to social relationships. Klepper [1996] describes institutionalization in
technologically progressive industries as they enter a period of decline in the rate of product innovation. Opportunities to improve the product diminish and a dominant design emerges. Change is discouraged and attempts are made to preserve extant structures [Handlin, 1992; Schein, 1989; Goodman and Bazerman, 1979; Service, 1971; Wertheim, 1967]. Huxley [1943] envisioned a period of institutionalization and specialization in organizations as they fell into a biological groove of entrenchment. Wertheim [1967] refers to this time in the organization's life cycle as one of involution. Countercultures of opposition arise to discredit the organization's integrity [Martin and Siehl, 1983].

When the organization reaches maturity, growth becomes minimal and the glories of the past are preserved. The rate of adaptive organizational change is out-of-step with rates of environmental change [Mawhinney, 1992; Hannan and Freeman, 1989; Davis, 1984; Mintzberg, 1984; Greenhalgh, 1983; Boulding, 1975]. The need to change is ignored and decline occurs in stages [Weitzel and Jonsson, 1989; Levy, 1986]. It becomes questionable at this point whether organizational leaders have the power to change the course of an organization's cultural evolution [Mawhinney, 1992; Schein, 1989]. Argenti [1976] compares organizational decline to that of a sinking ship and the difficulty of enlisting a new crew. Organizational atrophy results in fixed solutions to problems [Glenn, 1991; Levine, 1979;
Starbuck and Hedberg, 1977]. Problem depletion leads to a loss of legitimacy as an organization fails to fulfil its basic purpose [Klepper, 1996; Levine, 1979; Rodekohr, 1974]. Collins and Porras [1994] contend that purposeful evolution can curb the tide of decline. Purposeful evolution is based on the principles of accepting the inevitability of mistakes through experimentation and giving people the autonomy to develop new ideas.

Of note is the unique ability of school systems to survive in times of decline [Skrtic, 1991]. The perception of the school as a rational plant with goals that are objective and enacted in an orderly manner creates a wall of inpenetrability and lures members of the public into blindly accepting the school’s mission even though they may not know what that mission is.

The cultural evolution of an organization is a story of the critical incidences in its history. The critical incidences send messages that inform the members as to appropriate and inappropriate behaviors [Allen and Meyer, 1990; Schein, 1989; Martin, Feldman, Hatch, and Sitkin, 1983]. Cognitive processing occurs as marks are left on people’s lives during critical periods. Denzin [1989] describes the life turning points of an organization and the insights gained by group members in terms of "epiphanies". Each epiphany plays a pivotal role in the organization’s cultural evolution and explains the cultural patterns and
legacies of the founding members [Schein, 1989; Martin, Feldman, Hatch, and Sitkin, 1983].

3.5. Ecological Functionalism and School Leadership

Ecological functionalism describes organizational culture in terms of adaptive functions. Organizational ecologists assume that culture formation is a product of the manner in which the organization adapts to requirements for survival [Mawhinney, 1992; Hannan and Freeman, 1989]. There are elements and characteristics in each organization that will affect the pace of change and its ability to survive. School leadership is a primary consideration in the ability of an organization to change with the changing times. Schein [1989] views culture and leadership as two sides of the same coin. He claims that the worth of leaders is measured in their ability to create and manage culture.

Leaders approach the task of leading in different ways. There are those who lead by creating precise policy mandates and close supervision [Harriot and Gross, 1979; Montjoy and O'Toole, 1979]. Compliance to the directions of the policy is ensured by means of monitoring the implementation process [Stout, 1980; Edwards and Sharkansky, 1978]. Much oversight activity is featured in this leadership style [Stout, 1980]. The leader is the technical expert and committed to the managerial aspects of implementation. The managerial leadership style is typical
of the Western culture as active mastery of nature takes precedence in an individualistic and competitive world [Hargreaves and Earl, 1990; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961].

The antithesis of the leader as manager is the leader as grass roots motivator and supporter. The grass roots leader dispels the notion that his teachers are only in need of technical expertise [Hargreaves and Reynolds, 1989]. Elmore [1983] considers the system to be bottom heavy and loosely coupled.

It is bottom heavy because the closer we get to the bottom of the pyramid, the closer we get to the factors that have the greatest effect on the program’s success or failure [Elmore, 1983, p. 357].

Teacher commitment to practice is dependent on a perceived degree of control of the implementation process [Fullan and Miles, 1992; Crandal, Bauchner, Eisman, Cox, and Schmidt, 1982; McLaughlin and March, 1978].

Leadership has also been acknowledged as one of coordinating, facilitating, and supporting bottom-up and top-down efforts [Sergiovanni, 1994; Glickman, 1993; Midgley and Wood, 1993; Fullan and Miles, 1992; Fullan and Hargreaves, 1991]. In an environment of mutual support, relationships are based on a balance of power wherein each person or group is seen as being important and having resources unique to the organization [Barth, 1991; Brown, 1991; Leithwood and Montgomery, 1987; Wirt and Kirst, 1972].
Consensus/conflict is a common feature in this milieu as decisions are negotiated with all stakeholders [Fullan and Miles, 1992; Fullan, 1987; Nakamura and O'Toolé, 1979]. A combination of bottom-up and top-down efforts nurtured in a setting of mutual support will eliminate bureaucratic restrictions that stand in the path of reform [Fullan and Miles, 1992; Skrtic, 1991]. Organizations will "feel their way" in a medium of uncertainty toward a collaborative structure that will provide its members with the capacity to meet the needs of their students, staff, and community [Fullan and Miles, 1992; Rosenholtz, 1989]. Caring becomes the very essence of collaborative cultures [Noddings, 1984]. The leader's role in creating a collaborative school culture and the arduous journey cannot be overstated. At the heart of school problems lies school culture [Davis, 1989; Sarason, 1982]. It can be a principal's best friend or worst enemy.

Schools that are imbued in a culture of individualism are "stuck" schools and resist change [Rosenholtz, 1989]. Teachers work in isolation and have little opportunity to share their knowledge and expertise. This culture is created and sustained in a bureaucratic organization where decisions are made by a few at the top for the benefit of the masses at the bottom. Isolation and uncertainty are two features of an organization entrenched in a culture of individualism. Outside help is generally perceived by the members as
interference and an invasion of privacy. Innovation is viewed with scepticism and dismissed as fadism [Fullan and Earl, 1991]. Change is neither initiated nor sustained in this milieu.

Joyce, Wolf, and Calhoun [1993] ascribe to a self-renewing organization where support is provided at all levels of educational governance. A network of meaningful relationships lies at the heart of systems thinking and enables an organization to see the whole picture and not individual snapshots [Senge, 1990]. Participatory leadership recognizes a power base in a collaborative culture where the authority of the office is shared rather than hoarded [Schlechty, 1990].

3.6. Ecological Functionalism and Organizational Politics

"Organizational politics" refers to the informal structure that exists in individual or group behavior in the organization. Mintzberg [1984] describes this structure as

...informal, ostensibly parochial, typically divisive, and above all, in a technical sense, illegitimate; sanctioned neither by formal authority, accepted ideology, nor certified expertise [Mintzberg, 1984, p. 172].

Conflict may arise between individuals and/or groups. The formal authority structure may bear the brunt of the informal group's ire. The lower the level of perceived power of the group, the higher its degree of politics [Ferris, Buckley, and Allen, 1992; Gandz and Murray, 1980]. The fewer
the opportunities for advancement within the organization, the greater the level of politics [Ferris, Buckley, and Allen, 1992; Ragins, 1989]. The level of perceived influence in the decision making process is inversely proportional to the level of politics in the informal group [Folger and Greenberg, 1985]. Organizational politics can take the form of self-serving and subversive behavior [Farrell and Petersen, 1982; Schein, 1989].

Organizational politics are influenced by the personal characteristics of its members. Pfeffer [1983] notes that homogeneity in age and date of entry into an organization may enhance the social integration of the members. Katz and Kahn [1978] define social integration as a multifaceted phenomenon that reflects the attraction to and satisfaction with other members of the group. Demographic homogeneity is positively associated with increased social integration [Ward, Gory, and Sherman, 1985; Hoffman, 1985].

Increased pressure for conformity is directly proportional to higher levels of cohesiveness [Hackman, 1976]. The more cohesive the group, the greater will be the pressure for attitudinal conformity [Tziner and Vardi, 1983; Hoogstraten and Vorst, 1978]. High staff turnover can be detrimental to the health of an innovation [Piper and Marrache, 1983]. Fullan and Hargreaves [1991] report collaborative work cultures that disappear with the departure of a few key staff members. Innovation requires
the time to build structures and practices into the organization [Fullan and Miles, 1992; Miles and Ekholn, 1991; Miles and Louis, 1987]. High levels of social integration in groups will coincide with lower levels of individual turnover and provide the time needed to effect change [Sheridan, 1985]. Krackhardt and Kilduff [1990] report that network-based friendship choices are related to cultural viewpoints.

Women may perceive more organizational politics than their male cohorts [Ferris, Fedor, Chachere, and Pondy, 1989]. Rosin and Korabik [1990] attribute this phenomenon to women working in positions of inferiority in organizations. On the other hand, Drory and Beaty [1991] contend that it is the males who become more involved in organizational politics.

Ferris, Fedor, Chachere, and Pondy [1989] believe that organizational politics mellow in the individual or the group with the passage of time. Events that are interpreted as political in nature by younger members may take on the status of norms among the older and more seasoned members of the organization. Different cultural viewpoints are shared by different organizational members at different levels of power [Trice and Beyer, 1991].

3.7. The Nature of Adolescence

Adolescence has been described as a time when an
individual experiences an explosion of development in a milieu of sexual differentiation [Kulas, 1996; Hargreaves and Earl, 1990; Hemming, 1980]. The adolescent feels pressure in a society demanding that he achieve independence from his family while attempting to establish a niche in the peer culture. Kulas [1996] believes that the pressure decreases with an increase in the chronological and mental age of teenagers and the feeling that they are in more control of their lives.

Teenage culture is a period of excitement and taking risks as the young person teeters on the brink between propriety and delinquency [Katz, 1989; Hargreaves, 1982; Matza, 1964]. The use of drugs and alcohol by adolescents signifies a risk-taking mentality. It may also indicate a lack of fulfillment of their needs [Mainous and Martin, 1996; Myers and Brown, 1994; Newcombe and Bentler, 1988].

The adolescent searches for an identity and is caught somewhere in a child-adult body state. The child-adult longs for independence as an adult but clings to family ties and a condition of dependency [Neilson, 1987]. The adolescent feels divided in loyalty between family and peers in a classic struggle of wishing to belong and to be accepted by a group [Galbo, 1984; Palomares and Ball, 1980]. Group affiliation is the result of a labelling process among adolescents as they organize themselves into broad but homogeneous peer groups [Downs and Rose, 1991]. Affiliation
at the junior high school level tends to be more "same-sex" orientated than at the senior high school level [Shrum and Cheek, Jr., 1987]. Gender and socioeconomic factors are significant determinants in the peer affiliation of the adolescent.

Harper and Marshall [1991] examined problems encountered by teenagers and concluded that females are typically concerned with interpersonal relationships while males are troubled about finance, education, and vocational issues. Porteus [1985] found that males were concerned with authority and rules while females were more "self-critical, self-aware and perhaps more neurotic" [p. 475]. It is a reflection of societal values and the pull toward particular orientations based on gender.

Male adolescents tend to be less intimate in their heterosexual relationships. Low condom use and little belief in male responsibility to prevent pregnancy is a product of a traditional "masculinity" ideology that limits the quality of heterosexual relationships and increases the risk of sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS [Pleck, Sonenstein, and Leighton, 1993]. Unilateral power relationships are reported among male adolescents with their dating partners [Snell, Hawkins, and Belk, 1988] and may result in psychological violence in dating relationships [Thompson, 1990; Bunting and Reeves, 1983]. Masculinity is considered a social construction and male adolescents act in
accordance to their conception of masculinity that they learn from their culture [Pleck, Sonenstein, and Leighton, 1993].

Traditional masculinity ideology also impacts on the stigmatization of gay and lesbian teens [Fontaine and Hammond, 1996]. "Faggot", "dyke", and "queer" are commonplace words in schools that are not inclusive in nature. The stigmatization of gay and lesbian adolescents is reflected in substance abuse, suicide attempts, and prostitution among this population of young people [Hetrick and Martin, 1987; Remafedi, 1987].

Variations also exist in adolescents along the lines of socioeconomic status. Students from low-income families are disproportionately represented in special education classes [Brantlinger, 1994; Kugelmass, 1987; Carrier, 1986]. Special education students feel rejected by peers and attribute their lack of popularity to their special education status [Brantlinger, 1994]. In discussions of peer relations, students in special education classes report that most of their friends were other special education students [Brantlinger, 1991]. Students from high-income neighborhoods perceive special education students as being different and had little personal contact with them. Special education was synonymous to inferiority for the special education student [Brantlinger, 1994].
3.8. School Culture as a Focus of Change

The public school system has failing grades when tested on reform initiatives in special education. Schools have seen innovation after innovation falter in their efforts to evoke real change. Schools bear certain characteristics today that were evident a century ago [Cuban, 1984]. Some things seem to never change in the public school system.

It is argued that the reason that schools have poor track records is their propensity to focus on first order changes [Fullan and Miles, 1992]. First order changes try to improve what already exists [Fullan and Hargreaves, 1991]. Second order changes, on the other hand, focus on doing business in new and creative ways [Sergiovanni, 1994; Midgley and Wood, 1993; Glickman, 1993; Fullan and Miles, 1992; Schlechty, 1991; Fullan and Hargreaves, 1991; Brown, 1991; Barth, 1990; Sizer, 1985]. New goals and structures are introduced that transform the way of doing things in the organization.

Focus is now being placed on the role of culture in effecting change at the school site and in the school district [Davis, 1989]. Sarason [1982] concludes that one cannot truly understand school problems without understanding school culture. A school culture whose fabric is one of isolationism, uncertainty, and individualism is a "stuck" school, and opposed to change [Rosenholtz, 1989].
Fullan and Hargreaves [1991] describe educational conservatism as a product of a school culture that features these three characteristics.

Collaborative cultures offer a sharp contrast to the isolating cultures that impede the change process. Rosenholtz [1989] describes the "moving" school as one that features collaborative working relationships. Fullan and Hargreaves [1991] portray a collaborative culture as valuing people as individuals and the groups to which they belong.

In "moving" schools, the focus is on student learning where students' interests as learners are central to the school operation [Joyce, Wolf, and Calhoun, 1993]. Team building is a key element as a nucleus of people commit to taking risks inside and outside their classrooms [Maeroff, 1993].

Many organizational settings contain multiple cultures and are a product of a combination of forces that shape the basic principles upon which the organization rests. These principles teach members the correct way to act and think in relation to their environments.

Cultural viewpoints form over time. Divergent viewpoints arise in accordance with the perceived power of the individual and the group. Culture is about power. The weak and the powerful hold different beliefs and values in the organization and act accordingly. The powerful attempt to influence the weak and define the rules of the game.
Resistance may take the form of subversive activity in the struggle between the formal authority and the informal and unsanctioned body in the organization. In this milieu, collaboration is a foreign concept.

To truly understand culture is to be in awe of the many elements that shape its essence and formulate its power to move schools forward or keep them in a state of dormancy, seemingly impervious to the demands of the outside world.
CHAPTER 4

THE BOARD'S VISION OF INCLUSION

4.1. Introduction

At the time of the study, what was the position of the school board towards the integration of students with special needs? [Research sub-question 1]

The answer to this question lay in an analysis of the critical events that happened from 1967 to the inception of the Learning Centre Program Model in 1988. The analysis elucidated for the researcher the manner in which the integration movement had gained momentum in the province of Nova Scotia. Also, a description of events that have influenced the integration tide to the time of the study crystallized the school board’s current stance towards the integration of students with special needs.

The chapter commences with a discussion of the principles of the Learning Centre Program Model and the accompanying integration rhetoric as it was introduced eleven years ago.

4.2. The Learning Centre Program Model

In April, 1988, the school board articulated a vision of inclusion for students with disabilities. The vision was represented in the form of a model referred to as the "Model for the Learning Centre Program" and described the manner in which students with disabilities would be accommodated in
the "regular" classroom. This presented a departure from the concept of meeting their needs in a special education classroom and their virtual exclusion from the mainstream population of students and teachers.

The philosophy of inclusion for students with disabilities was based on the principle of least restrictive environment. All students would be taught in the regular classroom setting. From time to time, students with mild to moderate disabilities would be provided with individual assistance outside the confines of the classroom depending on the nature of the need and the individual characteristics of the learner.

Program emphasis focused on the development of knowledge, attitudes, and skills in all students to enable them to lead independent and meaningful lives. It was felt that one program could be adapted to meet all needs since the goals for educational programming would basically be the same for all students.

Program and service organization saw school activities coordinated in a manner to enable all students to participate in learning experiences tailored to their individual interests and needs. School teams were to be assembled to enhance these learning opportunities with the understanding that parents would be considered full and equal partners in the process. The parents were to be fully informed and involved in all matters pertaining to their
child's individualized program needs.

The model listed desired outcomes to be achieved by students with disabilities. It envisioned the school helping them to develop functional interdependence in the school setting and preparing them for life in society. The model pictured the school promoting and enhancing appropriate social and communication skills in those who were presented with particular challenges. Students with disabilities would develop a sense of self-worth and a concern for others and they would demonstrate those skills in their daily activities in the school setting.

The model described student activities that would permit students with disabilities to become more complete as individuals. Teaching strategies were based on the premise that classroom teachers would assume responsibility for the progress of all students in their classrooms. This would be accomplished in a collaborative and student-centred milieu. Teaching strategies would be planned with the knowledge that students vary from one another in terms of age and readiness to learn specified objectives in different curriculum areas.

The model envisioned evaluation as taking many forms and accounting for all aspects of the child's growth and development. Evaluation would not only include marks based on rate or quantity of knowledge acquired by the learner but would have a more holistic quality. Evaluation would include teacher observations, anecdotal recordings, samples of
student work over extended periods of time, formal assessments, and an ongoing review of the learner's individualized program plan.

The model contended that most of the resources available at the classroom and school level could be sufficiently adapted to meet the needs of students with disabilities and enable them to participate to the maximum extent in the school setting. The school board would assume responsibility for providing specialized materials that could not be found at the school site.

The model presented a unified approach to meeting the unique needs of all learners. Resources and services would be pooled and based on the capabilities and interests of each student. A profile in the form of an individualized program plan would be devised for students who required major adaptations to their program in order to experience success. School teams would be created around the needs of the child and the parents would be treated as equal partners in the process. The model was a genuine attempt by the school board to merge special and regular education services and to eliminate special classes and the practice of categorizing students according to need. It presented a major paradigmatic shift in the way that services were to be delivered in schools in the district.

A series of workshops and inservices ensued in schools throughout the district. School staffs were introduced to
the new service delivery model and the former special education teachers were instructed to serve in consultative roles and assist the classroom teachers with program adaptation.

Guest speakers, some of whom had significant disabilities, provided keynote addresses to school staffs and expounded the virtues of a unified system that would witness students with disabilities being taught alongside their non-disabled peers. The message was clear and the messengers were unwavering in their commitment to eliminate labels and segregated classes in the school district. The concerted voices of the chief education officer and his district staff added to the integration momentum.

4.3. Events Leading to the Model's Inception

A number of critical markers in Nova Scotia eventually led to the local school district’s articulation and promotion of the Learning Centre Program Model and a shift away from the placement of students with special needs into special education classes. In 1967, the provincial Education Act was amended to state that children over the age of five and under the age of twenty-one had the right to attend school in the school section in which they resided. This was a significant step in recognizing the right of students with disabilities to a public education in their home schools [Little and Webber, 1991].
In 1969, the Atlantic Institute of Education Act was passed by the provincial legislature granting the Atlantic Institute the power to develop a special education teacher preparation program at both the undergraduate and graduate level. The program would then be handed to other post-secondary institutions for implementation and serve as a model for the rest of Canada [Little and Webber, 1991].

In 1970, the Commission on Emotional and Learning Disorders in Children was established to report on the needs of children throughout the nation. The Commission stated that 12% of the school population had exceptional needs that were not being met. The impact of these findings on school boards across the country was significant and led to a report in 1971 by the Canadian Committee of the Council for Exceptional Children setting forth 150 recommendations and hence establishing standards for the education of children with special needs in Canada [Little and Webber, 1991].

In 1973, Regulation 7 [c] was added to the province's Education Act and ensured that children with physical and/or mental disabilities would be offered instruction. It was the first of its kind in Canada and demonstrated to the nation the province's commitment to educating children with special needs and challenges [The Report of the Coalition for Equal Access to Education, 1993].

In 1974, the Kendall Report was tabled and persons who
were twenty-one years of age or younger and fell into the severe to profound range of disability were now eligible for services in Nova Scotia. The Kendall Report led to the formation of the Atlantic Provinces Special Education Authority. This body provided governments in the Atlantic provinces with accurate information about the needs of persons with disabilities. The Atlantic Provinces Special Education Authority also provided direct services in the form of itinerant teachers to students with special needs [The Kendall Report, APSEA, 1987].

In 1975, the Education for All Handicapped Act [Public Law 94-142] was passed in the United States Congress and was a primary force in promoting the integration of students with disabilities into the regular classroom, wherever possible [Ysseldyke and Algogwine, 1984]. The bill would have considerable influence as the number of segregated educational or custodial settings began to drop significantly. An increase was also noted in the number of children with moderate to severe disabilities who were being integrated for at least part of the day in regular classrooms. PL 94-142 forced educators to reassess teaching methodology and pedagogy [Wang, Reynolds, and Walberg, 1989; Meyen and Skrtic, 1988; Ysseldyke and Algozzine, 1984]. Categories of exceptionalities and their usefulness were open to dispute [Little and Webber, 1991].

In 1977, Regulation 36 [c], Section 1 of the Nova
Scotia Education Act was revised to allow school boards to recover the costs of conveyance personnel, lunch and playground monitors, and paraprofessionals assigned to students with disabilities. Costs could be recovered from the provincial Department of Education in the form of a grant to school boards from the Minister of Education [Education Nova Scotia, November, 1977].

In 1981, the Walker Commission Report recommended that a funding mechanism be designated on a per pupil basis for special education programs [The Report of the Coalition for Equal Access to Education, June, 1993]. The funding formula was to be reviewed on an annual basis and adjusted according to need. The Walker Commission Report emoted a flurry of activity in the district and throughout the province as schools were asked to categorize students on the basis of types of disability. The statistics for each school district were then forwarded to the Special Education section of the Nova Scotia Department of Education. The statistics provided the primary consideration for special education funding and each school board was given the responsibility to disperse the funds at their discretion.

In 1982, Section 2 of the Education Act was amended in order to enable students with diagnosed learning disabilities to attend Landmark East, a residential school in the province that featured low student-teacher ratios, specially trained teachers, and programs tailored to meet
the needs of children who demonstrated average to above average intelligence on their intelligence quotient scores but who were performing several years below grade level in their school work. Under Section 2, expenses were covered for those students accepted into the program at Landmark East [Little and Webber, 1991].

In 1982, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was proclaimed. The Charter guaranteed the right to education without exception and provided the general list of the rights and freedoms under the law. Provisions of equality and the right to education for all opened the door to court battles across the nation. Nova Scotia was not immune to the battles.

In 1984, school boards in the province of Nova Scotia were required under an amendment of Regulation 13 [1] of the provincial Education Act to provide transportation for students whose disabilities prevented them from walking to school. The amendment was considered an important step in the removal of accessibility barriers for students with disabilities [The Report of the Coalition for Equal Access to Education, June, 1993].

In 1987, the local school board was taken to court by the parents of a developmentally delayed child who argued that their son had the right to an education with age appropriate peers in a regular classroom in his home school. The Board contended that the child's needs could be better
met in a neighboring school where special supports were readily available. The child's parents argued that this was a violation of their son's right to equal benefit of the law and to freedom of association with his peers [The Report of the Coalition for Equal Access to Education, 1993]. A settlement was reached that saw the child integrated into his home school and into a regular classroom with age appropriate peers. It also signalled the disbanding of special classes throughout the district.

A chronological approach to historical events from 1967 to the inception of the Learning Centre Program Model in 1988 elucidated for the reader the evolution of the integration movement in the school district. Legislated rights clearly demarcated the critical events and shaped the context of the model. An overview of the history of special education in the province and in the district from the model's inception to the present sheds further light on the integration movement and an awareness of the needs of students with disabilities.

4.4. Events to the Present

The Learning Centre Program Model offered guidelines for the integration of students with disabilities at both the elementary and secondary school level although the secondary schools were slower in their implementation efforts [The Report of the Task Force on Integration
Implementation, 1990]. In 1988, the Learning Disabilities Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Education was created. Its mandate was to examine issues related to learning disabilities and achieve the appropriate educational programming for students diagnosed as having a learning disability. Its establishment was considered a major step in recognizing the needs of those with special needs.

In 1989, the Haines Report of the Advisory Committee on the Public School Program was released by the Minister of Education in the province of Nova Scotia and recommended that all school boards meet the range of individual student needs in the school setting. The report also recommended that the high school experience should more closely resemble the elementary one with respect to flexible and individualized approaches to teaching [Little and Webber, 1991]. In essence, the Haines Report called for an increase in sensitivity for students with special needs who were beginning to arrive at the doors of secondary schools.

In 1990, the Report of the Task Force on Integration Implementation was released by the Nova Scotia Teachers Union. Data had been collected in forty-eight schools in fifteen districts throughout the province and included interviews and written submissions from over one thousand teachers in the province. The report described "islands of success" but painted a gloomy picture in much of the
province. Inconsistent leadership, inadequate funding, poorly trained teachers, and lack of a clear definition of integration were cited as the primary inhibitors to successful integration. The list of recommendations that arose from the report of the task force directly addressed those areas of concern and provided a common direction for all schools in Nova Scotia. Four months after the release of the report, the Community Services Minister in the province of Nova Scotia announced the closure of four training centres for children with cognitive challenges. Their closures meant the return of students with significant needs to their home communities and schools, thus raising the anxiety levels of all concerned [Little and Webber, 1991].

On January 23rd, 1991, an Advisory Committee to the Department of Education offered a vision of the Nova Scotia High School. In actual fact, the vision was a declaration of the Department’s stance on integration at the secondary school level.

The Advisory Committee’s vision of the Nova Scotia High School is one that should provide enhanced learning opportunities through a student-centred environment. It should provide equal access to high quality programming and should respond to the needs of all students. It should ensure that learners are actively engaged in a curriculum which balances how to learn and what to learn. Finally, it must offer the flexibility to provide purposeful heterogeneous grouping for all students, as well as opportunities to pursue special interests and develop aptitudes in homogeneous or individual

On October 25th, 1991, Nova Scotia's new Human Rights Act declared that discrimination against any person with learning disabilities was illegal. The Act specifically pointed to access to service or facilities, employment, volunteer public service, and membership of a professional association of business or trade association, and in employer and employee organizations [Report of the Learning Disabilities Association of Nova Scotia, February, 1992].

In October, 1991, a report on the status of integration was released by the same school district that created the Learning Centre Program Model. A review was conducted internally by the board and involved school staffs, students, and parents. The report revealed contrasting snapshots of integration efforts at the elementary and secondary school levels. When asked if there were opportunities for parents, guardians, and other community members to become involved in school activities, the respondents mostly indicated "yes" at the elementary level and "less so" at the secondary level. Likewise, when queried about the adequacy of student progress information received from the school, parents/guardians of elementary school children expressed satisfaction, and those with secondary school-aged children were generally dissatisfied. The majority of senior high parents and school staffs were
not aware of school goals and objectives. Awareness at the elementary level for parents/guardians and school staffs was considerably higher.

The Report of the System Internal Review Committee noted that programs, services, and learning strategies at the secondary school level were basically "traditional" in nature. The report concluded that the schools were technologically deficient and ill-equipped to prepare their students for the information age and a global society. It also advocated changes in the system to generate basic literacy education, general workplace skills training, scientific and engineering specializations, entrepreneurial skills, and supervisory and management skills. The Board's lack of financial support was cited as a great barrier to program change and the provision of essential services such as libraries and resources in the secondary schools.

The Report of the System Internal Review Committee took special aim at the primary mission of the secondary school to prepare students for university entrance with little attention devoted to the student who is not university bound. It was recommended that the needs of all students must be met by a closer integration between the school world and the world of work. The Report of the System Internal Review Committee drew attention to the drop-out rate in the school district as an indicator that their secondary students were finding insufficient reasons to
persist in a learning environment where the high school diploma was evidence of tenure rather than an indicator of the quality of school experience.

Finally, the report criticized alternative and specialized programs as proof of the increasing failure of the school system to educate a diverse student population. The Intermediate Industrial Educational Program and other alternative programs were described as a marginalized approach to a student population who have been failed by the mainstream system.

In essence, the Report of the System Internal Review Committee was a critique of the secondary schools and their failure to provide a meaningful and relevant education to their students. Needless to say, the results of the report sent shock waves throughout the entire district.

On November 26th, 1991, the Nova Scotia Department of Education released a statement on integration and the necessary supports to make it work. The statement called for profound changes in thinking for school boards and their associated schools and echoed the sentiments of the Learning Centre Program Model and the Report of the System Internal Review Committee.

The basic goals of general education are appropriate for all students. As stated in the Public Schools Programs document, most students who require special education services can have their needs met in the regular classroom...The issue no longer is whether most students with exceptional
needs should or should not be integrated, but what support is needed for integration to be successful [P&R Statement on Integration, November 26, 1991].

In 1992, the Nova Scotia Department of Education announced that it would join eight other provinces and the two territories to include giftedness as a category of exceptionality. Special education funding would now be extended to this group of exceptional students.

In October, 1992, the Department of Education established a Special Services Division as part of its program branch. The Division was responsible for planning and coordinating special education programs for the public school system. School boards in the province of Nova Scotia would be responsible for providing programs and services necessary to meet the needs of all students within their respective school districts and encourage their growth and development in all aspects of learning.

In February, 1993, a discussion paper was released by the Superintendent of Program in the school district of this study. "Organizing for Instruction" was a response to a decision by the Department of Education to move the course nomenclature at the secondary level from an academic orientation to one that was more generic in nature. Certain courses were referenced simply by the subject and the grade level, e.g., English 10.

The discussion paper emphasized the role of the
principal in restructuring the school in a manner that would meet the needs of all learners. Transformational leadership was hailed as the leadership style most likely to successfully carry an organization into the 21st century. Transformational leaders were facilitators who utilized their entire repertoire of resources to move organizations toward a shared vision. In essence, the discussion paper was a call for a fundamental shift in leadership style, from principal as manager to principal as transformational leader.

In June, 1993, the Coalition for Equal Access to Education created a recommendations and background paper entitled "Legislative and Policy Provisions Enabling Equal Access to Education for all Nova Scotia Children and Youth". The Coalition consisted of representatives from advocacy groups that were growing in strength and numbers in the province of Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Association for Community Living, Association for Bright Children of Nova Scotia, Atlantic Centre of Support for Disabled Students, Integration Action Group, Learning Disabilities Association of Nova Scotia, Disabled Persons Commission, Council of Administrators of Special Education, and the Council for Exceptional Children, Nova Scotia Federation. The mandate of the Coalition was to influence government and other decision makers in areas pertaining to access to education for all students.
The Coalition presented a paper to the Department of Education and listed recommendations pertaining to legislation, standards, funding, and professional development. The recommendations focused on several areas: programming based on individual needs rather than categorical labels; parents/guardians to be fully involved in any decisions pertaining to the education of their children; legislation and policy to reflect a sensitivity to the educational rights of persons with exceptionalities; and funds allocated to the professional development of classroom teachers, principals, and district staff in addressing knowledge and attitudinal issues relevant to the education of persons with special needs. The rhetoric became wholly congealed around these areas of concern and formed the platform for advocacy groups throughout the province.

In 1993, the Nova Scotia Department of Education also produced a report on learning disabilities. The report outlined the changing perspectives regarding special education service delivery and the need to provide more intensive support for students with severe learning disabilities. The recommendations ranged from developing policies regarding the administration of standardized tests by qualified personnel to the establishment of school based teams and the creation of individual program plans for students requiring significant modifications to their
programs. The report also recommended that the Department of Education develop a manual that would provide guidelines and policies to school districts in the province with respect to meeting the needs of students with exceptionalities [Report on Learning Disabilities, Nova Scotia Department of Education, 1993].

By the year 1993, site planning at the school level was gaining in momentum. Schools were being informed by their boards that forces were affecting public education in a dramatic way and change was inevitable. The aging population, the diversification of the family unit, the transition from a nation with minorities to a nation of minorities, and the end of the industrial age and the subsequent dawn of the information age necessitated a change in the way we do things in our schools [Glickman, 1993]. The school district that was the home of the Learning Centre Program Model embarked on a mission of training staff to assist schools in creating site plans. The site plans were developed within the framework of the district strategic plan and involved various stakeholders, including parents, in the planning process. The process entailed the creation of the school’s mission, analysing the strengths and weaknesses of the organization and potential barriers to realizing the mission, and developing action plans. The process was labor intensive and generally took six months before the final plan was ready for board approval. The
The intent of the site planning activity was to steer schools in the district in a common direction and involve all stakeholders in the process. The site plan was indicative of a shift in the balance of power and decision making capacity from the board to the school level. Schools would now take more ownership for attainment and deployment of resources. The site plan was a blueprint for the school's future.

In June, 1994, the Department of Education released a discussion paper entitled "Restructuring Nova Scotia's Education System: Preparing All Students for a Lifetime of Learning". The paper proposed a restructuring and merging of school boards to ensure financial security and quality programs to all students in the province of Nova Scotia. With the erosion of transitional funding to school boards from the Department of Education, it was argued that the amalgamation of existing school districts was the key to ensuring efficient services to all students, wherever they attend school. The discussion paper emphasized the importance of partnering as a second key to ensuring a quality education for all students. Parents were to be treated as equal partners.

The school council was introduced as a way to create effective schools and perpetuate the partnering concept. Parents, teachers, staff, and students at the junior and senior high school level, along with community representatives, would comprise the council and function as
an advisory board on such issues as policy development, funding, and hiring. In the absence of a site plan, it would also have the responsibility of developing a school improvement plan. School councils began to emerge throughout the province within a year of the release of the discussion paper on restructuring the educational system.

The school district of this study presented a report in 1994 entitled "Strategy 3.7". The strategy offered a vision for leadership, roles, and relationships in moving away from a top-down, district-driven curriculum change process.

In the self-renewing organization, educators in all positions in the system create a better learning environment for themselves and students by studying education and how to improve it. The resulting initiatives for educational improvement propel the students into more active states of learning; and the greater activity of the students, in turn, stimulates the educators to engage in more study and create even more vigorous learning environments. An enriching spiral is generated [Joyce, Wolff, and Calhoun, 1993, p.3].

In the name of the self-renewing organization, supervisory staff were now asked to serve in facilitator roles rather than in decision making ones. The supervisor-turned-facilitator would assist schools in developing processes to set priorities and realize goals.

Several issues arose in the school district of this study as a result of the restructuring initiatives. The issues were generated from the uncertainty that ensued from
a change process that presented more questions than answers. The lessening of the supervisory presence and an expanding range of responsibilities at the school level threw the district in relative chaos. Unclear or unfamiliar roles resulted in confusion as to where the buck actually stopped. Parents found themselves volleyed back and forth among various parties in cases of unresolved disputes. The issue was exacerbated by the Board’s inability to respond to increasing demands with fewer personnel and resources at its disposal. The restructuring initiative was marred by poor communication between the district and the Department of Education and Culture.

The restructuring movement also placed limitations on traditional forms of accountability. The School Board was placed in an awkward position of being both facilitator and evaluator. Schools generally felt on their own as they attempted to decipher their own effectiveness.

The issue of accountability accelerated with the publishing of the Nova Scotia Achievement Test scores for all schools in the province. In the fall of 1994, much discussion ensued in many circles as the local newspaper ranked schools in accordance to their NSAT results. For the first time, secondary schools could compare their scores and either celebrate or lament the results. The published report afforded scant shelter from the critics for a number of schools in the province and in the district of this study.
In October, 1994, the Department of Education and Culture distributed the discussion paper and response guide "Atlantic Canada Graduation Outcomes" to all schools in the province of Nova Scotia. The discussion paper was a collaborative effort of the four Atlantic provinces and attempted to describe what students were expected to demonstrate when they graduate from high school. A list of statements called "graduation outcomes" was created to provide guidelines of what schools were expected to accomplish in educating children. The suggested graduation outcomes for Atlantic Canada fell under seven headings: aesthetic expression, citizenship, communication, global awareness, lifelong learning and personal development, problem solving, and technological empowerment. Under aesthetic expression, students would be able to use various art forms to express themselves and develop an awareness of the contribution of the arts to cultural identity, the economy, and to daily life. Students would demonstrate citizenship by reflecting critically on ethical issues, recognizing forms of discrimination under human rights legislation, and showing an ability to plan for the future by reflecting on present and past trends. Communication skills would be demonstrated through the acquisition of the nation's second official language and the student's ability to effectively use language. The effective use of language would pertain to listening, viewing, speaking, reading and
writing, as well as expressing and demonstrating an understanding of mathematical and scientific concepts and symbols. Students would demonstrate global awareness through an understanding of Canada’s political, social, and economic systems in a global context. An understanding of sustainable development and the significance of the global economy on economic renewal and the development of society would also be captured under the heading of global awareness. Students would demonstrate lifelong learning and personal development by being able to work independently and in groups, and by making appropriate decisions and taking responsibility for those decisions. Lifelong learning and personal development also meant that students would demonstrate intellectual curiosity and an entrepreneurial spirit and initiative as well as adapt to the changing world of work and discriminate among a variety of career opportunities. In the area of problem-solving, students would ultimately develop the capacity to solve problems creatively, interpret information, and distinguish fact from fiction. Technological empowerment for students would be assessed in their ability to use a variety of technologies and demonstrate an understanding of the impact of technology on society.

