MANDATING INCLUSION: THE PARADOX OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLING IN SASKATCHEWAN

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By

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ABSTRACT

Community Schools in Saskatchewan offer tremendous potential for building and sustaining democratic communities. This potential is based on what is intended to be the participatory and inclusive nature of these schools. Notions of inclusion at the root of community school orientations to foster well-being emerged from a social-democratic tradition within education and have been explored to differing extents by educational, political, and social theorists. To date, few researchers have examined staff perceptions of inclusion, given the broad and nuanced definition of social inclusion I use here. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the perceptions of these individuals so critically positioned to impact the lives of children, youth and their families, and to frame them in a socio-political and critical theoretical context. In doing so, I focus on the relationship between community school policy and practice in Saskatchewan, examining inclusive processes in community schools, and applying a critical theoretical perspective that accounts for complex and dynamic trends within these schools. Using Habermas's critical theory of society, I argue that both functional and communicative rationalization can be seen as converging in the body of community education literature, although functional rationalization is the more predominant, or colonizing, feature. This colonization subsequently leads to legitimation and motivation crises in Community Schooling in Saskatchewan, which can be seen in the low levels of participation of families and community members into school activities. Despite the challenges Community Schools are currently facing, I conclude there is room and opportunity for change at the school level, where stakeholders come together to reach common goals, and live out, at the local level, the ideals of community schooling.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our new thoughts call for people who work with their hands. Who else cares about knowing the causes of things? People who only see bread on their table don't want to know how it got baked; that lot would sooner thank God than thank the baker. But the people who make the bread will understand that nothing moves unless it has been made to move. Bertholt Brecht, <u>Life of Galileo</u>

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

'[An optimistic] dream rises as naturally from the distorted perspective of the boosters as the pessimistic one does from the knockers. I want to stay away from both these views, not in a middle ground so much as on a completely different ground' (Charles Taylor*, 1991: 79).*

My thesis is focused on understanding the nature of, and possible sociological explanations for, initiatives which alternatively promote and restrict inclusion in Saskatchewan Community Schools.   This understanding is based in an exploration of the political and social forces that shape Community School policy and its implementation in diverse communities. This understanding requires a sustained and critical look at the ways in which this policy is understood and acted upon by stakeholders at the local level.

My thesis is guided by the research questions: What does inclusion look like in Saskatchewan Community Schools? What promotes inclusive processes, and what prevents them from taking place? How can we understand these processes using a sociological perspective? When I say I wish to know what inclusion "looks like", I mean I wish to hear how people speak of it, and see how they act on these conceptions, rather than assuming the political rhetoric surrounding "inclusion" as a reflection of reality. Secondly, I wish to know what particular interpretations and subsequent implementations of inclusion-based policy actually leads to inclusive processes, and which lead to more exclusion. Finally, I answer these questions using a sociological lens, specifically, Habermas' critical theory of society.

I also hope this thesis will serve as an introduction to Community Schools in Saskatchewan, and community schooling in general. At this point, I would like to express to the reader that my research is critical in nature. Critical research does not mean simply criticizing these schools or the policy that informs them, but, rather, exploring the power relations inherent in community schooling in order to better understand the challenges these schools face. In doing so, I provide a framework from

which to address these challenges in a constructive way; in a way that honors the democratic and communicative possibilities of these schools and the communities they serve. In short, it is my desire to "shake up" the Community School community, to begin to question our individual understandings of inclusion, and start a discussion about what we mean collectively when we use the term. Finally, I hope to examine the extent to which we are living up to this collective definition, and the possibilities for doing so in the future.

1.1 How this Study Began

My interest in inclusion came about through my experience with the data collection and analysis for a study (reported in Wotherspoon, Schissel, and Evitts, 2005), sponsored by Saskatchewan's provincial education Department on Community Schools in the province, entitled the Community School Data Collection Project (CSDC). Sensing a gap between staff and community members' understandings of inclusion, both at a philosophical and a practical level, I was led to question: What is inclusion, and to what extent can it be seen in community schooling in Saskatchewan? Before turning to answer these questions, I must acknowledge at this point the great many differences that exist between schools, school divisions and provincial mandates for education. I concur with Wells and Oakes (2004) that no institutionalization of political will via policy formation will uniformly and universally alter everyday experiences with education. Any such claim requires sustained, rigorous, and critical investigation. However, while differences between schools are certainly instructive, it would be remiss to not point out certain patterns that emerge from these complex institutions. By examining these patterns I hope to provide a framework for future study of democratic educational institutions, and to provide an analysis of some of the challenges in implementing broad based policies such as those of community schooling.

1.2 What are Community Schools?

The Saskatchewan government has for some time been focused on integrating Aboriginal children and youth into existing educational institutions. While some of the school buildings serving these children are new, there continue to be serious concerns about the

experiences of many Aboriginal children despite the shift from federal residential schooling several decades ago. In many schools, Aboriginal children have their social and cultural experiences and ways of knowing devalued, and do not find the support that they require to succeed, leading to high levels of absenteeism, transience, and poor educational outcomes for those who remain in attendance. Thus, a new way to understand Aboriginal education and community development has become increasingly necessary as old Eurocentric frameworks, philosophies, and practices of education prove to be ineffective.

Community Schools were first introduced in 1980 in Saskatchewan urban centers to address these issues and related concerns about "urban Aboriginal poverty", according to Saskatchewan Learning's (2004) most recent policy document on Community Schools, *Building communities of hope: Effective practices for meeting the diverse learning needs of children and youth* (hereafter referred to as BCOH). Today there are close to 100 designated Community Schools in the province. Saskatchewan Community Schools, which serve children and youth in marginalized and predominantly Aboriginal communities, are rooted in SchoolPLUS. SchoolPLUS is a philosophy and set of principles which govern decision-making at the local level. SchoolPLUS was first used in Saskatchewan in Community Schools, but has recently been extended to all schools in Saskatchewan. SchoolPLUS principles include those of developing the whole child and supporting service delivery with families in an equitable, culturally affirming, empowering and inclusive manner (BCOH, 2004).[1] Inclusion, the first key element in community education by Saskatchewan Learning, is defined in *Building Communities of Hope* (2004) as "processes that engage a broad section of community members" (p. 38). Student development and service delivery are undertaken with the child or youth's well-being in mind, a holistic notion of well-being that is extended to the family[2] and community.

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[1] See Williams (2000) for a similar example of Community Schools in British Columbia.
[2] Family is defined by Saskatchewan Learning (2004) as "any combination of two or more persons bound together by ties of mutual consent, birth, and/or adoption/placement and who, together, assume responsibility for variant combinations of some of the following: physical maintenance, and acre of group members; addition of new members through procreation or adoption; socialization of children; social control of members; production, consumption and distribution of goods and services; and affective nurturing" (p. i).