The graduation outcomes was the Department of Education’s response to clarifying the expectations of the education system and placing the onus of accountability
squarely on the shoulders of its schools. The inherent
danger of the graduation outcomes and the accountability
thrust was the knowledge that students with specific
challenges would never be able to aspire to such lofty
heights. Would the graduation outcomes merely serve to drive
a wedge between "special" and "regular" education? The jury
is still out on that debate. What is certain is the manner
in which the graduation outcomes have become the foundation
for current curricular initiatives in the province.

In November, 1995, Bill 39, an Act Respecting
Education was introduced in the legislature for first
reading. The legislation accentuated the importance of
partnerships and the rights and responsibilities of parents
to work with teachers and all partners to support students.
The passing of Bill 39 gave the Nova Scotia government
permission to reduce the number of school boards from
twenty-two to seven. The bill defined the new roles and
responsibilities for those connected with schools and
attempted to clarify overlapping powers of school boards and
the Department of Education and Culture. Local decisions
would now be left to the school advisory councils. Bill 39
redistributed power to the school level. The critics of the
Act suggested that now it would be easier to download
problems onto local communities that lack the money to solve
them, creating further pockets of inequity throughout school
districts. It was also argued that the proposed amalgamated
boards would be too large and cumbersome and quality of education would be seriously compromised in the process.

Advocacy groups for the rights of children with special needs showed their disapproval for Bill 39 by declaring that the Education Act was discriminatory in nature [The Chronicle Herald, A5, November 18, 1995]. The Nova Scotia Association for Community Living, the Integration Action Group, and the Family Support Network of Nova Scotia stated that Bill 39 gave too much power to school boards, did not recognize the need for support staff to assist children with special needs, and undermined the inclusion of children in regular classrooms. The advocacy groups protested the inclusion of a section of the Act that allowed school boards to decide if children with special needs would be taught in regular classrooms.

A school board shall, in accordance with this Act and the regulations, consistent with the Minister's policies and guidelines, develop and provide educational programs within regular classroom settings with their peers in age for students with special needs unless the school board determines that the educational needs of the students are best met in other settings [Bill No. 39, 64 [2d], November 3, 1995].

This was seen by the critics of the Act as an arbitrary power being handed to a school board that would make decisions on the basis of a child's special needs, although those needs were not defined. The advocacy groups felt that Section 64 [2d] left too much to chance and considered it a
violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

In 1996, the number of school boards was reduced from twenty-two to six regional school boards plus one Conseil Scolaire Acadien Provincial. The resulting six English boards had enrolments ranging from 12,000 to 57,000 students. It was projected that the new realignment and amalgamation of school boards would result in significant administrative cost savings and more effective regional management of student transportation and utilization of facilities [Education Horizons, 1995]. The school district that is the focus of this study amalgamated with its two urban neighbours and formed the largest board in the province.

The year 1996 also witnessed the presentation of Nova Scotia's first Special Education Policy Manual. The manual referred to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the basic right of all students to full and equal participation in education; a right to an appropriate education where all individuals have their unique learning needs met on an individual basis; and a right to be taught by licensed, qualified teachers. Support services were to be designed to meet the diverse educational needs of students and coordinated within the neighbourhood school and within grade level/subject area classrooms. The classroom teachers were to assume responsibility for all students placed in their care. The safety and well-being of the students, and
the planning, implementation, and evaluation of program were included in the responsibilities of the classroom teacher. Once again, parents would be full and equal partners in the process.

4.5. Summary

The Learning Centre Program Model provided a map for one school district in the province of Nova Scotia in its quest to offer all students an appropriate educational program and/or service necessary to assist them in attaining their potential as contributing members of society. Schools would assume more responsibility for children with special needs and the classroom teacher would be the primary program and service provider. Students with disabilities would be educated with their age-appropriate peers in the least restrictive environment in the regular classroom. Goal-oriented plans would be developed for students with special needs, the parents acting as full/equal partners in the process. The Learning Centre Program Model offered a vision to provide all children with the opportunity to grow up and go to school with age-appropriate peers in their community. It indicated the need for a variety of services for all students. In some cases, extensive program modifications in addition to other services would be required according to the individual needs of the child.

The Learning Centre Program Model was the product of a
series of critical events that occurred from 1967 to its inception in 1988. Educational integration was happening on many fronts and, from the perspective of historical particularism, the creation of the Learning Centre Program Model was predictable. An analysis of the evolution of events since 1988 elucidated for the researcher the fact that the integration rhetoric of the model has not changed to this present day. What has changed is a shift in the traditional power base. No longer would school boards hold total decision making authority. That authority had clearly transcended to the school level. No longer would it be the board's sole responsibility to provide the resources and the expertise to make integration work. Schools were now expected to share in that responsibility and discover their own means and create their own ends through site plans.

In essence, the shift in the traditional power base had exposed schools to increasing demands from parents and advocacy groups who had also been empowered. A succession of legislative decrees stating that children with special needs had the right, to the maximum extent possible, to be educated with their age-appropriate peers in the regular classroom within their home communities had placed more responsibility at the door of the local schools. The closure of training centres for persons with disabilities compounded the issue.

The researcher will now proceed to examine the manner
in which two secondary schools in the school district of this study have fared in meeting the needs of their special needs learners and how school culture has impacted on those efforts.
CHAPTER 5

ACCOMMODATING STUDENTS AT VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH

5.1. Introduction

How were the needs of students with disabilities met at Valley Heights High? [Research sub-question 2]

Valley Heights High stands atop a hill overlooking lush farmlands connected by a river that winds its way to the Atlantic Ocean, fifty kilometers away. Valley Heights High was the first rural high school to be built in the district and would serve as a prototype for rural high schools throughout the province. Four hundred students in grades seven to twelve attend the school and are Anglo-Saxon in ethnicity. There have been few non Anglo-Saxon people to settle in Valley Heights.

Valley Heights was originally settled in 1692 by Europeans and later by people from Northern Ireland and New England. The early settlers were farmers and farming continues to be the primary industry. Work related activity in the mines and in the forests round out many of the job options for the residents although entrepreneurial pursuits of various descriptions are on the increase in Valley Heights.

Prior to 1988, students with special needs at Valley Heights High were segregated into special education classrooms and taught by special education teachers. They
were integrated with the mainstream students for some courses such as Art, Music, and Physical Education. However, for the majority of classes, students with disabilities were isolated from the rest of the student population. This arrangement led to undesirable consequences according to one teacher at Valley Heights High.

Students that were in the Special Class, the Occupational Education or the Adjusted Class, were called names all the time. But the only time they were separated was in the school. When they were outside, they played with one another and would be with one another. It didn't seem appropriate that we would separate them [Staff member 1, 1995].

In the spring of 1988, the principal introduced the Learning Centre Program Model to his staff and a "chicken-and-egg" debate ensued on whether course coverage should take priority over the child's specific needs or vice versa. He arranged for his staff to be inserviced in the area of program adaptation. Teachers were asked to examine their teaching methodologies and the degree to which they were congruent with the model. The challenge was presented to the staff of Valley Heights High to embrace a philosophy that would see the teaching of students with special needs in the least restrictive environment. The special education classes were disbanded in favor of all students receiving daily instruction in the regular classrooms and being withdrawn for assistance as required. The concept of school teams, individualized educational programs, and cooperative
learning techniques was explored in workshop sessions with the guidance of those who had expertise in the field.

The principal selected teachers on the basis of their receptivity to the integration concept. The "chosen ones" would teach those students who were identified as having special needs and would inservice colleagues in the process. The impact was noteworthy for several staff members.

It really did cause me to change the teaching methods I had before. I think I became much more creative. When I created opportunities for kids with special needs, it gave other kids opportunities because they had special needs too. When I created something new, it helped other kids [Staff member 2, 1995].

In 1988, I was teaching grade seven at Valley Heights High School. We followed through what was happening at the elementary schools to be on board with inclusion. We called it integration. Prior to that, I had very little experience with students who may have been different either physically or mentally. I thought that the way it was presented by the principal and the subsystem staff convinced me that all students deserve and have the right to be with one another and it just wasn't the social aspect [Staff member 1, 1995].

Much water has passed under the bridge of time since these comments were made. A series of visits to Valley Heights High during the 1994-95 school year enlightened the researcher on the extent to which integration as described in the Learning Centre Program Model was being realized. Through extensive interviews and observations, a picture unfolded that described the manner in which students with
disabilities were being accommodated in the mainstream of school life.

5.2. Accommodating Students with Special Needs

In the 1994-95 school year, students with disabilities at Valley Heights High were accommodated either through in-class support or in a room referred to as the Learning Centre. The Learning Centre students normally experienced learning difficulties and were identified through psychological testing and related documentation from agencies that worked with the child. The Learning Centre student typically had poor organizational skills and unsatisfactory work habits. Invariably, the Learning Centre student did not meet course expectations and had failing grades.

The procedure for attaining Learning Centre support at Valley Heights High meant that the classroom teacher would make a verbal referral to the Learning Centre teacher. The Learning Centre teacher would then attend the classroom, observe the student, and study the reports in the student's cumulative record file stored at the school. In cases where further investigation was warranted, the specialist staff would administer additional tests. The assessments were either formal or informal in nature and covered the areas of reading, writing, and mathematics.

Valley Heights High lacked a formal mechanism for the
transmission of test results and other information from teacher to teacher. Depending on the nature of the student’s difficulties, the classroom teachers might be called to a meeting to share information. Generally, the Learning Centre teacher would inform teachers on an individual basis. On occasion, team meetings would be held at the discretion of the Learning Centre teacher and she would disseminate information to staff. Teachers also networked informally among themselves.

From the meetings would emerge an individualized educational program plan for the student. The plan would state both long-term and short-term goals and objectives. Program adaptations, specific teaching strategies, student demographics, pertinent medical history, and student strengths and needs were noted. The Learning Centre teacher was responsible for putting the plan into final draft form and distributing it to staff.

The Learning Centre teacher at Valley Heights High kept student records and monitored the progress of students on individualized educational programs. She was largely responsible for the adaptation of materials for students with special needs and would provide these materials to the classroom teachers. She offered direct instruction to the children in the regular classroom and in the Learning Centre when time permitted. She also served as a link between the home and the school. It was the Learning Centre teacher who
had the most contact with parents of the students with disabilities.

The Learning Centre teacher worked diligently to promote the integration of students into the mainstream of school life at Valley Heights High but felt frustration in her accomplishments, or lack thereof.

I don't think we are close to inclusion at this school. I realize teachers get busy and it's difficult to plan every night. I just wanted the teachers to know that these students had special needs. And although there have been times when we achieved it, it never really maintained itself.

There was a pervasive feeling on staff that the special needs kids were to be looked after by the Learning Centre teacher. There were a couple of teachers that went the inclusion route, but overall, there wasn't a 'These are my students; they're in my room. This is what I'll do, and if I can't do it, I'll ask for your support' [Learning Center teacher, 1995].

The Learning Centre teacher identified several barriers to integration at Valley Heights High. The first obstacle was the location of the Learning Centre at the end of one wing of the school. She believed that its relative distance from other classrooms in the building sent a message to the staff of "out of sight, out of mind".

The Learning Centre teacher believed that teacher motivation was a second barrier to integration of students with special needs.

There was teacher burn-out overall. They had done their time and you just can't maintain that for as many years as they
have. I think there is some complacency also [Learning Center teacher, 1995].

She was concerned that signs of teacher burn-out were being seen in the lack of desire of staff to make adaptations to program based on the needs of the child and feared that her role had become one of trying to fill gaps in student learning.

Insufficient time for planning was cited as another barrier to meeting the needs of students at Valley Heights High. The Learning Centre teacher was frustrated in her attempts to meet at the convenience of the classroom teachers during the day due to the fact that meetings held at the day’s end were poorly attended by staff. She felt a resentment from colleagues whenever it was necessary for her to schedule meetings at the end of the day.

Overall, I feel teachers view Learning Centre and Resource staff as an extra stress in their day. Frequently, we are avoided, and seem to be viewed as the teachers who present more work for regular classroom teachers to do. I also believe that we are seen as supervisors of integration and the ones who are to blame for it. I fear that our role is not valued by many staff members [Learning Center teacher, 1995].

She also believed that the "trust" factor by the staff for anything new or different presented a major obstacle at Valley Heights High.

The length of time a lot of teachers had spent in the building and the number of different administrators who had gone through the building had led to a feeling of distrust. They had seen fads come and
They had seen different administrators who wanted to promote things... My feeling is that the school never really had a goal to work towards [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

The Learning Centre teacher felt that a lack of community involvement in the school impacted negatively on the Learning Centre Program. She believed that the concept of parents as equal partners was undermined in an environment where the relationship between the home and the school was strained. The Learning Centre teacher feared that the quality of the individualized educational program was compromised in the process.

Finally, the Learning Centre teacher cited inaccessibility to resources as a barrier to meeting the needs of special needs students at Valley Heights High. Some materials had been acquired from the Atlantic Provinces’ Special Education Authority in the form of a brailler, a computer, tapes of novels, and an itinerant teacher assigned to a student with a visual impairment. An electronic wheelchair was provided by the Isaac Walton Killam Children’s Hospital in Halifax to assist with the mobility of a student with a physical disability. Despite the acquisition of these resources, the Learning Centre teacher expressed frustration in her failure to tap other resources closer to the city. She also stated her inability to access the services of district school psychologists and speech and language pathologists.
5.3. A Day in the School Life of a Student with Disabilities

Eight students who were identified as having special needs were observed in various learning situations at Valley Heights High. The students' needs were multitudinous and of a nature that warranted significant adaptations to program. Individualized educational programs were created for each student and provided an observation guide for the researcher as he entered the classroom and spent a day in their school lives. The observations were recorded and the results further elucidated the status of integration at the school.

John

John was fourteen years old and in grade eight when the researcher recorded a day in his life at Valley Heights High. Psychological testing indicated that John had global delays in all areas of his learning. John experienced difficulty in his fine motor coordination. His speech and language development was significantly below the norm for persons his age. John also had trouble attending to school tasks.

John had received speech therapy during his education in elementary school but the therapy stopped when he entered Valley Heights High. This was typical in a school district where speech and language support was provided primarily in the early grades.
John was mainstreamed into all classes except for French. He was removed from the French program and went to the Learning Centre four times in a six day cycle. The Learning Centre teacher assisted John in organizing his notebooks and project work. She generally used this time to also help him with homework assignments.

On this particular day, the Learning Centre teacher was brainstorming the topic of coyotes with John. John was able to recognize several words that had arisen in the last session of his Learning Centre time, but needed prompting on many of the words. He then proceeded to cut pictures of animals that a coyote would eat, and pasted the pictures on a sheet. John successfully printed "cat" and "dog" and expressed his satisfaction of this accomplishment.

In Math class, the Mathematics teacher introduced the concepts of radius, diameter, and circumference to the whole class. John remained silent as the students solved a problem with the formula, radius \( \times 2 = \) diameter. The teacher showed a student's project to the members of the class and the children were to submit their own projects demonstrating the concepts learned in class.

Worksheets with exercises on radius, diameter, and circumference were distributed to the students. The Math teacher had modified the exercise for John and assisted him on a one-to-one basis. She could be heard saying, "Don't give up, John, until you get it right" as the student
struggled with his assignment.

In Science class, the students were instructed to turn to page 429 of the textbook and to answer questions under the heading "Darwin's Finches". The students were being taught Darwin's theory of natural selection and how the structure of the bird's beak evolved in accordance to its diet. The students were asked to speculate on the appearance of the original flock of finches as they reached the Galapagos from the mainland of South America one million years ago. Unfortunately, John could not find his text and went to his locker in search of the missing book. He returned ten minutes later without the Science textbook. The Science teacher provided his book to John and instructed him to trace pictures of the various species of finches and record what they would eat. John commented that he wanted to go to the Learning Centre for assistance. He had not completed the tracing activity when the bell signalled for classes to change.

In English class, the English teacher asked the students to turn to lesson three of their books and fill in the blanks for a given word list. John was preoccupied with a tear in his jacket that had occurred on the school grounds at dinner break, the end result of several students teasing him. John did not participate in this activity or the exercise where the teacher read aloud the correct responses and the students checked their own work.
The English class concluded with the students reading the novel "Days of Terror". Each student had a copy of the novel and read it individually except for John who was paired with another student. John's reading partner read the story aloud for him. Although John appeared to be listening, it was questionable whether he was making sense of the passages that spoke of

... a blessed respite from the soldiers and the roving bandits. The oaths and shouting were more raucous than usual and accompanied only by the moans and delirium of the two sick men [Passage from 'Days of Terror'].

In Social Studies class, the students were asked to trace a map of the United States and indicate the different states. The students then watched the movie "Never Cry Wolf" as a reward for completing the exercise. John never did complete the activity due to his lengthy visit to the washroom. Upon his return to class, the movie had started but John appeared disinterested and stared into space.

Jerry

Jerry was fourteen years old and in grade seven. He is afflicted with a condition referred to as hemipelegia which affects both sides of his body and his mobility. He also has impaired left-field vision and is subject to seizures.

Jerry required support in following directions and copying notes from the chalkboard. He had a program assistant who was assigned to help him during certain times
of the day. A program assistant is a paraprofessional who is hired by the board to help those students who are physically disabled, although it is generally left to the discretion of the school as to how this support is utilized.

Jerry needed prompting to complete assignments. It was suggested by his neuropsychologist that Jerry’s moral development might not reach a full level of empathy. Jerry frequently would stray from class discussion and speak aloud on unrelated matters. He had poor language facility and his speech was marked by a high rate of individual repetitions.

Jerry’s first class was library period. The Learning Centre teacher had taken students who were scheduled in the Learning Centre for that period to the school library to allow them to work on class projects. Jerry sat at a table with three of his classmates. Although he was supposed to be working on an assignment in Social Studies, the majority of his time was spent talking about those things that were of interest to him. At the conclusion of this class, the program assistant assisted Jerry with his knapsack. The two left the library together arm-in-arm and proceeded to the elevator. The program assistant noted that Jerry operated the elevator by himself, although he was in the habit of intentionally stopping it between floors. He arrived five minutes late to English class.

In English class, a student gave a speech on a topic that she had chosen. At the end of the speech, her
classmates were afforded the opportunity to direct questions to her. Many of the students asked questions and offered comments. Jerry remained unresponsive during the entire activity.

The students then proceeded to read aloud a novel by Brenda Bellingham entitled "Storm Child". The program assistant sat next to Jerry and pointed to the words as the novel was read. After five minutes, Jerry refused to engage in the exercise and looked away. The program assistant encouraged him to focus on the assignment but to no avail. When an announcement came over the public address system for a student to report to the office, Jerry responded with, "Laura, get your rear-end to the office". The English teacher remarked to the researcher that Jerry was unable to read the novel but felt that, in general, his learning needs were being met in his class.

During Learning Centre period, Jerry practised following the directions of the Learning Centre teacher. The directions included listing, drawing circles, and coloring. He then played a board game with the program assistant. The game required him to count, read directions, and manipulate game pieces.

In Art class, the Art teacher provided whole group instruction on caligraphy. Jerry was actively involved in this exercise as he worked diligently at his table. He sat with three other classmates and there appeared to be a good
sharing of ideas. The Art teacher provided specific directions to Jerry and modified the activity for him.

At lunch hour, Jerry went to the cafeteria with several other students in the Learning Centre. There were also peer helpers available to assist the students with any needs, and to provide companionship for them. The peer helpers were selected from the student body by teachers and were usually from the senior grades.

At the end of lunch hour, Jerry proceeded to his favorite class, Industrial Arts. He was working on a shelf that had wooden brackets. The Industrial Arts teacher had modified the activity to compensate for Jerry's poor left-field vision. He provided individual assistance as needed. Jerry used the jig saw to complete his project to the praise of both students and teacher. Jerry was delighted with the end product.

Sondra

Sondra was seventeen years old and in grade eleven. She had a visual impairment that resulted in limited peripheral vision. Sondra had completed the majority of her elementary schooling in a facility for the vision and hearing impaired. She was first integrated into grade six in her home school when she was eleven years old. Sondra received the support of a program assistant at Valley Heights High. She also received assistance from the Atlantic
Provinces' Special Education Authority in the form of a brailler, brailed texts, and an itinerant teacher who scheduled time with her on a weekly basis.

Sondra's individualized program plan laid out specific goals and objectives. Modifications were to be made in many program areas. Reading material was presented on tape or in braille form. Peer support would be utilized to ensure that Sondra was following class routine and instruction.

A work experience component was introduced into Sondra's school day. She worked in the school office during the second half of each noon hour. Sondra answered phones and took messages with the assistance of a cassette recorder.

Adaptations in course work took many forms. In English class, novels were taped or brailed for Sondra by the Atlantic Provinces' Special Education Authority and her assignments were reduced in length. In Mathematics, Sondra received support from the Resource teacher and the itinerant teacher. In Physical Education class, Sondra participated in a variety of sports that were modified to meet her needs. She spent a minimum of one period a day in the Learning Centre where she would receive assistance with tests. It was here that course concepts were reinforced and she could discuss personal difficulties she might be experiencing.

On this particular day, Sondra's first three periods were in the Learning Centre. She was in the process of
completing a test from her Family Studies course with the help of the itinerant teacher. The test was in braille and Sondra typed her answers on the computer. Occasionally, she referred to the Family Studies text which was also in braille. The itinerant teacher clarified the test questions for Sondra and assisted her with the spelling of some words. He explained that spelling is a difficult task for the visually impaired child who is introduced to braille at an early age. While the itinerant teacher commended the Resource teacher for her work with Sondra, he was critical of the fact that he seldom received work to be brailled from the classroom teachers prior to the introduction of a new topic. This meant that Sondra spent additional hours on homework trying to catch up to her peers, to the chagrin of the itinerant teacher and the student.

During Learning Centre period, the itinerant teacher described a work placement that he had arranged for Sondra at a senior citizens' residence in Valley Heights and explained that it was part of her Cooperative Education program. The rapport between student and teacher was exceptional.

In Drama class, the Drama teacher asked the students to introduce themselves by giving their names and saying something about themselves. The students were then instructed to improvise a fictitious story that was provided by their teacher. The students worked in pairs during this
exercise and Sondra was paired with her sister although the two were not afforded the opportunity to perform in front of their classmates.

In Family Studies class, Sondra was an active participant in small group discussions. The Family Studies teacher wrote notes on the chalkboard and the students copied them in their notebooks. One classmate read the information aloud to Sondra and she proceeded to use her brailler.

In Economics class, the Economics teacher distributed a copy of a crossword puzzle entitled "Income Distribution and Labour". The crossword puzzle was based on information extracted from the textbook "Made in Canada, Economics for Canadians". The work had not been brailled and Sondra lamented that she would have to braille the puzzle at home with the help of her mother and sister. She expressed her frustration at those teachers who failed to provide the work to the itinerant teacher to be brailled and the hours of work it meant for her and her family.

Clark

Clark was fourteen years old and in grade seven at Valley Heights High. His communication skills were hindered as a result of cerebral palsy. His speech and communication skills consisted of a repertoire of utterances, pointing, and yes/no responses. Clark had been
confined to a wheelchair from an early age.

Clark was prone to taking seizures and would remain unresponsive for several hours after an episode. He also needed constant reminders to chew slowly when eating as he tended to choke on his food. He was able to feed himself "finger foods" and could sit up without assistance for short periods of time. Clark was seldom without the program assistant at his side during the school day. His individualized program plan stated three main goals: improving language skills, responding to certain requests, and improving his physical strength and mobility.

In English class, the English teacher asked the students to express their views in writing on two topics: school detention and memories of their first school dance. The latter topic generated the most interest and the students wrote for approximately twenty minutes and shared their stories. During this time, Clark was shown a story book by the program assistant, occasionally turning the pages himself. He also pasted pictures on a sheet. It was noted that the pictures were unrelated to the topics being discussed. Clark sneezed several times during the activity. Although he was capable of using a handkerchief, this chore was done for him by the program assistant.

During Health class, the Health teacher discussed physical, mental, and social aspects of healthy living. The students were organized into small groups to discuss healthy
and unhealthy life styles. They were then provided with a true and false questionnaire which they completed in their groups. During this time, Clark colored a picture that had been drawn by a student sitting close to him. The picture was unrelated to the topic of healthy life styles.

In Social Studies class, the students were asked to view an overhead of a map copied from the text. They individually completed seven questions by referring to the map. The picture of the map was placed on Clark’s desk and he was given a sheet of paper on which to scribble.

Clark was taken to the cafeteria during recess and he ate his snack in the company of two other students who were identified as having special needs. In fact, it was one of these students who had given Clark the picture to color in Health class. It was the same student who spent the afternoon with Clark as she pushed his wheelchair to outdoor events that had been planned for the students as part of the annual Valley Heights High "Fall Fest" celebration. Neither student participated in any of the activities.

Ray

Ray was seventeen years old and in grade eleven at Valley Heights High. He was described by his teachers as being academically and socially delayed. Ray experienced difficulty in many of his courses, and seldom associated with peers. His language facility was weak and his
reluctance to engage others in conversation contributed to his "loner" status among peers.

In English class, Ray was working on a late assignment. His writing skills were weak and this seriously hindered his ability to complete assignments. Ray also had difficulty organizing topics. However, he was reluctant to receive assistance from the classroom teacher and would look down when approached. The Learning Centre teacher did say that Ray would ask her for help.

In Math class, the students were working on problems using graphs and determining whether the equations were linear. Ray did not comprehend the assignment but refused to ask for assistance from the teacher. Again, he would look down when the teacher approached. By his own admission, Ray would only seek help from the Learning Centre teacher and preferably in the confines of the Learning Centre.

In Industrial Arts class, the Industrial Arts teacher was introducing designs for three dimensional objects. Ray was experiencing difficulty in this class although the teacher had modified the information for him to allow him to more readily grasp the concept. The Industrial Arts teacher had also developed an evaluation scheme for Ray that placed emphasis on student participation. Ray was passing the course as a result of these special provisions. The teacher felt that Ray's independent work habits had improved as a result, and that he was demonstrating
greater confidence in his work. On this particular day, Ray was observed putting the finishing touches on the roof of a model house that he and two of his classmates had designed and built to scale.

Ray then attended a computer class where he sat and watched as two students in his station completed the assigned tasks. Ray did not participate in any of the exercises. He did reveal to the researcher that he felt computers were "foreign invaders" and were best left alone.

During Learning Centre time, Ray worked on assignments that were not completed in the other classes and readily sought assistance from the Learning Centre teacher. He told his teacher that he wanted to graduate and hoped that she would be present at his graduation ceremony. It was obvious that Ray thought highly of the Learning Centre teacher and saw her as his key to attaining a graduation certificate.

Mary

Mary was eighteen years old and in her graduating year at Valley Heights High. She had been confined to a wheelchair at an early age as a result of having spina bifida. Mary had learning difficulties in the area of spatial organization and visual motor perception. Emotionally, she seemed accepting of her disability and displayed a cheerful attitude. Mary had a small circle of friends and enjoyed their company. She was independent in
her mobility at Valley Heights High, and generally arrived to class on time.

Mary could read simple fiction but needed support with comprehending passages and making inferences. She demonstrated some independence in her writing skills but required reminders to stay with conventional language usage. She had difficulty taking notes and keeping her work organized. Although she did comprehend basic math functions, she relied on a calculator for most number computations.

For the first period, Mary was in the Learning Centre working on an assignment from her Computer course. Her task was to summarize an article entitled "Electronic Maps Get Data Specific Via Geographic Information Systems". The article described a computerized mapping system that could be used to track major crime. Mary had great difficulty reading and comprehending the content. Unfortunately, the Learning Centre teacher was not available to Mary for much of the period. Subsequently, Mary did not finish the assignment.

In English class, the English teacher asked the students to share with their classmates information about the novels they were reading. Mary was reading a teen romance novel by Francine Pascal, and she eagerly discussed its content. She responded to questions from several of the students and seemed to take pleasure in this exchange. Twenty minutes of independent reading time was built into
the English class and all students read their novels.

At the conclusion of the independent reading activity, students were instructed to work in pairs on grammar exercises that were provided on worksheets. Mary’s partner assumed much of the responsibility for completing the exercises.

In Art class, Mary was working with her classmates on a wall mural that would be a gift from Valley Heights High "Class of 95". The Art teacher moved about the room offering words of encouragement and praise. Mary stated that Art was her favorite subject, and the Art teacher was her favorite teacher.

Mary spent the remainder of the day in the Learning Centre working on assignments and receiving assistance from the Learning Centre teacher. She managed to complete her assignment on electronic maps.

Max

Max was eighteen years old and in grade eleven at Valley Heights High. He demonstrated significant delays in many areas of his learning. Max could comprehend "easy reading" novels but had limited language facility and his writing skills were weak. His individualized educational plan noted that he also needed assistance learning socially appropriate behaviors.

In English class, the students were reading
Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar". Max was aware of the essence of the plot, due in large part to the assistance he received from the Resource teacher. However, neither the text nor the assignments were modified for him. The English teacher was successful in including Max in the class discussions.

In Math class, Max was working on equations involving graphs. He was experiencing difficulty with the concept but readily asked for assistance from the Math teacher. The teacher spent considerable time with Max and explained the concept in simpler terms. The assignments were not adapted to meet his needs, and he stated that he would utilize Learning Centre time to complete them.

In History class, the History teacher was reviewing work for an upcoming test. The students were randomly asked questions on the political structure of the Canadian government. The period concluded with the students reviewing the pertinent chapter in their textbooks. Max did not respond to any of the questions and spent much of his time masking the fact that he could not read the material.

In Art class, Max was painting a mural of a basketball scene on the walls of Valley Heights High. The Art teacher stated that Max contributed greatly to the class. There was no need for program modification and Max appeared to be in his element. He interacted well with his classmates and the Art teacher described him as being
mature and one of her most progressive students.

In Industrial Arts class, Max also excelled. Industrial Arts was his favorite subject and he could be seen assisting other students and instructing them on the proper use of the equipment. Max was working on a model home that he had drawn to scale. It was obvious that Max took pride in this area of responsibility and was thorough in his explanation to those students who sought his assistance.

In Learning Centre class, Max worked on his English assignment. The Learning Centre teacher provided direct support to Max and assisted him with his written expression and spelling. Max also received help on his Math homework. He was attentive during the entire time. Unfortunately, neither assignment was completed. Max noted that it would have to wait until the next Learning Centre period for completion.

Susan

Susan was thirteen years old and in grade seven at Valley Heights High. She received assistance from a program assistant on organizational skills. Susan’s reading ability was low and her language facility was weak. She was diagnosed as having Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder and found it difficult to concentrate on school tasks. Associating with classmates was not an easy or a natural occurrence for her and she was described by several of her
teachers as having low self-esteem.

In English class, the students were instructed to write a composition on school detentions or memories of their first school dance. Susan was seated next to a student with special needs and was more concerned with helping him than in doing her own assignment. She drew a picture and gave it to her classmate, Clark, to color. Susan did write for a short period of time with the assistance of the program assistant.

In Health class, the Health teacher presented aspects of a healthy life style and organized the students in small groups to discuss several case studies and complete a true and false worksheet on the topic. Susan’s group consisted of Clark and the program assistant. Susan worked on her worksheet with the help of the program assistant.

In Social Studies class, the Social Studies teacher showed an overhead of a map to the students and posed a series of questions to them. Susan remained disengaged during this time. In one instance, the program assistant did not understand the question and asked for clarification. She then proceeded to inform Susan of its meaning. The class concluded with the students working on exercises from the Social Studies text. Susan completed the assignment with the help of the program assistant.

During recess, Susan went to the cafeteria with Clark and the program assistant. Several students who were peer
helpers joined them at their table.

The remainder of the day was devoted to the school "Fall Fest" and Susan was determined to transport Clark in his wheelchair from station to station. Susan did not participate in any of the events. From a vantage point on a hill overlooking the event, the researcher could see her navigating him across a field in virtual isolation of students and teachers.

5.4. Integration at Valley Heights: Summary and Conclusions

In reviewing the dimensions of the Learning Centre Program Model, it was evident that the integration of students with special needs at Valley Heights High was experiencing varying levels of success. The program dimension had a strong emphasis on content with the teacher in the role of knowledge transmitter. This was especially true in the core subject areas where instruction was provided on a whole class basis and the Learning Centre teacher, the itinerant teacher, and the program assistant assumed responsibility for program adaptation. The exception was in Art and Industrial Arts. Although the students were physically present in many of the classrooms, they were frequently isolated from their peers.

The Learning Centre teacher carried the distinct feeling of being a burden to colleagues as she attempted to meet and plan with them "on the run". Lack of collaborative
planning time resulted in on-the-spot modifications to programs by the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistant. They became the primary sources of support for students with special needs and a panacea for their homework woes.

The program dimension of the Learning Centre Program Model in the core subject areas seemed to rest somewhere between an exclusive reliance on the actions of the teacher to impart knowledge to the students and an emphasis on content coverage. It was primarily in the non-core subject areas of Art and Industrial Arts where an emphasis on a learner-oriented program existed and such skills as inquiry, decision making and problem solving skills were developed.

It was evident from interviews with staff and through personal observations that a primary consideration in the organization of program and services at Valley Heights High rested on the actions of the classroom teachers. One recalls the Learning Centre teacher’s feeling of being at the mercy of the classroom teachers in scheduling meetings. This resulted in the creation of a makeshift school team that met on-the-run and lacked full membership. Absent from the team were teachers from the student’s previous grades who would carry valuable information on the child’s strengths and needs. Also absent was the active participation of the child’s parents or guardians. This could be attributed to difficulties in finding a suitable meeting time for all
parties. Or it could be due to transportation difficulties for families living furtherest from the school. Perhaps the time of day that the meetings were set [immediately after school] was not convenient. One could always blame parent apathy for a lack of involvement on the school team. Or perhaps the difficulty lay in the perception by the community that the drawbridge still had not been lowered by the white castle on the hill. In his observation of team meetings and in his conversations with staff and community members, the researcher concluded that lack of parent involvement was a result of a combination of all of the above factors.

The Learning Centre teacher was the primary person responsible for having a child placed on a program plan. While the individualized educational program had all the elements of an effective course of action [long and short-term goals, identified strengths and weaknesses of the student, student history, and desired student outcomes], in the final analysis it was the Learning Centre teacher who assumed the responsibility for its design, distribution, and implementation.

In the program and service dimension of Valley Heights High, few examples could be found where the school was organized in a manner that would enable all students to participate in learning experiences designed for their interests and needs. The maximizing and enriching of
learning experiences for the students with special needs was the responsibility of the Learning Centre teacher. Staff and parent/guardian involvement in the planning process was minimal.

In the area of student objectives and outcomes, there was an element of student needs succumbing to teacher needs at Valley Heights High. The quality of the individualized educational program depended upon the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistants. Although the individualized educational program in all instances stated goals and objectives that extended beyond course outcomes, this was not evident in classroom observations. Images of the students with disabilities being grouped together for classroom instruction while the program assistant was available for their every beck and call undermined any effort to have the students develop a functional interdependence. Students with disabilities had few meaningful contacts with peers at Valley Heights High.

Attention was devoted to content coverage in the core subject areas, and nurtured in a Learning Centre that was a "booster" for students to complete homework and a panacea for their academic woes. The Learning Centre became a retreat for those who needed individual attention. The regular classroom experience was tolerated, and temporary relief was sought in the Learning Centre.

There was little evidence at Valley Heights High that
student activities were designed with the belief that each student becomes more complete as a person through interaction with other people, all of whom bring a range of interests, strengths, abilities, backgrounds, and cultures within a variety of learning environments. Students with disabilities were segregated within the integrated classroom setting through ability grouping arrangements. On certain occasions, peer tutors were utilized in both the classroom and the cafeteria to normalize school life for the child with special needs. However, the forces of functional interdependence could not prevail over the power of dependency for those students who looked to the Learning Centre teacher, the program assistant and peers to care for their individual needs. The "dependency" disposition towards significant others evolved as a result of the inability or failure of the classroom teachers to assume responsibility for all students. As noted, program adaptation, for the most part, fell on the shoulders of the Learning Centre teacher while the program assistant provided program improvisation "in the pinch". An academic orientation in the classroom created narrow parameters of success for the students with disabilities and limited their participation in all aspects of school life.

The Learning Centre Program Model applauded those teaching strategies that were student-centred in nature and reflected the belief that students were unique and vital
participants in the learning process. Student-centred learning was evident in those courses where student groupings were heterogeneous and students with disabilities were afforded the opportunity to assume leadership roles. However, those cases were the exception rather than the rule at Valley Heights High. Students with disabilities were generally grouped together within and outside the confines of the classroom and under the direct supervision of the Learning Centre teacher or the program assistant. For the most part, classroom teachers at Valley Heights High did not assume responsibility for the progress of all students in their care.

The Learning Centre Program Model described a variety of procedures to evaluate all aspects of a student's growth and development. At Valley Heights High, evaluation of student progress was based primarily on acquisition of knowledge. Teaching methodology focused on content coverage. Tests and homework assignments were generally the same for all students, regardless of their ability. It was left to the Learning Centre teacher to fill in the gaps and provide assistance for the Learning Centre students who were unable to understand or complete their homework in class.

The Learning Centre teacher created the individualized educational program for her students at a frenetic pace and on-the-run. The plan was often developed in the absence of key players, most notably the parents. Observing the
teaching methodology and subsequent homework flow at Valley Heights High led the researcher to conclude that the student marks were directly proportional to the amount of information the students could absorb, with few allowances made for those with disabilities.

In the area of resources, the Learning Centre Program Model purported that most materials at the school level could be adapted to meet the needs of students with disabilities and enable them to participate to the maximum extent in integrated environments and activities. These adaptations would be specifically designed to compensate for a variety of behavioral, cognitive, sensory, and fine and gross motor difficulties.

Valley Heights High did utilize peer tutors in attempting to meet the needs of students with disabilities. One recalls the special grouping arrangements in the classroom and in the cafeteria. While there was some evidence of cooperative learning activities, the degree to which the classroom teacher structured the learning opportunities was unclear. In classrooms where peer tutoring occurred, there seemed to be little guidance or monitoring from the teacher.

The Atlantic Provinces' Special Education Authority provided resources in the form of a brailler, a computer, and an itinerant teacher for the accommodation of a student with a visual impairment. The Isaac Walton Killam Children's
Hospital supplied Valley Heights High with an electric wheelchair for a student with a physical disability. The responsibility for accessing these resources fell squarely on the shoulders of the Learning Centre teacher.

Content coverage constituted the primary focus in the core subject areas and the textbook was the guiding source. Program adaptation occurred in some subject areas but once again was the primary role of the Learning Centre teacher.

The philosophy of the Learning Centre program rested on the principle of least restrictive environment to educate students with disabilities. However, at Valley Heights High, students with special needs were generally taught in an environment of least inconvenience to the classroom teacher. The pattern of instruction was typically unidimensional in nature. One lesson plan was aimed at the whole class and the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistant scrambled to fill the gaps. Few adaptations were made to program and the students with special needs sought refuge in the Learning Centre. Contrary to the intent of the model, the Learning Centre and not the school became the focal point for accommodating the individual characteristics of students with disabilities. In those classrooms where the core subjects were taught, ownership for these students rested with the Learning Centre teacher. One comment by a core subject teacher captured the status of the Learning Centre Program at Valley Heights High and substantiated the
findings of the researcher.

Back in 1988, when we first had special education students enter grade seven, we had support given to the teachers. The Coordinator of the Learning Centre made it very clear that it was the teacher's responsibility for students with special needs. I thought I could see some growth. There are no longer team meetings. The Learning Centre teacher meets on an ad hoc basis and talks about strengths and weaknesses of individual students. I don't know if the attempt is being made to include special education students in the programming in the classroom [Staff member 2, 1995].
CHAPTER 6

THE CULTURE OF VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH

6.1. Introduction

What were the basic assumptions and beliefs of the members of the two secondary schools with respect to the integration of their special needs students into regular classrooms? [Research sub-question 3]

The Nova Scotia Ministry of Education communicated to all schools in the province that "most students who require special education services can have their needs met in the regular classroom" [P & R Statement on Integration, November 26th, 1991]. This belief statement arose in response to critical incidences from 1967 to the time of this study. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms [1982] shaped the Ministry's responses. The "right to an education without exception" served the moral function of guiding schools in their actions. Enhanced learning opportunities through a student-centred environment and equal access to high quality programming for all students would be encompassed in this fundamental right. Instruction would feature a balance between how to learn and what to learn. Students would be afforded the opportunity to pursue special interests and develop aptitudes through a variety of grouping arrangements. The classroom teachers would assume the responsibility for all students in their care. The principal
as leader would support the classroom teachers with their efforts. Parents would be kept informed and participate in any meetings concerning their sons and daughters.

The Learning Centre Program Model captured the aspirations of the Ministry toward the inclusion of students with special needs in the regular classroom setting. All students would be taught in the regular classroom where program emphasis would focus on the development of knowledge, attitudes, and skills in all students. School activities would be designed in a manner to enable all students to participate in learning experiences matched to their individual interests and needs. School teams with parents as equal partners would oversee the child’s individualized program needs. Evaluation of student progress would include all aspects of the student’s growth and development. Resources and services would be collected and organized at the school level.

Few of the principles of the Learning Centre Program Model have been accomplished at Valley Heights High. The Learning Centre teacher assumes responsibility for the students with special needs. Content coverage is the primary focus of the teachers. School teams are weak and parent involvement nonexistent. Students with disabilities are grouped together for instruction with a program assistant usually in close proximity. The Learning Centre is a refuge for the children when "the going gets tough" in
the classroom setting. The haven constitutes a segregated setting for students with special needs.

In this chapter the basic assumptions and beliefs of the members of Valley Heights High are uncovered with respect to the integration of their special needs students into regular classrooms by analysing the culture on a more personal basis. The organization's values and assumptions are identified by considering the culture in its entirety and seeing its fabric through three perspectives: historical particularism, evolutionism, and ecological functionalism.

6.2. An Historical Perspective

A man is born into a world made by others. In the first phase of his life, he absorbs this particular reality and orients himself within it. He discovers the world left to him by those ahead, by those who have lived in another stage of life. Through their own response to the world they once inherited, these others have left him a world, a profile of reality, which differs from the circumstances which they once inherited from those ahead of themselves. Thus, a man's task involves building a world from realities which differs somewhat from the world which the others had to interpret [K. Weintraub, 1966, p.275].

Schools are not islands unto themselves but the product of the dominant value orientations of the communities they serve [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961]. Historical particularism has a unique way of shaping a dominant profile for a school and is a composition of the ethnicity, work activity, socioeconomic status, and the
rural/suburban/urban nature of the various feeder communities. Guiding metaphors in the form of stories and myths that survive the test of time are also instrumental in shaping a school's dominant profile.

Valley Heights is a conglomerate of small, rural communities that are predominantly Anglo-Saxon in ethnicity. Few non Anglo-Saxon people can be found in a population where families trace their ancestry to the first settlers in the area. In these rural communities, all members worked toward a common goal. They carved their niche in the wilderness. The common goal of survival bonded the early settlers. Relationships were key in a milieu where community support was necessary for survival. Geographical ascription cemented the relationships. Communities became entities unto themselves and little interaction occurred with the outside world.

A strong work ethic accompanied the first settlers as their livelihood depended on their ability to extract resources from the earth. The work ethic was a value cherished by the residents of Valley Heights.

Mrs. White, like many others, has contributed a great deal to life in Valley Heights over the years. A woman of independent spirit, she still believes in the work ethic and practises it daily [Chronicle Herald, Saturday, April 10th, 1982, p.34].

The independent spirit of the rural residents was a product of dispersed settlement patterns that placed
responsibility for social control on the shoulders of the family.

The three primary industries in Valley Heights were farming, lumbering, and mining and each manifested distinct attitudes and values in its residents. The rich farmlands enticed the early settlers to take up permanent residency and work the land year round. Farms were handed from generation to generation, and from father to son. Males were taught the tricks of the trade, tilling the land and harvesting the crops. Female members were cast in the traditional role of homemaker. The roles of family members were assigned on the basis of age and sex. The father was the patriarch of the family and his energies were devoted to making a living, providing for his family, and achieving self-sufficiency. Independently owned family operated farms rapidly grew in number in Valley Heights district.

Agricultural life was seeped in tradition. The functional importance of agriculture in the life flow of the rural communities was not debatable. Farming was a noble pursuit. There was an inherent goodness in rural life and the family farm symbolized prosperity and self-sufficiency. Where the soil was not conducive to agricultural activity, other communities in Valley Heights resorted to mining and forestry-related jobs. These families did not enjoy the same level of prosperity as their farming neighbors.

The forest industry in Valley Heights featured
seasonal employment, and a feast or famine existence. When work was abundant, times were good. When worked waned, times were difficult and families struggled to make ends meet. In essence, the quality of the soil dictated employment opportunities for whole communities and determined the social stratification of its rural residents.

The mining families presented a value orientation that was more closely aligned with the feast or famine condition of those who depended on the forest for a living. They did not receive the same level of respect or social recognition awarded to the farmer. The mining family tended to be transient in nature; here today and gone tomorrow. Their history was embedded in folklore.

Mining was a potentially hazardous occupation and the "stuff" of which legends were born. Regional social critic John C. Mortimer bemoaned the fact that many miners had lost their lives in Nova Scotia; that count was sixteen in 1936 alone [New Maritimes, October, 1986]. On Sunday, April 12th, 1936, a tunnel in a gold mine in one community in Valley Heights collapsed, trapping three men. The rescue operation that proceeded over the next twelve days captured the attention of the nation as reports were transmitted by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation. The mining disaster became embedded in the stories and mythology of the communities of Valley Heights and have persevered to this day.
In Valley Heights, social class was determined by employment opportunities. A functional way of life was instilled in the residents based on work activity. How they perceived their world was dependent upon the nature of the physical and social environments in which they were immersed. As each community focused on a common task, a socialization process ensued that clearly stratified the residents. In these homogeneous grouping arrangements, the communities acquired labels that served to honor or abuse them. Residents in one community of Valley Heights were penned the nickname "Pinch Gut", an appellation in reference to the poverty in the community and their shrunken stomachs. The label was bestowed on the community thirty years prior to the inception of Valley Heights High and has survived to this day, a designation handed from generation to generation. A culture of poverty was inferred by the label and reminded the people of their place in society.

By and large, one's lot in life appeared to be largely predetermined at birth for many residents in Valley Heights. Low educational attainment begat low educational attainment and communities were caught in a whirlpool of mediocrity. The dominant value orientation of each community was perpetuated as the values of parents were inculcated in their children.

Life in the rural communities was orientated to the natural environment. Time was measured by the passing of the
seasons. The residents attempted to master nature but accepted the temporal sequence of the seasons. The predictability of time reinforced patterns of stability in the communities. The constancy of work and play was reinforced in the natural seasonal flow. As life in each community was marked by repetitive regularity, the members adopted similar ways to cope, and whole communities were socialized on the basis of their particular circumstances.

The rural residents tended to veer from formal education. Schooling would cease for the adolescent boys who assumed their role in the family enterprise. The adolescent girls readied themselves for their "homemaker" roles. Schooling waned in importance for the young people with the onslaught of adolescence and the call to pursue the traditional tasks of their parents. But this did not undermine the importance of the one-room school as a community centre. A visible artifact of group and individual identity, it was symbolic of the inclusiveness of the communities that were intimately related to the needs and conditions of the people they served. The one-room school mirrored the prosperity of the community as the conditions of the building and the quality of education were proportional to the ability of the residents to pay for the service. It was common for rural communities to settle for unqualified instructors due to their inability to pay for quality services. Great disparities could subsequently be
found in the condition of the schools from community to community, a visible reminder of the variation in socioeconomic status among the rural residents.

A review of the annual minutes of the school board from 1862 to 1942 shows that it was common practice for poor school sections to be aided through provincial grants and for teachers in "scattered" sections of the region to be supported. But the board planted seeds of inequity in the manner in which it paid its teachers in those poor school sections. For example, the board responsible for schools in Valley Heights district was enlarged in response to heightened pressures due to increasing financial expenditures. The first act of the amalgamated board on May 7th, 1942, was to remunerate teachers in rural schools at a lower rate than teachers in more densely populated areas. Discrepancies could also be found in the costs of equipment and the operating and maintenance costs of school buildings. A "poor country cousin" image was imprinted in rural schools as inequitable pay scales, inadequate facilities, and unqualified instructors perpetuated a tone of classism within its communities and in the attitudes of its young people. In Valley Heights district, the seeds of classism were sown by its educational institutions.

Every community feeding into Valley Heights High had its unique dominant profile of value orientations. Valley Heights district was a well-instituted collection of
communities that imparted their ethos to their residents based on a homogeneous population, work activity, socioeconomic status, and population density. Inequities between communities served as guiding metaphors in teaching the residents the correct way to think, feel, and perceive in relation to their environments. With its inception, Valley Heights High would become the recipient of value orientations that would ultimately affect the integration of students with special needs into the mainstream of school life.

The artifacts unveil values and assumptions of the communities prior to the inception of Valley Heights High. The rural residents viewed nature from their constructed physical and social realities. Mastery of nature was a primary preoccupation for them as their existence depended on their ability to extract resources from the earth. The quality of the soil and the constant seasonal changes had a profound effect on life in each community. In this regard, nature was truly respected for its power. It was assumed that one could improve one’s lot in life through hard work and the family farm symbolized the fruits of one’s labor. Self-sufficiency was a cherished value. Communities that were built on poorer soil and resorted to mining and forestry-related jobs did not experience the same quality of life. Therefore, advantage was awarded to communities on the basis of geographical ascription and their most relevant
environment was socioeconomic.

Valley Heights district subscribed to a patriarchal system that defined truth and reality for its rural citizenry. Family life was embedded in tradition and the family structure embraced a respect for authority. The father of the household was the source of wisdom and truth. His leadership was undisputed. The roles of family members were assigned on the basis of age and gender. As the children reached puberty, they assumed greater responsibility in their assigned positions within the family enterprise, and continued in the footsteps of their parents. In this way, the family structure provided a source of stability for its members and was a creator of social control. It ensured the preservation of rural citizenry and tradition.

Hard work offered a road to a better life, but the road differed in accordance to social and geographical ascription. While the purpose of schooling was the same for all children in Valley Heights, that being to instill values in its children which would be functional to their success in a rural environment, their success was more closely tied to place of residency and type of work activity.

Relationships in Valley Heights were cooperative in nature and the key to survival. Enmeshed in those relationships was a traditional masculine ideology that
shaped the values, assumptions, and beliefs of the rural residents of Valley Heights district.

The cultural patterns of Valley Heights are captured in Figure 6. The degree of overlapping among the dimensions is indicative of the strength of the culture. Figure 6 paints a picture of Valley Heights as a collection of rural communities whose primary preoccupation was one of coping in a world where the temporal nature of the seasons controlled their lives. Privilege and advantage were bestowed to individuals along a hierarchical chain that sustained and honored the cultural ascendancy of males. Truth and reality were tied to tradition and guided the actions of its members. Power was in the hands of older and supposedly wiser males whose destiny was predetermined at birth through social and geographical ascription. Life had a "seasonal" quality of stability and predictability. These rural citizens were cooperative in nature as seeds of cooperation were sown in their work activities. They were accustomed to hard work as a means of survival. The type of work activity determined their social status. A cycle of economic prosperity or disparity occurred in each community, a condition that continues to this day.

6.3 An Evolutionary Perspective

Valley Heights High was the first high school to be built in the rural area of the school district. It resulted
FIGURE 6
CULTURAL PATTERNS OF VALLEY HEIGHTS
(Prior to 1950)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of Humanity to Nature</td>
<td>1. Residents from one community were given the label “Pinchgutters.”</td>
<td>1. Community affiliation was valued as a key determinant of one’s vocation and social status (one’s constructed physical and social reality). Privilege and advantage was based on geographical and social ascription.</td>
<td>1. For one category of human beings, people are submissive to nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Women and children held subservient positions in a traditional patriarchal system.</td>
<td>2. The roles of women and children were decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>2. For one category of human beings, people are submissive to nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The males were placed in roles of authority.</td>
<td>3. Males were valued in a society that perpetuated their cultural ascendancy.</td>
<td>3. Man is dominant and in control of his environment. Nature can be manipulated through man’s ingenuity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Truth is Determined</td>
<td>1. Family members assumed traditional roles in their rural communities. Wisdom was based on trust in the authority of the male patriarch.</td>
<td>1. Work-related roles based on age and gender were valued as a means of survival.</td>
<td>1. Truth is revealed and based on tradition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The one-room school house served to make one functional in a rural environment.</td>
<td>2. The school was valued as a source of one’s community identity.</td>
<td>2. Truth is revealed and based on tradition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. People were labelled by their place of residency.</td>
<td>3. Community affiliation was valued as a key determinant of one’s constructed physical and social reality.</td>
<td>3. Truth is revealed and based on tradition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Reality (Truth)</td>
<td>1. Members of a family conformed to hierarchy, rules, and clearly defined roles.</td>
<td>1. The family patriarchal structure was valued as a guide to the proper way to conduct one’s life.</td>
<td>1. The nature of reality is relative, based on a traditional patriarchal structure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. A label was imparted to members of a particular community.</td>
<td>2. Community affiliation was valued as a key determinant of one’s constructed physical and social reality.</td>
<td>2. For one category of human beings, the nature of reality is relative.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

¹The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Human</td>
<td>1. The family farm was a symbol of hard work and a degree of prosperity.</td>
<td>1. Hard work was valued for the rewards it brings.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beings</td>
<td>2. Members of a family conformed to hierarchy, rules, and clearly defined</td>
<td>2. The family patriarchal structure was valued as a guide to the proper</td>
<td>2. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>roles.</td>
<td>way to conduct one's life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. One's vocation (forest-related, mining, farming) was strongly tied to</td>
<td>1. Work was valued as a means to a better life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one's home community. Privilege and advantage were associated with the type</td>
<td>2. The family patriarchal structure was valued as a guide to the proper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of work.</td>
<td>way to conduct one's life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Members of a family conformed to hierarchy, rules, and clearly defined</td>
<td>3. The elements of nature were valued for their impact on the lives of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>roles as a means to survival and a better way of life.</td>
<td>the rural residents, in terms of social and work-related activity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The changing seasons had a great effect on the activity of a community.</td>
<td>3. The nature of human activity is active, ever mindful of the power of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Members of a family conformed to hierarchy, rules, and clearly defined</td>
<td>the changing seasons.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>roles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. The family patriarchal structure was valued as a guide to the proper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>way to conduct one's life.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. The male patriarch was valued as a source of wisdom and truth.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Authority is based on tradition and precedents of law.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human</td>
<td>1. Members of a family conformed to hierarchy, rules, and clearly defined</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>roles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. The nature of human relationships is collateral, emphasizing the goals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. The nature of human activity is active.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Authority is based on tradition and precedents of law.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>¹The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS^1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Nature of Space</strong></td>
<td>1. One's lot in life was largely a product of geographical and social ascription. The past was preserved through a traditional patriarchal structure.</td>
<td>1. The family patriarchal structure and community affiliation were valued as key determinants of one's constructed physical and social reality.</td>
<td>1. The nature of space is finite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Concept of Time</strong></td>
<td>1. Activity in the rural communities was strongly tied to the changing seasons.</td>
<td>1. Residents in the rural communities placed a high premium on the seasons as a key determinant of work and social activity.</td>
<td>1. The concept of time is cyclical in nature.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

^1 The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
from a meeting when, on February 5th, 1947, two school inspectors reviewed a departmental rural high school policy and proposed a consolidation of grades seven to twelve from many schools in Valley Heights district into one central school. They believed that better facilities and resources could be provided in such a school and that too much money was currently being spent on rural schools. Economies of scale could be realized in a consolidated high school whose boundaries would be determined on the basis of bus conveyance, twenty-five miles on paved roads and fifteen miles on gravel roads. Communities beyond this limit would not be entitled to the benefits of the new rural high school and their children would continue to receive an education in the one and two-room school houses.

On June 23rd, 1947, at a meeting of the School Board, three members of the Board were assigned the task of examining suitable sites for the proposed high school. In consultation with local community members, an advisory committee recommended a property overlooking the river and containing sixteen acres of cleared land. An architect was hired to draw up the plans and he offered a Georgian style building at a cost of $426,000.00 with an equipment expenditure of $56,000.00. Valley Heights High was completed in the spring of 1950 and the principal and vice principal were appointed.

The year 1950 was a time of mixed emotions for the
residents of Valley Heights district. As the communities witnessed the construction of Valley Heights High, they were watching the destruction of their small rural schools. The loss was significant as entire districts were identified by a building that served many functions. The small school house offered to communities a source of growth and individual identity. For those communities that had no particular reason to interact with each other, the closure of the small rural schools and the construction of Valley Heights High meant a "coming together"; a globalization, if you will, on the smallest of scales. There were those who greeted the change with open arms and there were those who were apprehensive.

Agriculture was still the primary industry in Valley Heights district and the agrarian economy was stable. The more affluent families were farmers. Children continued to follow in the footsteps of their parents. Limited vocational choices and little awareness of alternatives constituted a particular reality for the young people, despite an increase in their geographical mobility. Children still left school early to work in the family enterprise. Life in Valley Heights district continued in a stable and relatively predictable manner.

There were fourteen staff hired at Valley Heights High in 1950, eight males and six females. Five of the staff members had roots in Valley Heights district and had
actually received their education in one or two-room school houses. It was a young staff with an average age of thirty. Two hundred and fifty-one students were registered at Valley Heights High in its first year of operation. Twelve students were in grade twelve in 1950 and twenty-four students in grade eleven. A logo was created depicting a book, a hockey stick, trees, and bales of hay; the caption was "In Unity is Strength". A sense of unity did prevail as noted by the editor of the school's first year book.

We are grateful to the teachers for their assistance in the preparation of the cover, the typing of the stencils, and the final completion of the book. Without their aid, the project would be impossible. To those who have inserted advertisements, we wish to say 'Thank you', and to urge our readers to support them. It would not be possible to produce a yearbook were it not for the financial support that they give [Excerpt from the Valley Heights High year book, 1951].

Leadership was evident at Valley Heights High as teachers provided extracurricular support to their students. A person who attended Valley Heights High as a student in 1952 recalled the commitment of the teachers and the support of the communities.

When I look back over my time at Valley Heights High, I do so with a great deal of fondness, a great deal of respect, and a great deal of pride. The teachers became part of the Valley, so to speak. They felt a very strong sense of ownership as we, the students, did. The community commitment was tremendous. There was a very strong home and school association. Teachers would settle in the Valley and raise their families there, and there was a strong
sense of community [Former student 1, 1995].

Valley Heights High School's first principal had a leadership style that was described by one of his teachers as firm, fair, and consistent. A former teacher at the school recalls how she requested a transfer to Valley Heights High when she learned of the principal's appointment. She had previously worked with him and relished the opportunity to do so again. She described him as a quiet individual who "never got upset and could bring a calm to a stormy situation". She characterized her former principal as one who was there for the students but "didn't take any guff". A former student of Valley Heights High recalled his stoic appearance and the stories that would circulate when the unfortunates were sent to the office.

I had a great deal of respect for the principal. I had a great deal of fear for him too. I guess I'm a believer that fear and respect go hand-in-hand. He was a very strong disciplinarian. He didn't tolerate any foolishness. You were there to get your education and that was the expectation [Former student 2, 1995].

Relationships between the school and the community were strong and problems were generally handled in a cooperative fashion. A person who was a student at Valley Heights High in 1950 remembered an incident where a parent group protested a decision by the School Board to exclude students in her community from attending the school due to the distance factor. The group of parents met with the
principal who in turn met with the Board members. The decision to extend the school boundaries an additional nine miles over unpaved roads sowed seeds of cooperation and mutual respect between the school and its communities.

The next decade witnessed many changes at Valley Heights High. By 1961, staff positions had increased from fourteen to twenty-two. While only three teachers remained from the original staff, nearly half of the newly appointed teachers had their roots in Valley Heights district. The principal had left and the vice principal assumed the role of principal. A teacher on staff was appointed to the position of vice principal. Both administrators were male.

The grade twelve class had doubled in size by 1961. One hundred and thirty-one grade seven students entered Valley Heights High that year. Streaming on the basis of ability occurred in the early grades and a "special" class of students was created to educate students with learning difficulties. Several of these students were drawn from a community referred to as "Pinch Gut".

The sense of awe that was evident at the inception of Valley Heights High in 1950 had survived into the early sixties as indicated in the remarks of a grade twelve student in a valedictorian speech to the school assembly.

My classmates and I have now almost reached the goal we have been working for, for the last twelve years. Looking back, we can remember the time when we started off to school holding onto the
hand of our brother or sister and carrying the brand new school bag we were so proud of and feeling scared and shy. Our goal then was to pass into the new high school that we were hearing so much about and all the wonderful things they did. We were sitting on top of the world in our sixth year when we received the report card that said we were eligible to enter 'the white castle on the hill'. Once again we found ourselves feeling scared and shy for the first few days. We looked at the grade eleven and grade twelve students in awe and wondered how they could ever carry all the knowledge around that they must have. We wondered if we could ever get to their level and sometimes found ourselves stepping out of their way when we saw them coming [School Year Book, 1961].

The founding family members of Valley Heights High had experienced a relatively stress-free term of office as the school mirrored its communities. They were intimately connected to the social conditions of their clients. As the father in the family guided his family, the principal did likewise with his teachers. The firm and fair fatherly image of the principal resembled the family patriarchy. In a rural society that embraced a traditional masculine ideology, the principal was assuming his rightful position in the school hierarchical chain of command. His authority was infallible. The chain of command was assured as selected male teachers on staff, through hard work and dedication, succeeded to the principalship. Loyalty was a cherished value and rewarded through a managed hybrid of successors to the principal’s chair.

The principal created harmony in the school community
by hiring teachers who had roots in Valley Heights district. Staff identity was largely tied to community affiliation. The teachers spent much time with the students through an energetic, extra-curricular program. The high degree of teacher contact with the students was indicative of their commitment to them. This held them in good stead with the community. Relationships were important at Valley Heights High. The school motto "In Unity is Strength" symbolized the goodness of fit between the home and the school. Valley Heights High was literally the student’s home away from home. An ethic of caring evolved in an organization that was closely knit and in harmony with the communities it served. The school staff instituted community values in a milieu that respected rules and clearly defined roles.

Figure 7 illustrates the values and assumptions of the founding family of Valley Heights High. Teachers settled in the communities and raised their families there. It was a gesture of commitment and sent the message to Valley Heights district that teaching was more than a job. It was, in fact, a way of life.

The school patriarchy closely resembled the family patriarchy. The organization portrayed family values and the principal projected a traditional fatherly image. Schooling was valued more for its socialization than as a means to an employment end. Its sociocultural function of making its students functional in a rural milieu matched the wishes of
### FIGURE 7

**CULTURAL PATTERNS OF VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH**

**THE FOUNDING FACULTY 1950 - 1965**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relationship of Humanity to Nature</strong></td>
<td>1. Males assumed roles of authority in the organization.</td>
<td>1. Males were valued in an organization that promoted their cultural ascendancy.</td>
<td>1. Man is dominant and in control of his environment. Nature can be manipulated through man's ingenuity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. A special class consisting of students from the poorer sections of the district was created.</td>
<td>2. The special class was valued as an inherently orderly way to fix human problems.</td>
<td>2. The nature of one category of human beings is submissive and not in control of their environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How Truth is Determined</strong></td>
<td>1. The male school administrator assumed a patriarchal position in the organization. Wisdom was based on trust in the authority of the male patriarch.</td>
<td>1. The traditional role of the school administration as a source of wisdom and truth was valued.</td>
<td>1. Truth is revealed and based on tradition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Female teachers and students with special needs were marginalized in the organization.</td>
<td>2. On the basis of gender and perceived ability, female staff members and students with special needs were decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>2. Truth is revealed based on tradition and the cultural ascendancy of males.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Nature of Reality (Truth)</strong></td>
<td>1. Female teachers and students with special needs were marginalized in the organization.</td>
<td>1. On the basis of gender and perceived ability certain members of the organization were decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>1. The nature of reality is relative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. A special class consisting of students from the poorer sections of the district was created.</td>
<td>2. The special class was valued as an inherently orderly way to fix human problems.</td>
<td>2. The nature of reality is relative, based on geographical and social ascription.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Males assumed roles of authority in the organization.</td>
<td>3. Males were valued in an organization that promoted their ascendancy through the ranks.</td>
<td>3. The nature of reality is relative, based on gender.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

¹The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Nature of Human Beings</strong></td>
<td>1. There was a succession of male principals in the organization, accomplished through an internal grooming process.</td>
<td>1. Males were valued in an organization that promoted their ascendancy through the ranks.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The creation of the special education class for students with special needs.</td>
<td>2. The special class was valued as an inherently orderly way to fix human problems.</td>
<td>2. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. There was a high student dropout rate in the formative years of the organization.</td>
<td>3. Schooling was valued as a vehicle for making students functional in a rural environment.</td>
<td>3. For one category, the nature of human beings is non-perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Nature of Human Activity</strong></td>
<td>1. Males assumed roles of authority in the organization.</td>
<td>1. Males were valued in an organization that promoted their ascendancy through the ranks.</td>
<td>1. For one category of human beings, the nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Female teachers did not reach positions of authority in the organization.</td>
<td>2. The role of the female teacher was marginalized and decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>2. For another category of human beings, the nature of human activity is passive, more prepared to let the world unfold as it may.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. There was a high student dropout rate in the organization's formative years.</td>
<td>3. Schooling was valued as a vehicle for making students functional in a rural environment.</td>
<td>3. The nature of human activity is passive, more prepared to let the world unfold as it may.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. There was a high level of teacher involvement in extra curricular events.</td>
<td>4. Teaching was valued as an activity that extended beyond the four walls of the classroom.</td>
<td>4. The nature of human activity is active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Nature of Human Relationships</strong></td>
<td>1. Teachers new to the school settled in Valley Heights and raised their children there.</td>
<td>1. Teaching was valued as an activity that demonstrated commitment (i.e. a willingness to move into the district and become immersed in a rural way of life).</td>
<td>1. The nature of human relationships is cooperative, emphasizing the goals of the wider society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. A school motto was developed entitled “In Unity is Strength”.</td>
<td>2. Group cooperative relationships were valued in the organization.</td>
<td>2. The nature of human relationships is cooperative.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

¹The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Authority</td>
<td>1. Males assumed roles of authority in the organization through an internal grooming process.</td>
<td>1. Males were valued in an organization that promoted their ascendancy through the ranks.</td>
<td>1. The nature of authority rests upon the tradition and precedents of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The male school administrator assumed a patriarchal position in the organization.</td>
<td>2. The traditional role of the school administration as a source of wisdom and truth was valued.</td>
<td>2. The nature of authority rests upon the tradition and precedents of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Space</td>
<td>1. A special class consisting of students from the poorer sections of the district was created. It served to segregate them from their non-disabled peers.</td>
<td>1. The special class was valued as an inherently orderly way to fix human problems.</td>
<td>1. The nature of space is finite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Female teachers in the organization did not attain administrative appointments.</td>
<td>2. On the basis of gender, female teachers were decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>2. The nature of space is finite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. There was a high student dropout rate in the formative years of the organization.</td>
<td>3. Schooling was valued as a vehicle for making students functional in a rural environment.</td>
<td>3. The nature of space is finite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Concept of Time</td>
<td>1. There was a high level of teacher involvement in extracurricular events.</td>
<td>1. Teacher commitment was valued.</td>
<td>1. The concept of time is cyclical in nature where time is a kind of space defined more by what is accomplished than by a clock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. There was a succession of male administrators who were groomed over a period of years.</td>
<td>2. Males were valued in an organization that promoted their ascendancy through the ranks.</td>
<td>2. The concept of time is cyclical in nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Students left school at a certain age to assist in the family enterprise.</td>
<td>3. Schooling was valued as a vehicle for making students functional in a rural environment.</td>
<td>3. The concept of time is cyclical in nature and orientated to the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Teachers generally settled in the community and raised their children there.</td>
<td>4. Teacher commitment through a giving of self was valued.</td>
<td>4. The concept of time is cyclical in nature, defined more by what is accomplished over a lifetime.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

¹The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
the families of Valley Heights who depended on their children to continue in their footsteps. It was the norm for students to leave school early and pursue the family enterprise.

A traditional attitude toward authority which ensured the cultural ascendancy of males was evidenced at Valley Heights High as wisdom was entrusted to certain male teachers by virtue of their position in the organization. These teachers were raised in the image of the principal and continued in his footsteps. Their familiarity with the families and communities of Valley Heights district created a state of stability and predictability in the first fifteen years of culture formation at Valley Heights High.

A special class for students with disabilities was created in 1961 and was emblematic of the organization's notion that children could be fixed in an objective and orderly manner. Human problems were considered to be pathological and fixable. Children could be perfected in a milieu that emphasized rules and clearly defined roles.

Relationships were primary in an organization that witnessed teachers working closely with their students. The ethic of caring mirrored the dominant value orientation of the communities they served. Cooperation and commitment were cherished values at Valley Heights High.

Activity within the organization was "ascriptive oriented". Power was in the hands of a few males who assumed
the principal's chair through a succession process. This act placed the female teachers in a marginalized position. Students in the special class came primarily from one community and were marginalized by social and geographical ascription. Just as the patriarchal model assigned roles to family members on the basis of age and gender, a similar trend existed at Valley Heights High. Mastery of nature was in the hands of the few and the masses were forced to accept their lot in life. Hard work could improve one's social standing in the community but social and geographical factors created an uneven playing field of opportunities for communities in Valley Heights district.

Relationships evolved through a patriarchal process that emphasized a hierarchical chain of command, rules, and clearly defined roles. The school was intimately related to the conditions of the communities it served. Ironically, the "In Unity is Strength" school motto was created in a milieu that marginalized certain groups and taught the members their place in society.

By 1965, the landscape had changed dramatically and a different world of realities and circumstances was unfolding at Valley Heights High. The vocational choices of the graduates were expanding and fewer young people were staying in their home communities to manage the family enterprise or engage in local job opportunities. Valley Heights High was now seen as an exporter of human potential.
Again, the rural high school should be educating our youth to take their place in the economy of the rural areas. In the three and a half years that the writer has been in this area, just one boy and one girl have remained here in their home community. It is only an accident of health that this boy is here. He planned to be in the armed services. It is a clean sweep year after year. We train them and they go. Except the odd one that comes back to teach school or marries and settles down. [Report of the Valley Heights Rural Development Board, 1965].

As the geographical mobility of the residents was expanding, the doors to new realities were opening for them. Reliance on local organizations and local industries lessened in the wake of this reawakening. A higher premium was being placed on formal education as the young people began drifting to the city to seek alternative forms of employment. This movement threatened the mores of Valley Heights district and, at least in the minds of some, purportedly cast the school in an unfavorable light.

Concern was now being expressed in the school's failure to meet the needs of its students. In a brief submitted to the Valley Heights Rural Development Board in January, 1965, a committee bemoaned that the young people were being taught a curriculum that had little meaning for them.

Our big expenditure in education is aimed at training youth academically. But for the bigger portion of our youth, there is very little opportunity for them to get the training that they
need. This could be remedied by a more flexible or double-barreled curriculum. That is a curriculum that would meet the needs of those who will be able to go to university and, at the same time, a curriculum which will train others who will never see the inside of a university but who, at the same time, will have to face going out into the world to make a living. Many of these are dropping out from grade eight onward. This year in Valley Heights Rural High there are 110 in grade eight and only 33 in grade twelve. What do we have to offer the many who never see grade twelve? For the boys in many cases, it is the services or some minor type of work in industry; for the girls, it is probably hairdressing [Brief to the Valley Heights Rural Development Board, January, 1965].

A report described "rural" attitudes in meeting the needs of the student population of Valley Heights High.

With an academic course being the main offering, many students are not being offered the type of course to help them in their future occupation. In addition, there is the usual apathy of many young people to take advantage of the facilities available. This, coupled with the traditional attitude of rural areas to advanced education, causes many students to be indifferent to school work [Valley Heights Teachers’ Club and Local, January 18, 1965].

The report recommended that the students should be trained to contribute to the economy of their communities, thus preserving the past.

Another factor that affected community perceptions of the "white castle on the hill" was the introduction of a new generation of educators to the institution. Prior to 1965,
Valley Heights High "managed evolution through hybrids" [Schein, 1989]. The vice principal was chosen from existing staff and would eventually occupy the principal’s chair. Community values were mirrored in the actions of the staff of Valley Heights High and ensured through the succession process. In 1965, the lineage was broken and an "outsider" was appointed to the principalship. His leadership style presented a departure from the traditional disciplinarian approach to which the staff, students, and community were accustomed. He hired a cadre of teachers from outside the district of Valley Heights who were compatible with his leadership style.

It was a time of bonding for a teaching staff that was unaccustomed to the mores of the rural villages. They had the dubious task of "filling the shoes" of their predecessors. A sense of family evolved in the new wave of teachers through their reliance on each other for survival.

It was a culture shock first coming to Valley Heights. First of all, we didn’t know where Valley Heights was. It was a long, lonely drive, I can tell you, for a city slicker... You had to make your own fun and we certainly did. And if you ask me what brought the staff together, it was that whole concept. Way back when, people who were hired here, moved here. So we had a whole staff that formed their own jug band and we would even play. At that time we all went through a wonderful relationship. If you can put a finger on anything, it is that innate trust that has developed over the years; that kind of trust and friendship that goes beyond working. You know what I mean? More than two decades of
bonding [Staff member 3, 1995].

The leadership style of the principal appears to have been appreciated by his staff in the early stages of the administration. He gave the latitude for his staff to grow.

Talk about early binders! He [the principal] was a wonderful care giver. I mean, there wasn’t this high pressure, teacher accountability, paper shuffle, horse manure that goes on now where everyone is so concerned about covering their own asses. No, he just allowed you the latitude to grow. He liked my work [Staff member 3, 1995].

All the same, the principal offered a leadership style that eventually led to his demise. Critical incidences emerged and the issue of discipline was at the heart of the discontentment.