Community Schools are provided with additional resources to develop programming that facilitates community involvement in the school, reflects the communities' cultural, economic and political history, and addresses the needs of the students and their families in order to provide positive learning outcomes for these students. These schools are also known, in some jurisdictions, as "full-service" schools (Krysiak, 2001; Swerdlik et al, 1999; Walker and Hackman, 1999). Tymchak (2001: 58) speaks of "the sheer diversity of the needs represented by children and youth" which encompasses not only children's material needs but also "the need to eliminate vestiges of prejudice and discrimination, and to overcome barriers of understanding created by difference of cultural background and life experience". By addressing and meeting these needs Community Schools are following closely in the tradition of community education. This tradition, according to those at InfoED (2006) emphasizes that…"Broadly, we can approach community education as 'education for community within community'. In other words, something called 'community' is not just the place or context in which education is to occur, fostering community is also a central concern"[3] .

John Dewey (1859-1952) was one of the first proponents of community education. Dewey believed that school was not separate from society; a societal problem is an educational problem, and vice-versa (Elveton, 2005). Community education provides occasions to contain and resist social ills by fostering solidarity amongst members of a learning community. Understood in this way, community education is a broad movement of which Community Schooling is a local and specific example.

Dryfoos (1998: 75), speaking of what she terms full-service community schools, in which "education is fully integrated with medical, social, and/or human services that are beneficial to meeting the needs of children and youth and their families on the school grounds", states that, "What is most remarkable about these initiatives is that they seem to fall outside the domain of school reform and are rarely referenced in the school reform literature" (2002: 394). One reason for the paucity of theoretical debates regarding Community Schools is because most literature on Community Schools is policy or

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[3] http://www.infed.org/community/b-comed.htm Accessed April 10, 2007.

practice oriented[4]. Secondly, there are many different "types" of Community Schools (Wotherspoon, Schissel, Evitts, 2005). There are probably no two that are alike; they are perhaps more likely characterized, if anything, by their differences. Given the goal of Community Schools to meet the specific and idiosyncratic needs of their community, particularities such as geography and culture - not to mention the local politics and economy - contribute to a myriad of programs and services. For these reasons, *there is no one coherent body of theoretical literature on Community Schooling*. Rather, scholars must enter into the loosely constituted dialogue about Community Schools from where they are (whether practitioners, policy makers, or academics) and make sense of what they see, hear, and read through the particular lens that is their position. This exploratory analysis of inclusion in Community Schools represents my entrée into this loosely constituted dialogue.

1.3 Statement of Purpose, Objectives and Thesis

The notions of inclusion at the root of community school orientations to foster well-being emerged from a social-democratic tradition within education, and have been explored to differing extents by educational, political, and social theorists. Critically speaking, few researchers to date have examined staff perceptions of inclusion, given the broad definition of social inclusion that will be discussed below. Staff is defined, for the purposes of this paper, as administrative and non-administrative employees and volunteers, who play a regular and consistent role in caring for and/or teaching children within the school facilities and/or grounds. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the perceptions of these individuals so critically positioned to impact the lives of children, youth and their families, and to frame them in a socio-political and critical theoretical context.

My research has three objectives; one political, one practical, and one theoretical. The first objective is to examine the relationship between community school policy and practice in Saskatchewan, looking for evidence of connection or disconnection between the two. My second, more practical objective is to examine inclusive processes in

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[4] See the following for a typical example a clearinghouse on Community Schooling
http://www.communityschools.org/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=11&Itemid=33

community schools in Saskatchewan. Drawing from survey and focus group data, I present and explain data which point to relatively low levels of participation by family and community members, as reported by community school staff, in activities which Saskatchewan Learning understands as inclusive. As a corollary to this, since school staff are in positions to 'make or break' inclusive processes at their schools, I investigate the circumstances under which staff conceive of, and subsequently perceive, inclusive processes in their schools.   Only by doing so, can an informed discussion take place amongst Community School stakeholders regarding possible ways to foster inclusive processes.

My third objective arises from a concern that most literature and research on community education focuses solely on the realization of social justice, the application of critical theory, the development of democratic citizenship, or the fostering of social capital. Few community education scholars critically examine these multiple trends as part of an ongoing, simultaneous, and complex process[5]. Thus, the third and theoretical objective of this paper is to remedy this oversight by incorporating a theoretical perspective that can best account for these complex and dynamic trends. I do so by examining community education policy and discourses using Habermas's theory of the rationalization of society.

Briefly, Habermas argues that societal reproduction consists of material and symbolic processes to which functional and communicative rationality apply, respectively.   Material reproduction and functional rationality characterize the 'system' (or sectors of society that use money and power as an exchange medium) and symbolic reproduction and communicative rationality characterize the 'lifeworld' (where communication characterizes institutions such as the family and the civil sphere).   These two rationalities both appear in community schooling policy and implementation. What often happens when these two rationalities converge, is the colonization of lifeworld processes by functional rationality. That is, fundamentally democratic and dynamic processes of negotiation and communication become rigidly implemented and enforced, diminishing the emancipatory potential of these processes, and leading to various crises.

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[5] See Sidorkin (1999) and Shotter (1997) for two authors who attempt to do this, albeit indirectly.

This thesis is an opportunity to examine community school policy and practice for evidence of the two 'types' of rationality, before determining if some of the challenges these schools are currently facing are due to the process of colonization. In short, Habermas's theory of the rationalization of society allows me to consider the process by which multiple social trends or issues converge and alter the terrain in the site of Community Schools. I argue that both functional and communicative rationalization can be seen as converging in Community Schools, although functional rationalization is the more predominant, or colonizing, feature. This colonization subsequently leads to legitimation and motivation crises in Community Schooling in Saskatchewan, which can be seen in the low levels of involvement of families and community members into school activities.

1.4 Rationale

While public schools, by their nature, are expected to be inclusive, Community Schools are the focus of my study because they are the schools in the Saskatchewan context which have had the longest time to adjust to explicit mandates to promote inclusiveness, and have an extra allocation of resources to be able to put community school policies into practice.

It is critically important to acknowledge here that schools involved in the CSDC Project were chosen as Community Schools, and allocated extra financial, material, and personnel resources by the provincial education ministry because they were experiencing greater challenges than other schools. Thus, a conclusion I and my colleagues reached following a program evaluation applies here as well. That is, Community School policy cannot be expected to be a panacea for all things "wrong" with what happens in and around schools (see Evitts, Muhajarine, and Pushor, 2005; Muhajarine, Evitts, Glacken, Horn, and Pushor, 2006). While Community School policy is expected to have positive results, it cannot happen overnight, nor can it be expected to right all wrongs (and I doubt it is expected to do so), especially those that are deeply systemic and historical in nature. Thus, my analysis of inclusive processes is not intended to hold these schools up to some unattainable measure of perfect inclusion, but to examine these schools with respect to

their ability to demonstrate behaviours that are likely to lead to positive, democratic results for the staff, students and community.

By undertaking this research, I hope to further encourage policy makers, and those implementing policies at the school level, to question their taken-for-granted understandings of community schooling policy and of their role in these schools, to understand the genesis of community schooling policy as both complicated and contested, and having done so, to consider what strengths and challenges exist with their particular understanding and implementation of this policy. Policy makers, administrators, staff, children and their families may continue to share with me, and future scholars, the search for solutions to struggling social and educational programs by studying how other institutions have managed to foster the values and behaviors of civil society, despite current functional tendencies.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter two presents a review of the literature. The first of three sections includes a review of the literature on inclusion and community education, working towards a critical understanding of inclusion. The second contains an environmental scan of political shifts that have been taking place globally and nationally in the last several decades, and which directly or indirectly inform regional community schooling policies and notions of inclusion. The third section in chapter two provides a brief overview of social capital and critical pedagogy; two sets of beliefs which both inform community schooling, and in which most discussions of inclusion and community schooling are embedded.

Chapter three outlines my theoretical framework for the study of inclusion in community schools. I discuss Habermas's critical theory of the rationalization of society, describing, in particular, the theoretical constructs upon which the analyses for this thesis are based. Chapter four contains the justification and description of my research methods, incorporating data from surveys and focus groups. I justify the use of mixed methods, and describe in detail the process I used for qualitative and quantitative analyses of study data..

Chapter five consists of three sections. The first provides evidence of the functional rationalization of community schooling practices. I focus here on evidence of

increased means of material production, increased division of labour, and the institutionalization of exchange relationships and roles of authority and power. The second section provides evidence of the communicative rationalization of community schooling practices, focusing on the relationships between the development of sociality, individual and collective identity, and culture. In this section, I argue that while there is some evidence of communicative rationalization, there exists more evidence that these processes are not occurring, despite best of intentions. This leads to the third section in chapter five, a discussion of the crises that emerge due to the convergence of these forms of rationalization, and the subsequent colonization of communicative and lifeworld practices by system logic, or functional rationality. The implications for community schooling are then discussed and I conclude with thoughts on the future of inclusive processes in Community Schools.

The next chapter of this thesis reviews the literature on inclusion in education, the political context within which it is encouraged, and barriers to change in the education system. I do so in order to develop an understanding or definition of inclusion before I examine the nature of this inclusion in Community Schools.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Civilization is the process in which one gradually increases the number of people included in the term 'we' or 'us' and at the same time decreases those labeled 'you' or 'them' until that category has no one left in it. Howard Winters

In order to determine what inclusion looks like in Saskatchewan Community Schools, and what promotes and prevents inclusive practice, we must first come to an understanding of what inclusion is and the role it plays in educational policy. It is then critical to understand the context within which inclusive processes take place. These are the two primary goals of this chapter.

While only certain schools in Saskatchewan are designated as Community Schools, all schools in Saskatchewan are expected to exhibit the same inclusive behaviours as Community Schools. As mentioned earlier, in the language employed in the province's education system, all schools in Saskatchewan are to be SchoolPLUS schools in the sense that they are to support the whole child and their families, maintaining an inclusive environment and providing links to the community from within the school building. Given that all schools are intended to be engaged in inclusive processes as mandated in Community School policy, it is important to provide evidence for the extent to which, to date, these schools are successful. Before I provide and discuss empirical evidence in this regard, it is important that I review inclusive processes in detail, focusing on the critical sociological implications of these processes.

2.1 Current Conceptions of Inclusion

'Social inclusion", as a technical term describing healthy institutions and communities, is a relatively new theoretical concept. Widespread interest in the notion of social inclusion is generally understood to have its roots in late 20th century French political policy literature, particularly through the work of René Levoir (1974). While inclusion was not the focus of his work, it came to be articulated in terms of its oppositional qualities to

exclusion. Levoir coined the term "les exclus" to describe those that were considered "others", or socially excluded from programs such as social insurance (Cousins, 1999, deHaan, 1998, Barata, 2000; Viswanathan *et al.*, 2003). By the 1990s, the term "exclusion" had become employed more formally in European and British policy (Barata, 2000). Levitas (1998: 7) succinctly remarks on the various forms of British policy discourses on exclusion, referred to as "RED (redistributive discourse), SID (social integrationist discourse) and MUD (moral underclass discourse) [which] differ in what the excluded are seen as lacking. In RED they have no money, in SID they have no work, in MUD they have no morals". Recent Canadian efforts have focused on quality of life, poverty, gender, disability, racism, and racialization in impeding social inclusion (Viswanathan, 2003: 5).

Because social inclusion into educational institutions is a relatively fledgling concept, it has multiple and diverse meanings. It is this multiplicity and diversity that make it both popular and useful (Levitas, 1998)[6]. In Wotherspoon's (2002: 3) review of inclusion in education, he states that prior to 1981, inclusion was a broadly used term, referring to "incorporation of specific topics or material into the curriculum and the construction of test items, to the integration of particular types of students into school programs and classrooms". The 1980s literature became increasingly focused on integrating students with disabilities into the classroom and the school community. This notion was extended during the 1990s to include broadly other concepts such as adult education and citizenship or democratic education. Educational theorists and practitioners have since become increasingly concerned with the principles of accommodating and encouraging diversity, rather than simply exposing previously excluded groups to school goals and activities. (Wotherspoon, 2002: 3-4; see also Zay, 2005 and Smyth, 2002).

Despite broadening tendencies in educational theory and practice, many educational theorists choose to remain focused on inclusion as primarily concerning the inclusion of students with disabilities or learning challenges into 'regular' classrooms. Unlike these theorists, my concern is with the notion of inclusion in the broader, social-democratic sense, as intended at least in part through community schooling discourse. I

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[6] See Smyth and Shacklock (1998) for their discussion of the equally ambiguous term "quality", as referring to educational practices. There are similar parallels in terms of the flexible and therefore appealing nature of the word.

provide in this discussion a detailed overview of seven distinctive features of this "broader" inclusion as they emerge from the social inclusion literature. These features reflect Community Schools' roots in community education and their goal in developing democratic learning communities. These seven features constitute inclusion as: 1) a series of mediated processes; 2) multidimensional; 3) requiring organizational and institutional change; 4) political; 5) discursively negotiated and, therefore, 6) participatory; and 7) normative in nature. A detailed outline of these features follows.

Wotherspoon (2002: 1) describes inclusion (and conversely, exclusion) as processes, rather than outcomes, that are mediated by social, economic, political and cultural processes and serve to constrain or advance individual and group opportunities and resources. Similarly, Sebba (1996) suggests we consider three things when formulating a definition of inclusion: Ballard's (1995) assertion that, "There is no such thing as an inclusive school, there is a process of inclusion that has no limits"; Booth's (1995) argument that examining differences between developing inclusion and reducing exclusion can be 'informative'; and the need to be clear about the differences between accommodating and supporting one or a group of students (i.e., integration) and engaging in broad organizational and instructional innovation on an institutional level (i.e., inclusion). Integration is thus a dimension of, not constitutive of, inclusion. Resulting from these considerations, Sebba (1996) proffers the following definition of inclusion: "Inclusion describes the process by which a school attempts to respond to all pupils as individuals by reconsidering its curricular organization and provision. Through this process, the school builds its capacity to accept all pupils from the local community who wish to attend and, in so doing, reduces the need to exclude pupils" (see also Ainscow, 1995). Saloojee (2003: 1) concurs with Sebba, saying "[t]he utility of the concept [of] social inclusion will depend on the extent and degree to which it successfully deals with social exclusion and the extent to which it promotes social cohesion in a society that is fractured along numerous fault lines". Inclusion then is a series of processes (not a state of being), is multidimensional (not unidimensional), and requires ongoing organizational and institutional change (given that it is a dynamic, and therefore ongoing, process).