Discipline had gone out the window, so to speak. As parents, we became very concerned. It’s kind of ironic because people in the Valley, and I don’t know if it’s because of their close proximity to the school, and the fact that teachers were living next door to them, but they were apathetic about doing anything. It was almost like, if you ruffle any feathers here, there are going to be repercussions [Parent 1, 1995].

A committee of parents met with the principal and a ripple effect was felt by the staff. Emotions ran high as teachers who were hired by their leader were now criticizing him for a lack of leadership.

When you’re young, and we were basically a very young staff, you tend to take all your values and post them. We thought, as a staff, that maybe the job of discipline wasn’t being done. I can remember a real
'gut wrenching' staff meeting. I don't like meetings and I particularly hated this one. Anxiety levels rose. We said, 'You don't have the hammer. You never take a stand' [Staff member 3, 1995].

The principal was transferred to a school in another district. His successor was also an "outsider" and the "assimilation through hybrids" succession process faded into obscurity.

The next seven years were remembered as turbulent times in the organization. Stories circulated throughout the community of the personal difficulties of the principal and the manner in which his teachers "covered" for him.

He [the principal] ran into some personal difficulties. He always managed to shield the staff from all the paper shuffle and stuff from the head office. Now maybe that was part of the problem, of the pressures he had... But as a staff member, he was good for us to work for. I know there was an awful lot of negativity at the end, whether it be male-female relationships or whatever [Staff member 4, 1995].

Critical incidences around gender issues surfaced in the mid-seventies to early eighties. The principal was alleged to have berated a female staff member in front of her colleagues on several occasions. There was also a ritual of the male teachers throwing their female colleagues into the school showers on the last day of school. One staff member attributed the sexist behavior to an administration that provided little direction to its teachers.

I don't think the staff was cautioned
about their sexist behavior and they could have been... you know, what was proper, and the joking, and the sexist comments, and stuff like that. It became a problem; it became an issue. The male staff members would taunt the female staff members. Some of the females indicated this shouldn’t have happened and they reported it, and some of the males felt that wasn’t the thing to do [Staff member 5, 1995].

Several staff members who were coined "The Feminists" by their male co-workers met with the principal to address the blatant acts of sexism.

There was one time when a group of female teachers met with the principal in the inner office. Women on staff were standing up and being counted. I remember the principal leaning back in his rocking chair as he listened to what we had to say. It was a difficult meeting but that was the last year that the female teachers were thrown into showers on the last day of school [Staff member 6, 1995].

Although acts of sexism subsided at Valley Heights High, the flames were not entirely extinguished. One staff member cautioned that sexist behaviors still exist in the organization.

Fifteen years ago, some males would make outright sexist remarks to female members and it was a joke, or it was allowed. Then, as we became educated, some of the guys don’t do it openly but, in their group, they will pass a remark so that only a few guys will hear. I knew they were being gross and they made some rude gestures [Staff member 5, 1995].

Another critical incident occurred when a teacher from
Valley Heights district was not hired by the principal due to her husband being a member on staff: the principal disapproved of husbands and wives teaching in the same school. A rift was felt in the school and in the community as innuendos were directed at out-of-area teachers who had recently been hired at Valley Heights High. One teacher recalled how she was approached by a community member who openly criticized her for taking a teaching position at the school when others who were qualified to teach and who lived in the area were without work. Nepotism had been a way of life during the formative years of the organization, and would not be easily relinquished with the dawn of the new wave of teachers.

The principal left Valley Heights High and assumed a teaching position in another part of the school district. His successor arrived under a cloak of suspicion. The staff felt that he had been sent on a mission from the School Board to put things in order. Although his stay was brief, the principal had a profound effect on staff relations.

Things started to get a little slack and when they brought in the principal to clean up, then we took sides. He arrived in 1982, and he divided and conquered. It became administrator against teachers. It seemed he was there to just try and move people. They were there too long and maybe they should have seen something a little broader [Staff member 6, 1995].

"They" was in reference to the core of staff members who represented the new wave of teachers. This core group of
male teachers had become the informal authority of Valley Heights High. It was the core who wrote a complaint to the School Board concerning the actions of the principal who had just been posted to their school.

The principal was sent on a mission from God. He was self-motivated and very confrontational. He wanted to play staff against each other. And this was what was so lovely about our staff. We were so close, it just didn't work. We heard he wanted a coffee club. Who would bother 'sucking up' to him. Give me a break! [Staff member 3, 1995].

One teacher recalled how one of his colleagues bought a jackass for his farm and referred to it by the principal's name. The story spread throughout the small communities in the district and the principal unwittingly bore the brunt of humiliating jokes. The teacher also remembers the time when one of his colleagues presented the principal with a poem from the staff at the end of the year. It was read to the principal in the staffroom and portrayed their leader in an unflattering light. The words were coached in a way that everyone except the principal caught the message. The principal was cast in the role of oppressor and the core teachers, the libertarians.

The principal's early departure meant a time of unrest for the staff. In fact, any change in administration was considered a critical time in the organization.

I think that each time the administration changes, it's a critical time. The staff is apprehensive; they want to know what
this person's style will be; they want to know what this person's expectations will be. They have become comfortable in what they are doing, rightly or wrongly, and feel they are doing the best job that they can. So that is always considered a critical time because it can be perceived as a threat or as someone who is going to be supportive. Those are crucial, critical times [Staff member 7, 1995].

The new principal arrived in the early eighties and his term lasted for six years. It was during this administration that the special education classroom was disbanded in favor of the Learning Centre. The principal was respected for the curriculum leadership that he brought to Valley Heights High. His efforts to instill a social climate in the organization were less successful.

The jubilant times were gone. The principal did have Friday afternoon sessions for a couple of years at homes where people would drop in and have a drink on the way home. But they turned into more of 'bitching' sessions than social sessions. You could never get full staff at these sessions but mostly men [Staff member 7, 1995].

The principal introduced Valley Heights High to a maximum density schedule where students were not provided with "free" periods. The maximum density timetable drew the ire of the core teachers.

It was a time when maximum density timetabling was started at Valley Heights High. All students had to be in class every period. I read last year in the paper of a school in Liverpool or Shelburne that empowered its students by doing away with the
maximum density timetable. If they had a free period and the gym was open, they were allowed to go and shoot a bit. That’s exactly where we were ten years ago. Ten years ago, I thought we were in the forefront of everything in education. We were everything that I thought a school should be. I would say that, since then, they tried to destroy that. They’re saying ‘You don’t trust kids; they are bad’. I can feel the whole shift. You know what I mean? I’m still old-fashioned. I’m still at the care giver stage [Staff member 3, 1995].

The principal inherited the name "No Halls" for his efforts in maximum density timetabling. The principal was to carry the burden of his scheduling decision for the entirety of his tenure in the organization.

Another critical incident occurred during his term that had a ripple effect throughout the communities. An overnight canoe trip went awry when several of the students left the campsite after dark and attended a party where they imbibed an excessive amount of alcohol. The teacher in charge of the canoe trip was accused of negligence and relieved of his teaching duties for one week. The teachers rallied behind the suspended teacher and refused to participate in extracurricular activities. The core teachers held the principal responsible for not supporting the teacher in question. The incident negatively affected staff participation in extracurricular activities for years later and seriously weakened the support of the communities that were accustomed to a high level of teacher involvement.

A new principal was assigned to Valley Heights High in
the late eighties and his tenure at the school was marked by controversy from the outset. A wedge between the teaching staff and the principal was driven deeper with each critical incident. The first incident involved a meeting between a parent group and the principal over a perceived lack of discipline at the school. News of the meeting reached the teachers and a number of the core members insisted that they be involved. What was intended to be a small meeting turned into a public event of board members, teachers, administration, and parents. The meeting became one of blame placing; parents blaming several teachers for inadequate classroom management techniques, and the teachers blaming the administration for the difficulties.

We already know that we have several teachers who have been going downhill for years. Whose fault is that? Clearly it is the administration of the school. Administration should be chastised. If administration was taking a teacher to task who was not preparing the children adequately, the staff at this school would not rally around the teacher. Teachers were angry at the lack of fulfillment of the responsibilities of the principal [Staff member 8, 1995].

There was a sense among the core teachers that a "hit list" had been devised to get rid of those teachers who had been on staff the longest.

There are all kinds of rumors out there with reference to such things as a 'hit list'; a hit list of teachers who have been here for a long time. And it's funny that the list is all male, according to gossip,
to conjecture; all males and all males who live in the community. It seems that the message is loud and clear and this tells you something about the culture of our school. I think the culture is starting to diminish. It’s very clear that it is better to live outside the community and drive in, putting in your nine to four, go home and say, 'To hell with it!’ [Staff member 8, 1995].

A similar concern was echoed by a staff member who used the word "core" to distinguish and to validate those who had taught at Valley Heights High the longest.

The staff are extremely upset by the teacher transfer situation; the core are extremely upset where they have been there for twenty years or more. Some people say that the core is entrenched, and the word is used so negatively. Entrenchment for the core means that you are willing to give a commitment and support the community. You are willing to put your entire life into something [Staff member 7, 1995].

Commitment in the eyes of this teacher meant a volunteering of one’s time to local causes through membership in local organizations. He then proceeded to explain what it meant to be "in" at Valley Heights High.

The people who are new to the school really don’t have an opinion because they live in town and won’t be at our school forever. Some of the people have been coming for four or five years and say ‘Geez, I hope this is the year I get my transfer’. The teachers who live in the community know that these teachers are just putting in time until they get experience and then they leave… I hear there are five core teachers on the teacher transfer list [Staff member 4, 1995].
This teacher from the core group believed that the culture of Valley Heights High was being threatened by the "transient" teachers; that is, those teachers who use the school as a stepping stone to a permanent contract and an assignment closer to the city.

A second critical incident occurred during the principal's term when the results of the Nova Scotia Achievement Tests for all high schools were published in the local newspaper. Valley Heights High was ranked towards the bottom of the list and shock waves were sent through the community. A dissonance over the results also emerged among staff members.

The Language Arts program has taken somewhat of a 'beating' over the last four or five years. The NSAT scores have had a negative impact. Now, the only reason I say this is that it comes up in staffroom banter, on occasion. Someone will say, 'So and so can't write. Oh, that's the English program. What are they doing in that class anyway?' For the most part, it is gentle humor and digging. But there is that undercurrent that you perhaps become a bit paranoid. You hear that and wonder if there is any seriousness behind the humor. And you hear the public sentiment at times and it is not favorable. With a combination of those factors, you begin to worry if the program is as strong as in the past. I don't know. I have a sense that it may be that way [Staff member 8, 1995].

The teacher revealed that the paranoia he felt was a result of the students' low achievement test scores in English and the rumors that he was next on the teacher transfer hit list. He believed that the test results served to distance
the community from the school and lessen the parents’ confidence in the organization’s viability.

A critical incident followed on the heels of the published Nova Scotia Achievement Test scores that would further place the school under the public’s watchful eye. Several recent graduates of Valley Heights High who were attending university asked permission to speak to the grade twelve students on the demands of university life. What was hoped would be a motivational speech for the graduating students became a condemnation of the quality of education the students had received at their high school. The incident became the talk of the communities, and the walls of the white castle on the hill shook.

The principal’s term at Valley Heights High School ended as it had begun; in a cloud of controversy. An incident occurred when a parent was alleged to have pushed a teacher during a parent-teacher conference. A meeting ensued with disastrous results. According to one staff member, the principal should have supported the teacher, and the situation could have been averted.

The tables were turned and it became the teacher’s fault because it was a teacher’s comment to the parent that prompted the act. This to me was a prime example that all that administration had to do was give the teacher the support that he deserved in that particular situation. The teacher is a vocal person on staff and he would have given a glowing report of the support that he received. He never got it. His
report to the staff added to the feeling of the teachers that we were not supported by administration [Staff member 8, 1995].

A new principal was assigned to Valley Heights High in short order. However, the hiring of a vice principal became a tumultuous matter when several members within the organization sought the position but were unsuccessful in their bid. The position was eventually filled by a female administrator who came from another part of the school district. It would mark the first time in the school’s history that a woman would be assigned an administrative assignment at the school. Unfortunately, there was no celebrating on a staff where wounds ran deep over the school district’s failure to hire one of Valley Heights’ own.

I’ve never sought an administrative position. But based on some very personal experiences with friends of mine on staff who have sought upward mobility, I doubt if I would be given any more of an opportunity than they would. We have had two members on staff who have sought administrative positions and have not been successful. I heard reasons as to why that is. There is a perception that the culture of this community as far as the staff is concerned is a negative one; that the culture of this staff is anti-administration, anti-education, anti-community, and ‘anti’ everything else [Staff member 7, 1995].

It fueled the anti-administration sentiment among the core teachers and placed the new administrators in a tenuous position. It was apparent that the sentiment applied equally to all administrators who entered Valley Heights High.
The nucleus that has evolved at Valley Heights High has become an anti-administration culture. With the new principal, there are attitudes that are prevalent. First, there is the attitude that he too shall pass. The teachers are here; they’ve made their homes here. Their families have been brought up in the community. The principals that come to our school pass through [Staff member 2, 1995].

When Valley Heights High was examined from an historical perspective, issues of classism and sexism were unveiled in the communities. The white castle on the hill was not impervious to these cultural assumptions when also analysed from an evolutionary perspective. Issues of classism and sexism existed on a staff that ranked its members in accordance to gender and tenure on staff and their willingness to settle in Valley Heights district. Children were placed in special classes on the basis of ability but, coincidentally, were often drawn from particular communities that had long endured the stigma of derogatory labels. Whether purposeful or coincidental, it marginalized the status of this group of students in the faces of their peers.

The culture evolved from teacher dependence on the formal leader to one where the core teachers were primarily concerned for their own survival and comfort. The emotional focus for the core teachers was to preserve their culture. Administrators were seen as a threat to their survival. The discontinuation of the practice of managed evolution through
hybrids was disturbing to a group that felt threatened by "outsiders". And the creativity and member differences of new teachers on staff was devalued rather than embellished. It was not a culture that would readily embrace an innovation that operated on the principle of least restrictive environment where the school was considered a focal point for the accommodation of the individual differences of all learners in an inviting environment where teachers work collaboratively.

The locus of control rested with the core group. These teachers represented the host culture. They earned that right through their willingness to settle in Valley Heights district and raise their children there, a practice of the founding family. It was a cherished value that signified teacher commitment. This giving of self was a time honored tradition in a milieu where relationships were primary. The notion of being totally present to the students and to the community was a major factor in establishing the insider from the outsider at Valley Heights High. Once the succession of principals from within the organization was broken, all school administrators from that time forward were cast in the dubious role of outsiders by the core teachers. The insider could no longer aspire to loftier administrative heights within the organization and the managed revolution through outsiders was despised by a group of male teachers who had demonstrated a commitment to the
students and the community. While their cultural ascendancy was disturbed by this new arrangement, they assumed the locus of control in other ways. They had little tolerance for ambiguity and the outsider was chastised for non-conformity.

Prior to the inception of Valley Heights High, time was a kind of space where one season followed the next, and one life led into another. The succession of principals through a managed evolution of hybrids in the formative years constituted a similar time space. The sanctity of time with its rural, temporal quality was now being violated by a principal succession mechanism that discontinued the ascent of male insiders to the position of principal. The maximum density timetable was discredited by the core teachers on similar grounds. In a traditional milieu that valued relationships over efficiency, the maximum density timetable was viewed by the core teachers as an instrument that ranked efficiency over relationships. Tampering with the sacred served to fuel their anti-administration sentimentality.

Schein [1989, p.93] concludes that where time is a kind of space and one season leads into the next, people tend to hold court and deal with issues in a simultaneous manner. The core teachers at Valley Heights High could be seen holding court in the staffroom and at staff meetings. Their words and actions represented the truth, and were manifestations of a traditional patriarchal system that
honored the voices of older and supposedly wiser males.

The principal was no longer valued as the absolute source of wisdom and truth. That privilege was assumed by the core teachers. The traditional masculine ideology of the founding members filtered through their ranks.

In the instituted rural communities of Valley Heights, family solidarity was a prerequisite to survival. The sense of family and purpose continued with the core teachers as they depended on each other for survival. In the true spirit of their forerunners, the desire to belong manifested itself in the formation of social groups. Their strength increased with each critical incident as they rallied around their own for protection and support.

Just as the communities had developed clear sex roles, kinship systems, and rules for friendship, the core teachers did likewise. They created the rules for membership and established the guidelines for acceptable behavior. In a milieu that promoted the cultural ascendancy of males, female staff members were marginalized in a process which was manifested by sexist comments and actions. In an environment where human problems were considered pathological, the Learning Centre became a panacea to fix students in need of fixing in an inherently orderly and rational manner. These students were segregated in the name of order. Groups were naturally marginalized in an organization with an activity orientation that was firmly
entrenched in traditional patriarchal values.

The core teachers viewed themselves as caregivers and vehemently rejected those things that distracted them from their core mission. "High pressure, teacher accountability, paper shuffle, horse manure" was a condemnation of anything that interfered with that mission.

Relationships in Valley Heights district emphasized hierarchy and tradition. Collateral or group cooperative activity was essential for survival. The same held true for the founding members of Valley Heights High as group cooperative relationships based on group welfare evolved in the organization under the firm hand of the school principal. Relationships within the school tended to mirror the dominant value orientation of the communities they served.

Relationships for the core teachers differed from their predecessors in that coercive relationships evolved in the host culture as a defense against authority. Anti-administration sentimentality was a driving force and affected their actions.

Figure 8 illustrates the cultural patterns of Valley Heights High from 1965 to 1995. The values and assumptions of the host culture clearly demarcate a shift in the locus of control from the traditional authority base of the principal to an informal authority consisting of a group of male teachers who exuded a traditional masculine ideology.
### FIGURE 8
**CULTURAL PATTERNS OF VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH**
**1965 - 1995**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Relationship of Humanity to Nature | 1. The Learning Centre was created, a manifestation of the traditional special class. Its clientele were drawn primarily from the poorer sections of the district.  
2. Sexist acts and comments were directed toward the female staff members by their male colleagues. | 1. The Learning Centre was valued as a means to fix human problems.  
2. On the basis of gender, female staff members were decreasingly valued. | 1. For one category of human beings, the relationship of humanity to nature is submissive.  
2. Man is dominant and in control of his environment.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| How Truth is Determined          | 1. Female staff members and students with special needs were marginalized in the organization.  
2. New teachers were targeted by core staff members and taught the correct way to behave at staff meetings. | 1. On the basis of gender and perceived ability, female staff members and students with special needs were decreasingly valued.  
2. New teachers were decreasingly valued in the organization. | 1. Truth is revealed, based on tradition and the cultural ascendancy of males.  
2. Truth is revealed.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| The Nature of Reality (Truth)    | 1. New teachers, female teachers, and students with special needs were marginalized in the organization by the core teachers.  
2. The Learning Centre consisting of students from the poorer sections of the district was created.  
3. The male core teachers were concerned about a perceived teacher “hit list”.  
4. The male core teachers engaged in anti-administration acts to protect their privileged positions. | 1. On the basis of gender and perceived commitment and ability, certain members of the organization were decreasingly valued.  
2. The Learning Centre was valued as an inherently orderly way to fix human problems.  
3. The seniority of certain male teachers was decreasingly valued.  
4. The role of the principal was no longer valued as a source of wisdom and truth. | 1. The nature of reality is relative, subjective, and highly personal.  
2. The nature of reality is relative, based on geographical and social ascription.  
3. The nature of reality is relative, subjective, and highly personal.  
4. The nature of reality is relative, subjective, and highly personal.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 - 135.

¹ The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Beings</td>
<td>1. The Learning Centre was created for students with special needs.</td>
<td>1. The special class was valued as an inherently orderly way to fix human problems.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The student drop-out rate decreased significantly.</td>
<td>2. Schooling was valued as a means to a better life.</td>
<td>2. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Special attention was paid to the Nova Scotia Achievement Test results. Maximum density schedules were created in the organization.</td>
<td>3. Student achievement and organizational efficiency were valued.</td>
<td>3. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Activity</td>
<td>1. Members of the core group attained positions of authority in the Nova Scotia Teachers Union in the wake of an organization that abandoned the internal grooming mechanism for principal succession.</td>
<td>1. Union activity was valued by the core group of male teachers.</td>
<td>1. For one category of human beings, the nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Female teachers did not attain positions of authority in the organization.</td>
<td>2. The role of the female teacher was marginalized and increasingly valued.</td>
<td>2. For another category of human beings, the nature of human activity is passive, more prepared to let the world unfold as it may.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The student drop-out rate decreased significantly.</td>
<td>3. Schooling was valued as a means to a better life.</td>
<td>3. For one category of human beings, the nature of human activity is active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Students from the poorer sections of the district were assigned to the Learning Centre.</td>
<td>4. The Learning Centre was valued as a way to fix human problems.</td>
<td>4. For another category of human beings, the nature of human activity is passive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Relationships</td>
<td>1. The core group of teachers engaged in subversive acts toward the administration.</td>
<td>1. The role of the principal was no longer valued as a source of wisdom and truth.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human relationships is collateral, emphasizing the goals of the work group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The core group of teachers taught &quot;the ropes&quot; to new staff members (i.e. staff meeting protocol).</td>
<td>2. Certain members of the organization were increasingly valued.</td>
<td>2. The nature of human relationships is collateral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The propensity of the core teacher to not submit student marks to the office on time. Also, the comment by the core teacher in his distaste for &quot;high pressure, teacher accountability, paper shuffle, horse manure.&quot;</td>
<td>3. Relationships were valued in the organization and formed around the sacrosanctity of the past.</td>
<td>3. The nature of human relationships is collateral.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

¹ The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Nature of Authority | 1. The core group of male teachers attained positions of authority in the Nova Scotia Teachers union and exerted control over marginalized groups through acts of subversion.  
2. The practice of hiring "outsiders" to the principalship was instituted in the organization. The core group of male teachers maintained their power through the structure of an informal authority. | 1. The core group of male teachers valued their past and attempted to maintain their position of authority in the organization.  
2. The core group of male teachers was decreasingly valued. | 1. For one category of human beings, the nature of authority rests upon the tradition and precedents of law.  
2. For another category of human beings, the nature of authority evolves over time. |
| The Nature of Space   | 1. The Learning Centre was created and consisted of students from the poorer sections of the district.  
2. Staff meetings and the staffroom are two spaces where the core group of male teachers dominate discussion.  
3. The core teachers have their own classrooms; newcomers are usually relegated to moving with the students during class changes. | 1. The Learning Centre was valued as an inherently orderly way to fix human problems.  
2. Staff meetings and the staffroom are valued by the core group of teachers as spaces where their voices are recorded.  
3. Space is valued as a symbol of status. | 1. The nature of space is finite.  
2. The nature of space is finite.  
3. The nature of space is finite. |
| The Concept of Time   | 1. Most teachers enter the organization just before classes commence, and leave with the students at dismissal time.  
2. The core group of male teachers were frequently absent from meetings that were scheduled after regular school hours.  
3. Maximum density scheduling was instituted where students were not permitted "free" time. | 1. The involvement of teachers in activities after "regular" school hours was decreasingly valued.  
2. Meetings after school were considered an encroachment on the core teachers' personal time and were decreasingly valued.  
3. Maximum density scheduling was valued as a means of control and organizational efficiency. | 1. The concept of time is linear in nature, where one's personal and professional life are separated.  
2. The concept of time is linear in nature.  
3. The concept of time is linear in nature, where time is carefully managed. |

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

1 The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
6.4. An Historical Summary

Prior to the school’s inception, one recalls that Valley Heights district was a conglomerate of unique, tiny villages. The self-containment of each village preserved its unique characteristics. The church, the school, and the general store met the needs of the community. The nature of work shaped the character of its residents. Farming, lumbering, and mining were the primary industries and produced levels of prosperity throughout the communities. Many left school at an early age to support their families. The key prerequisite to the work world was age and not educational attainment. Males sought employment in the family enterprise; females sought a husband. The former raised a paycheque; the latter raised the children. In a milieu where the school taught the children how to think, the resource base conditioned the family how to live, and the church, through inter-community marriages, preserved the status quo, attitudes of sexism and classism flourished.

The socioeconomic dimension was most relevant in a world where schooling and the world of ideas succumbed to a ready job market for the young people. Quality of education differed from community to community. Those communities with a richer resource base could afford better educational services for their residents. Lifestyles, norms, and values were a direct product of the variations in organizational channels of privilege and advantage gained through social
and geographical ascription. A labelling process emerged that persists to the present day. A patriarchal system developed guidelines for sex roles, kinship systems, and rules for friendship and sex. Wisdom was bestowed upon older and supposedly wiser males. One's reality was a product of geographical and social ascription. Males could aspire to a better way of life through hard work. Women were marginalized at birth and were forced to accept their lot in life. Women and children adopted a "being orientation" in a man's world. Relationships were primary and cooperation a key to survival. Members of a family and of a community conformed to a hierarchical chain of command, to rules, and to clearly defined roles. Tradition shaped the relationships and behavior patterns of the rural citizens.

The construction of Valley Heights High meant an end to the relative isolation of the communities as students came together for the first time. The white castle on the hill was revered in the formative years and the founding family enjoyed a relatively stress-free time. The school reflected the dominant value orientations of the communities they served as it adopted a patriarchal ideology where the teachers and the community looked to the principal for guidance. He provided them with a leadership style that was compatible with their experience. The traditional masculine ideology permeated the organization as wisdom and truth were vested to older and wiser males and
preserved through a succession of principals drawn from existing male staff members. The school and the community entered a symbiotic relationship that persisted for fifteen years. Valley Heights High served to make its students functional in a rural environment. The school function was aligned to the wishes of families who needed their children to continue in their footsteps.

Relationships among the founding family of Valley Heights High were group cooperative in nature as members conformed to a hierarchical chain of command, to rules, and to clearly defined roles in a culture that reflected the dominant value orientation of the communities they served. The school entered a "biological groove of entrenchment" [Huxley, 1943] and there was peace in the Valley.

The wave of teacher appointments from outside the boundaries of Valley Heights district in the mid-sixties and the hiring of an outsider to the principalship meant an end of an era and the dawn of a new age. The locus of control could no longer be manipulated from within the organization through a principal succession process. It would now be managed by a group of male teachers on staff as they developed a set of guidelines for acceptance within the organization. They became the source of wisdom and truth.

The core teachers bonded against an administration that they believed was more interested in organizational efficiency. In the eyes of the core teachers, the principal
as outsider could not understand their world. They despised individualistic competitive relationships that were manifested in the form of Nova Scotia Achievement Test results and maximum density scheduling of classes, not the stuff of which group cooperative relationships are made. Relationships over efficiency was a major cultural underpinning of the organization and to tamper with the sacred was taboo.

It was the core teachers' preoccupation with issues of survival that created an organizational atrophy where innovations and administrators were not trusted. Organizational decline prevented its members from finding new solutions to problems. Creative utilization of existing resources was not in the repertoire of its members. The core teachers adopted a "this too shall pass" attitude in an effort to cling to the glory days and to weather the winds of change.

An analysis of the cultural patterns of Valley Heights High from the perspective of ecological functionalism complemented the historical and evolutionary forces that shaped the assumptions of Valley Heights High.

6.5 An Ecological Perspective

To view Valley Heights High from an ecological perspective necessitated an analysis of elements that currently impact on the school's daily operation. Those
elements are a combination of forces that serve to shape the culture and affect the way of doing things in the organization. The formal and informal authority structure in the school and the nature of the school’s student population were examined.

**The Formal Authority**

The principal who is currently at Valley Heights High was described by one teacher as wishing to seek staff and community input on decisions affecting the school’s operation. The first act of the new principal was to phone his teachers during the summer months and seek their advice on the matter of several class changes. Being an outsider, it was his way to better acquaint himself with his staff. An initial assignment for the principal was to create a school discipline policy in consultation with the community and the staff. From those events emerged the perception among staff and community members that the principal wished for their input.

The principal also guided the school to the establishment of a school advisory council, the first recognized council in the province. The school advisory council was intended to ensure the active participation of parents and community members in decisions affecting the well-being of the students. The school plan was driven by a mission statement that emphasized community involvement.
The mission of Valley Heights High School, a rural junior/senior high school, is to ensure maximum academic achievement and optimize the physical and social development of each student in a safe environment; this to be accomplished in partnership with an informed and involved community [School Strategic Plan, 1995].

An objective of the school plan was for all students to benefit from a learning environment based on mutual respect. One tactic emphasized community involvement in the academic, social, and physical development of the students. The plan intended to foster a sense of community within the school "where students find support for their physical, social, and academic development among their peers" [School Strategic Plan, Tactic #6, 1995].

Although the principal has been in the assignment for less than a year and it is too early to assess his impact on the culture of Valley Heights High, he is experiencing a calmness in the school setting that few of his predecessors have encountered. His initial success can undoubtedly be attributed to his acceptance by the core teachers.

He tries to accommodate us with a little give and take. He gives the impression that he cares about the staff and he knows he needs us. It’s genuine. He’s not a fake about it. He has started off on a great road. Some really positive things have been happening [Staff member 5, 1995].

From an ecological perspective, the organization seems to be in a state of decline. Valley Heights High needed a leader who could articulate the goals of the organization.
The present principal appears to be on such a course. The school advisory council may be an important step in reculturing the school and developing a shared role for its members. The school improvement plan can be the vehicle for change. The principal will be instrumental in navigating his staff and his community through these murky waters. He has communicated to all stakeholders that the school improvement plan will be the gauge by which the school is measured. By focusing on certain tactics in the plan, likely he can influence the "thinking" of the group. "The ultimate content of the plan may not be as important as the planning that goes on during the planning process" [Schein, 1989, p. 226]. The degree to which the school improvement plan is implemented will be his personal measure of success in the organization. The plan will undoubtedly undergo the scrutiny of the core teachers if it is seen as a threat to their survival. A core teacher sits on the advisory council and his measurement of its success will be the yardstick by which others in the group will judge the plan's viability.

The principal appears willing to share the locus of control with his teachers and the community by creating a symbiotic relationship with all stakeholders through the development of a school discipline policy and an advisory council. The school's strategic plan articulates the truth as derived through a consensus process. The mission statement values the development of the whole child in a
safe environment. It is a statement of the belief that humans are perfectible and harmony is achieved through the integration of the whole self. This will be accomplished through group cooperative relationships based on group concensus and group welfare.

The Informal Authority

While the task of leadership is to "create the moral order that binds leader and staff together" [Greenfield, 1974, p. 159], it is the informal authority that controls what that moral order will be.

The informal authority of Valley Heights High is represented by a group of male teachers who have taught at the school for over two decades and who live in the district. Their boundaries were developed through shared emotional responses to critical incidences. Those who had not shared the experiences were outsiders and unworthy of group membership. The core group envision their experiences as sacred. Outsiders cannot understand the sanctity of those experiences.

In the first generation family, perks were awarded to those members who succeeded through the ranks to the role of principal. The practice of managed evolution through hybrids at Valley Heights High in the mid-sixties was replaced by managed revolution through outsiders [Schein, 1989, p. 281] and signalled the termination of rewards in the form of
job promotions from within the organization. Several of the core teachers have sought administrative positions at Valley Heights High, but to no avail.

But if I wanted to move up the ladder in terms of administration, I don’t think I’d be looked at. That system is all sewn up [Staff member 7, 1995].

Several members of the core group have aspired to executive positions in the Nova Scotia Teachers’ Union. These positions are cast in a dubious light, according to one core teacher.

There is a feeling on staff that your Union involvement affects your relationship with the School Board... That it’s perceived as a bad thing to be involved or, if you’re involved in the Union, you’re trouble [Staff member 7, 1995].

There are rewards within the organization if one belongs to a committee known as "The Committee". Members of this group receive time away from their classes to delve into matters of scheduling and other "operation" issues. Status is also achieved through the power of the spoken word.

People with seniority tend to achieve status... There is a reluctance by some to speak. There is a general belief not to make waves. Then there are those who feel they must speak; they must be recorded. Being recorded is seen as achieving status. You can also increase in status proportional to the size of your problem. Everyone rallies around the person who is having problems [Staff member 6, 1995].

Staff meetings and the staffroom are the two forums where
one can be recorded. The members of the core group dominate
the recording sessions. To violate the speaking code is to
face possible sanctions by the core group.

This one person on staff didn’t fit
in. I guess there was a hierarchy.
When he would speak, people would
make gagging sounds... You can be
ostracized if you assume things before
you are accepted. You have to be
accepted by the core group to make it
[Staff member 6, 1995].

The manner in which space is utilized in the
organization also provides insights into power relationships
that exist at Valley Heights High. The core teachers have
their own classrooms; newcomers are usually relegated to
moving with the students during class changes. The staffroom
is the meeting place for the core teachers to discuss
political issues with their friends. They can be found at
one end of the room during break time.

It’s the norm that people verbalize
criticisms to the people they chum
with. There are groups in the staff-
room and their frustrations are
discussed. There are not nearly
enough opportunities to discuss
frustrations in the context of a
staff meeting. Most administrators try
to control the tone of a staff meeting
so it doesn’t come down to a personal
level [Staff member 1, 1995].

Administrators seldom enter the sanctum of the staffroom.

Time is also sacred in an organization that has
basically adhered to the same class schedule since its
inception. Most teachers enter Valley Heights High just
before classes commence, and leave with the students at dismissal time. Scheduling meetings after school hours is considered an encroachment on the core teachers' personal time. Their protest is seen in their frequent absence from these meetings. The core teachers are also known for their tardiness in passing things to the administration.

There is a lay-back attitude to demands of the administration. This too will come and go. Then comes the crunch and everyone is flying to get things in on time [Staff member 4, 1995].

Certain behavior patterns are evident in the organization. There is a sense of orderliness at Valley Heights High as pockets of teachers and students can be observed speaking to each other. Language is appropriate; dress is casual. Several of the core teachers go home for dinner. Many of the staff stay in their classrooms at lunchtime while some retreat to the staffroom.

The locus of control rests with the core teachers. Their activity in the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union can be interpreted as an attempt to maintain the locus of control that would have been their birthright in the early years of the organization through a principal succession that groomed certain male staff members to school administrative positions. They now must hold dominion over their territory in other ways or risk losing status in the organization.

At Valley Heights High, words and actions take on different meanings in accordance with one's status. The core
teachers speak the truth at staff meetings and in the staff-room. The words and actions of newcomers are not given credence in a culture where truth lies with the older and presumably wiser males on staff.

The core teachers constitute the moral order of the organization. Privilege and advantage are bestowed upon this group of male teachers; this is evident in their treatment of time and space in the organization. Classes rarely start on time for these members and appointments are frequently cancelled by them. Due dates are largely ignored.

Most people try to abide by target dates but it is a problem. One person on staff [core member] is always a little late with passing test marks into the office. It’s kind of funny. It was accepted and we knew that. It wasn’t because the teacher was insubordinate or didn’t care. It was the fact that he did care. He allowed students to produce items that they couldn’t do in the deadline. He treated his students with respect [Staff member 1, 1995].

Space is allocated in accordance to one’s seniority. Owning one’s classroom and holding court in the staffroom are rewards reserved for the core group. All members are taught where their space and place are in the organization. The cultural ascendancy of the members of the core group are established in a milieu where they control time and space. It is done in the spirit of caring for the children, a cultural assumption that was a cornerstone of the founding members of Valley Heights High.
The core group has a "doing" outlook on life. Its members are inclined to control and manipulate the environment. The doing orientation of the members generally reflects an anti-administration sentimentality. Their primary preoccupation in the organization is with building useful relationships in defense against an administration they do not trust. The doing orientation of the core teachers creates a "being" orientation for the rest of the members who are new to the way of life at Valley Heights High and/or who are female. These groups are subservient to the forces of the environment. The outsiders exert little influence on the organization's day-to-day operation and work within defined boundaries. Relationships are clearly established in a culture that is subsumed in a sea of power and influence. Cooperative working relationships are minimal in a milieu that features a "we-them" mindset.

Relationships at Valley Heights High are based on group affiliation. The core teachers have an emotionally charged relationship among themselves, as in a friendship [Parsons, 1951]. They work and socialize together. Membership is particularistic in nature based on gender, tenure, and where staff live. The actions of the core teachers are largely associated with power and influence. Actions of the other members are individualistic in nature as they find their niche in the organization.
The Adolescent Culture

The student culture of Valley Heights High contains familiar traces of sexism and classism that are noteworthy. One teacher offered a disturbing revelation on gender issues in the organization.

I don’t think the male-female thing is as evident among the students as among the staff. There was this feeling that the girls had to have a boyfriend at whatever the cost. There had been some incidences of shoving, male to female, and derogatory remarks, and just overall demeaning and lessening of self-esteem as far as the female was concerned [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

An equally disturbing disclosure was made on the topic of classism.

I think it [classism] exists at all levels through the staff and through the youth as well. There seems to be some stigma attached to where you live ... I have heard isolated comments from staff members about expectations of kids who come from certain areas. I know they have made some derogatory statements about students from different communities... The students refer to themselves by those terms as well. It may indicate that they think less of themselves, set in a mold so they act accordingly: a self-fulfilling prophecy [Staff member 8, 1995].