Given that inclusion is a process, it can be analyzed for dysfunctional tendencies which are shaped by the political context. This dysfunction most often takes the form of

exclusion. Barata (2000: 4) discusses how the concept of exclusion has shifted from a have/have-not analysis (relative analysis), to a "relational analysis that takes into account relations of power and the process of marginalization of the excluded". A politicized notion of exclusion also informs deHaan's (1998: 5) three major aspects of social exclusion. Exclusion is the opposite of social integration, is multi-dimensional (in terms of its economic, social, cultural, and political realms, working through power, identity, and the labour market), and is a "process, not a state, allowing for an analysis of mechanisms and institutions, as well as lending itself to policy design". Since inclusion has been conceived of as a process, and since integration is not the same as inclusion, I argue that deHaan's first point is not correct. A multidimensional and mediated process cannot have a polar opposite, and inclusion is far more complex and requires far more commitment and resources than does integration.   However, the last two points are useful in reiterating that any study of inclusion, or exclusion, is political and requires sustained critique and analysis.

Viswanathan *et al.* (2003: 8) call for discourse on social inclusion to be politicized and self-critical, focusing on *how* to address fully power differentials and hegemony that lead to and enforce exclusion: "We are concerned that to promote inclusion equates to the acceptance of an existing template of procedures, established institutions and mechanisms for public exchange where groups, who have been excluded or marginalized, are incorporated without having affected change" (see also Young, 2000). They call for inclusion to be a negotiated process focused on answering the question: "Inclusion for whom, for what ends, and how?" (2003: 9) This process is, however, without end. Booth (1996) states that the temptation to confuse or substitute a comprehensive community education for inclusive education must be resisted. In fact, Booth refers to "good practice" or an ideal inclusive site as "a chimera". It is instead an ideal set of processes to be pursued. In this way, practitioners can avoid the homogenizing tendency required to define an "inclusive education"[7], and instead focus on developing and improving inclusive processes.

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[7] See Ballard, 1996 for a case of disabled students opposing 'inclusive' education, as students are then seen as requiring 'treatment' by means of 'special strategies' in the classroom, in order to 'normalize' or homogenize students.

A corollary to their discursively negotiated nature, inclusive processes are also inherently participatory. Room (1995) says inclusion allows for the exercise of "rights of citizenship". In the same vein, the Laidlaw Foundation states "[s]ocial inclusion is about making sure that all children and adults are able to participate as valued, respected, contributing members of society" (Wotherspoon, 2002: p. viii; see also Booth, 1996). The Foundation also speaks of inclusion as requiring a "proactive, human development approach" to "bring about the conditions for inclusion'. For them, inclusion goes beyond the recognition of diversity to a validation of the "commonality of lived experience and shared aspirations" (ix). It follows closely the communitarian notion that community and social cohesion is constructed (Etzioni, 1993), and that schools are the "second line of defense" after family in this construction (Golby, 1997). The Laidlaw Foundation lays out five cornerstones to social inclusion: valued recognition; human development; involvement and engagement; proximity; and material well-being (p. ix). Similarly, Sen (2000) also understands inclusion as requiring participation, equality and basic well-being, as does Zay (2005: 105) who states, "The notion of social exclusion … is part of the [European] continental tradition. [Exclusion] is 'inadequate social participation, lack of social protection, lack of social interaction and lack of power'".

Given its participatory and political nature, inclusive processes are also, according to Bach (2002: 2-3), normative rather than descriptive; he argues that "policy analysis should reveal ways that social, economic and political arrangements systematically undermine social solidarity by devaluing certain people and groups, even though their rights are assured". This highlights the political dimensions of social life that prevent discussions about inclusion from happening, often by stigmatizing those who don't 'comply' with the 'rules' of inclusion at particular institutions (Becker, Nakagawa & Corwin (1997).[8] Discussing his aversion to 'inclusive' schooling as compliance in Australia in 1996, Slee states that

> Integration or inclusion, in the absence of an interrogation of the production of disabling educational structures and cultures, places different groups of students at risk of inclusion within the mainstream…Inclusion, in many of its discursive guises, doesn't challenge the disabling foundations of school organization,

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[8] See also Lareau and Horvat (1999), and Clegg and McNulty (2002) for examples of how levels of social and cultural capital are related to the extent to which inclusive discussions occur.

pedagogy and curriculum. The onus is placed on the child and his/her support personnel to guarantee minimal resistance to the present arrangement in schools.

Bach argues that a normative inclusion, as it should be, acknowledges and values difference, and by being self-critical it avoids devaluing others. It is this reluctance to turn to ideologies that serve to maintain the status quo that is in keeping with the following description by Levitas (No Date) of inclusion as utopian:

> The central point that I want to make is that the idea of social inclusion may be either ideological or utopian, and it is better that it be utopian…[U]topias are ideas or orientations which 'when they pass over into conduct, tend to shatter, either partially or wholly, the order of things prevailing at the time' (Mannheim 1939:173). A utopia is a 'transformative idea'. Ideologies, on the other hand, are ideas which turn out to sustain things as they are rather than being effectively transformative.

2.1.1 A Definition of Inclusion

Given the discussion above, inclusion can be understood, for the purpose of examining educational settings, as being constituted of any number of mediated and multidimensional processes that shape individual or group opportunities and outcomes. These processes go beyond the simple integration of individuals or groups into predetermined social, political, economic, or educational spheres; they demand organizational and institutional changes. These changes are made possible by the critical analysis of inclusive and exclusive mechanisms within institutions, and are brought about in a series of negotiated, discursive and participatory exercises, based on a normative, utopian ideal of "fostering solidarity across differences" (Bach, 2002: 2).

Common characteristics of schools that practice inclusion, according to Rouse (1996), are the clear vision of leaders or those in positions of influence and the appointment of committed teachers who are 'on board' with the school philosophy. However, "[i]nclusive and exclusionary practices were found to coexist within some schools…suggest[ing] that the concept of inclusion *means different things to different people*" (Rouse, 1996, emphasis added). Further highlighting the contextual and contingent nature of inclusive and exclusive processes, Zay (2005:110) states:

> Different paradigms of social exclusion, grounded in different conceptions of integration and citizenship, are debated… They apply across all the member states

but one of them dominates in each. On the two opposite sides, the Anglo-American specialization paradigm underpinned by a neo-liberal overview of the world contrasts with the French solidarity paradigm, based upon a Durkheimian notion. Although each paradigm inspires some national social and educational policies, however, no one educational system is homogenous. School models are in competition and each one may struggle successfully in some part of the system relative to the strength of the competitive social forces which support them.