A third characteristic of the student culture is associated with the quality of the educational experience. The school delivers a program designed to prepare its students for post-secondary education. The fact that the vast majority of the students fail to gain the skills and abilities needed for post-secondary education and life in a
high-tech world leads one to question the relevance of their schooling experience. Few of the students who are successful in their post-secondary endeavors return to their rural communities. Those who stay are ill-prepared in entrepreneurial pursuits. Schooling for many of the young people is a meaningless pursuit. "The bottom line is that the present educational system serves mostly as an agency for recruiting and exporting the best human resources out of rural communities" [Hathaway, 1993]. One recalls the voicing of similar concerns in Valley Heights forty years earlier.

A fourth characteristic of the student culture is the very nature of adolescence. Adolescence is typically a time when sexual orientation is emphasized and the attractions of sex are prominent. There is an intense desire to belong and peer association becomes more important than association with one's family members. A teen survey distributed to the students at Valley Heights High witnessed a seventy percent return rate of the total student population and illustrates a fascinating glimpse of their world. The students placed a high premium on friendship [Appendix C, Figure 1]. They invariably went to friends when in trouble or when they had good news to share [Appendix C, Figures 2 and 3]. Of personal concern was the desire to be well-liked [Appendix C, Figure 4]. On matters of career choices, students would go to friends and parents. School ranked considerably lower as a source for making career choices [Appendix C, Figure
Decisions concerning sex, relationships, and having fun were mostly made with the help of friends [Appendix C, Figures 6, 7, and 8]. Friends were asked for advice when the teenagers were faced with major problems [Appendix C, Figure 9]. In this milieu, popularity and peer status are preeminent.

Adolescence has been described as a conventional form of delinquency where young people flirt with boundaries between morality and immorality [Kulas, 1996; Matza, 1964]. On the issue of alcohol accessibility and use, forty-six percent of the senior male students at Valley Heights High reported that they often imbibe alcohol, a significant increase from the junior high male population [Appendix C, Figure 10]. On the matter of sexual activity among the students, nearly twenty-five percent of the senior female students reported that they engage in unprotected sex [Appendix C, Figure 11] and ranked AIDS of medium concern [Appendix C, Figure 12]. Some involvement with cults was reported by nearly ten percent of the senior male students [Appendix C, Figure 13].

Hemming [1980] believes that secondary education is not a milieu in which adolescents can flourish because it is not designed to suit them. At Valley Heights High, forty-two percent of the junior high male students stated that they did not find the work meaningful and eighteen percent of the same sample were not doing well in school. Twenty-nine
percent of the junior male respondents did not find the courses interesting and twenty percent did not find the teachers helpful. Higher ratings were given by the senior high male students for their teachers' helpfulness but, in all cases, males were more critical of the white castle on the hill than were the female students [Appendix C, Figure 14]. Most of the students expected to graduate from high school. While seventy-five percent of the junior high male students anticipated attending university, only forty-three percent of the senior high males responded accordingly [Appendix C, Figure 15]. The survey results indicate a need at Valley Heights High to consider the actual personal motivation of the young people in planning their learning experiences.

The teen survey invariably showed distinct differences in gender responses. The female students were more concerned with being loved [Appendix C, Figure 1] and relying on friends when something goes wrong [Appendix C, Figure 2]. The male respondents valued money more than did the females [Appendix C, Figure 1]. They were more concerned with the matter of unemployment [Appendix C, Figure 12]. The results of the teen survey indicate a student culture where females are more concerned about relationships and males worry more about the world of work. These are strong indicators that the students have been acculturated in a traditional masculine ideology.
In a student culture that places high value on group affiliation, students with special needs find themselves segregated from the mainstream of school life and "joined at the hip" to students of similar abilities. Images of the student's torn jacket, a result of teasing on the playground; the silhouette of the two students with special needs negotiating their way across a playing field in virtual isolation of their peers; the "special" grouping arrangements in the classroom setting that reek of segregation in an integrated setting; students being labelled in accordance to where they live; actions between students that portray elements of sexism...these are the images that loom for the researcher and clearly describe a culture where each student is not becoming more complete as a person through interaction with other people and where differences are not being celebrated.

The sociocultural dimension is most relevant in an adolescent culture where students are labelled by their peers, a practice that prevailed many years prior to the inception of the organization. Children continue to be labelled according to their place of residency. These students realize where they fit in relation to their peers and seal their fate by labelling themselves, a phenomenon that has survived the ages. The locus of control is based on geographical and social ascription. Students from the "poorer" sections of Valley Heights occupy space in the
Learning Centre as they had in the "special" class.

In a milieu where the educational experiences are generally not valued by the students, they are orientated to the here and now. Few proceed into post-secondary education and those who stay rely on local industries for employment. Many remain in their home communities and the cycle of prosperity and disparity is perpetuated.

The sexist acts that are prevalent among the student body marginalize the lives of the adolescent females at Valley Heights High. The cultural ascendancy of the male population is sustained in this milieu.

The students are preoccupied with an intense desire to belong. Peer affiliation is everything for many of the students and is seen in the various cliques in the organization. Life decisions occur in a setting where students rely on each another for advice. For the student with special needs, peer affiliation has generally meant contact with others who have disabilities. The close proximity of a program assistant to those with special needs during school hours clearly distinguishes this group of students from their classmates.

6.6. Summary

The culture of Valley Heights High is strong. Its strength is apparent as the present pattern of basic assumptions of members in the organization can be traced to
the dominant value orientations of Valley Heights district that existed prior to the construction of the "white castle on the hill". A prevailing masculine ideology has survived to the present and affects the members' relationship in the organization. In an arena where a patriarchal model promoted the cultural ascendancy of males, privilege and advantage were awarded to males through ascription. This basic stance has a residual effect on other members who are marginalized in the organization and forced to find an appropriate niche.

The linguistic and behavioral rules of the host culture that presently define truth and reality in the organization can be traced to past actions when wisdom and truth were bestowed to older and wiser male patriarchs. One's reality was a product of geographical and social ascription. The core group of teachers who manipulate time and space and who have earned their right of passage by settling in the community and raising their families there declare the truth to all members in the school through their words and actions. Schein's dimension of the nature of reality and truth as the basic underlying assumption around which cultural paradigms form is demonstrated in the manner in which the host culture determines what is real and what is not, a product of prior cultural learning experiences.

The traditional masculine ideology in Valley Heights created in its school assumptions around the nature of human nature, another dimension of Schein's conceptual
model of culture formation. Man can aspire to better things through hard work. Valley Heights High aspired to make its students functional in a rural environment. It was the organization's response to perfecting its children. With the increase in geographical mobility, this modus operandi is presently outdated as the students are ill-equipped for a changing world. Many of the students return to their home communities and rely on local industries for sustenance as they continue in the path of their predecessors, perpetuating in their communities a culture of disparity or prosperity. Within the school, a core group of teachers have acquired certain perks that distinguish them from their colleagues. Their view of human nature and their mission of caring for the students they teach is a time honored commitment that only they understand. This divine right of passage has become the primary factor in distinguishing the insider from the outsider at Valley Heights High.

The basic assumptions around the nature of human activity in the organization follows a pattern that has remained largely unchanged throughout the ages. Those in power continue to control and manipulate the elements while those in subservient roles have adopted a "being" orientation and have accepted their lot in life. In this milieu, groups are marginalized and taught by those in power the correct way to behave. Sanctions are imposed on those who have not learned their place in the hierarchical scheme
of things. The nature of human activity is closely tied to a traditional masculine ideology that has existed since time began in Valley Heights district.

The nature of human relationships at Valley Heights High considers the correct way for people to relate to each other, and to distribute power and friendship. Life in the organization has underpinnings of a traditional lineal authority that emphasizes hierarchy, rules, and clearly defined roles. The relationships have evolved from a patriarchal system that taught its members the correct way to think, feel, and perceive. Coercive relationships exist for the core members as a defense against an authority that does not understand them.

What are the implications of the assumptions and beliefs of the host culture on the school's willingness to accommodate students with special needs? This question is addressed in Chapter 7.
CHAPTER 7

CULTURAL IMPACT

7.1. A Cultural Mosaic

What were the implications of those assumptions and beliefs on the school’s willingness to implement the Learning Centre Program Model? [Research sub-question 4]

A cultural mosaic unfolded at Valley Heights High through the years as the organization stabilized its view of itself and the environment around it. At the time of its inception, the school inherited dominant community values that would ultimately shape its character. The organization learned that one’s lot in life was largely a product of fate. Privilege and advantage were awarded on the basis of age, tenure, gender, and place of residence. In communities where social stratification was tied to geographical and social ascription and one’s future was dependent on place of birth, Valley Heights High perpetuated the fundamental belief that the locus of control rested in the hands of male administrators. This right of passage was ensured through a principal succession process that rewarded the hard work and dedication of male staff members. The school administrator was the patriarch of his family; in essence, he was a natural product of the dominant value orientation of communities that relied on wise and older males to lead the way. In the early growth stage, the organization did not
threaten the established, traditional customs of their clients as the young people left school early to continue in the family footsteps, placing a low premium on schooling as a precursor to employment. The sociocultural dimension of Valley Heights High was a perfect fit for the dominant value orientation of the communities it served. This continued with the onslaught of a new wave of teachers who achieved acceptance by moving to the area and raising their families there. Geographical ascription clearly demarcated the insider from the outsider in the organization. The present administrator at Valley Heights High is attempting to solicit the support of his teachers and his community. However, the core teachers still find themselves in a struggle for power and influence, and have subsequently assumed influential positions in the Nova Scotia Teachers’ Union in an effort to protect their own. Issues of power and influence also arise in an adolescent culture at Valley Heights High where a labelling process serves to marginalize certain groups on the basis of social and geographical ascription. A traditional masculine ideology is pervasive throughout the organization. The children have learned well the lessons of the past.

In essence, the organization’s view of the nature of truth and reality in the organization is derived from a belief that wisdom is vested to older and wiser males. The patriarchal family model was embraced by the founding staff
who viewed nepotism as a means to reward loyalty and continue the "family" tradition. The principal as head of his family was a pillar of strength. He hired local teachers who understood rurality and the clients they served. In a world where one’s reality was a product of community affiliation and family background, human problems were considered a pathology and fixable. The special class was a classic example of a structure that arose to fix the learning problems of those who came predominantly from the "poorer" sections of the district. It would eventually be reincarnated as a Learning Centre that served a similar purpose of "fixing" kids from the poorer communities. Moreover, the infinite wisdom of the school principal was transposed to a group of male teachers whose words constituted the truth. The core group of teachers held court in areas of the building where their voices could be heard.

A traditional masculine ideology that assured the cultural ascendancy of males constituted a major assumption around the nature of human nature in an organization where women and children were marginalized. Female staff members did not reach administrative heights due to a carefully "managed evolution of hybrids". They were further marginalized in the sexist acts and comments of the core group of male teachers who replaced the founding family.

The core group comprised the host culture and participated in acts of subversion against a school
administration who they felt was determined to eradicate them through a perceived "hit list". A culture of opposition evolved in response to the assumption of the core group that the basic impulses of the principal were dangerous and must be controlled. In this milieu, the student culture mirrors assumptions of the past as female students are treated in a servile manner by their male classmates. Students continue to carry the labels of their predecessors on the basis of family background and community affiliation. It is not an environment that is in harmony with a school mission statement that supports the development of the whole child in a safe environment. Valley Heights High currently presents a marginalized existence for several groups, a cultural learning experience that has survived the ages.

In a marginalized world, assumptions around the nature of human activity assume a "doing" or a "being" orientation in the organization. The core group of teachers are doers as they focus on issues of power and influence and the control and manipulation of nature for their own protection and survival. Relationships are important to the core group and not in unison with the doing orientation of administrators who attempt task-oriented initiatives in the name of efficiency. Relationships have always been the focus of Valley Heights High from the time of its inception when the purpose of schooling was to make one functional in a rural environment. Relationships continue to form a primary
component of the adolescent culture where students are preoccupied with issues of belonging in a marginalized milieu. Assumptions around the nature of human relationships have their roots in a patriarchal family structure that emphasized hierarchy, rules, and clearly defined roles. Cooperation was a key ingredient to survival. The pattern of assumptions continued with Valley Heights High's founding family as the members conformed to a patriarchal system that demanded loyalty. The pattern continues to this day as the core teachers cling to stories of the past. It is an emotionally charged group who are ascription oriented in their beliefs and feel that they deserve status and rank on the basis of their tenure and willingness to settle in the district of Valley Heights and raise their children there. The core group is clearly the host culture and influences the modus operandi of the organization. The culture of Valley Heights High has a dramatic effect on the implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model.

7.2. Cultural Impact on Implementation Efforts

Figure 9 describes the dimensions of the Learning Centre Program Model, the cultural assumptions that impinge on its implementation, and the resulting behaviors and actions of the members of Valley Heights High. As the dimensions of the model overlap, so do the assumptions that impact on them. In the area of program emphasis, the regular
**FIGURE 9**

CULTURAL IMPACT ON THE LEARNING CENTRE PROGRAM MODEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION OF THE LEARNING CENTRE PROGRAM MODEL</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS IMPACTING ON THE MODEL'S IMPLEMENTATION</th>
<th>RESULTING BEHAVIORS AT VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Program Emphasis (Development of knowledge, attitudes, and skills in all students enabling them to lead independent and meaningful lives). | 1. The nature of human beings is perfectible. | 1. a) Responsibility for program adaptation is primarily in the hands of the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistant.  
   b) Students with special needs are segregated in the regular classroom through ability grouping arrangements.  
   c) The Learning Centre is sought as a refuge from the rigors of the mainstream of school life. |
| 2. Program and Service Organization (Learning experiences would fit the interests and needs of the students. School teams would be created with parents as full/equal partners). | 1. The concept of time is linear in nature, where one's personal and professional life is separated. | 1. a) The school team lacks the commitment of the classroom teachers where "meeting-on-the-run" and teacher absenteeism at meetings becomes the norm.  
   b) Parents are seldom included in the learning process. |
| 3. Student Objectives and Outcomes (Students with disabilities would acquire the appropriate skills to enable them to develop a functional interdependence in the school setting and prepare them for life in society). | 1. For one category of human beings, the relationship of humanity to nature is submissive. | 1. a) Minimal interaction with the regular classroom teacher and non-disabled peers results in students with disabilities relying on their disabled peers for support.  
   b) Students with disabilities depend heavily on the Learning Centre and the Learning Centre teacher for support. |
| 4. Student Activities (A variety of learning environments would be provided for students with disabilities). | 1. For one category of human beings, the relationship of humanity to nature is submissive. | 1. a) The segregation of students with disabilities in the Learning Centre and in the regular classroom setting through ability grouping.  
   b) The "dependency" disposition of students with special needs for the Learning Centre teacher, the program assistant, and their disabled peers. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS</th>
<th>RESULTING BEHAVIORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5. Teacher Activities (Teaching strategies would be student-centred and the classroom teachers would assume responsibility for all students in their classrooms). | 1. For one category of human beings, the nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments. | 1. a) Teaching methodology and pedagogy emphasizes subject coverage.  
   b) There is a lack of peer tutors and cooperative learning situations in the regular classroom for students with special needs. |
| 6. Evaluation (Takes many forms and accounts for all aspects of the child's growth and development. Evaluation would include teacher observations, anecdotal recordings, samples of student work over extended periods of time, formal assessments, and an ongoing review of the learner's individualized program plan). | 1. The nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments. | 1. a) Evaluation is based on subject mastery and content coverage.  
   b) Tests and homework assignments are generally the same for all students. |
| 7. Resources (Most materials at the school level can be adapted to meet the needs of students with disabilities to enable them to participate to the maximum extent in integrated environments and activities). | 1. The nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments. | 1. Content coverage is the primary focus in the core subject areas and the student text is the guiding source and primary resource. |
| 8. Philosophy (Based on the principle of least restrictive environment. The school becomes the focal point for accommodating the individual characteristics of students with special needs). | 1. The nature of space is finite. | 1. Anti-administration sentimentality resulting in acts of subversion and forming a counter-culture of opposition. The core group develop a "we-them" mindset based on their desire to preserve extant structures and cling to stories of the past.  
   2. For one category of human beings, the nature of human activity is passive, more prepared to let the world unfold as it may.  
   2. The preoccupation of the core group with survival issues detracts from the implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model. Groups are marginalized in the process. |
classroom teachers fail to take responsibility for program adaptation for the students in their classes who have special needs. This is especially true in the core subject areas where the students are segregated in the classroom through ability grouping arrangements. Content coverage is emphasized in the core subject classes to the detriment of the development of inquiry, decision-making, and problem-solving skills in the students.

The Learning Centre is a refuge for the students with disabilities. Once there, they receive individualized instruction from the Learning Centre teacher. This special arrangement mirrors the special class that was created in the early stages of the organization and was designed to separate the students with special needs from their non-disabled peers. Students with disabilities required special treatment from special teachers. This assumption is grounded in a functionalist quest for objective, rational, and inherently orderly solutions in dealing with human failure. The regular classroom teachers continue their function of teaching which typically embraces subject coverage for the mainstreamed student. The emphasis on academic achievement creates a poor fit in the organization for those who do not perform well on tests. An objective, rational, and inherently orderly way to deal with the problem in the regular classroom is to group together the learners with special needs and assign a program assistant to them. The
Learning Centre provides a haven from a meritocratic system that places narrow parameters on school success for the student with special needs.

In the area of program and service organization, the school team meets "on the run" as the Learning Centre teacher attempts to meet with teachers. In the final analysis, the quality of the student's individualized program plan depends on the ingenuity of the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistant to maximize and enrich the learning experiences of the students. In a milieu where human problems are considered to be pathological and in need of fixing, the fixing is left to the expert. This behavior is a manifestation of cultural learning experiences from the early days of the special classes.

In the area of student outcomes, the Learning Centre Program Model describes the manner in which students with disabilities will develop a functional interdependence in the school setting which will prepare them for life in society. The students will acquire appropriate social and communication skills, a sense of self-worth, and a concern for others. In reality, students with disabilities rely heavily on the Learning Centre teacher, the program assistant, and each other for support at Valley Heights High. In communities that treat human problems as intrinsic and a product of social and geographical ascription, the school embraces this dominant value orientation and creates
a marginalized existence for students with special needs who happen to come from the poorer and marginalized sections of the district. The Learning Centre becomes their "home away from home". Their opportunity to learn appropriate social and communication skills, and to develop a sense of self-worth and a concern for others is lessened in a milieu where they are literally segregated in integrated settings, a manifestation of prior cultural learning experiences. Students with disabilities develop a "dependency" disposition toward the Learning Centre teacher, the program assistant, and their disabled peers. This condition seriously affects their ability to become more complete as individuals through interaction with other people, all of whom bring a range of interests, strengths, abilities, and backgrounds within a variety of learning environments.

The Learning Centre Program Model describes teaching strategies and activities that are student-centred and reflect the belief that students are unique and vital participants in the learning process. In essence, teacher activity at Valley Heights High is based on the fundamental assumption that school activity is task and efficiency orientated. Subject coverage constitutes the primary task of the classroom teacher. The efficiency problem is tackled through ability grouping arrangements. In the spirit of the communities it serves, Valley Heights High creates social identities for its students through a variety of sorting
mechanisms.

The Learning Centre Program Model describes an evaluation scheme that accounts for all aspects of the child's growth and development. It advocates an holistic approach that would include teacher observations, anecdotal recordings, samples of student work over extended periods of time, formal assessments, and an ongoing review of the student's individualized program plan. At Valley Heights High, evaluation of student progress focuses on subject mastery. In a milieu where school activity is task and efficiency orientated and is accentuated by a maximum density timetable that demands on-task behavior, there is little time for peer interactions. This behavior is indicative of an organization's approach to organizing and managing structures in a functionalist assumption that presupposes social reality to be objective, rational, and inherently orderly. Student evaluation reflects external incentives of success and failure in imposed curricula in a milieu that educates the young people in accordance with their academic abilities.

The Learning Centre Program Model purports the way in which most materials at the school level can be adapted to meet the educational needs of students with disabilities and enable them to participate to the maximum extent in integrated environments and activities. These adaptations are specifically designed to compensate for a variety of
behavioral, cognitive, sensory, and motor difficulties. At Valley Heights High, content coverage constitutes the primary focus in the core subject areas and the textbook is the guiding source and main resource. Responsibility for the adaptation of materials is left to the Learning Centre teacher. Although the Atlantic Provinces Special Education Authority does provide resources in the form of a brailler, a computer, and an itinerant teacher, and the Isaac Walton Killam Children's Hospital supplies Valley Heights High with an electric wheelchair for a student with physical disabilities, the responsibility for accessing these resources falls squarely on the shoulders of the Learning Centre teacher. In an organization where human problems are considered to be pathological and fixable, the Learning Centre teacher has assumed the role of "fixer" from her predecessor, the special education teacher.

The Learning Centre Program Model espouses a philosophy based on the principle of "least restrictive environment" where the school becomes the focal point for accommodating students with disabilities. The school as a focal point implies the cooperation and participation of all stakeholders in the child's education. But cooperation is not an attribute of a culture where a core group of teachers no longer take action solely on the command of the principal; where the activity orientation of the core group of teachers is based on a defense against the school
administration; where groups have been marginalized on the basis of community affiliation and family background; and where members of the organization are valued on the basis of gender. An innovation founded on the principle of "least restrictive environment" struggles in a culture that promotes the marginalization of certain groups, including students with disabilities.

7.3. Summary

Inclusionary practices are difficult to achieve in an organization that is not inclusive in nature. The district of Valley Heights has imparted guiding metaphors to the "white castle on the hill" that reek of social inequities. Inclusion is a foreign concept in a milieu that is orientated to the past and embraces a traditional masculine ideology that promotes the cultural ascendancy of males. The principle of "least restrictive environment" struggles in a culture of marginalization and balkanization of certain groups.

The Learning Centre was created in the name of inclusion but has the trappings of the special class. Within the regular classroom, the students with special needs are segregated in an integrated setting. They retreat to the Learning Centre for assistance and for moral support from the Learning Centre teacher.

Inclusionary practices are not supported in a culture
that features a "we-them" mindset where power and influence rest in the hands of a chosen few; where a core group of teachers hold court and impart the truth and the correct way to think, feel, and perceive to the other members of the organization; and where ground rules clearly demarcate those who are "in" from those who are "out". The informal authority has established a communication system where their words form the precondition for action or inaction. Their language is laden with issues of survival and stories of the past. It is not a culture that embraces negotiation, open communication, and the support of all stakeholders.

The Learning Centre Program Model envisions students with disabilities developing a functional interdependence in the school setting and in society. They would exude a sense of self-worth and a concern for others. However, the culture supports a functional dependence of its members as groups are marginalized on the basis of gender, tenure, and geographical ascription. Also, the evolution of Valley Heights High and its rate of adaptive organizational change is not keeping pace with the rate of environmental change. This was heard in the cries of the communities during the emergence of the new wave of teachers in the sixties. The school was seen as an exporter of human potential, and the curriculum was criticized for not meeting the needs of its learners. A similar plaintive cry was heard in the nineties from returning graduates who criticized the organization for
not preparing them for a post-secondary education. Indeed, a gap does exist between the school and its changing world. The school has entered a biological groove of entrenchment. This is witnessed in the actions of a core group of teachers who wish to preserve extant structures and have formed a counterculture of opposition to ensure their survival. Change is not embraced in this milieu.

Students with disabilities are segregated from their peers through the very extant structures that are denounced by the Learning Centre Program Model. Trapped in a culture of isolationism and exacerbated by the assumption that "differences" are a consequence of a human and social pathology, their marginalized existence prevents them from developing a functional interdependence in the organization. In a student culture that is preoccupied with issues of belonging, and a host culture that is preoccupied with issues of survival, the students with special needs accept their fate, and cling to the Learning Centre teacher and to a program assistant as their means for survival. It is an arrangement that nurtures their functional dependence and preserves their marginalized existence.
CHAPTER 8

ACCOMMODATING STUDENTS AT OCEAN BOTTOM HIGH

8.1. Introduction

How were the needs of students with disabilities met at Ocean Bottom High? [Research sub-question 2]

Ocean Bottom High School is located in the eastern region of the province. The communities served by the school offer many contrasts. Villages to the east of the school have traditionally engaged in the fishing industry. Seasonal employment has been the norm for generations of families. The relative isolation of the communities dotting the rugged ocean bays and sandy beaches, the salt marshes, and secluded inlets nurtures a spirit of uniqueness in each locale.

In great contrast, many residents to the west of Ocean Bottom High commute to work in the city on a daily basis. The families are typically upwardly mobile and have duo-income status. While communities to the east are homogeneous with regard to race and ethnicity, those to the west of the school are home to a growing number of visible ethnocultural families. Urban sprawl has eradicated the distinctiveness of the communities in the western region where one community blends into the next, unlike those in the eastern region.

The school’s formative years were interesting times as students in grades seven to twelve from the various
communities came together for the first time. Students were mainstreamed into various classes on the basis of ability. Special education classes staffed by special education teachers were reserved for those students with high needs. By the year 1988, the special education classes had been disbanded and replaced by a Learning Centre structure which witnessed the students spending portions of their school day in regular classroom settings.

Ocean Bottom High is in the same school district as Valley Heights High School. Subsequently, both staffs were introduced to the Learning Centre Program Model and to the nature of school teams, individualized educational programs, and cooperative learning techniques in an identical manner by the school district.

A visit to the Learning Centre and a conversation with the Learning Centre teacher were beneficial for the researcher in establishing the manner in which students with disabilities were being accommodated into the mainstream of school life at Ocean Bottom High.

8.2. Accommodating Students with Special Needs

In the 1994-95 school year, students with disabilities were accommodated in a variety of ways. Those who were identified as Learning Centre students had individualized educational programs and participated in the development of their plan. Several students were integrated into the
regular classroom setting for the entire school day with support provided by the Learning Centre teacher in the form of consultation with the classroom teachers. Others were integrated with the assistance of direct in-class support by the Learning Centre teacher and/or the program assistants. The remainder of the Learning Centre students received instruction in the classroom and in the Learning Centre for various amounts of time based on interest and need.

Instruction in the Learning Centre consisted of "independent living" activities and included counting money, telling time, and cooking. Learning Centre time also afforded students the opportunity to receive assistance with work from the regular classes.

The Learning Centre teacher stated that the quality of instruction in the regular classroom setting depended on a variety of factors.

The most obvious thing influencing the individualization of the student program plans is the amount of commitment by the teacher to integration as a reality, the amount of preparation done by the teacher for the student, the willingness of the teacher to keep inclusion at the top of the priority list, and the time the teacher has an actual teacher assistant or me in the classroom [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

Peer tutors to assist the Learning Centre students were utilized in most classrooms as were group activities. According to the Learning Centre teacher, the higher
achieving students with disabilities did well in the regular classroom setting.

Higher achieving Learning Centre students obviously can handle the regular classroom environment and the mixture of learning styles better than the lower range of Learning Centre students who need pretty much one hundred percent 'hands on' work to maintain interest and motivation [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

Eligibility criteria for Learning Centre support at Ocean Bottom High were based on degrees of learning disability which generally ranged from moderate to severe. Students who required significant emotional support but little academic assistance were referred to the Resource teacher or to the guidance counselor. Referrals from the feeder schools for Learning Centre support came to the Learning Centre teacher during the month of May, and she would meet with the school teams from the sending schools. School teams would then be assembled by the Learning Centre teacher at Ocean Bottom High. Their consistency depended upon the nature of the student's disability. School teams proceeded to articulate an individualized educational program for the student. Primary responsibility for the drafting of the plan was assumed by the Learning Centre teacher but team members were given a copy for revision. Individualized educational programs contained a student profile, and a list of courses with specific goals and objectives. Any student who did not have a recent
psychological assessment was referred for further testing to the school psychologist by the Learning Centre teacher.

School teams at Ocean Bottom High normally consisted of the Learning Centre teacher, the students' classroom teachers, the school psychologist, and the school administration. Parents usually were not included in the team meetings due to a lack of interest, according to the Learning Centre teacher. Team meetings were held informally in September and on a more formal basis in October, February, and in May or June. Team meetings usually occurred at noontime and were coordinated by the Learning Centre teacher who served as chairperson in setting the agenda and as secretary in recording and circulating the minutes.

The staff at Ocean Bottom High had received inservicing on alternative teaching strategies. Attempts by the Learning Centre teacher to involve the staff in discussions on the accommodation of students with disabilities in the regular classroom were unsuccessful.

In reality, the seriously 'special' students were not considered except incidentally. At our last inservice, we planned to bring inclusive teaching into the discussion; inclusion for all students including the racially visible and the mentally challenged. This is the law. This is the priority of the school board. However, time was short and the challenged student issue was not really addressed. Our administration has presented some great ideas for our staff meetings, but again, time is short and these ideas have been shelved until we get the time [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].
The Learning Centre teacher expressed concern that her colleagues did not share her sentiments.

Teachers need inservicing on inclusion. I don’t know how it can be done because they think they have had enough, but they have not adopted it as a piece of themselves; taken ownership, so to speak. Their concerns are curriculum oriented, time pressures, making sure the other kids learn. They say, ‘After all, to what end is teaching this mentally handicapped student?’ [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

The "time" factor repeatedly surfaced as a major barrier to integration efforts at the school and a main source of frustration for the Learning Centre teacher.

There is lots of work and I usually do it myself. Those teachers I work with regularly are learning, but it takes time they often don’t feel they have. But it makes a lot more sense to me that the English teacher makes special questions for the student from 'Julius Caesar', for example, because he or she knows what are the crucial issues; rather than have me sitting, reading through 'Julius Caesar' again myself, trying to recollect my study of it and guess what is important. It comes down to a sense of ownership. Is this my student or is it the classroom teacher's student? [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

On the topic of resource help and time:

Now really! Sixty percent resource for all our students at this high school. I don’t think so. Especially joined to guidance. Impossible! The spirit is willing though...The more resource help via collaboration that the teachers get with the Resource teacher, the more open they will be for any alternative student in the classroom and more willing to spend time programming, etc. because they will feel that they are indeed getting
the support they want [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

On the matter of the Learning Centre teacher’s time for program planning:

Finding time to do it is difficult, but I strongly believe that the process is the important part for the team [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

On the topic of transition planning and time:

Since time began, the special education teachers have been promised that the special services administrators are working hard to access postsecondary community schools and training facilities, making sure our students have a place to go for training after their school years are completed. The high school is not a vocational program for these students, especially now. More and more practical programs are being cut or limited such as our Home Economics, Food Services, and Industrial Arts and Woodworking. And with the possible closure of training centres, where are these students to receive skills? Work experience? Great idea but, as our students become more limited in ability and integration increases, my time is stretched and stretched. I don’t know how to find real time to work on this [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

On the matter of program delivery and time:

In addition to particular classroom strategies, many of our teachers dedicate lunchtime to provide extra help to students. Generally, I try to collaborate with teachers to assist them with programming. Unfortunately, time constraints do not allow me to do this as often or as indepth as I would like, which is a very frustrating aspect of this position [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].
Time was considered a scarce commodity and, according to the Learning Centre teacher, impacted on the level of implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model.

The Learning Centre teacher also identified the school's academic orientation and subsequent assessment procedures as a major hindrance to integration efforts.

Alternative forms of assessment are not a problem unless the student is in the course for a credit. As soon as credits are mentioned, people get scared that their course standards have to be upheld. None of the teachers have so far had any big problems with my suggesting alternative forms of testing, as long as the students can prove they know all of the work they are supposed to know! [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

A lack of resources was cited by the Learning Centre teacher as a barrier to effectively accommodating students with special needs at Ocean Bottom High. She collected those resources in several ways,

... both by ordering from the book bureau and scavenging from wherever. Whenever I see anything that could possibly be of use in my teaching, I get it if it is at all a reasonable price. This expense I incur, as I consider it will help me as well as the student [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

In summary, time, the school's academic orientation, and resource availability were cited as the three barriers to inclusion. Spending a day in the school lives of eight students who demonstrated special challenges assisted the researcher in drawing his own conclusions on the status of integration at Ocean Bottom High.
8.3. A Day in the School Life of a Student with Disabilities

There were fourteen students registered in the Learning Centre at Ocean Bottom High. Six of the students had regularly scheduled classes in the Centre. The others had no set schedule but utilized the room for additional support, as the need arose. Two students were being integrated in the public school system for the first time. They were former students of a training centre that had recently closed. Three of the Learning Centre students travelled by taxi from their home communities, as far away as one hundred and twenty kilometers, because their local school could not offer courses in sheet metal and small engine repair. For the researcher, spending a day in the school lives of eight students with disabilities was, at times, informative and highly emotional.

Shaun

Shaun was seventeen years old and in grade ten. He experienced severe delays in his learning and also demonstrated inappropriate social interactions with peers. His individualized educational program was consistent with the one that had been in place at his former junior high school. Program goals and objectives were identified for his specific courses.

Shaun's placement at Ocean Bottom High was recorded as the Learning Centre-Grade Ten. Shaun was in the company of
students with needs not unlike his own. Two program assistants offered direct in-class support to the students. The Learning Centre teacher also provided one-to-one assistance, but primarily in the Learning Centre.

Shaun's program consisted of English, Typing, Physical Education, Art, Woodworking/Sheet Metal, and Learning Centre time. Accommodating him in the English course was a great challenge. In a class of thirty-eight students whose abilities ranged from the early elementary to university entry level, Shaun ranked at the low end of the ability spectrum. The English teacher professed that he had never taught a student with such a low aptitude and considered it a challenge. He also indicated that he had little advance knowledge of Shaun and his needs but felt that integration was a step in the right direction. He believed that the student's self-esteem was being enhanced in his class.

The challenge for the English teacher was the adjustment in his teaching methodology from one of content delivery to that of teaching skills to students. He commented that he felt comfortable as an English teacher, not as a Reading teacher. He also expressed frustration at attempting to meet the needs of over one hundred students registered in his class. He believed that the extra preparation needed for Shaun diminished his time with the other students.

Program adaptation for Shaun consisted of the teacher
rewriting stories that he could comprehend, providing movie versions of the story, and modifying plays. Peer support was utilized in this class. On occasion, the English teacher and the Learning Centre teacher "team taught" in both the classroom and in the Learning Centre. He referred to the Learning Centre teacher as a driving force behind integration at the school.

With regard to the school-based team, the English teacher stated that the team had met only once at the beginning of the year to plan for Shaun's needs. Shaun's parents were not included in this meeting, and none of the school personnel had met with them in person. For this teacher, the team consisted of the Learning Centre teacher and himself meeting informally on a regular basis.

On the topic of evaluation, the teacher adapted tests to Shaun's ability level. Small group presentations constituted a major part of the student's English mark. He also used observation anecdotals to record Shaun's progress.

The English teacher complimented his students for including Shaun in school activities, with no prompting from their teacher. However, he feared that this may not continue as students progress to grade twelve and pressures mount for high marks and scholarships. He remarked that they may not be as willing to assist others and have their own marks compromised in the process.
A program assistant who worked directly with Shaun also offered an assessment of the student’s interaction with others at school. She believed that his high school experiences had been successful thus far and that he was enjoying life at Ocean Bottom High. She perceived Shaun to be a contributing member of the school society and one who participated in extracurricular activities. She witnessed other students interacting with him in gestures of acceptance such as chatting and greeting him in the hallways. She recalled a time when he led a school assembly in a song-and-dance routine during winter carnival festivities. Only the arrival of his bus could entice Shaun to stop, to the chagrin of his peers.

The program assistant commented that this scene presented a far-cry from his days at the junior high school when she first met him. She felt that he had a major preoccupation with his self-image during the early adolescent years. His arrival at Ocean Bottom High signalled an awakening of his self-confidence, and an emotional maturity that was also evident in his peers. He was no longer content to be excluded from "regular" school life.

The program assistant did have concerns for certain aspects of Shaun’s emotional development. For example, he envisioned her as a best friend and as a confidant. She believed that this aspect of their relationship was limiting his interactions with others in the school. In her opinion,
the "dependency" factor was hindering his chances of leading a normal life at Ocean Bottom High School.

Shaun's parents were more concerned for their son's chances of leading a normal life outside the confines of the school walls. They felt that Ocean Bottom High was negligent in providing Shaun with the academic tools necessary to assume a position in their family business. Despite their protestation to the Learning Centre teacher on the suitability of certain courses for their son, they felt that their concerns went unheeded. He was not placed in a Mathematics class on the basis of a large class size. They believed he was enrolled in a typing class for scheduling convenience.

Shaun stated that he enjoyed high school and was having no difficulty with his courses. His favorite subject was Art because he liked to paint. His best friend at Ocean Bottom High was the program assistant, although his circle of friends extended beyond the Learning Centre to include students at several grade levels.

On the day that Shaun was observed in the school setting, he was found in the Learning Centre with several other students with disabilities. They were baking corn bread with the assistance of the Learning Centre teacher and a program assistant. He was quite adept in the kitchen and the proof was "in the pudding", or in the corn bread, so to speak, as he sat with his classmates and enjoyed the fruits
of their labor.

In Typing class, Shaun was provided with a special window card. The card allowed him to focus on individual words. Upon completing one sheet, he proceeded to the next one. He was seated with two other Learning Centre students during the exercise. A program assistant was present to assist them as the need arose. At no time did the classroom teacher intervene or come into the general vicinity of the three students.

On his way to Physical Education class, Shaun nodded, waved or exchanged greetings with a number of students in the hallway. His greetings were returned in kind. It was evident that he took great pleasure in these pleasantries during class changes.

During Physical Education class, the students were participating in events at four stations. Shaun wandered from activity to activity, mostly observing the proceedings. The Physical Education teacher expressed concern for Shaun's safety during certain events but spoke highly of the cooperation of the other students who included him in their games. The safety issue was certainly one of concern as he was unaware of his surroundings and did not react quickly to situations that warranted caution.