Like Zay, I believe inclusive processes mean different things, and are expressed differently, according to their context. In educational contexts, two theories in particular are fraught with "inclusive" sounding terms; theories that have a firm grip on the hearts of those who practice community education. These theories are social capital and critical pedagogy.

2.2 On Social Capital and Critical Pedagogy

Concepts of non-economic and political capital grew out of neo-Marxist critiques of the role educational institutions play in (re)constructing social class, and even race and gender (Morrow and Torres, 1998; see Mignone, 2003 for a discussion of social capital in Canadian Aboriginal communities). The fundamental assumptions underlying theories regarding social and human capital have, at their root, an understanding that these forms of capital are recreated on an ongoing basis by access to and relations with kinship groups, and formal and informal social networks. Bourdieu, in McClenaghan (2000: 368) describes social capital as the "totality of actual and potential resources individuals can mobilize through membership in organizations and social networks. Coleman (1988: 296; 1990; 2001) argues that social capital exists between people, and consists of such in-betweens as "trust, obligations, expectations, norms, relations of authority and shared information". Putnam (1993: 41) defines social capital as "features of social organizations, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. It is these networks, norms and trust as constitutive of social capital that Putnam (2000) argues have been eroded away (especially in America) over the last quarter century.

The extent to which social capital is developed in particular communities or social groups determines to a large extent these communities' or groups' location in the political economy of the society in which they live and interact. Thus, education can be seen as an

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ideal tool for the development of social capital, given schools' central physical and psychical location in most communities. It can also be seen, according to Bourdieu, as a tool to convert social capital into other forms of capital. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2001: 70) emphasizes this connection in their call for more research to "[clarify] the links between human and social capital to explore how social networks can promote the education of individuals and how education can promote social capital".

    The concept of social capital as a means by which individuals are able to access and engage with social networks is exemplified by the six principles that guide Community Schooling in Saskatchewan: Educational Excellence; Equity (Respect for Diversity and Cultural Responsiveness); Preventive and Comprehensive Approaches; Empowerment; Accountability; and Collaboration and Openness. (BCOH, 2004: 38). These principles exemplify social capital processes because they call for the development of networks within and between the community and the school, they focus on engaging in coordinated and cooperative activities that both meet the needs of the community and nurture a sense of community at the same time, and they seek to "[mobilize] actual and potential resources" within the community such as local business and elders (BCOH, 2004). Community Schools, as framed through their core principles, are clearly intended to develop social capital in the school community by (re)orienting stakeholders towards this broad social program, whether policy makers, teachers, parents or school volunteers.

    Much of the recent literature on community education focuses primarily on the development of social capital, although this literature is also informed to some extent by notions of social justice in the sense that if issues such as poverty are addressed, students' achievement levels should increase. According to Maeroff (1998: 1), "The struggle to build social capital for poor children represents one of the most important endeavors in the country today…Those who want to raise educational standards and improve classroom learning must acknowledge - especially so far as the one in five students who live in poverty are concerned - that the out-of-school lives of these students cannot be ignored". In this sense, "The full-service or community movement is part of a growing revolution against a fragmented approach to the challenges presented by children seen as at risk. National achievement goals cannot be met if, as appears to be the case,

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significant numbers of children come to school unprepared to learn. Simply, educational attainments have declined due to factors outside the school" (Harris & Hoover, 2003: 206; see also National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP), 1999 and Spielhagen et al, 2003).   Finally, Dryfoos (2003: 204) warns that "achievement scores for many young people will not improve if the children and families are not helped to overcome health, mental health, social and economic barriers to learning…schools cannot assume the responsibility for all that needs to be done".

Kliminski and Smith (2004: 2-4) discuss how existing levels of social capital emerge depending on the extent to which reciprocity and trust characterize relationships in a community and state: "[t]he social capital concepts of trust-building, reciprocity, and mutual benefit fit very well with the social mandates of the community-centered school". In addition to trust and reciprocity, social capital can also be understood in terms of socio-economic achievement. Balatti and Falk (2002: 296), who talk about adult education as one part of a process of community education[9], argue that, "Social capital is implicated in effective adult learning in three most important ways": social capital is intrinsic to the learning process; drawing on and building social capital is highly correlated with improved socioeconomic outcomes; and socioeconomic benefits achieved through learning "are brought about as much through the learners' identity formation and reformation as through knowledge and skills". This identity formation which is so crucial to achieving socio-economic benefits is an integral part of the Community School and education mandate to build social capital.

2.2.1 Critical pedagogy and an Ethic of Care

Although one of many positive features of Community Schools is that they are considered very effective at building social capital (Blank et al, 2003), Harkavy and Blank (2002: 211) speak critically of the "nonsense" of "setting high academic standards, aligning tests, and providing professional development", while "largely ignor[ing]…the highly visible, morally troubling, increasingly savage inequalities experienced by far too many poor children and youth". Subscribers to critical pedagogy base their theories of teaching and learning on a radical criticism of what they see as real and oppressive forces

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[9] Many Community Schools in Saskatchewan have adult education programs. These may be general upgrading programs, parenting classes, or nutrition/cooking classes.

and hegemonic ideologies that are perpetuated through schooling systems. Students and teachers are encouraged through critical pedagogy to become critically aware of these oppressive forces and ideologies, and to take action to change them (see Pastrana, Williamson, and Gomez, 2004; Gruenewald, 2003; Sadnovik, 2001, McCarthy, 1996; Giroux, 1991; McLaren and Giroux, 1990; Friere, 1970).

This awareness is developed under conditions that I argue draw from critical modernist – in particular, Habermasian - theories (see Rosenau, 1992[10]; Miller, 1990; Richardson, 1988).[11] These conditions are those in which individuals can develop a critical consciousness of their positions and can come together with others (particularly in a classroom) to engage in the construction of a communal or collective narrative which can further lead to collective action. It is the focus on inter-personal means of reform (ie. the discursive development of a collective narrative) that characterizes this process of communicative rationality in the construction of these collective narratives, and this is representative of a communitarian practice.

Freire's notion of 'situationality' (Friere 1970) is a form of critical consciousness that enlightens individuals and drives them to enact change. Gruenwald (2003:11) enforces this notion of situationality when he states that "[d]eveloping a critical pedagogy of place means challenging each other to read the texts of our own lives and to ask constantly what needs to be transformed and what needs to be conserved. In short, it means making a place for the cultural, political, economic, and ecological dynamics of places whenever we talk about the purpose and practice of learning". This notion of life as text is an example of how communicative rationality requires individuals to engage in a mutual creation of identity in their lives as teachers and learners, although this meaning is under constant negotiation, as reflected in the balance of transformation and conservation. This negotiation takes place when teachers and learners challenge their own definitions of themselves (Am I X?) and engage in self-debate and criticism with

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[10] Rosenau's characterization of affirmative postmodernists does not significantly differentiate them from critical modernists.