During Woodworking class, Shaun sat at a table with the same two Learning Centre students from his typing class. A program assistant was also seated at the table. Shaun was
building a model of a wooden car. The teacher interacted minimally with him explaining that he was having a difficult time keeping the others safe. The program assistant cautioned him about touching certain parts of the machinery. A student encouraged him to keep sanding his project and demonstrated the proper use of the jigsaw.

At lunchtime, Shaun proceeded to the cafeteria. It was here that he met and chatted with friends. He had a circle of friends during this time who greeted and chatted with him. The friendship circle was organized by the Learning Centre teacher. The conversation among the students was light and cordial. Following lunch, he could be seen wandering the hallways with others. It was obvious from his interactions with peers that this was an important part of the day for him. Shaun eventually made his way to the Learning Centre where he received his schedule for the afternoon classes from the Learning Centre teacher.

For his next class, he went to the library and listened to a presentation from a local author. A program assistant sat with him during this time. Shaun posed no questions to the author and appeared distracted at times.

Shaun concluded the day in English class. He interacted with his classmates and was attentive during a group presentation. Two poems were distributed to the students for an analysis of words that meant "royalty". Shaun worked on the assignment with a classmate. The program
assistant was seated three rows away although she did not make contact with him. The bell sounded and Shaun bade a farewell to the students in the Learning Centre, his Learning Centre teacher, and his program assistant.

Steve

Steve was nineteen years old and a Learning Centre student at Ocean Bottom High. He had spent ten years of his school life in a training centre. He was diagnosed as having borderline intellectual potential and generally demonstrated poor on-task behavior, as well as weak expressive language and visual motor skills.

Steve was seated with two other Learning Centre students in Woodworking class. Upon the arrival of the program assistant to their table, he greeted her with a hug. He was working on a wooden tape deck and was given permission by the teacher to use the jigsaw. The teacher provided specific instructions to him on the sanding of his project. The teacher acknowledged that Steve took pride in his project work and seemed to enjoy the class.

In Typing class, Steve sat with two other Learning Centre students. He typed a passage from a sheet as the teacher was providing instructions on letter writing. The lesson was disconnected from Steve's assignment. It was evident that he could not read the passage he was typing but was complimented by the program assistant for his high
degree of typing accuracy. On one occasion, he asked the program assistant for assistance but, for the most part, demonstrated an independent work effort.

In Art class, the topic was body motion and the students were shown a model of the human form, complete with moving limbs. The model was passed from person to person amidst several isolated comments and sporadic laughter. Although some commotion ensued, Steve appeared to be relatively unaffected.

Students were organized in small groups and asked to strike poses as the group members hastily sketched them. Steve’s strength lay in his modelling ability as he remained still for what seemed an eternity to the observer. However, he experienced great difficulty when it came time for him to sketch the human figure. Steve directed several comments to a classmate who was posing and accompanied the remarks with a whistle. She smiled at this gesture.

The students were then instructed to draw the name of an object from a box, sketch it, show the picture to members of the group, and have them guess what it was. Steve participated in the event with the help of a peer. Unfortunately, the bell sounded before he had the opportunity to complete the activity.

The teacher described the class as a collection of students who were there only to satisfy course requirements. She confessed that the class was especially difficult to
Steve proceeded to his Mechanics course only to find that the class had been cancelled for that day. The Learning Centre teacher had provided him with a contingency plan during these occasions and he went to a designated classroom and sat until the commencement of his next class.

The final class of the day for Steve was Physical Education. He stood on the periphery and did not participate in any of the activities despite some prompting from the teacher and his classmates. The class concluded and Steve returned to the Learning Centre to prepare for bus dismissal.

Cory

Cory was eighteen years old and a grade eleven student at Ocean Bottom High School. His individualized educational program stated needs in the areas of communication and vocational aptitude exploration. The plan also noted that he demonstrated aggressive behavior when under duress.

In Physical Education class, Cory was led to a location on the basketball floor where he proceeded to toss the ball into the hoop for the entire period. He showed a definite knack for the activity and received praise from his peers. The teacher was also teaching soccer skills to Cory to enable him to participate in the intramural soccer games.

In Art class, the Art teacher instructed the students
to draw pictures from oval shapes on a sheet. Cory drew pictures of cars and coloured them red to the praise of the students in his group. The Art teacher explained that he fixated on pictures of red cars. She was encouraging him to broaden his artistic horizons, but to little avail.

Cory spent a double period in Typing class. He completed a speed test and could type twenty words per minute despite his difficulty in reading the text. He had not yet mastered proof-reading skills. The program assistant kept him on task for the entire ninety minutes.

During Learning Centre time, the Learning Centre teacher asked the students to comment on the gifts they had received for Christmas. Cory remained silent during this time and seemed content to listen to the other students. The teacher then provided a calendar with spaces to fill in the days of the months. Special events during the year were discussed and the students recorded them. Cory completed the exercise with little assistance from the teacher.

She proceeded to show the students flashcards with the names of the days of the week and the months of the year. Cory identified many of the words with her encouragement. He smiled with each word of praise from his teacher.

Ted

Ted was nineteen years old and had spent most of his school years at a training centre. He had a history of poor
personal care and required prompting in the area of general cleanliness. He also needed assistance in social skills and was frequently teased by his peers. His attention span was short and he subsequently had difficulty completing tasks. He demonstrated weaknesses in short-term auditory memory, communication skills, and expressive and receptive vocabulary skills. The report from the training centre provided an insight into Ted’s abilities.

He has demonstrated an ability to tell a popular story, recite the day and month of his birthday when asked, and can partially recite both his telephone number and complete home address. Ted is unable to read simple stories aloud or attend to a task for more than fifteen minutes [Report from the Training Centre, 1994].

During Woodworking class, the students were working on individual projects. Ted was seated at a table with two other students from the Learning Centre. He remained at the table for most of the class, occasionally wandering about the shop, and handling some of the tools. There was minimal interaction with the teacher or with the other students.

In Art class, the students were instructed to work on posters signifying peaceful ways of living. One poster would be selected as a tee-shirt design for the schools in the area. Ted drew a picture of a ghost and a friend. His name was then called over the public address system to deliver bulletins to all classrooms. This task had been arranged for him by the Learning Centre teacher and he took pride in the
activity. It took the remainder of the class for the bulletins to be delivered.

During Physical Education class, Ted participated in a soccer game. He never ran but paced in a five meter area near his team soccer net. When the ball came near him, he was encouraged by the teacher and the students to kick the ball, but he failed to do so. During a break in the action, Ted continued to wander about the soccer field until the students returned. He once again positioned himself in front of the soccer net.

During Learning Centre time, the Learning Centre teacher asked the students to sit in a circle and discuss a topic of their choice. The topics varied but the students showed a genuine interest throughout the session. Ted did participate in this activity. The teacher then shifted the discussion to the subject of "parents" and asked them to provide a description of their parents. Ted experienced difficulty recalling specific features such as hair and eye colour. When instructed to draw a picture of their mothers, the activity was greeted with much laughter, especially when the students shared their works of art with each other.

In Mechanics class, the teacher divided the students into small groups and assigned them to one of three projects. Ted left his group, sat in the vehicle under repair, locked the doors, and proceeded to flash the headlights. Apart from several disparaging remarks being
directed his way by his classmates, the students and teacher largely ignored him. As the dismissal bell sounded, Ted emerged from the vehicle and proceeded to the Learning Centre.

Richard

Richard was nineteen years old and a student of below average ability who experienced difficulty in the areas of visual motor and auditory discrimination. Richard had a history of negativism towards school. This was reported in a psychological assessment completed several years earlier.

It was apparent from talking to this boy that the years of failure he had experienced has exacted a serious toll on his self-concept [Psychological Assessment, 1993].

This finding confirmed the observations of the Learning Centre teacher.

He doesn’t seem to be too interested in school and only works when he wants to. Though he has a lot of difficulty with the work, he is not always willing to accept help. At times he responds well to a one-to-one pull out, but once again, this is not consistent. As a result, it is often very difficult to help Richard either in or out of the classroom [Learning Centre teacher, 1995].

In Art class, Richard listened as the teacher discussed a school fundraising project which involved the sale of Christmas gift wrapping paper. In the short time that remained, the students worked on a collage. Richard worked cooperatively with another student and also did his
share of class clean-up.

In Drama class, the students were working in small groups where they were creating short plays and performing them for the whole class. Richard played the part of an elderly gentleman who had been robbed by a teen gang. He received praise from both the teacher and his classmates for his acting ability. Richard commented that Drama was his favorite class and the Drama teacher was his favorite teacher. This was quite obvious from the interaction between the student and his teacher.

Richard failed to appear for his Mathematics class and was seen exiting the back stairway. He later informed the researcher that he often skipped Math class because he didn't want to be "dressed down" by the teacher for not completing the assignments. He stated that he had witnessed the reprimanding of a classmate and that wasn't going to happen to him. He noted that he had been sent to the office for not reporting to class but "that was no big deal".

Richard informed the researcher that he lived with his mother and that his father had left four years earlier. He stated emphatically that he didn't miss his father and never wanted to see him again. He added that the battles between his parents ended when his father moved away. Richard conceded that he argued with his mother but that life was getting better at home. He offered the following description of his current routine upon arriving at home.
I eat supper, feed my cat and rabbits, and go to my friend's house. I love animals but the cat is a pain in the ass. I get home around ten o'clock and go to bed. On weekends, I stay out all night playing cards with friends. My friends drink and do drugs but I don't. I watched my father drink, and it turned me off [Richard, 1995].

In Physical Education class, Richard participated in soccer drills, occasionally kicking the ball with great gusto in the confines of the gymnasium and in close proximity to the other students. The Physical Education teacher stated that Richard remained unenthusiastic during many of his classes.

In English class, the students were discussing the topic of violence in sports. The teacher expressed the challenge of engaging thirty-seven students in an activity of this nature. Richard listened attentively but was not a participant in the discussions. He showed interest in a film played to the class that portrayed violence in sports. He revealed to the researcher that he enjoyed English class and liked his English teacher.

Justin

Justin was eighteen years old and in grade eleven at Ocean Bottom High School. He was a person with Down's Syndrome who demonstrated significant learning disabilities. He enjoyed the company of his classmates and had a small circle of friends with whom he spent time at lunch hour.
According to his program assistant, he avoided school work whenever possible.

When Justin starts something new, he automatically says that it is too hard and doesn't know how to do it. Many times I feel that he is capable of doing more but uses his disabilities to his advantage. He can be very lazy and stubborn. If he wants a pencil or to have one sharpened, he thinks I should do it. When he wants to get out of work, he complains he is tired, or sick, or says he needs to go to the washroom. Or he may change the subject and talk about something else, or make comments like 'You're cute' [Program assistant, 1995].

In English class, Justin was responding to questions on violence in sports. He was writing the answers in his scribbler with the assistance of the program assistant. The English teacher praised him for his contribution to the discussion. Like Richard, Justin stated that he liked his English teacher and enjoyed English class.

During Learning Centre time, five of the Learning Centre students were involved in an activity that witnessed them buying items with play money. The students brought empty boxes and cans of various food articles from home and created a warehouse within the Learning Centre with the teacher's guidance. Justin was becoming quite adept at buying items with a set budget and in making change.

In Physical Education class, the students proceeded from station to station and participated in games of badminton, volleyball, and basketball. Justin concentrated on the basket shooting activity. When the Physical Education
teacher asked him to move to another station, he became quite agitated and refused. Some time elapsed before Justin resumed shooting the basketball into the hoop. This was performed in isolation of the other students.

In Woodworking shop, Justin was making a key holder. He demonstrated a degree of independence in using the jigsaw and in sanding the rough edges of his project. He proudly displayed his accomplishment to his classmates and they reciprocated with words of encouragement and praise.

His enthusiasm dissipated in Geography class where he spent the majority of the class fast asleep. Although he was aware of the teacher’s expectations and began his assignment with the help of the program assistant, he soon tired. The program assistant noted that it was a common occurrence for Justin to fall asleep when he was bored. It was evident that the class remained unaffected by his sleeping pattern.

In the Motor Vehicle Repair course, the shop teacher worked closely with the students as they cleaned the interior of the demonstration vehicle, and checked the wiring for the headlights, horn, and windshield wipers. Justin listened attentively to the teacher and was afforded the opportunity to work with his peers. The program assistant was in close proximity during the entire session.

Peter

Peter was eighteen years old and in grade eleven at
Ocean Bottom High School. He had experienced learning difficulties throughout his school career. He would become easily frustrated in new learning situations and resort to aggressive episodic behaviors. The Learning Centre teacher and the program assistant were instrumental in getting him through the difficult times.

In English class, Peter was reading a novel with the assistance of a peer tutor. Following each chapter, the students were asked to respond in writing to a series of questions. Although this was a laborious task for Peter, he successfully completed the assignment. The English teacher reported improvement in his work habits and general level of confidence. The teacher attributed the peer tutor factor to Peter’s success. Peter concurred.

Shelley is a person in my English class who helps me with my work. She helps me with my reading and when I got to write something. I can’t write good but she helps me get through it. She says she wants me to get good grades [Peter, 1995].

In Woodworking class, Peter was completing a key holder. He was varnishing the project to the praise of his teacher. He excelled in this class and required little individual attention. In fact, his work was frequently displayed in class. He hoped to pursue a vocation in carpentry.

In Mathematics class, Peter experienced great difficulty. The teacher had tried to adapt the lessons to
fit Peter's needs and the program assistant provided direct support. His understanding of linear measurement and graphs was good. His weakness in Mathematics fell in the area of numerical computations beyond simple addition and subtraction.

In Physical Education class, Peter excelled. He was an excellent softball player and demonstrated good soccer skills. However, he did have difficulty with competitive sports and did not take losing well. The Physical Education teacher had to intervene on several occasions during the course of the school year to prevent a fight from occurring when Peter was on the losing team.

Learning Centre class was usually scheduled at the end of the school day for Peter to allow him to prepare for the next day. On this day, he met with the Learning Centre teacher and discussed the work he had covered. The teacher assisted him in organizing his homework assignments which, for the most part, had been adapted to meet his needs. She commented that this was a calming time for him and prefaced the observation with the aphorism, "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure". Peter acknowledged that the Learning Centre teacher helped to keep him focused on his school tasks.

David

David was eighteen years old and enrolled in Learning
Centre-Grade Eleven at Ocean Bottom High School. His individualized educational program indicated significant modifications to his daily school routine. A psychological assessment conducted several years earlier stated that he was borderline intellectually challenged and recommended that he receive support in the areas of social development and life skills. His school program consisted of Art, Physical Education, and Motor Vehicle Repair. Basic English and Mathematics instruction was delivered to him by the Learning Centre teacher in the Learning Centre room.

On this day, David was in the Learning Centre with four other students who were receiving assistance in counting money and in making change. An in-class store activity witnessed the students buying items with a set budget. David experienced great difficulty with the concept of making change. He revealed that he had little experience in this area and that his parents took care of that matter. He did see the value of attaining this skill as he would not be living home for the rest of his life.

In Motor Vehicle Repair, David was working on the brake system of a demonstration car. David replaced the brake pads with a proficiency that drew the attention of his classmates. He explained that both he and his older brother had lots of experience working on old wrecks in the community. The teacher remarked that his inability to read would seriously hinder his chances to pursue a career in
this field. He worked intently on the task for the double period and indicated that he would return at dinner time to complete the brake job.

During Physical Education class, David did not participate in the soccer game but was content to watch from the sideline. The teacher noted that David rarely participated and attributed the lack of involvement to his low self-esteem. When asked if David would receive a credit for this course, she stated that he would as the individualized educational program provided the latitude to "get around" the normal course requirements.

David was supposed to go to Art class after lunch but received permission from his shop teacher to continue working on the car brakes. He stated that these arrangements were not unusual in David's case and it generally translated into David getting through the day. David worked in isolation during this rescheduled class except for a passing word of praise from his teacher.

David spent the last period in the Learning Centre. This was a free period for him and he decided to "catch a nap". Several other students worked in close proximity to him but neither they nor David were disturbed by these proceedings. He awoke to the sound of the bell and readied for school dismissal.
8.4. Integration at Ocean Bottom: Summary and Conclusions

Spending a day in the school lives of David and the other Learning Centre students elucidated for the researcher the status of integration at Ocean Bottom High School. Brantlinger [1994, 1991] stated that students learn not only through teacher-student interaction but also through student-student interaction. It was clearly evident that the inclusion of the Learning Centre students into the mainstream of school life had contributed substantially to the development of the social skills of all students in the school setting. Heward and Orlansky [1988] observed that peer relations heighten the self-esteem of all. The attitudes of non-disabled persons to those with disabilities are key factors in student success. It was apparent that appropriate social skills were being modelled by the students in a natural way and contributed to the functional interdependence of those students with special needs. Peer tutoring was also beneficial in exposing the Learning Centre students to a language-rich and stimulating environment.

The adolescent culture supported diversity and tolerance and demonstrated a genuine concern for others. Various student cliques were present at Ocean Bottom High and were identifiable by dress, hair style and colour, and/or preferred music. But the lines were not clearly demarcated, and an intermingling of the students was the norm in this school.
Cases were noted where the classroom teachers were content to group the Learning Centre students and rely on the diligence of the program assistant to assist with program needs. While the impression of students with disabilities socializing with their non-disabled peers at Ocean Bottom High left an indelible impression in the mind of the researcher, I did feel that the grouping arrangements in the various classes undermined the socialization process of the students and lessened their opportunities for natural peer relations.

Grouping students according to ability in both the core and non-core subjects led the researcher to conclude that a greater emphasis was placed on the subject discipline and a knowledge-based program than on a skills program where inquiry, decision making, and problem solving constituted the focus. While it is acknowledged that some courses are legitimately knowledge-based, it was obvious that the students struggled in these classes, and the teachers strayed minimally from the textbook. The fact that the Learning Centre students were enrolled primarily in non-academic courses reinforced the notion that the academic courses were for the academic students. Student assessment was based primarily on knowledge acquisition. One recalls the remarks of the Learning Centre teacher on the topic of alternative forms of assessment and the nonchalant teacher response it received until the matter of accreditation was
considered. Alternative forms of student evaluation were no problem at Ocean Bottom High School as long as the students had acquired the necessary knowledge from the text.

The Learning Centre teacher was both the catalyst and the instrument for program adaptation for students with special needs at Ocean Bottom High. She assisted them in organizing their day and providing them with structure in their school lives. She taught them life skills and offered a retreat from the rigors of the classroom routine and teacher expectations. The Learning Centre room offered a secluded and peaceful contrast to isolationism that emanated from the grouping arrangements in the regular classroom setting. Many teachers had assumed some responsibility for program adaptation in their classrooms, especially in the core subject areas of Math and English, and in most of the non-core subject areas. Program adaptation still constituted a major portion of the Learning Centre teacher's workload.

The school team met on an ad hoc basis and was generally void of parent input. The team's function was to modify the individualized educational program. The program plan described goals, objectives, strengths, and needs of the student. However, the sacrosanctity of time in this school culture hindered the team from performing its tasks.

According to the Learning Centre teacher, resources to accommodate students with disabilities were inadequate. Computer technology was sorely lacking and the Learning
Centre students did not have access to computers. Several special programs had fallen by the wayside. In this milieu, the teacher was spending her own money to supplement the Learning Centre program. She was also responsible for coordinating the work placements for her students in cooperative educational endeavours and driving them to their destinations.

In summary, the Learning Centre program at Ocean Bottom High contained the following features: a lack of parent involvement; a degree of shared responsibility for program planning and adaptation by the Learning Centre teacher and the classroom teachers; time cited as the greatest barrier to program change; a teaching methodology and pedagogy that reflected a strong academic orientation; strong peer support; and insufficient resources to do the job properly.
CHAPTER 9

THE CULTURE OF OCEAN BOTTOM HIGH

9.1. Introduction

What were the basic assumptions and beliefs of the members of the two secondary schools with respect to the integration of their special needs students into regular classrooms? [Research sub-question 3]

The full inclusion of students with disabilities as described in the Learning Centre Program Model never fully materialized at Ocean Bottom High. While peer relations contributed to a comradeship among disabled and non-disabled students in the school setting and fostered the development of social skills, the teacher-student interactions were less personal in this academically-orientated milieu where student assessment constituted the tail that wagged the curriculum dog.

The Learning Centre teacher was the life line for the students who struggled with daily classroom routines and "regular" teacher expectations. The special needs students conversed with their Learning Centre peers in the Learning Centre in a way that was not allowed in the mainstream classrooms where they were segregated in an integrated setting through "special" ability groupings.

The Learning Centre teacher orchestrated team meetings, but the team sorely lacked the involvement of
parents and the school administration. She was responsible for program planning and adaptation for those students who could not cope. She even provided resources out-of-pocket. Staff investment of time and energy in the promotion of the Learning Centre Program Model was negligible.

What follows is an investigation of the organization's assumptions about the relationship of humanity to nature, how truth is determined, the nature of reality [truth], the nature of human beings, the nature of human activity, the nature of human relationships, the nature of authority, the nature of space, and the concept of time from the perspectives of historical particularism, evolutionism, and ecological functionalism. This investigation unveils cultural patterns that served to honour or dishonour the principles of the Learning Centre Program Model. The study commences with an analysis of the assumptions that existed in the communities prior to the inception of Ocean Bottom High School.

9.2. An Historical Perspective

Prior to the inception of Ocean Bottom High School in 1965, each community that would eventually feed into the organization had its own school and accommodated students in grades primary to eleven. Schools in the eastern coastal communities were generally at a disadvantage with regard to human resources, the condition of the physical plants,
inequitable funding formulas, and access to community resources as compared to schools in the western region. The rural schools were staffed by rural teachers who tended to be static. Having chosen to live in the communities in which they taught, the rural teachers' careers often began and ended in the same school community. Few opportunities to see beyond their immediate workplace limited their range of teaching experiences.

The rural schools in these fishing communities were constructed to meet the demands of small populations with little consideration for special programs. Funding for repairs and renovations to the school was proportional to the community's ability to pay. A community's wealth could be ascertained by the physical state of their one and two-room school houses.

Funding formulas based on a per pupil capita were introduced by the province to ease the financial strain in the poorer school districts. Unfortunately, this served to widen the disparity gap between the small rural schools and the larger suburban schools that would eventually feed into Ocean Bottom High. Schools with larger class sizes prospered due to economy of numbers.

Residents in the coastal communities had less access to community resources in the form of public libraries, hospitals, museums, and recreation and entertainment centres. The distance factor was a barrier to exposing rural
students to cultural events and information sites and widened the gap between them and their western neighbours. Students were disadvantaged in the smaller and poorer communities. The seeds of inequity were sown early in the history of the communities that ran one hundred kilometers along the eastern coast of the province.

Labels were attached to residents in the various communities to demarcate their social status. A community member who had resided in one of the coastal villages for over forty years recalled how those who lived in the fishing communities were designated "herring chokers" and those in the western and more suburban communities were referred to as "the snobs". The former experienced a lower standard of living, lower educational attainment, and fewer career options. These families' way of life was self-perpetuating and self-preserving. They adopted a value system, behavior patterns, and a life style that reflected those of their ancestors.

Family members assumed traditional roles in the fishing enterprise. Their constructed physical and social reality was orientated to the past with the children pursuing the vocation of their parents. The boys would be taught the tricks of the fishing trade and accompany their fathers on fishing expeditions, whenever possible. A formal education held a low premium for them as their career aspirations generally focused on assuming their place aboard
the family fishing vessel. The girls tended to stay in school longer and assume a high level of domestic responsibilities. It was common for them to marry within their home communities and continue the tradition of waiting at the docks for the fishing boats to return. They would then process the fishing catch while the men folk prepared for their return to the sea. In this world that perpetuated a masculine ideology, family life was orientated to the natural environment where nature was manipulated but respected. Many residents in the coastal fishing communities had experienced the loss of family members at sea.

The fishers were an independent people who utilized a wide range of resources and skills to improve their life circumstances. The lobster season was the main source of their livelihood although they had an assortment of nets and traps to pursue a variety of fish species at different times of the year. Time was subsequently measured with the passing of the seasons. The fishers' chance of aspiring to better things was dependent on their tolerance for hard work and on their ability to adapt to the fishing seasons. In this environment, group cooperative relationships among family and friends were valued as a means of survival.

Many of the fishing families were free of debt. They owned modest homes and possessed their own fishing vessels and fishing gear. They did not emulate a culture of poverty where their life circumstances were in the hands of others.
Rather, many of the fishing communities had created a social life from a narrow spectrum of opportunities.

Each fishing village regulated its own fishing grounds. Moral weight took precedence over judicial weight in the regulation of the fish stocks. It was taboo to fish outside one's designated area. Severe reprisals were dealt to those who strayed from their moral convictions. So deep were these convictions that the fishers sold their catches to the local processors at a loss of profit rather than to larger companies. Family and friends were often employed in the local fish plants and it was more important to protect their welfare than to reap a higher profit from the larger fish processors.

A person who had worked aboard a fishing vessel for many years described to the researcher the close bond that evolves between the captain and his crew. Group cooperative working relationships are valued as each crew member has set responsibilities and adheres closely to them. A symbiotic working relationship based on trust and mutual respect emerges among the seafarers.

During the 1970's, stocks and catches declined. The crisis resulted in the closure of a number of fish plants. The fishers resorted to their independent spirits and purchased bait freezers and provided their own trucking operations. Today, the fish stocks are on the verge of collapse and many of the communities recognize the fragile
nature of their existence. The provincial and federal governments have not been successful in providing sustainable employment opportunities and income transfers are on the decline. A formal education has acquired a higher premium for the residents under these critical circumstances.

The cultural patterns of the eastern coastal fishing communities prior to the inception of Ocean Bottom High are captured in Figure 10, a product of their constructed physical and social realities.

A different value orientation was found in the communities in the western region where the residents aspired to higher levels of educational attainment, and where communities were more diverse in terms of ethnocultural composition and work aspirations. Reality for families in the suburban communities was orientated to the future; the life-chances of the children were enhanced through the superior resources they possessed and the high premium they placed on the attainment of a formal education. The suburban woman could also aspire to positions of authority in a labor market that seemed more amenable to equality of opportunity. The suburbanites acquired the label "snob" by their eastern neighbours, thereby accentuating the point that their social reality was also a product of geographical and social ascription. Class reproduction was a product of early socialization.
FIGURE 10
CULTURAL PATTERNS OF THE COASTAL FISHING VILLAGES
(Prior to 1965)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of Humanity to Nature</td>
<td>1. Fishers pursued a variety of fish species under different conditions and utilized a wide range of skills and resources to improve their life circumstances.</td>
<td>1. Flexibility and adaptability were essential ingredients to survival in the environment.</td>
<td>1. Man is dominant and in control of his environment. Nature can be manipulated through man's ingenuity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Truth is Determined</td>
<td>1. Family members assumed traditional roles in the fishing enterprise.</td>
<td>1. Work-related roles based on age and gender were valued as a means of survival.</td>
<td>1. Truth is revealed and based on tradition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Reality (Truth)</td>
<td>1. Community members were labelled by their vocation.</td>
<td>1. Community affiliation was valued as a key determinant of one's vocation and social status (one's constructed physical and social reality).</td>
<td>1. The nature of reality is relative. Based on geographical and social ascription.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Beings</td>
<td>1. The fishers did not emulate a culture of poverty. They created a social life from a narrow spectrum of opportunities.</td>
<td>1. Hard work was valued as a vehicle to improve one's life circumstances.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Activity</td>
<td>1. The fishers were largely free of debt.</td>
<td>1. Hard work was valued for the rewards it brings.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human activity is active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Relationships</td>
<td>1. The fishers depended on the assistance of family and friends.</td>
<td>1. Group cooperative relationships were valued.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human relationships is basically cooperative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The fishers sold their catches to local processors at a loss of profit, to protect the jobs of family and friends, rather than to companies which shipped fish.</td>
<td>2. Relationships were valued more than personal financial gain.</td>
<td>2. The nature of human relationships is basically cooperative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Little differentiation existed between the fishing captain and his crew.</td>
<td>3. Collaterality was valued.</td>
<td>3. The nature of human relationships is basically cooperative.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

¹The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Authority</td>
<td>1. The fishers regulated their own fishing grounds.</td>
<td>1. Moral conviction was valued over legal jurisdiction in the regulation of the fish stocks.</td>
<td>1. Authority is based on tradition and moral dogma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Space</td>
<td>1. The lives of the fishers were tied to the vast expanse of the sea.</td>
<td>1. The sea was valued as an infinite source of riches in the form of large fish stocks.</td>
<td>1. The nature of space is infinite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The lives of the fishers were intertwined in their cooperative will to support each other.</td>
<td>2. Communal life was valued in the fishing communities.</td>
<td>2. The nature of space is infinite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Concept of Time</td>
<td>1. Community activity changed in accordance to the seasons.</td>
<td>1. The fishers placed a high premium on the seasons as a key determinant of work and social activity.</td>
<td>1. The concept of time is cyclical in nature.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

<sup>1</sup>The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
A spirit of localism existed among the white-collar city commuters in these western communities. They valued a sense of community but the fences and gates that separated the single family detached homes was a visible artifact of their desire to control the balance between maintaining a sense of community while protecting their own privacy.

In recent years, urban sprawl has created overcrowding in some of the communities and the residents have seen an increase in crime and domestic disputes. A sense of community is being lost in the process.

Figure 11 describes the cultural patterns of the suburban communities in the western area prior to the inception of Ocean Bottom High School. The value orientations of the communities that would eventually feed into Ocean Bottom High School presented a unique cultural mix. The emergence of the high school brought to the forefront the chasm that existed between the "have" and the "have-not" communities.

9.3. An Evolutionary Perspective

As in biological and behavioral evolution, cultural evolution has occurred as a result of processes that operate without respect to any future. Cultural practices that exist do so because they fit the environment of a previous time, which is to say that they may not continue to exist [beyond the present] [Glenn, 1991, p.65].

Ocean Bottom High School opened its doors in the fall of 1965. Its first principal was a female educator who was
## FIGURE 11

### CULTURAL PATTERNS OF THE SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES

(Prior to 1965)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of Humanity to Nature</td>
<td>1. Residents in the suburban communities, for the most part, did not assume traditional roles in the family enterprise but generally pursued different paths.</td>
<td>1. Independence and personal autonomy were cherished values.</td>
<td>1. Man is dominant and in control of his environment. Nature can be manipulated through man's ingenuity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Truth is Determined</td>
<td>1. Suburban communities were diverse in ethnocultural composition, value orientations, and work aspirations.</td>
<td>1. Freedom of choice was a cherished value in heterogeneous suburban communities.</td>
<td>1. Truth is discovered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Reality (Truth)</td>
<td>1. Residents in the suburban communities tended to be upwardly mobile.</td>
<td>1. Community affiliation was valued as a construct of one's physical and social reality.</td>
<td>1. The nature of reality is relative (based on geographical and social ascription).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Beings</td>
<td>1. Children in the suburban communities generally stayed in school longer. 2. Women in suburban communities could aspire to positions of authority.</td>
<td>1. A formal education was valued as a means to a better life. 2. Women valued hard work as a path to leadership possibilities.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human beings is perfectible. 2. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Activity</td>
<td>1. Residents in the suburban communities commuted to the city for work-related activity.</td>
<td>1. The city was valued for its employment opportunities.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human activity is active in the suburban communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Relationships</td>
<td>1. Fences and gates separated the single family detached homes.</td>
<td>1. Value was placed on one's personal space and privacy.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human relationships is basically competitive with some degree of cooperation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

1 The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Authority</td>
<td>1. The &quot;suburban woman&quot; could aspire to a position of authority.</td>
<td>1. The traditional view of authority as a &quot;male&quot; rite of passage was not valued in this suburban society.</td>
<td>1. Authority evolves over time, through human interaction, and is not bound by a masculine ideology where authority rests upon the tradition and precedents of law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Space</td>
<td>1. Fences and gates separated the single family detached homes.</td>
<td>1. Residents valued a balance between maintaining a sense of community while protecting their privacy.</td>
<td>1. The nature of space is finite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Concept of Time</td>
<td>1. Residents of the suburban communities were mostly white-collar city commuters.</td>
<td>1. Time was a valuable commodity that was closely tied to work schedules.</td>
<td>1. The concept of time is linear in nature, divided into compartments.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

1 The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
born and raised in a local fishing community. She had taught for thirty-seven years prior to being appointed to the principalship of the school. She was referred to as a "school marm" who was respected for teaching excellence but did not "spare the rod" in the process.

I remember once when I got the strap for playing hooky. She came across my hand with it with all her might but I didn't cry. I wouldn't give her the satisfaction [Former student 1, 1995].

Her first task was to hire a vice-principal who was new to the area but not to administration. Whatever hopes and dreams they had for Ocean Bottom High were mired in controversy from the outset. On March 28th, 1966, only half a year after its opening, the school encountered a critical incident that rocked both it and the school community. Four hundred students staged a walkout to protest the dismissal of their school counselor. The counselor's announcement of his dismissal at a school variety concert prompted the action. He stood by the main door of the school during the protest and was quoted as saying, "I've put the matter before the community" [The Halifax Mail Star, March 29th, 1966].

A public meeting was held at the school to discuss the incident. Both the chairpersons of the Municipal School Board and the school trustees were present to address the concerns of the three hundred ratepayers who were in attendance. The chairperson of the school trustees stated
that the guidance program at Ocean Bottom High was unsatisfactory and criticized the counselor for his apparent lack of regard for the school administration. A spokesperson for the ratepayers declared the school administration as the source of the problem.

If the Board feels that the number of ratepayers voting in favor of the resolutions suggest a harassment of the supervising principal, surely the Municipal School Board would recognize the need for an immediate inquiry to investigate why such a large number of ratepayers from the entire school area agree that the school counselor problem is only one facet of a larger problem relating to school administration, as well as suggest a need for a public inquiry into the actions of the Municipal School Board regarding the administration of the high school...One may wonder if the English department, the Science department, and other departments at the school were given close scrutiny, one could not find fault with these programs as well [Letter presented to the Municipal School Board, April, 1966].

The year ended with the school counselor's contract not being renewed despite the protestations of the ratepayers' association, the student body, and teachers on staff. The principal also left in the midst of the controversy, bringing to a close a tumultuous first year for the organization that left the teaching staff divided.

The school year ended and at a time when we [the teachers] should have been celebrating a successful first year, we were split as a staff. We were just happy it was over. Of course, we wondered who the new principal would be [Former teacher 1, 1995].

The successor to the principalship was an outsider who
was entering a volatile situation. A former student recalls the climate that had befallen Ocean Bottom High School.

I was in grade eight the year that the principal came to our school. I don't remember much about him but I do remember the feeling of going to a big school that seemed filled to the rafters with students who were so much older than me. I remember trying to stay clear of the older students and the trouble makers who were always in fights at the back of the school. I remember some good teachers and some bad teachers who actually got into shoving matches with some of the students who were acting up [Former student 2, 1995].

A sorting mechanism was instituted by the principal that was designed to separate the students into classes according to academic ability. In grades 7, 8, and 9, the "A" classes tended to be heterogeneous with regard to community affiliation and academic ability but the "F" classes were composed primarily of students from the coastal fishing communities. These classes were small and were staffed by male teachers who were versed in handling discipline problems. Formal special education training was not a necessary prerequisite in the staffing of these classes.

By the time the students with special needs reached grade 10, their numbers had dwindled dramatically. Many had opted for work in the fishing communities, pursuing a way of life to which they were accustomed. A special education class was created that segregated those who remained from the mainstreamed students. They were enrolled in special
classes that taught woodworking, cooking, welding, and small engine repair.

The reflections of a student at Ocean Bottom High during the organization’s formative years capture the essence of his school experience as he entered a new world that was in stark contrast to the world he left behind.

Entry into the high school meant an end to our childhood. I was separated from my friends during classes but we would regroup at lunchtime. We were isolated and many of my friends made an early exit from school [Former student 3, 1995].

The principal’s role was primarily one of dealing with discipline matters among a student body whose ages spanned a wide range and whose cultural differences were settled behind the school and in the company of enthusiastic onlookers.

A disconnectedness also existed among the teaching staff. Male teachers could aspire to the position of department head through dedicated effort. The succession of male administrators to the principalship over the next two decades was indicative of an organizational culture that promoted the ascendancy of males to administrative positions.

The staff also became involved in a power struggle between the principal and the vice-principal that served to nurture a sense of disconnectedness among them. One teacher recalled the split that occurred on staff and the discomfort
he personally felt at having to choose sides.

It was a bad time when everyone seemed to stay to themselves. I guess it was better than getting caught up in the foolishness that was going on between the principal and the vice-principal in the school. When I think back, their power struggles did more to divide us than anything else that I can remember [Former teacher 2, 1995].

Both administrators left Ocean Bottom High School in a sea of inquietude.

Many of the teachers who formed the founding faculty witnessed a significant increase in the population of their western suburban communities in the seventies which resulted in serious problems of overcrowded classrooms at Ocean Bottom High School. Community groups, the school trustees, and the school board held many meetings to address the concerns and unanimously consented to the construction of a junior high school to ease the overcrowding conditions. It was a critical time in the history of the organization as nearly one-half of the teaching staff transferred to the new school following its construction in 1977. Ocean Bottom High School subsequently became a senior high school accommodating grades 10, 11, and 12. The change did nothing to allay the staff dissonance that existed in the organization.