[11] Affirmative post-modernists, as compared to skeptical post-modernists, maintain that along with a comprehensive critique of modernity, comes an obligation to provide an alternative. Affirmative post-modernists do not "shy away from affirming an ethic, making normative choices, and striving to build issue-specific political coalitions" Rosenau, 1992, p. 16.

this definition (Is it right that I am X?). Only then can this socially-constituted notion of self-identity be extended to a group-identity.

This "shift" to a collective identity from an individual's "roots", Sadnovik (2001) highlights Giroux 's (1991) opposition to Eurocentric and patriarchal education, arguing that democratic education is characterized by the development of a respect for difference, and an understanding of how individual voices are shaped by external forces. This democratic education requires that teachers and learners question their identity in relation to others, and engage in debate about the normative appropriateness of this relationship as part of a collective identity. "[A]t the most general level…a critical pedagogy must be a pedagogy of place. That is, it must address the specificities of the experiences, problems, languages and histories that communities rely upon to construct a narrative of collective identity and possible transformation" (McLaren and Giroux, 1990: 263).

McLaren and Giroux's "pedagogy of place" entails the making and negotiation of truth and normative validity claims in the development of a collective identity: Who are you to me? Is this right? Invitation into a learning community such as Community Schools is a critical step in this process, serving to "introduce points of difference", bringing alternative perspectives to light (Mitchell and Sackney, 2001). Community School policy is intended to lead to an affirmation of these differences, for it is these very differences that help define who the community is as individuals and as a collective. As Mitchell and Sackney state, however, "[A]ffirmation does not imply agreement." In the same spirit as Habermas' more recent work, they argue that the point of communication may not always be to come to agreement, but to arrive at mutual understanding. It is the process of acknowledgement and respect that is just as valuable as consensus.

An ethic of care, as another principle of Community Schooling informed by communitarian ideals, "describe[s] the basic evaluative principles which (should) guide "good" care. Principles typically refer to the respect for and dignity of human beings. Basic dimensions are "autonomy" (respect for self determination), "well being" (respect for happiness, health and mental integrity), and "social justice" (justifiable distribution of scarce goods and services)."[12]   In light of this definition, Luxton (2002: 10-11) states that

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[12] See http://carmen.projects.boercroon.com/servlet/nl.gx.bnc.client.http.ShowObject?id=314895

Feminist pedagogies, for example, have noted the important difference between classroom practices that are non-sexist and non-racist, and those that are anti-sexist and antiracist. Where the former aim for a social inclusion, based on the premise that everyone gets treated in the same way, the latter recognizes that sexism and racism exist and produce discriminatory and oppressive practices that permeate daily life, and that pedagogical practices must therefore consciously aim to counter discrimination.

Luxton highlights the notion that inclusive processes go beyond the avoidance of harm; they promote benefit for all people, particularly for those who have been previously or are currently marginalized. It is this beneficence that characterizes the feminist ethic of care and that has (however unconsciously) pervaded discourses of community education and schooling. John Dewey states that, "What the best and wisest parents wants for his [sic] own child, that must the community want for its own children; any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy" (1902/1990: 9; see also Goldstein, 1998 and Noddings,1992). Networks are required to ensure that this ethic of care is extended to the most vulnerable and marginalized portions of society. Although democratic rights are enshrined in public policy (and the protection of them is itself a virtue), because of social inequalities it falls to all citizens to ensure that needs are met and rights are upheld, even if upholding these rights involves making structural changes to do so. Miretzky (2004: 814) argues that "[p]arents and teachers may routinely frame the meanings of their encounters in terms of the children they have in common, but it appears that what they look for from each other is clearly connected to what they need for themselves as people who share a community that reflects democratic values". This ethic of care is clearly visible in Community School policy which is premised on the development of social networks to care for and empower the local community.

Having provided an overview of inclusive processes, and outlined the educational literature which most frequently promotes them, it is critically important to consider the social and political context in which these processes are conceived of and constructed.

2.3 The socio-political framework for inclusive processes

Educational policy is the result of a dynamic constellation of factors, from the political and economic climate to current local, national, and international social issues. The goal of this section is to lay out the social and political contexts that help shape inclusive processes, focusing on communitarian and neo-liberal processes. I discuss these processes at a macro-level, in terms of what we can learn from scholarly literature, and at the micro-level, using parental participation – which is a core element of CS principles - as an example of how these processes "play out" in the daily life of Community Schools. It is the social, cultural, political and economic contexts in particular that must be accounted for, in addition to empirical analysis, when seeking to understand educational processes and outcomes (Torres, 2004), and it is the former to which this discussion is dedicated.

2.3.1 What is Communitarianism?

Communitarianism has different meanings for different groups or individuals. Amatai Etzioni (1997:9; 1995:12), the first major proponent of communitarianism, states that "between individuals, who champion autonomy, and social conservatives, who champion social order, lies communitarianism, which characterizes a good society as one that achieves balance between social order and autonomy" (cited in Arthur 1998: 359). Strike (2000: 624-625) states that "[c]ommunitarianism is…a view about the relationship between the polity and the community; it seeks to ground the polity in the shared (and often tacit) traditions and understanding of the community". Communitarians believe that the self is primarily constituted through the community and this community exists only as "common practices, cultural traditions, and shared social understandings" (Arthur, 1998: 354). While communitarianism is often critiqued for being morally, culturally and politically conservative and reductionistic (see Bader, 1995), others, such as Arthur (1998: 365), believe that it has an important role to play in "mark[ing] a wider recognition of the inadequacies of the modern liberal approach to education". The call to revitalize social networks can be seen in the increasingly popular studies of social capital,

particularly in the work of Robert Putnam, whose *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of the American community* (2000) attempts to outline the ways in which these networks have been lost, and what needs to happen to regain them. CitizED (2004) attempts to distill the many existing notions of communitarianism to a few basic principles arguing that communitarianism, despite all its diversity, has four principles at its core. It is these principles that are used as the basis for analysis of communitarian processes in this paper. These four principles are: social networks as the centre of the ideology; an emphasis on rights and responsibilities; a desire to establish (or re-establish) common civic virtues; and the role of the state in creating conditions for these principles to take place (CitizED: 5).

Although schools may not explicitly or consciously subscribe to a communitarian philosophy, trends that are distinctly communitarian can be seen in many schools. I provide an example below, showing how inclusive processes work in Community Schools and how they are influenced by communitarian trends in broader society, in order to later contrast this with the neo-liberal interpretation of the same process.