Who would remain at the senior high? Who would go to the junior high school? Who would go and who would stay? It caused a lot of tension on staff. Many felt there was a master plan to break us up. Whether there was a master plan or not, the arrival
of the junior high school meant an end to
the life we once knew [Staff member 1, 1995].

Teachers were hired to fill the void and they would
form the second generation family as they eventually
outnumbered the founding family members. However, the
dissonance between the two schools has continued to this
day.

There is no love lost between the two
schools. We seldom come together except
for the occasional school inservice.
It's hard to figure but we should be
working closely together. After all,
their students feed into our school.
But the two schools still remain far
apart [Staff member 2, 1995].

Figure 12 illustrates the values and assumptions of
the founding faculty. It describes a culture of dissonance
that shaped the modus operandi of the organization and
deeply affected the relationships of those associated with
the school.

A different student populace comprised the second
generation family from 1977 to the present day. The
students were more homogeneous in age and the majority of
the students resided in the western suburban communities.
Settling differences behind the school was a memory that
became embedded in the school mythology. However, the
student transition was not without its difficulties.

We found ourselves cash-strapped when we
became a senior high school. We were
already running a deficit of about ten
thousand dollars caused by the hockey
budget. The junior high students always
FIGURE 12
CULTURAL PATTERNS OF OCEAN BOTTOM HIGH

THE FOUNDING FACULTY: 1965 - 1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of Humanity to Nature</td>
<td>1. Students from the eastern communities fought with students from the western communities.</td>
<td>1. Student cliques based on community affiliation were valued as a means of identity and safety.</td>
<td>1. Man is dominant and in control of his environment. Nature can be manipulated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. A sorting mechanism was instituted to segregate students with special needs into special classes.</td>
<td>2. Segregating students was valued as a means to fix human problems.</td>
<td>2. The nature of one category of human beings is submissive and not in control of their environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Truth is Determined</td>
<td>1. Teachers opted to stay to themselves when they tired of the internal power struggles.</td>
<td>1. The traditional role of the school administration as a source of wisdom and truth was decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>1. Truth is discovered by one's own effort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Reality (Truth)</td>
<td>1. The teachers became divided in their loyalty to the school administration.</td>
<td>1. The traditional role of the school administration as a source of wisdom and truth was decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>1. The nature of reality (truth) is relative. It is both subjective and personal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Beings</td>
<td>1. The organization created special education classes and instituted streaming practices.</td>
<td>1. Separating students on the basis of academic ability was valued as a means to fix human problems.</td>
<td>1. The nature of one category of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. There was a high correlation between place of residence and student dropout rate.</td>
<td>2. Schooling was devalued as a means to an employment end for some communities (in the eastern region).</td>
<td>2. For another category, the nature of human beings is non-perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Activity</td>
<td>1. Male teachers could aspire to positions of department head through hard work.</td>
<td>1. The ascendency of males to positions of authority was valued in the organization.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human activity is active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The community became actively involved in the school counsellor matter and held public meetings.</td>
<td>2. Public input was valued as a means to seek solutions to problems.</td>
<td>2. The nature of human activity is active.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


¹The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck. 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Relationships</td>
<td>1. Anti-administration sentimentality existed on staff and in the community.</td>
<td>1. The traditional role of the school administration as a source of wisdom and truth was decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human relationships is basically competitive, rather than cooperative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Student cliques were formed on the basis of geographical and social ascription and was manifested in fights behind the school.</td>
<td>2. Relationships were valued as a means of safety and were parochial in nature.</td>
<td>2. The nature of human relationships is basically competitive, rather than cooperative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Authority</td>
<td>1. The role of the school administration was closely scrutinized by the staff and the community.</td>
<td>1. The traditional role of the school administration as a source of wisdom and truth was decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>1. The nature of authority is moving from a traditional base to an evolving one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Male teachers were hired to handle the problems (disciplinary) associated with the special education classes.</td>
<td>2. Male teachers were valued for their ability to handle problems and were promoted in the organization.</td>
<td>2. The nature of authority is moving from a traditional base to an evolving one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Space</td>
<td>1. Student cliques formed primarily on the basis of community affiliation.</td>
<td>1. Relationships were valued as a means of connectedness and were parochial in nature.</td>
<td>1. The nature of space is finite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Staff dissension caused the teachers to stay to themselves in the organization.</td>
<td>2. Group cooperative relationships were not valued or fostered.</td>
<td>2. The nature of space is finite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Students were separated into classes based on academic ability.</td>
<td>3. Segregating students was valued as a means to fix human problems.</td>
<td>3. The nature of space is finite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Concept of Time</td>
<td>1. A sorting mechanism was instituted to separate students according to academic ability. This was considered to be an efficient use of time in providing instruction.</td>
<td>1. The sorting mechanism was valued as a vehicle to compartmentalize students in the name of efficiency.</td>
<td>1. The concept of time is linear in nature, divided into compartments.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128–135.

¹The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
raised the most money with the idea that they would one day be senior students and enjoy the benefits that come with being a senior student. When the junior high students left, we lost a number of our extra-curricular activities, including the hockey team [Former student 4, 1995].

A vice-principal was hired who would remain in the role until his recent retirement and who would win the respect and affection of the staff.

He was there from the very beginning. Principals would come and go. We saw many come and go but he brought stability to the school. He always had a smile and was willing to lend a helping hand. He was great! [Staff member 3, 1995].

The anti-administration sentimentality continued with the second generation family and the hiring of a principal in the early eighties.

The staff was divided. Nothing was said to anyone about anything at the school because you were afraid that it would get back to the principal. There was an anti-administration feeling on staff. A lot of staff members had a difficult time saying good-bye to him when he left. Probably fifty percent of the staff had letters in their files because of run-ins with the principal [Staff member 4, 1995].

The anti-administration sentimentality persisted throughout the eighties and would not change with the hiring of a principal who was known for running the school "by the book" and who was renowned for his propensity for paper work. A critical incident occurred during his tenure at Ocean Bottom High that served to fuel the staff distrust of the principal. A popular caretaker at the school died
unexpectedly and the principal did not close the school to facilitate staff attendance at the funeral. Games of subversion by several staff members ensued shortly thereafter and their ire was directed at the school principal.

He would stand outside his office every morning and pretend that he was greeting us [the teachers] as we entered the school but we knew he was just keeping track of what time we were entering the building. Some teachers who arrived late to school would go in the back door so they wouldn’t be caught. It became a game because then they would bet how long it would take before he happened by their classrooms to see if they were in. That went on for a long time [Staff member 5, 1995].

Staff morale was low and his departure from Ocean Bottom High School was applauded by certain staff members. One teacher did recognize his contribution to the establishment of a Learning Centre for students with disabilities.

The principal created a Learning Centre at the school and hired a Learning Centre teacher with special training to deal with the students who had special challenges. She was a godsend to those students. They just didn’t fit in the classroom setting [Staff member 6, 1995].

His successor who is the current principal of the school has experienced a rather unceremonious tenure of office. There has been a relative calm at Ocean Bottom High. Patterns of social behavior indicate little interaction among staff members. Few staff members go to the staffroom at break times; they arrive twenty minutes before classes
commence and leave twenty minutes after classes end for the day. Most teachers stay in their classrooms throughout the entire day. One staff member divulged that the pattern has not changed in the twenty years that he has been at the school. He did indicate that the teachers like the laissez-faire style of the principal.

He allows us to do our own thing. I honestly don't believe that he has any idea what is happening in my classroom, but that is just fine with me. I'm comfortable doing my own thing. [Staff member 7, 1995]

The cultural patterns of the second generation faculty are captured in Figure 13. The staff encountered critical incidences that served to divide their loyalties and a dependence on the formal leader never evolved. A culture of individualism emerged as the way of doing things in the organization.

9.4. An Historical Summary

Variation in the organizational channels of privilege and influence and its impact on lifestyles, norms, and values of the eastern coastal fishing communities and the western suburban communities created two different worlds that were brought together for the first time with the inception of Ocean Bottom High School. It was a chaotic time for twelve year olds who were merged with nineteen year olds and where cultural differences were settled behind the school. Battles also erupted on school issues among the
FIGURE 13
CULTURAL PATTERNS OF THE SECOND GENERATION FACULTY

(1979 – 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of Humanity to Nature</td>
<td>1. Acts of subversion by the school staff toward the administration (i.e. arriving late and entering through the back door).</td>
<td>1. The traditional role of the school administration as a source of wisdom and truth was decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>1. Man is dominant and in control of his environment. Nature can be manipulated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Teachers preferred to stay to themselves in the confines of their classrooms.</td>
<td>2. The teachers valued their personal autonomy and the laissez-faire leadership style of the school administration.</td>
<td>2. Man is dominant and in control of his environment Nature can be manipulated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How Truth is Determined</td>
<td>1. Teachers spent most of the day in the confines of their classrooms with little interaction with colleagues.</td>
<td>1. The teachers valued their personal autonomy.</td>
<td>1. Truth is discovered by one's own effort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Reality (Truth)</td>
<td>1. Teachers preferred to work alone without interference from the &quot;outside world&quot;.</td>
<td>1. The teachers valued their personal autonomy.</td>
<td>1. The nature of reality (truth) is relative. It is both subjective and personal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Beings</td>
<td>1. Creation of the Learning Centre and the designation of students with special needs to it, primarily from the eastern coastal communities.</td>
<td>1. The Learning Centre was valued as a &quot;fixer&quot; of human problems.</td>
<td>1. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nature of Human Activity</td>
<td>1. The elimination of department head positions.</td>
<td>1. The internal &quot;grooming&quot; of male insiders was no longer a valued practice.</td>
<td>1. For one category of human beings, the nature of human activity is passive. One must accept one's lot in life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The teachers were left to work alone in the confines of their classrooms. They relied on their own ingenuity to do the task.</td>
<td>2. The traditional role of school administration as a source of wisdom and truth was decreasingly valued.</td>
<td>2. The nature of human activity is active.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 – 135.

¹ The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodteck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>ARTIFACTS</th>
<th>VALUES</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Nature of Human Relationships    | 1. Feelings of disconnectedness evolved between the junior and the senior high school.  
                                 | 2. The lessening of student conflict.                                     | 1. The two organizations did not value partnering opportunities with each other.  
                                 |                                                                             | 2. The students valued peer relationships.                                  | 1. For one category of human beings, the nature of human relationships is basically competitive.  
                                 |                                                                             |                                                         | 2. For another category of human beings, the nature of human relationships is basically cooperative. |
| The Nature of Authority              | 1. Teachers were not permitted to attend the funeral of a popular caretaker.  
                                 | 2. The principal checking at the door for late arrivals.                 | 1. The school administration focused on the task-at-hand and valued efficiency.  
                                 |                                                                             |                                                         | 1. The nature of authority is traditional/legal.                              |
|                                      |                                                                          | 2. The school administration focused on the task-at-hand and valued efficiency. |
|                                      | 1. The principal checking at the door for late arrivals.                 |                                                         |
|                                      | 2. The principal checking at the door for late arrivals.                 |                                                         |
| The Nature of Space                  | 1. Teachers retreated to the confines of the classrooms                   | 1. Teachers valued their personal autonomy.                             | 1. For one category of human beings, the nature of space is finite.           |
|                                      | 2. Student cliques became less distinct in the organization.             | 2. Relationships were valued as a means of belonging and were less parochial in nature. | 2. For another category of human beings, space is infinite. |
| The Concept of Time                  | 1. The “parade” of teachers from the school and on the heels of the students. | 1. Time had an empirical value. “A time to work and a time to play.”       | 1. Time is linear, divided into compartments where there is a separation of the personal and professional life. |
|                                      | 2. The principal checking at the door for late arrivals.                | 2. Time had an empirical value where it could be spent, wasted, or saved. | 2. Time is linear.                                                          |
|                                      | 3. The teachers spent most of their time in their classrooms.            | 3. Time had an empirical value where school was a place to work.         | 3. Time is linear, divided into compartments. There was a separation of the personal and the professional life. |

Source: Adapted from Schein, 1989, pp. 128 - 135.

1 The statements of assumptions are derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 11-20.
teachers, the administration, and the community. The birth and early growth stage was inundated with conflict. Controversy removed administrators and divided teacher loyalty. The community entered a pact with dissident teachers in the school counselor controversy that further "stirred the pot". Relationships were formed under seige conditions.

This pattern of relationships inhibited teamwork in the organization. Dissension among the various factions drove the wedge deeper and deeper. Much energy was spent by individuals attempting to develop a viable role and identity. The initial critical incidences served to channel emotional energy into a "personal problem of survival" [Schein, 1985, p.150].

A sorting mechanism resulted in an early exit for students who were separated from friends. Diversity was not celebrated in a milieu where students were grouped according to academic ability. The strong academic orientation of Ocean Bottom High grew under these streaming conditions and early grouping arrangements.

In the early birth stage of the organization, lines had been drawn around emotional issues and successive principals failed to eradicate them. Emotionally charged relationships were confrontational in nature and negatively affected collaborative efforts.

The construction of the junior high school signalled
a change in the staff and student composition of the school. The departure of the early adolescent students left a more homogeneous student body with regard to age. The majority of the students came from the suburban communities due to urban sprawl. The students from the eastern fishing communities felt the effects of assimilation and attrition. Their entity was less pronounced during the time of the second generation faculty. The battles behind the school ceased and became embedded in the school mythology.

There was a brief period of bonding for the teachers who were left behind when the junior high school was built. The bonding was a show of resentment to their colleagues who had transferred to the perceived greener pastures of the new school. However, the coping styles learned by the teachers in the formative years of the organization resurfaced in the early eighties with the arrival of the principal who ran the school "by the book". It was a time in the organization's life cycle when nothing was said to anyone for fear of being reported to the principal. Teachers felt alienated and retreated to the confines of their classrooms. They resorted to a coping strategy that had worked in the past when dealing with conflicts around authority issues. The defensive responses that worked in earlier life situations were resurrected in difficult times and took different forms but with similar results. A culture of isolationism and individualism was sustained under these
optimal conditions. The laissez-faire style of the current school principal is not a threat to the teachers but is welcomed.

An analysis of the culture from the perspective of ecological functionalism further elucidates the cultural patterns that constitute the modus operandi of Ocean Bottom High.

9.5. An Ecological Perspective

One must never forget that the environment initially determines the possibilities, options, and constraints for a group, and thus forces the group to specify its primary task or function if it is to survive at all. The environment thus initially influences the formation of the culture, but once culture is present in the sense of shared assumptions, those assumptions, in turn, influence what will be perceived and defined as the environment [Schein, 1989, p.51].

The "ecological" possibilities, options, and constraints of the organization are considered through an examination of the formal authority, the informal authority, and the student culture.

The Formal Authority

The laissez-faire style of the current principal of Ocean Bottom High is compatible with the organization's culture. The principal demonstrates little preoccupation with task functions. Staff meetings are infrequent and there is little sense of a communication flow apart from the daily notices that indicate student absences and reminders of
upcoming events. There is little opportunity for decisions requiring group consensus. The teachers feel comfortable working in relative isolation and are absorbed in the business of managing their own classrooms. The laissez-faire approach of the administration is perceived by the teachers as a show of support.

The easiest part for me is the administration. The administration has a lot of trust in my judgements and my abilities. I receive very little interference from administration [Staff member 8, 1995].

A culture of individualism and isolationism flourishes under this vacuous leadership style. The leader survives in a milieu where anxiety-avoidance is the order of the day. There is a feeling of estrangement among the teachers who exert control and influence in the confines of their classrooms. They are not preoccupied with issues of survival or group membership. The basic need for inclusion is not a priority for them. Minding one’s own business is the maxim for Ocean Bottom High and the school administration nurtures this truth through their inaction.

The Informal Authority

The teachers of Ocean Bottom High do not cling to stories of the past. They live in the present and go about their business of teaching in a solitary manner. Staffroom banter and informal chats in the halls do not constitute the norm of the organization. Fullan and Hargreaves [1991]
describe how the professional isolation of teachers limits an organization's ability to solve problems and find solutions. Teacher isolation provides a gateway of resistance to innovation in teaching and allows conservatism to become embedded in the school's culture [Lortie, 1975].

In an organization where teaching is considered a private affair, there is little integration of the personal life with the professional one. It is not a culture where allowances are made for personal circumstances. Memories do linger of the perceived insensitivity of the administration to free teachers to attend the funeral of a popular school caretaker.

Collaboration has little room in an organization where classroom walls of conservatism are protected and embellished. Ruddick [1991] states that education is one of the few remaining bastions that is secure against outside forces and allows one to work in isolation. Teaming, collegial staff relations, and community partnerships are foreign concepts in this milieu.

Teachers seem to be cut adrift from the school administration. Smyth [1989] contends that the role of the school administration is to frame problems and to deal with issues in both an individual and a collective manner. But problems at Ocean Bottom High are handled on an individual basis by the teachers in the classrooms. Leadership is not valued in a culture that is void of collective action and a
common purpose.

The classrooms house a hodgepodge of subject areas and their physical arrangement is a manifestation of a culture that supports professional isolationism.

We have one wing that is Industrial Arts and Technical Education. The lower corridor is the office area, the computer room, and a mishmash of subjects. It is pretty much a mishmash upstairs. It's not a place where teachers from the same subject area are next door to each other [Staff member 6, 1995].

As teachers change teaching assignments, they do not change classrooms. Teachers own their classrooms and, in some cases, have never strayed from their sacred and private spaces.

Time is also sacrosanct at Ocean Bottom High. The teachers' professional and personal lives are closely aligned to the school bells. The opening bell signals the dawn of a new workday; the dismissal bell marks the onslaught of one's personal time and incites a hasty retreat from the building. Administration once tried to encroach on teacher time and this action resulted in games of subversion by staff members. The school administration currently shows no desire to head down that road. The informal and formal authority simply coexist in a sea of individualism and isolationism.

The Adolescent Culture

A functional interdependence exists among the student
body at Ocean Bottom High School. The adolescent culture supports diversity and tolerance as witnessed in the interactions of the students in the corridors and on the school grounds. Students with disabilities have nondisabled friends and peer relations that have an inclusive quality. The Learning Centre students are greeted enthusiastically by their nondisabled peers. The social integration of the students has been more successful than has been their academic integration.

The most unsuccessful aspect of integration is meeting the needs academically of Learning Centre students in the classroom. Socially, they're already accepted. They have friends. They talk in the halls. They don't stick out. The Learning Centre kids have a normal focus, not a special focus. They're treated like every other student so their peers treat them fine and their teachers are good with them. It is much more independent at high school [Staff member 6, 1995].

Student cliques do exist at Ocean Bottom High School. They are recognized by their attire, unusual hair coloring, and the location of pierced earrings. Elements of classism are still prevalent in the organization. Historical forces continue to undermine the integration process.

We have our middle class students who, due to socioeconomic status, are heading in a certain direction. We have students from poorer families who tend to make a different group. Our biggest discipline problems come from stereotypical rural students. There are special areas that are labelled. The communities near the city are more street wise and are willing to stand up for their rights under all circumstances. Then there are those in the lower socioeconomic bracket who happen
to come from the more rural communities. Our students detect those differences [Staff member 8, 1995].

Thirty years of culture formation continue to create a chasm between the eastern and more rural communities and their western suburban neighbours.

In the fall of 1995, a survey [Appendix B] was given to one hundred and forty-three students [twenty-five percent] of the student population in grades 10, 11, and 12. Their responses provided a picture of their needs and their circumstances. It is important to note that over seventy percent of the students come from the western suburban communities and their views were primarily represented in the survey. The researcher did not separate the surveys according to the respondents' place of residence. The students deeply valued friendship and their personal freedom [Appendix C, Figure 16]. Friends were often called during difficult times. Less than six percent of the students indicated that they would go to teachers in time of need and less than nine percent of the respondents indicated that they would take their problems to the school counselor [Appendix C, Figure 17]. A similar response was given by the students when asked with whom they would share good news [Appendix C, Figure 18].

Easy access to drugs contributed to a high level of drug use among the student body [Appendix C, Figure 19]. Several students revealed that anyone in the school could
access a drug dealer within a few minutes. The drug pushers were known by all but their identities were concealed through a student code of silence. One student who was interviewed offered to take the researcher on a quick tour of the school. She indicated that a minimum of six students would be found on the premises who were "high" on drugs.

Drugs are a real problem in this school. I don't know if the teachers can't tell who is high on drugs or if they choose not to know. It's really sad [Student 1, 1995].

Nearly fifty percent of the students indicated that they were sexually active and approximately seventeen percent of the students engaged in unsafe sexual practices [Appendix C, Figure 20]. Sixty percent of the female respondents felt that sexual relations between same sex partners were all right compared to twenty-five percent of the male respondents. Ocean Bottom High had recently obtained literature on issues around sexual orientation and difficulties encountered by gay and lesbian youth. There had been some defacing of the literature in the school counselor's office, but that was described by one student as an isolated incident. She considered the school to be a leader in providing information on homosexuality to the adolescent population. Gay jokes and gay bashing were foreign concepts in this school culture.

There was a higher awareness of community problems within the ranks of the female respondents. Their knowledge
of people who had been physically, sexually, and/or emotionally abused was significantly greater than that of their male counterparts [Appendix C, Figure 21].

Over fifty percent of the students had travelled to other provinces on a yearly basis. Forty-five percent of the student respondents travelled annually to the United States [Appendix C, Figure 22]. Most of the students intended to graduate from high school and attend university [Appendix C, Figure 23]. The female students indicated that they found their courses more interesting and the assigned work more meaningful than did the male student respondents [Appendix C, Figure 24].

The adolescent culture of Ocean Bottom High has a high tolerance for diversity in a milieu where the young people are flirting between boundaries of morality and immorality with regard to drug use and sexual activity, where friendship among peers is highly regarded, and where social concerns are clearly defined. Despite the remnants of classism that characterized the student population from the organization's inception, and the special grouping arrangements in the classroom setting that served to segregate the students with disabilities from their peers, there existed an acceptance for differences among the student body that, to the researcher, seemed special and genuine.
9.6 Summary

In a teacher culture that promotes isolationism, teachers are cast adrift from the school administration. Smyth [1989] claims that the role of school leadership is to frame problems, and to work individually and collectively to solve them. In an organization where wisdom is not based on a trust in authority, collective action is devalued and the teachers handle their own problems inside the protective walls of their classrooms. Time has an empirical value for them. There is a time to work and a time to play. The separation of their personal and professional lives is manifested in the behavior of a staff whose exit from the school at the day's end resembles a parade. The teachers generally stay in their classrooms. A spirit of staff collegiality is not evident. The teachers appear unconcerned about lines of authority and merely wish to be left alone. The members coexist in an environment that is not preoccupied with basic issues of dominance and submission. Rank based on gender or seniority is not a feature of this organizational culture.

The Learning Centre is a manifestation of the special classes of yesteryears where human problems were considered to be pathological and capable of being fixed. The classroom teachers have left the "fixing" to the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistants. The academic orientation of Ocean Bottom High has been a barrier
to the interaction of the teachers with the Learning Centre students who have difficulty coping with the "regular" curriculum.

Professional isolation of staff diminishes opportunities for collaboration. It is a teaching staff that considers the basic impulses of the principal to be dangerous. Their working relationships are best described as that of professional estrangement. The "being" orientation of the teachers evolved around their desire to be left alone in the workplace to do "their own thing". It is a staff that neither works nor plays together. In the workplace, the teaching methodology and pedagogy are academically driven. Teaming opportunities are hindered and parents are subsequently inactive players in their children's education.

In this milieu, the students' caring for each other provides a stark contrast to the professional estrangement of the teachers. Students with special needs are accepted by their non-disabled peers. The sorting mechanisms that segregated the students with disabilities in the regular classroom and in the Learning Centre did not seem to affect peer interactions in the hallways and on the school grounds. The claims that undercurrents of stereotypical attitudes existed among the student body did not surface during the researcher's observations. If historical forces had created a chasm between the "have" and the "have not" communities, the chasm was not apparent at Ocean Bottom High.
The implications of the assumptions and beliefs of the second generation faculty on the school's willingness to accommodate students with special needs are addressed in Chapter 10.
CHAPTER 10

CULTURAL IMPACT ON THE MODEL'S IMPLEMENTATION

10.1. Introduction

What were the implications of the following assumptions of Ocean Bottom High on the school's willingness to implement the Learning Centre Program Model: a] the nature of human beings is perfectible; b] the nature of human relationships is basically cooperative; c] the nature of human activity is passive [or active]; d] time is linear; e] the nature of authority is evolving [Research sub-question 4]?

A culture of individualism and isolationism is pervasive at Ocean Bottom High School. The way of doing things in the organization is dictated by the professional isolation of its teachers. They conduct their professional lives behind classroom walls of privatism. The entrance doors of the school separate their personal lives from their professional ones.

A gap also exists between the school and the communities it serves. Ocean Bottom High School found itself embroiled in controversy from its inception in 1965. The emotional focus on issues of inclusion, identity, authority, and intimacy were acute. In a milieu that has always been unstable, the staff, the students, and the school community groups never bonded. Distrust in the school administration
prevented the group from developing what Schein refers to as "the dependence assumption" [Schein, 1989, p.192]. Teachers discovered at the early birth and growth stage of the organization that the best way to achieve safety was to isolate themselves. Their emotional state was one of flight, and the sense of "groupness" never materialized except for occasional acts of subversion against the school administration. Feelings of hopelessness and lack of confidence in the school administration led to an extreme conservatism on staff. Teachers subsequently retreated to the stable environment of the classroom with the implicit desire to be left alone. Classroom walls of privatism were a manifestation of an anxiety-avoidance learning mechanism that conveniently isolated the staff from the "outside" world. Fortified walls of protectionism and isolationism at Ocean Bottom High have a dramatic effect on the implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model.

10.2. Cultural Impact on Implementation Efforts

Figure 14 describes the dimensions of the Learning Centre Program Model, the cultural assumptions that impinge on its implementation, and the resulting behaviors and actions of the members of Ocean Bottom High. The Model offers a synopsis of the way in which a culture of individualism and isolationism has become a constraint on the implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model.
### FIGURE 14

**CULTURAL IMPACT ON THE LEARNING CENTRE PROGRAM MODEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION OF THE LEARNING CENTRE PROGRAM MODEL</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS IMPACTING ON THE MODEL'S IMPLEMENTATION</th>
<th>RESULTING BEHAVIORS AT VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Program Emphasis</td>
<td>1. The nature of human beings is perfectible.</td>
<td>1. a) Responsibility for program adaptation is primarily in the hands of the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of knowledge, attitudes, and skills in all students enabling them to lead independent and meaningful lives.</td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Students with special needs are segregated in the regular classroom through ability grouping arrangements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) The Learning Centre is sought as a refuge from the rigors of the regular classroom routine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Program and Service Organization</td>
<td>1. The concept of time is linear in nature, where one's personal and professional life is separated.</td>
<td>1. The school team lacks teacher commitment and parent involvement is negligible. The Learning Centre teacher assumes primary responsibility for the development of the individualized program plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning experiences would fit the interests and needs of the students. School teams would be created with parents as full/equal partners.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Student Objectives and Outcomes</td>
<td>1. a) The nature of human relationships is basically cooperative.</td>
<td>1. a) Optimum interaction of students with disabilities with non-disabled peers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students with disabilities would acquire the appropriate skills to enable them to develop a functional interdependence in the school setting and prepare them for life in society.</td>
<td>b) For one category of human beings, the relationship of humanity to nature is submissive.</td>
<td>b) Students with disabilities rely heavily on the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistants for support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Student Activities</td>
<td>1. a) The nature of human relationships is basically cooperative.</td>
<td>1. a) The “natural” interaction of students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A variety of learning environments would be provided for students with disabilities.</td>
<td>b) For one category of human beings, the nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments.</td>
<td>b) The segregation of students with disabilities in the Learning Centre and in the regular classroom setting through ability grouping.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIMENSION OF THE LEARNING CENTRE PROGRAM MODEL</td>
<td>ASSUMPTIONS IMPACTING ON THE MODEL'S IMPLEMENTATION</td>
<td>RESULTING BEHAVIORS AT VALLEY HEIGHTS HIGH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **5. Teacher Activities**
Teaching strategies would be student-centred and the classroom teachers would assume responsibility for all students in their classrooms. | 1. a) For one category of human beings, the nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments.
1. b) For another category of human beings, the nature of human relationships is basically cooperative. | 1. a) Teaching methodology and pedagogy emphasize subject coverage.
1. b) Cooperative learning experiences in the regular classroom setting for students with special needs are lacking. |
| **6. Evaluation**
Takes many forms and accounts for all aspects of the child's growth and development. Evaluation would include teacher observations, anecdotal recordings, samples of student work over extended periods of time, formal assessments, and an ongoing review of the learner's individualized program plan. | 1. The nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments. | 1. Evaluation is based on subject mastery and content coverage. Tests and homework assignments are generally the same for all students. |
| **7. Resource**
Most materials at the school level can be adapted to meet the needs of students with disabilities to enable them to participate to the maximum extent in integrated environments and activities. | 1. The nature of human activity is active, concerned with accomplishments. | 1. Content coverage is the primary focus in the core subject areas and the student text is the primary resource. |
| **8. Philosophy**
Based on the principle of least restrictive environment. The school becomes the focal point for accommodating the individual characteristics of students with special needs. | 1. Time is linear, divided into compartments. A separation of the personal and professional life. | 1. A gap exists between the school and its communities and the teachers wish to be left alone in the confines of their classrooms. |
The Model envisions program emphasis as the development of knowledge, attitudes, and skills in all students enabling them to lead independent and meaningful lives. However, the school operates on the fundamental assumption that the nature of human beings is perfectible and capable of being fixed. Since the fixing of students with special needs has traditionally been the responsibility of the special education teacher, the Learning Centre teacher has assumed this role. She attempts to adapt the curriculum to meet the needs of students with disabilities. This is welcomed by a staff who embrace a traditional academic orientation and a program emphasis on content coverage rather than on developing inquiry, decision-making, and problem-solving skills in all students. The organization's response to accommodating students with special needs is to segregate them in the regular classroom by creating homogeneous ability grouping arrangements and attaching a program assistant to the "special" group of students, further serving to set them apart from the regular mainstreamed students. At Ocean Bottom High where human problems are considered to be pathological and capable of being fixed by a specialist, the students with special needs retreat to the Learning Centre as a haven from the rigors of the regular classroom routine and its strong academic orientation.

The program and service organization dimension of the
Learning Centre Program Model advocates that school teams take responsibility for the creation, development, and implementation of the individualized program plans of the student who has special learning challenges. Parents are full partners in the planning process. In a milieu that operates on the fundamental premise that the nature of human beings is perfectible and capable of being fixed, the Learning Centre teacher has assumed sole responsibility for the planning process and the classroom teachers and the parents become disenfranchised team players. The teaming process is also seriously compromised by an organizational culture that supports the professional isolation of teachers who merely wish to do their own thing. They separate their personal lives from their professional ones with a time clock that limits their involvement after the three o' clock student dismissal bell. In a culture that exudes isolationism, and where time and space are individualized, personalized, and considered sacred, the school dismissal bell signals the onslaught of the teacher parade and impedes the organization's ability to meet and plan in a collaborative fashion.

The student objectives and outcomes dimension of the Learning Centre Program Model envisions students with disabilities attaining appropriate skills to enable them to develop a functional interdependence in the school setting and prepare them for life in society. While attitudes
generally are complex, personal, and highly human, and therefore difficult to measure, it was evident to the researcher that a genuine caring emanates from the student body and is manifested in social acceptance patterns among students with and without disabilities. Healthy peer relations are a great contributor to the development of social competencies in the students. One can only surmise that the students are morally involved with each other and desirable alliances are a part of a student culture that allows each student to become more complete as a person through interaction with other people, all of whom bring a range of interests, strengths, abilities, backgrounds, and cultures. This is a fundamental tenet of the Learning Centre Program Model.

Likewise, in the student activities dimension of the Learning Centre Program Model which advocates the provision of a variety of learning environments for students with disabilities, the moral involvement of the students and the accompanying supposition of the inherent goodness of people creates natural learning environments for the students outside the confines of the classroom walls. However, the segregation of students with disabilities in the Learning Centre and in the regular classroom setting through ability grouping arrangements, a manifestation of the basic assumption that human problems are pathological and human beings are perfectible, severely limits the variety of
learning environments in the organization.

The teacher activity dimension of the Learning Centre Program Model advances the notion of student-centred action where the classroom teachers assume responsibility for all students in their classrooms. The human perfectibility assumption rears its ugly head again and allows the classroom teachers to impart this responsibility to the Learning Centre teacher.

The evaluation dimension of the Learning Centre Program Model describes how student evaluation takes many forms and examines all aspects of the child’s growth and development. It includes teacher observations, anecdotal recordings, samples of student work over extended periods of time, formal assessments, and an ongoing review of the students’ individualized program plans. However, student evaluation at Ocean Bottom High School is based on subject mastery and content coverage. Tests and homework assignments are generally the same for all students, regardless of their ability. This form of evaluation is traditional in nature and a manifestation of a culture that promotes an academic orientation with its emphasis on subject mastery.

The resources dimension of the Learning Centre Program Model states that most materials at the school level can be adapted to meet the needs of students with disabilities to enable them to participate to the maximum extent in integrated environments and activities. At Ocean Bottom
High, the difficulty lies in the availability of resources and not in their adaptability. In a milieu where teacher isolationism is the norm, the teachers are disconnected from each other and from the communities they serve. While a culture of isolationism shields the staff from the demands of the public, its desultory nature severs the school from community resources and severely compromises the resources dimension of the Learning Centre Program Model.

The philosophy of the Learning Centre Program Model is based on the principle of "least restrictive environment" where the school becomes the focal point for accommodating the individual characteristics of students with special needs. At Ocean Bottom High, the teachers' purpose is singular in the teaching of their students. They are cast adrift from the demands of the administration in this individualistic pursuit. In this culture of individualism where collective action is not valued, the locus of control lies with the individual. The teachers generally are unconcerned about lines of authority and merely wish to be left alone. The members coexist in an environment that is not preoccupied with basic issues of dominance and submission. Their reality is that which has worked for them over time. It is particularistic and purely pragmatic.

10.3. Summary

At Ocean Bottom High, cultural assumptions have
created a "professional estrangement" of the staff
[Rosenholtz, 1989]. Teachers rely on their students for
feedback, not on their colleagues, nor on their principal.

Most teachers and principals become so professionally estranged in
their workplace isolation that they neglect each other. They do not often
compliment, support, and acknowledge each other’s positive efforts. Indeed,
strong norms of self-reliance may even evoke adverse reaction to a teacher’s
successful performance [Rosenholtz, 1989, p.107].

In this world of professional estrangement,
educational conservatism becomes the norm [Fullan and
Hargreaves, 1991]. Change efforts are arrested in an
environment where teachers feel safe in the confines of
their classrooms, a product of their prior learning
experiences. They are always present for their students
within specific time frames. From their perspective, the
students are inherently good and in need of guidance. It is
a worthy pursuit in a milieu where years of discord and
distrust have placed a wedge between the teachers and the
school administration. However, a culture that exudes
isolationism and individualism is not in harmony with the
Learning Centre Program Model which envisions all staff
working together to maximize the learning experiences of the
students. The teachers’ professional lives evolve around
their belief in human perfectibility. Little time remains
for building personal relationships in the organization.
Relationships on staff are best described as emotionally neutral [Parsons, 1951]. Walls of privatism stand strong in a milieu where members separate their personal lives from their professional ones, and where self-interest is tempered with a genuine concern for the students.

Emotionality is minimized on a staff where seniority is not rewarded with special privileges and special status cannot be discerned. There appears to be no concern about enhancing one's position of influence. The teaching staff is kept inside a small circle of traditional teacher tasks [Barth, 1991]. Subject specialization and content coverage are the order of the day.

It is the student interrelationships that have been the organization's salvation in providing language-rich and stimulating environments for those students with disabilities. Peer relations demonstrate an inclusive network that cannot be found among the professional staff. Students with disabilities are developing a functional interdependence and appropriate social skills due, in large part, to their interactions with peers. These interactions allow each student to participate to a degree in the mainstream of school life.

In the final analysis, it is the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistants who assume responsibility for the progress of students with disabilities at Ocean Bottom High. Several classroom teachers take responsibility
for all students in their charge, but they are the exception. In a culture that assumes that human problems are pathological and fixable by experts, and the nature of human beings is perfectible, implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model is a struggle. A culture of individualism and isolationism has created the dilemma. Breaking the cycle will be no easy chore.
CHAPTER 11

CULTURE CHANGE

11.1. Introduction

The Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture is currently crafting its integration policies based on the principle of universality.

All children have the right to receive an education, no matter how severely handicapped they are, and public education authorities have the duty to provide that education [Nova Scotia Special Education Policy Manual, 1997, p.13].

In the Special Education Policy Manual, an inclusive school is described as one where every child is respected and encouraged to learn. The goal of inclusive schooling is

... to facilitate the membership, participation and learning of all students in school programs and activities. The support services that are designed to meet students’ diverse educational needs, should be coordinated within the neighbourhood school and, to the extent possible, within grade level/subject area classrooms [Nova Scotia Special Education Policy Manual, 1997, p.13].