2.3.2 Parental Participation in Community Schools: A site for Communitarian Ideals

The example I provide here is that of the increased call for parental participation as informed by communitarian ideals. Henderson (1987; 1994; 2002) argues that parent involvement or inclusion of parents into school processes is most often conceived of in light of its impact on student learning outcomes and general school improvement (see also BCOH 2004; and Mapp, 2002). However, Swap (1987, 1990) finds that parent involvement also increases teachers' sense of support and satisfaction with their work. In addition, Illseley and Redford (2005: 164) find that parents too encounter numerous benefits from their involvement, ranging from a reduction in anxiety when "deal[ing] with professionals" at the school, to an increased ability to deal with family problems before requiring intervention. Illseley and Redford also find that communications between parent and staff are more relaxed, and both parties have a greater awareness of their roles. Dryfoos (No date) finds that Community School initiatives in America have led to academic gains, better attendance, less dropouts and suspensions, and increased

parental involvement. The work of Henderson (1987), Swapp(1987, 1990), Illsley and Redford (2005) and Dryfoos (1998, 2002, 2003, no date), amongst others, highlights notions of social networks, finding common ground (especially as it concerns the children's wellbeing), and the role of the school (which I would argue is a proxy of the state) in creating a space for these networks and commonalities to flourish. Miretzky (2004: 816) uses the term "communitarian" to describe the joint responsibility felt by teachers and parents for a child, and to each other, when she offers the following quote of a parent speaking to a teacher: "[Teachers are] a part of [a student's] life. We're supposed to be a team, you know. My child is with you just as much as with me. So how can you feel hostile towards me, and we share the same kid?"

The development of social networks are thus a central goal of increased parental participation, with an emphasis on the benefit to teachers in terms of feelings of support, to parents in terms of developing trust and communication networks with teachers, and to students in developing a sense of place and connectedness to school staff and the community as a whole, of which students and their parents are an integral part. Rights and responsibilities are highlighted by the notion that parents have a right to free education for their children, but they also have a responsibility to play a democratic role in that education, whether volunteering to be a classroom helper or sitting on the Community School Council. A desire to establish (or re-establish) common civic virtues is at the root of calls for increased parental participation. The teamwork and recognition of a common vested interest vis-a-vis the child/student that is represented in the preceding quote from Miretzky is, I argue, synonymous with inclusion. This interest in developing the child to her or his full potential is the common civic virtue in which all stakeholders are asked to focus their energies and abilities. Lastly, the role of the state in creating conditions for these principles to take place is evident in the implementation of policies which mandate parental participation in the first place.

Clearly, increased parental participation as an inclusive process bears the four hallmarks of communitarian principles. I now turn to examine neo-liberal shifts in education and how parental participation can be seen as reflective of these shifts, as well as of communitarian ideals.

2.3.3 Neo-liberalism and Inclusion: The Political and Economic Context

According to Sears (2003), education is a vital part of the Keynesian welfare state in which a national culture presumes that all citizens are entitled to a basic quality of life. This quality of life can, in large part, be ensured by access to education, and by various welfare oriented activities. Another role of education in the welfare state is the socializing role. Citizens are formed through educational institutions, in conjunction with the family and community, into self-regulating and disciplined citizens. It is this socializing role of schools as 'maker of citizens' that is shifting to 'maker of workers' in the guise of a neo-liberal orientation to economy, politics and subsequently education (Sears, 2003). Wells and Oakes (1998: 164) describe how neo-liberal trends in education 'increase reliance on market forces, volunteerism, and individual demands to achieve social ends". They also speak of the increasing centralization of accountability, and the localization of control and authority. Local control over the implementation of educational reform is, however, greatly constrained by the need to meet national and even international standards, which are most often dictated by the needs of the labour market. Wells and Oakes (1998, 165) emphasize that, "This international educational reform movement is part and parcel of an ideological shift in which democracy is framed in terms of individualism, and education is framed in terms of consumerism." In this way the devolution of state control over education is heavily marked by parent and community control (Troyna, 1994) as they become more powerful consumers at the local level.

Sears (2003:3) offers an insightful and nuanced look at the history of neo-liberal education reform in Canada and, in doing so, provides a useful framework from which to look at education reform in the current political climate. Sears sees education reform "[as] one aspect of a broad-ranging neo-liberal agenda that aims to push the market deeper into every aspect of our lives by eliminating or shrinking non-market alternatives" (3). Sears explains that there are several steps involved in this shift. The first step is to prove that the current order is not working. The second step is to claim that new policies are required to adjust to the changes in society and the global world – these policies are those of lean-production in which individuals orient themselves to the market rather than to the state. This involves "an attack on the framework of entitlements and expectations

associated with social citizenship in the broad welfare state" (12).   Third, and lastly, broad social and cultural change are required to consolidate this new 'order' (3). These changes involve the creation of a lean, self-disciplined, and flexible worker.

In summary, the neo-liberal ideal of lean production requires the development of a culture characterized by a lean ethos, which in turn churns out the lean person as an individual entity (Sears, 2003). Accompanying these changes, Sears states, are increased commercialization of education, increased opportunities to fail by means of implementing more 'standards' which are often sexist, racist and classist in nature (151), and the encouragement of a self-sustaining and entrepreneurial ethos in which entrepreneurship is both a 'skill' and a cultural value and where knowledge is a commodity to be purchased and/or exchanged (21, 117, 215).

Three Steps to Neo-liberal Reform in Community Schools
Neo-liberal aspects of inclusive educational policy which are especially evident in Community Schooling can be outlined using Sears' three step process outlined above. Bear in mind that the three step process itself is not neo-liberal in nature, but the arguments that serve to justify these steps are. Firstly, the current order is defined as not working, given the clear presence of institutional racism, eurocentrism, sexism and classism in schools (see Solórzano, 1998; Mitchell, 1998; Ladson-Phillips; McDonough, 1998; Davies, 2004). This dysfunctional order is evident in the experiences of many Aboriginal students in Saskatchewan who continue to struggle within institutions that are founded on historical patterns of racism, eurocentrism, and classist assumptions about the inherent abilities of marginalized populations and the subsequent distribution of resources. Among other things these struggles often end in truancy and failure to finish secondary school, increasing the probability of social disenfranchisement as adults. There is then a certain malaise experienced by many schools regarding their failure to produce flourishing learners, and a sense that perhaps inclusion as integration is not as effective as it was first conceived to be.

The erosion of a framework of entitlements is also visible in Community Schools, despite the fact that at first glance it appears to be the opposite. This erosion becomes evident when we consider that schools engage in the provision of services such as clothes, food, transportation, and even employment because without them children would

not 'properly' be prepared for school and for learning. In other words, these services are provided not as an inalienable right of citizenship, but are explicitly contingent on the trickle-down benefits they may have for children in terms of learning outcomes. In this way, inclusion is perceived as providing children equal opportunities to learn, rather than equal outcomes or entitlements.

Social and cultural changes can be seen in Community Schools if we use a market analogy to understand how individuals make informed choices regarding 'products' (schools), forcing "inefficient" institutions (defined by low achievement scores on normative assessments or high drop-out and transience levels) to change to meet the demands of consumers, or risk becoming defunct. Schools perceived as "deficient" in producing "high achievers" (and thus good workers) are "designated" as community schools. By increasing to some extent the material and personnel resources these schools receive to address the needs of these communities and children, responsibility is downloaded (and thus also success or failure) to individual schools, families, and caregivers.