School boards in the province of Nova Scotia are left with the responsibility of policy development and the provision of programs and services to achieve the goal of inclusive schooling. It necessitates a service delivery model that emphasizes collaborative efforts from many stakeholders. A decade ago, the school board of this study offered the Learning Centre Program as a model of student-
centred learning in each classroom where the needs of all students are met. The principles of inclusion were inherent in the model.

The personal conviction of the researcher is that students with special needs have much to gain by being in regular classes as do their non-disabled peers. Each child should be educated in the least restrictive environment possible. However, there are cultural conditions in two secondary schools that are too deeply entrenched to make that happen. Organizational culture has effectively sabotaged efforts at integration to the extent that the integrated settings in the two secondary schools have become more restrictive than segregated settings.

11.2. Barriers to Change at Valley Heights High

The cultural paradigms of Valley Heights High and Ocean Bottom High are deep and a product of years of cultural learning experiences that reflect the organizations' need for consistency and order. Patterns of assumptions have emerged that affect the schools' functioning on a daily basis. These assumptions about the relationship of humanity to nature, how truth is determined, the nature of reality [truth], the nature of human beings, the nature of human activity, the nature of human relationships, the nature of authority, the nature of space, and the concept of time have had a profound influence on the
implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model and the manner in which students with special needs have been accommodated in the mainstream of school life. The cultures of the organizations are well embedded and protect traditional values that have shaped the groups' identity. They have nurtured a conservatism in both organizations to the detriment of inclusionary practices.

Valley Heights High and Ocean Bottom High are "frozen" schools. Changing their cultures will require consideration of the age of the organizations and their developmental stage. As noted by Schein [1989]:

The forces that can unfreeze a given culture are also likely to be different at different stages of organizational development, and certain mechanisms of change will have particular relevance at certain stages of development [Schein, 1989, p.271].

In the birth and early growth stage, the culture of Valley Heights High was a source of identity and the glue that held the organization together. Through a process that witnessed a succession of principals from within the school, a "managed evolution of hybrids" emphasized socialization as evidence of commitment. The "chosen ones" endeavoured to preserve the family domination of the founder. There was peace in the Valley during an era where key positions were selectively filled with insiders whose personal assumptions reflected the dominant value orientation of the communities they served.
Valley Heights High entered organizational midlife when the founding faculty no longer found itself in a dominant position and when non-family members outnumbered the family members. An attempted revolution by outsiders signalled the beginning of a new phase in the life cycle of the organization and introduced an onslaught of internal power struggles. A powerful subculture in the form of a core group of male teachers arose to preserve extant structures and memories of past glories. This host culture developed an anti-administration sentimentality that affected many aspects of the school's operation. The organization, now preoccupied with relationships, was criticized for not being attuned to its changing communities. It was a time of great turbulence.

The school has currently entered a stage of organizational maturity where the culture has become a constraint on innovation. In the case of the Learning Centre Program Model, its principles of inclusion clash with elements of a culture that glorify past accomplishments which were anti-inclusionary. In a culture where certain groups are marginalized on the basis of gender and perceived ability, a manifestation of the assumption that the relationship of humanity to nature is submissive or dominant depending on where you fit in the organization, has shaped the Learning Centre in the mold of the former special class that was designed to "fix" students with special
needs. Marginalized groups including teachers new to the organization are taught how to think, perceive, and feel. At Valley Heights High, truth is determined and revealed by a core group of male teachers who perpetuate the ideals of the past including the cultural ascendancy of males. An organization that rests on the assumption that truth is revealed will reject an innovation that supports discovery through trial-and-error solutions to problems. To facilitate the membership, participation, and learning of all students in school programs and activities requires a service delivery model that emphasizes team work, collaboration, and cooperation. In this milieu, truth must be discovered, not revealed.

The nature of reality is relative, subjective, and highly personal at Valley Heights High. Students from the poorer section of the district occupy the Learning Centre. Their assignment to the Centre is a manifestation of a culture that historically labelled residents from less affluent communities on the basis of its relative, subjective, and highly personal reality. The organization assumes that human beings are perfectible and one way to perfect the less fortunate is through placement in the Learning Centre. The organization’s culture demonstrates its power as it transformed the Learning Centre and its goal of universality into a mere substitute for its predecessor, the special class, where disability was considered a human
pathology and fixable through special treatment. This arrangement is readily accepted at Valley Heights High where the nature of human activity is active for the core group of male teachers who are concerned with accomplishments. Student evaluation derived from paper-and-pencil tests constitutes the norm in an "academic" milieu that is active and concerned with student accomplishments. The Learning Centre hosts a clientele that historically has assumed the "passive" nature of human activity and who are prepared to let the world unfold as it may. The active and passive nature of human activity in the organization effectively defines and celebrates accomplishments to the exclusion of students with special needs. Relationships are effected in the process as collateral relationships emphasizing the goals defined by the work or core group thrive and new members are taught "the ropes". Team work, collaboration, and cooperation are foreign concepts in this milieu.

In an organization where the nature of authority rested upon the tradition and precedents of law and insiders were groomed for administrative positions, the dissolution of that practice signalled the beginning of a new era where the nature of authority evolved over time. The core group of teachers who formed the informal authority established their control in the organization in other ways. The researcher had no difficulty distinguishing those who were "in" from those who were "out". In this environment, it is difficult
to envision any support for an innovation that promotes principles of inclusion. The problem is compounded by space that is compartmentalized and finite and time that is linear in nature. Different groups have their spaces in various areas of the school. Balkanization is the bane of a model that envisions inclusion as the focal point of the school and team work as the primary means to get the job done. The problem is exacerbated in an organization where teachers separate their personal and professional lives. The "time to work, time to play" maxim seriously impedes teaming efforts at Valley Heights High.

11.3. Barriers to Change at Ocean Bottom High

In a similar vein, Ocean Bottom High School is presently entrenched in a culture of individualism and isolationism that is a product of prior cultural learning experiences. Assumptions about the relationship of humanity to nature, how truth is determined, the nature of reality [truth], the nature of human beings, the nature of human activity, the nature of human relationships, the nature of authority, the nature of space, and the concept of time have managed to freeze the organization and conceal the teachers behind classroom walls of privatism. Collaboration is an alien concept in this milieu.

In Ocean Bottom's birth and early growth stage, the staff's identity evolved around critical incidences that
effectively drove a wedge between the teachers and the school administration. In the process, the school became isolated from the communities it served. The teachers retreated to their classrooms and focused their energies on the children who were seated before them as a form of escapism from the "outside" pressures. The pattern continues to this day as teachers are present for their children between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. Their exodus from the school closely follows the dismissal of the students in what is described as a "parade of teachers". It signals an end to their professional responsibilities for the teaching day. Staff meetings are infrequent, team meetings are sporadic, and collegial activity is lacking. It is a staff that neither works together nor plays together.

Ocean Bottom High School has currently entered a stage of organizational maturity where the culture has become a constraint on innovation. The principles of inclusion that are inherent in the Learning Centre Program Model struggle in an environment that promotes isolationism. While the principal's laissez-faire leadership style thrives in this milieu, a survival mechanism that has been taught through a variety of implicit and explicit mechanisms, it will do nothing to unfreeze the organization from its biological groove of entrenchment. Arguably, a strong change manager is needed to lead Ocean Bottom High into a period of rebirth. The culture of individualism which perpetuates the isolation
of its members inhibits the motivation to change.

In the organization, the relationship of humanity to nature is one of dominance. Teachers control their classrooms to protect their privacy. Team work, collaboration, and cooperation in responding to student needs cannot take flight in an organization where teachers spend most of the day in the confines of their classrooms. Truth is discovered by their own efforts. The nature of reality [truth] is relative in that it is both subjective and personal. Ideas that do not affirm the teacher’s personal reality will not be readily accepted. The notion of school teams meeting regularly and using a collaborative problem-solving approach to address the programming and support service needs of individual students struggles inasmuch as the nature of human activity is active and teachers rely on their own ingenuity to do their tasks. The nature of human relationships for the teachers is basically competitive, not cooperative, and implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model is seriously impeded in this culture of isolationism and individualism.

The classroom walls define the finite space of teachers who cherish their privacy. Their concept of time is linear, divided into compartments that separate their personal and professional lives. It is difficult to imagine a creative use of human resources under these conditions.
11.4. Inclusion: A Dream Unfulfilled

The Nova Scotia Special Education Policy Manual articulates a vision of inclusion that strongly resembles the principles of the Learning Centre Program Model.

The vision is to have all Nova Scotia schools embrace and practice inclusive schooling. In such schools a] a focus on outcomes is emphasized, establishing expectations that all students work together in a variety of ways; b] there is emphasis on activity-based, small group work where students interact with each other; c] classroom teaching and management strategies are flexible enough to provide for short-term interventions which may involve individual or small group work in other settings; d] creative use is made of human resources to assist and support students [e.g. peer helping, tutoring, and mentoring programs]; e] school teams meet regularly and use a collaborative problem-solving approach to address the programming and support service needs of individual students; f] parents/guardians are regularly involved in decisions about their children’s educational program; g] instructional leadership and support are provided by administrators and school-based student support staff to assist classroom teachers in developing appropriate programming options for all students; h] ongoing training and staff development are seen as a priority and are facilitated; i] school boards provide a continuum of programming options and services to meet the special needs of students; j] there are strong linkages between the school and outside agencies and a cooperative approach to support service delivery [Special Education Policy Manual, 1997, p.34].

As the researcher followed the activities of students with special needs in two secondary school cultures, it became readily apparent to him that inclusion was a dream unfulfilled. At Valley Heights High, one recalls how John,
with his global delays in learning, was expected to attend all classes except for French, comprehend radius, diameter, and circumference in Math class, and interpret a difficult passage from a novel while he struggled to print "cat" and "dog" in the Learning Centre. And there was Jerry whose moral development was not expected to reach a full level of empathy due, in part, to a significant delay in his communication skills. He was expected to engage in learning situations that required reasoning skills beyond his capability while his social skills remained largely unchecked. Then there was Sondra whose visual impairment was accommodated by an itinerant teacher from an outside agency. She did not receive the support of her teachers when it came time to submit work in advance for the purposes of being brailled. Their negligence resulted in Sondra spending many hours at home trying to catch up to peers. And there was Clark whose physical condition necessitated a program assistant being in close proximity at all times to assist him with his basic needs. He attended all classes but his communication skills prevented him from participating beyond utterances, pointing, and yes/no responses. Clark's social circle was confined to the program assistant and another student with special needs. One also recalls Ray, the student with weak language skills, who relied heavily on the Learning Centre teacher for assistance. She became his support for program adaptation and completion of homework
assignments. This was the modus operandi for those students who did not fit the mold of the "regular" students and were unable to cope in an environment that had a strong emphasis on knowledge acquisition. The scene of one student with disabilities assisting another student in his wheelchair across a playing field during an activity day in virtual isolation of students and teachers left a haunting picture in the mind of the researcher as it captured for him the status of integration at Valley Heights High.

Integration at Ocean Bottom High experienced a similar fate. There was Shaun who had severe delays in his learning and demonstrated inappropriate social interactions as he developed a dependency on the program assistant, hindering his chances to lead a "normal" life in the organization. One recalls Steve, the student who had spent ten years of his school life in a training centre for children with borderline intellectual potential. His program consisted of a series of courses that lacked an academic component but still necessitated the presence of a program assistant at all times as Shaun remained on the periphery of classroom activity. Ted was another student who had spent most of his school years in a training centre where he received assistance in social skills and personal care. Ted struggled in many of his courses and was limited by his poor communication skills. He was the victim of teasing by his peers. There was Cory whose severe delay in communication
skills and his propensity to become aggressive when under duress necessitated the presence of a program assistant with him at all times. Richard did not fare much better as "years of failure he had experienced has exacted a serious toll on his self-concept" [Psychological Assessment, 1993]. His reluctance to accept help led the Learning Centre teacher to report that it was very difficult to help Richard either in or outside the classroom. Help for many of the students hinged on the presence of a program assistant or the intervention of the Learning Centre teacher. Classroom teachers remained largely detached from the students with disabilities. Any shades of success for their inclusion in the mainstream of school life generally occurred in the non-academic subject areas. The academic courses were for the academic students. At Ocean Bottom High, teachers were content to group the students with disabilities and rely on the diligence of the Learning Centre teacher and the program assistants to assist with program needs.

Inclusion as defined by the Nova Scotia Special Education Policy Manual envisions educational services to all students in a milieu where all students belong and are considered to be equal members of the school community. Integration at Valley Heights High and Ocean Bottom High means little more than placing students with disabilities in the regular classroom under the close supervision of a program assistant or the Learning Centre Teacher. The
students are effectively segregated in an integrated setting. Inclusion here is a dream unfulfilled.

11.5. District and Provincial Views on Inclusion

Are the two secondary schools of this study anomalies in the bigger picture of inclusion of students with disabilities? The answer to this question is revealed in a report commissioned by the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union [June, 1998]. A questionnaire was developed to examine educators' perceptions of the integration process and their willingness and ability to adapt programs to meet the needs of a wide range of learners. The questionnaires were sent to approximately nine hundred classroom teachers, resource teachers, and principals in the six boards in the province. Neither the return rates nor the responses to the questionnaires differed significantly from board to board. 98.5% of the respondents were positive regarding inclusion of students with special needs. Students with individualized student program plans were reported to be "less frustrated, felt a greater sense of accomplishment, worked harder, and developed better coping, behavior, and social skills" [Report commissioned by the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union, June, 1998, p.2]. Educators commented that inclusion increased sensitivity to the diverse needs of others. However, they were unanimous in their concerns regarding the lack of direction and support from their school boards and
the Department of Education and Culture. There was a strong feeling that they were not equipped to develop and implement the kinds of programs needed to effectively accommodate students with special needs in the regular classroom. Insufficient time, support, and training were cited as the greatest barriers to inclusion. Additional responsibilities, multiple roles, and lack of support personnel created feelings of frustration for the respondents. This resulted in an over-reliance on program assistants to accommodate the students. Some secondary teachers questioned whether regular classroom placement for students with special needs really worked. These respondents felt that standards were being "eroded" and bright students were not receiving adequate attention.

The report advanced recommendations to assist educators in the development and implementation of individualized program plans for students with special needs. Professional development sessions on team building, curriculum modification and adaptations, and information on special needs were cited as essential to the process. Adequate resources, technology, and support personnel were also noted as being imperative to the successful accommodation of students with special needs in the regular classroom. The report recommended that sufficient time be factored into the school day to take into account the time needed to "meet, consult, develop, implement, write up,
obtain resources, adapt programs, fill out forms, and evaluate individualized program plans" [Report commissioned by the Nova Scotia Teachers’ Union, June, 1998, p.15].

Clarification of roles and responsibilities in the program planning process and the involvement of parents at all phases were also cited as critical issues that needed to be addressed. The report clearly suggested that placement in mainstream classrooms alone will not guarantee success for students with disabilities. Teachers need specific support to allow them to meet these students’ needs within the context of the institutional demands present in secondary schools today. Each school ultimately has the responsibility to provide a learning environment that facilitates the membership of all its students. Unless the school perceives and accepts the responsibility for creating the conditions for inclusion of students with disabilities and its educators demonstrate the appropriate attitudes and activities, the argument can be made that children with moderate to severe disabilities will exist in isolation of their non-disabled peers. Secondary culture with its strong academic orientation has prevented students with moderate to severe disabilities from being included in the mainstream. The recent report on educators’ perceptions of the individualized program planning process commissioned by the Nova Scotia Teachers’ Union suggests that this attitude is prevalent in many secondary schools in the province. If
indeed the two secondary schools of this study have much in common with schools throughout the district and the province, then inclusion in its present conceptualized form is doomed to failure. The total integration model needs to be revisited. Social and academic goals for each student cannot be tailor-made and direct instruction, monitoring, and feedback cannot be provided. If we are to serve all students, then we must provide a wide range of services which could include segregated settings. Integration in its present state and under the influence of secondary school culture has unwittingly created a dehumanizing environment for some students with disabilities.

11.6. A Change in Focus: A Focus of Change

It is ironic that inclusion and its fundamental principle of universality has in essence limited the scope of services for students with special needs. Their integration into the regular classroom has become an end in itself. Because school culture was not considered in the final equation, pragmatism did not guide the integration process. While few would denounce the principle of universality and the right of all children to receive an education, many would argue that integration should not be considered an inalienable right. Children with special needs need to be prepared as fully as possible for their successful integration into society and it is the duty of
public education authorities to provide that education. However, a continuum of services and not integration needs to guide the planning process. The right to an education need not imply that it happen in a classroom setting. School culture is simply too strong to allow that to happen in all cases. A flexible service delivery model is required that is more concerned with how the needs of each child can best be met rather than where meeting those needs should take place.
CHAPTER 12

FOOD FOR THOUGHT: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

12.1. Summary

Culture provides food for thought for leaders in the identification of priority issues for their organizations. Attempting to initiate an innovation without a keen awareness of the power of culture is unwise as this study of the impact of culture on inclusionary practices in two secondary schools illustrates. The vision of inclusion as espoused in the Learning Centre Program Model did not reach fruition due to cultural forces that undermined the process and effectively sabotaged the model's intent. Cultures of individualism and balkanism shaped the organizations' modus operandi and subtly segregated students with special needs within integrated settings.

The cultures of the two schools emerged as a result of the dominant value orientations of the communities they served. Those values arose prior to the organizations' inception through an imprinting process that labelled people. It was the children from disadvantaged and disenfranchised communities who constituted the majority of students in the special classes. Their placement in the Learning Centre was a functionalist response to a human condition that had its origins in traditional segregated classes designed to maintain order in the "rational" school
Involution had taken root in the secondary schools of this study. Cultures of isolationism and balkanism rejected change and lessened the influence of the formal leaders. The power lay with the informal authority who, through a variety of implicit and explicit mechanisms, preserved extant structures and taught new members the traditional way to think, feel, and perceive. Despite organizational atrophy having set in, Valley Heights High and Ocean Bottom High showed a remarkable ability to survive in times of decline. The cultures are indeed strong and have impact.

Analysing culture from the perspectives of historical particularism, evolutionism, and ecological functionalism unveiled patterns of assumptions in both organizations. Assumptions about the relationship of humanity to nature, how truth is determined, the nature of reality [truth], the nature of human beings, the nature of human activity, the nature of human relationships, the nature of authority, the nature of space, and the concept of time provided cultural descriptions of Ocean Bottom High and Valley Heights High. Many of the organizations' cultural assumptions were incompatible with the Learning Centre Program Model's principles of inclusion; consequently, the innovation met with predictable resistance. Any consideration that the schools' cultures were weak and inconsequential in influencing inclusionary practices was squashed. Their
current bureaucratic structures and professional cultures are strong but inappropriate for accommodating students with special needs. Secondary schooling in general tends to be exclusionary in nature with its academic focus and narrow parameters for school success.

Integration had become an end in itself in the implementation of the Learning Centre Program Model, a model which was developed with the idealistic view that students with mild to moderate disabilities should be accommodated in the regular classroom. It is ironic that this holistic view for accommodating students with special needs unwittingly limited program options. Surely pragmatism, not idealism, should guide the integration process and students with disabilities should be accommodated within reasonable limits and in accordance with the schools' human and physical resources. In the final analysis, this can only be determined through a careful consideration of the schools' organizational culture. Educators and policy makers must be guided by this consideration.

12.2. A Course of Action

The Learning Centre concept was created by an organization that assumed the nature of human beings to be perfectible. Disability was considered a human pathology and in need of fixing. Under this new concept, the function of
the special class was now replaced by activities of the Learning Centre.

Both the schools of this study have entered biological grooves of entrenchment in their developmental stages. 

Schein [1989] suggests ways to "unfreeze" it.

In such a situation, the best choices are between more rapid transformation of parts of the culture to permit the organization to become adaptive once again through some kind of "turnaround" or to destroy the group and its culture through a process of reorganization. Strong new change managers are needed to implement the process, and part of the implementation is to unfreeze the organization before change is even possible. Such unfreezing often results from essentially coercive forces [Schein, 1989, p.293].

In the process of coercive persuasion, it is incumbent upon the leader to clearly deliver the message that change is necessary and to consistently challenge assumptions that impede progress [Schein, 1989, p.293]. The leader provides a psychological safety net to the group by being supportive of those members who realize that some of their past ways are obsolete. Finally, the leader's primary task in culture change is to articulate a vision, acquire the resources to realize the vision, and provide emotional reassurance for the members as they wade through unfamiliar water.

Leithwood and Aitken [1995] describe the kind of learning organization that is accepting of new ideas. It consists of
... a group of people pursuing common purposes [individual purposes as well] with a collective commitment to regularly weighing the value of those purposes, modifying them when that makes sense, and continuously developing more effective and efficient ways of accomplishing those purposes [Leithwood and Aitken, 1995, p.63].

Balkanism and isolationism have effectively arrested any collective commitment or common purpose in the organizations of this study and subconsciously shaped the principles of the Learning Centre Program Model to match the members’ assumptions and beliefs. The cultural essence of these secondary schools has a strong consistency which has kept the organizations frozen. Change efforts will be thwarted by organizational cultures that honour and protect the past. Coercive persuasion may be the only way to break the oppressive backs of individualism, isolationism, and balkanism.

Suffice it to say that if one destroys physically the group that is the carrier of a given culture, by definition that culture is destroyed and whatever new group begins to function begins to build its own new culture [Schein, 1989, p.295].

Consequently, school systems facing similar situations to those described in this study must realize that existing school cultures can be changed only by dispersing existing staffs and appointing administrators who possess the "emotional strength, depth of vision, and capacity for self-insight and objectivity" [Schein, 1989, p.326].
In the process of organizational revival, a plan could be instituted and supported by an increase in the number of professional development sessions on inclusion, program planning and implementation, and team building. Adequate resources and expertise could be made available and sufficient time provided during the day for staff to work through the tough issues. Roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders including parents would be clarified in the process. New teachers would have to be carefully trained.

While this plan of action makes sense, it is a foolhardy venture if the demands of inclusion with the accommodation of all students with disabilities in the regular classroom is beyond the capabilities of even the most skilled and dedicated educators. The researcher suspects it is. If this is the case, then policies must change to allow for a wider service delivery model including the possibility of segregated programs in congregated classroom settings for students with special needs. The services could vary along a continuum and include, for example, regular class attendance with special support, part-time and full-time special class placement in the public school system, special school placement, homebound tutoring and support, and placement in residential settings.

Section 1 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms supports "the rights and freedoms set out in it
subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law which may be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society". In light of the recent ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada in the Eaton vs. Brant County Board of Education [1997] which upheld the School Board's right to place a child with cerebral palsy in a segregated setting, it would seem that "reasonable limits" can include educating some children with special needs in special classes, at least for parts of the day, rather than in age-appropriate classrooms. The segregated setting can and should be one of a cascade of alternative arrangements for students who are unable to cope in the regular classroom. School systems grappling with issues of inclusion must consider reasonable limits in terms of the mental and physical abilities of the students with special needs as well as school culture.

These recommendations offer a change in our way of accommodating students with special needs. Pragmatism and altruism must guide the process and school culture must be an important consideration.

12.3. Future Considerations

The researcher found the study to be both fascinating and insightful as he unveiled cultural assumptions in two secondary schools that served to undermine the principles of inclusion inherent in the Learning Centre Program Model. It has caused him to question his own beliefs about the
integration of students with special needs in the regular classroom setting. The act of unveiling cultural assumptions was not without consequence for him.

It is evident that educators and policy makers need to consider what is realistic for classroom teachers to invest in terms of time and effort in the accommodation of students with special needs. In the report commissioned by the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union [June, 1998], teachers provided testimony to feelings of inadequacy in attempting to fully include students with disabilities in their classrooms. While discussion of the benefits of inclusionary practices in the public school system continues to occupy much space in the educational journals, the question remains:

How much support can one teacher provide to students who demonstrate varying abilities and interests and at the same time prepare students for examinations for admission to institutions of higher education?

The perceptions and attitudes of educators and significant others in the life of a student with special needs affect how inclusionary practices are instituted in the organization. The degree to which they are willing to change or alter instruction and classroom routines is unknown.
How willing are teachers to adopt inclusionary practices in their classrooms?

Every society has its dominant profile of value orientations as well as numerous variant or substitute profiles [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961]. Systems of meaning flow from each society and become embedded in their institutions. An ethos is produced for the members to follow. Values promoted by rural communities differ from those promoted by suburban and urban ones. Wilson [1985] described those differences in terms of the tolerance levels of the residents.

Are some societies more tolerant of differences in human beings? Does a correlation exist between the proximity of a secondary school to the city and the members' willingness to accommodate students with special needs?

Ocean Bottom High School had a student population that seemed to be somewhat more tolerant and accepting of students with special needs than was evident among the student body at Valley Heights High School.

Does a correlation exist between the age of the students and their acceptance of peers with special needs?
The researcher was afforded the opportunity to observe and record a day in the life of students with special needs. A vivid account emerged of the manner in which their needs were being met in the school setting. However, not once did the researcher ask the students how they felt about their personal circumstances.

How do students with special needs feel about their treatment in the secondary school milieu?

The researcher discovered two secondary school cultures that were not inclusive in nature. The report commissioned by the Nova Scotia Teachers Union [June, 1998] suggested that secondary schools in the province of Nova Scotia are struggling with the accommodation of students with special needs. The researcher wondered if a secondary school that was exemplary of inclusive practices existed in the province. If so:

What lessons could be extracted from a cultural analysis of a secondary school that is inclusive in nature? How could those valuable lessons be transposed to other situations?

Addressing the needs of students with special needs in the secondary school setting presents many challenges. It is not enough to merely situate these students in regular classrooms. Teachers require information and pertinent data
about the validity of practices that are adopted in the name of inclusion. Peer tutoring, cooperative learning techniques, and program adaptation were prescribed in the Learning Centre Program Model as viable ways to meet the needs of special needs learners. The researcher pondered the integrity of these techniques in terms of the benefits to the learner and asks:

Do existing inclusive practices fit the realities that teachers face today? Has the validity of these practices been tested?

Answers to these questions suggest further areas for research which will examine the relationship of organizational culture to the integration of students with special needs in the secondary school setting.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


BIBLIOGRAPHY


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Epstein, E. and Guttman, R. "Mate Selection in Man: Evidence, Theory, and Outcome". Social Biology, 1984, 31, 243-278.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


BIBLIOGRAPHY


BIBLIOGRAPHY


BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jobe, D., Rust, J., and Brissie, J. "Teacher Attitudes Toward Inclusion of Students with Disabilities into Regular Classrooms". Education, Fall 1996, 117 [1], 148.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Martin, E. "Some Thoughts on Mainstreaming". Exceptional Children, 1974, 41.

Martin, J. and Siehl, C. "Organizational Culture and Counter Culture: An Uneasy Symbiosis". Organizational Dynamics, Autumn 1983, 52-64.


Mesinger, J. "A Rationale for the Merger of Special Education and Regular Education" or "Is it now time for the lamb to lie down with the lion?" Exceptional Children, 1985, 51, 510.


Moxley, R. "Some Historical Relationships Between Science and Technology With Implications for Behavior Analysis". The Behavior Analyst, 1989, 12 [1], 45-57.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


Rosin, H. and Korabik, K. "Marital and Family Correlates of Women Managers' Attrition from Organizations". Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1990, 37, 104-120.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A

Dear [Parent]:

My name is Michael Foley and I am enrolled in a Doctorate of Education Program in Educational Administration at the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education. I am currently employed with the [name of board] District School Board as a non-teaching principal of an elementary school in the [name of community] area.

My study involves the manner in which schools have accommodated the needs of “challenged” learners. I ask permission to follow [name of student] activity at [name of school] for one school day and inquire as to how [name of student] feels about program delivery, the nature of the program(s), and its activities.

The content of the interview, and the results of the study would be shared with you at a later date. The entire process will be beneficial in understanding the impact of our schools in meeting the needs and interests of special learners.

Should you have any questions concerning the nature of the study, please feel free to call me at my [school number] or my [home number]. I look forward to spending a day with [name of student].

________________________________________________________________________

Please sign and return to the homeroom teacher.

I give permission for [name of son/daughter] to be observed in the school setting for one school day.

Parent’s Permission: [parent signature]
APPENDIX B

TEEN SURVEY

WHAT ARE TEENS SAYING?

A survey sponsored by the __________________________ School Board.

School: ____________________________________________

Student's Age: __________ Male _______ Female _____

Section A (Check the five items you value most.)

What I value as important:

☐ Boyfriend/Girlfriend ☐ Nurse ☐ Teacher
☐ God ☐ No one ☐ Police
☐ Parent(s) ☐ Social Worker ☐ A Relative
☐ School Counsellor ☐ Friend ☐ Doctor

Section B Relationships (Check those that apply to you.)

When something goes wrong, I want to tell:

☐ Boyfriend/Girlfriend ☐ Nurse ☐ Teacher
☐ God ☐ No one ☐ Police
☐ Parent(s) ☐ Social Worker ☐ A Relative
☐ School Counsellor ☐ Friend ☐ Doctor

When something great happens, I want to tell:

☐ Boyfriend/Girlfriend ☐ Teacher ☐ No One
☐ God ☐ A Relative ☐ Friend
☐ School Counsellor ☐ Family ☐ Parent(s)
Section C  Drug Accessibility and Use

If you want to use drugs, how difficult is it to get them?

☐ Very Difficult    ☐ Not Very Difficult
☐ Fairly Difficult  ☐ Not Difficult At All

How often have you tried the following?

Marijuana/Hashish  ☐ Never  ☐ Sometimes  ☐ Often
Other Illegal Drugs ☐ Never  ☐ Sometimes  ☐ Often
Cigarettes         ☐ Never  ☐ Sometimes  ☐ Often
Beer/Wide/Alcohol  ☐ Never  ☐ Sometimes  ☐ Often

SECTION D  Sexual Attitudes

I am sexually active.  ☐ Yes  ☐ No
Sexual relations between two people of the same sex are acceptable.  ☐ Yes  ☐ No
I had unprotected sexual relationships.  ☐ Yes  ☐ No

SECTION E  Social Concerns

Number in order your greatest concern (1) to your least concern (8)

☐ Teenage Suicide ☐ Violence Against Women ☐ Aids
☐ Child Abuse ☐ The Environment ☐ Drugs
☐ Unemployment ☐ Racial Discrimination

SECTION F  Response to AIDS

I see AIDS as a serious problem.  ☐ Yes  ☐ No
AIDS awareness has influenced my habits of sexual involvement.  ☐ Yes  ☐ No
SECTION G  Involvement in Cults

There has been some talk about teens having an interest in satanism and witchcraft. Among teens you know, how common is involvement in satanic or witchcraft groups?

☐ Common  ☐ Uncommon  ☐ Not At All

SECTION H  Hero/Heroine

Name your favorite:

TV Program _______________________
Singer/Group _______________________
Movie Star _______________________
Athlete _______________________
Pro Sports Team _______________________
Author _______________________
Politician _______________________
World Leader _______________________
Hobby _______________________

SECTION I  Awareness of Problems in the community.

Do you know anyone who has:

- been physically abused at home? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- been sexually abused? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- been emotionally abused? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- a severe alcohol or drug problem? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- attempted suicide? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, do you know if these persons received help? ☐ Yes ☐ No
SECTION J  
Personal Concern/Coping Skills

I worry about:

- Not having enough money.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- What I’ll do when I finish school.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- Having no boyfriend/girlfriend.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- Safe sex.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- My weight.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- My height.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- Losing friends.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- My family.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No

I feel:

- Pressure to do well in school.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- I am not understood by my parents.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- I am well liked.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- I am good looking.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- I can do most things well.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- I have lots of confidence.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No
- I make good decisions.  
  - Yes  
  - Somewhat  
  - No

SECTION K  
Travel Experiences

I have travelled:

- To other Provinces  
  - Yearly  
  - Several times a year  
  - Never
- To the United States  
  - Yearly  
  - Several times a year  
  - Never
- Outside North America  
  - Yearly  
  - Several times a year  
  - Never

SECTION L  
Sources of Decision Making

Who do you find yourself most likely to turn to when you are making decisions in the following areas?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Doctor</th>
<th>Nurse</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>School Counsellor</th>
<th>Clergy</th>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Social Worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having Fun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending Money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right and Wrong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Major Problems

Parents | Friends | Doctor
Nurse | Teacher | School Counsellor
Clergy | Relative | Social Worker
No One

SECTION M Educational Expectations

I expect:
- to finish high school: Yes | No
- to attend university: Yes | No
- vocational/community college training: Yes | No

I like school:
- very much: Yes | No
- Some: Yes | No
- Not at all: Yes | No

I find:
- my courses interesting: Very | Somewhat | Not at all
- my teachers helpful: Very | Somewhat | Not at all
- assigned work meaningful: Very | Somewhat | Not at all
- I am doing well in school: Very | Somewhat | Not at all

SECTION N Confidence in Institutions and Services

How much confidence do you have in the people in charge of/working for the:

Police
Schools
Hospitals
Court System
Religious Organizations
Government

- Quite a Bit | Some | None
- Quite a Bit | Some | None
- Quite a Bit | Some | None
- Quite a Bit | Some | None
- Quite a Bit | Some | None
SECTION O  Religious Service Attendance

I attend church:  □ Weekly  □ Monthly  □ Yearly  □ Never

SECTION P  Attitude Of Adults

Adults are courteous to young people.  
□ Always  □ Often  □ Sometimes  □ Never

Adults respect young people's opinions.  
□ Always  □ Often  □ Sometimes  □ Never

Adults have confidence in young people.  
□ Always  □ Often  □ Sometimes  □ Never

Describe what the ideal school would be like.

Describe what the ideal family would be like.

What do you like in your community?

If you were in a position of power, what would you change in your community?
FIGURE 1

Value as Important by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:
vhhsFjrT - Female Junior Total
vhhsMjrT - Male Junior Total
vhhsFsrnT - Female Senior Total
vhhsMsrnT - Male Senior Total
vhhsTtot - Total
vhhsMtot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 2

Relationships: Tell When Something Goes Wrong by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 3

Relationships: Tell When Something Great Happens by Gender
For VHHS Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

vhhs - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total
FsnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 4

Personal Concern/Coping Skills: Do Well, Understood, Am Liked:
VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

VHHS - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total
FsnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
Tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 5

Sources of Decision Making: Career – VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

VHHS - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
Mjrt - Male Junior Total
Fsnt - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
Tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 6

Sources of Decision Making: Sex – VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

vhhs - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total

FsrnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 7

Sources of Decision Making: Relationships - VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

VHHS - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total
FsnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
tot - Total
FIGURE 8

Sources of Decision Making: Having Fun - VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

vhhs - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total
FsnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 9

Sources of Decision Making: Major Problems - VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND

vhhs - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total
FsnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 10

Drug Accessibility and Use: by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND

vhhs - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total
FsnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 11

Sexual Attitudes by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 12

Social Concerns by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

vhhs - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total
FsnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 13

Involvement with Cults by Gender for VHHS Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

vvhhs - Valley Heights High
FjrT - Female Junior Total
MjrT - Male Junior Total
FsnT - Female Senior Total
MsnT - Male Senior Total
tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 14

Educational Expectations: Courses Interesting, Teachers Helpful, Work Meaningful, Doing Well – VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students

LEGEND:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vhhhsFjrT</th>
<th>vhhhsMjrT</th>
<th>vhhhsFsrT</th>
<th>vhhhsMsrT</th>
<th>vhhhsTot</th>
<th>vhhhsMtot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FsrT - Female Senior Total</td>
<td>MsrT - Male Senior Total</td>
<td>tot - Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vhhhs - Valley Heights High</td>
<td>FjrT - Female Junior Total</td>
<td>MjrT - Male Junior Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Educational Expectations: High School, University, Vocational - VHHS by Gender for Junior and Senior High Students

**LEGEND:**
- vhhs - Valley Heights High
- FjrT - Female Junior Total
- MjrT - Male Junior Total
- FsnT - Female Senior Total
- MsnT - Male Senior Total
- tot - Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 16

Value as Important by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND:

OBHS - Ocean Bottom High
FnT - Female Senior Total
MnT - Male Senior Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 17

Relationships: Tell When Something Goes Wrong by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND:

- OBHS - Ocean Bottom High
- FsnT - Female Senior Total
- MsnT - Male Senior Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 18

Relationships: Tell When Something Great Happens by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND:

OBHS = Ocean Bottom High
■ FSN T = Female Senior Total
■ MSN T = Male Senior Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 19

Drug Accessibility and Use:
by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND:

OBHS - Ocean Bottom High
♀ FsnT - Female Senior Total
♂ MsnT - Male Senior Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 20

Sexual Attitudes by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND:

OBHS = Ocean Bottom High

- FemT - Female Senior Total
- MsnT - Male Senior Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 21

Awareness of Problems in the Community: by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND:

OBHS - Ocean Bottom High
♀ FsnT - Female Senior: Total
♂ MsnT - Male Senior: Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 22

Travel Experiences by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND:

OBHS - Ocean Bottom High
♂ FstT - Female Senior Total
♀ MsnT - Male Senior Total
APPENDIX C

FIGURE 23

Educational Expectations: High School, University, Vocational
by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND

OBHS = Ocean Bottom High
Freq = Female Senior Total
Mens = Male Senior Total
FIGURE 24

Educational Expectations: Courses Interesting, Teachers Helpful, Work Meaningful, Doing Well - by Gender for OBHS Senior High Students

LEGEND:
- OBHS - Ocean Bottom High
- Fs nT - Female Senior Total
- Ms nT - Male Senior Total