2.3.4 Parental Participation in Community Schools: A Site for Neo-liberal Ideals

If we closely examine parental participation as a process informed by neo-liberal ideals we can see that the system is indeed "broken". There is a broad recognition that the current system is not working, and that perhaps by tapping family and community support (for free or cheap labour), the school will have the resources and incentive to thrive as a learning community. In terms of a loss of entitlement, education is becoming less of a public good and more of a commodity as a neo-liberal hold tightens on political culture. This means that entitlement to education does not flow, as mentioned above, from any notion of a collective good, but from a sense that without these resources, children's learning outcomes would remain static or even diminish. Parents are not entitled to a "free" education for their children after all. In terms of the social changes that support these first two steps, parents are encouraged to invest in their children. This investment is equivalent, in many cases, to the downloading of extra-curricular and even teaching duties to the parents from the school, with little increased state expenditure.

This does not mean that the school is doing less for children, however, but the responsibility for students 'failure' is beginning to be shared equally with parents, rather than falling on the schools themselves.

It is clear that communitarian and neo-liberal trends in broader society are two significant mediating factors in the development and implementation of inclusive processes in Community Schools. The question is, how can we understand these processes and trends in a sociological way? I argue that Habermas's theory of the rationalization of society, specifically his typology of functional and communicative rationality, is best suited to understanding community schooling and inclusive processes. I will turn to this framework shortly, after a brief discussion of barriers to change in schools.

2.4 Barriers to Change in Schools

Seymour Sarason, for decades a harbinger of the need for change in the education system in America, seemed to me the logical author to turn to in terms of outlining some of the barriers to change in schools. Sarason's (1990) fundamental argument for why change in the education system must happen lies in these three facts:

1. Schools are intellectually boring places and the real world is far more stimulating;
2. Schools do not reflect and cannot simulate the real world; and
3. In order to make learning interesting, it must occur outside the classroom.

Already one can imagine the tremendous difficulties schools have with coming to grips with this proclamation. Many, I'm sure, disagree entirely with his assessment of the situation. Nevertheless, this section is not intended to discuss why change needs to happen, but what the difficulties are involved in the process of change.

Sarason (1990) argues that general obstacles to change in schools are: the passage of time; the dissemination of research findings; the courage, power, prestige, and credentials of a movement's leaders; new physical space and material and staffing demands that often follow policy change; and finally, and most importantly for this paper, the nature and strength of existing belief systems, cultures, structures and traditions.

In both his 1990 (1-4) and 1995 (62-66) books, Sarason lays out specific obstacles to change. These obstacles are: a lack of time to engage in consensus building on the part of staff and families; deciding who makes final decisions and how these decisions should be made; a lack of existing relationships of trust and respect; and deciding who determines what assets and deficits individuals or groups have to contribute to policy information and implementation, and based on what expertise?

2.5 Summary

Stemming from its roots in French political policy, the term inclusion has come to have many and multiple meanings, depending on its context. I argue that the most useful and accurate definition of the term "inclusion" for understanding community education processes is one which highlights its dynamic and deeply democratic nature. It is a multidimensional, political set of processes which are constantly in a state of change, and which are highly normative and participatory in nature.

Notions of inclusion are embedded in discussions surrounding two major social movements within education.   These are social capital and critical pedagogy. While social capital focuses on the manipulation of resources (in the form of social networks), to attain academic success, critical pedagogy focuses on the individual and collective transformations necessary to enact meaningful change in and for a learning community. Inclusion, as intended by policy makers, is also reminiscent of the feminist ethic of care which focuses on autonomy, social justice for those in the school system.

The political and economic forces that most directly contribute to the conception and formation of Community School policy are communitarianism and neo-liberalism. On the one hand, communitarianism is based on an ethic of mutual responsibility, emphasizing the need for individual autonomy to be constrained by structural forces. The key to communitarianism is a reliance on social networks. Community Schools emphasis on parental participation is an example of the way in which social networks between school staff and parents are intended to provide all stakeholders with a sense of mutual belonging and responsibility, as it pertains to the students.

On the other hand, neo-liberal education policies, based on a market model, focus on increasing regional and local accountability and volunteerism, both of which are inter-

related. By increasing volunteerism, local stakeholders are required to be more accountable for the relative "success" of their schools and children, as opposed to those in a traditional welfare state. In this way, symbolic responsibility for success or failure is downloaded onto local shoulders freeing up money and responsibility at the provincial, national, and even international level. Increased demand for parental participation can also be seen as a product of neo-liberal education reforms in that education is increasingly being seen as a commodity in which parents need to invest, and that the success or failure of their child/ren is not the sole responsibility of the government of schools, but their own.

Sarason argues that some of the main obstacles to achieving significant reform of the education system are the time involved in the political process, the ambiguous nature of decision making within learning communities, and existing cultures and structures that are deeply embedded in the practices and consciousness of members of an existing learning community.

Next, I provide a review of the theoretical framework that guides analysis and discussion of my research questions about the nature of inclusion in community schools. This framework is Habermas' theory of the rationalization of society, a major component of his critical theory of society.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Whenever a theory appears to you as the only possible one, take this as a sign that you have neither understood the theory nor the problem which it was intended to solve.
Karl Popper

I would like to briefly refer the reader back to my research questions. What does inclusion look like in Saskatchewan Community Schools? What promotes inclusive processes, and what prevents them from taking place? How can we understand these processes using a sociological perspective? Having already discussed what inclusion is, I wish to turn to an examination of the evidence of what it looks like in Community Schools. I cannot do so, however, without laying out the particular lens or perspective with which I am looking at my research topic. The lens I have chosen is Habermas' critical theory of society.

There is no singular classification scheme for sociological theories of education. For instance, Moore (2004) sorts these theories into themes that deal with inequality and differentiation, economy and class, state and status, strategies and change, pedagogic discourse, and problems of knowledge. Barakett and Cleghorn (2000) use a more theoretically-oriented categorization and sort theories into functionalist, conflict and neo-Marxist, symbolic interactionist and interpretive, critical, and feminist. Alternatively, Sadovnik (2001) uses the broad categories of functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism. While these theoretical schemes are useful in helping us understand some of the sociological features of educational institutions, no one of these theoretical schemes, and no one of these theories they contain, will be appropriate or useful for analysis at the grassroots level. This is because policy makers and community members (including students and their families) are embedded in their respective formal and informal institutions, and as such subscribe by default (often unconsciously) to particular and divergent forms of rationality which shape the way in which problems and solutions are defined and addressed. As Rice and Harris (2003: 216) argue, "while each frame provides for particular insights into organizational dynamics, each, by itself, fails to provide for a comprehensive understanding".

In order to address this multiplicity of rationalities, I frame Community School discourse using Habermas's (1986) critical theory of society. While it is a singular theory, its expansive nature enables me to take into consideration multiple theoretical traditions at one time, considering a web of social interactions that do not emanate from any one source. Rather, these actions originate and are enacted in a complex social environment in which institutions and individuals are mutually shaped and influenced by each other and by social, cultural, political, and economic shifts. Specifically, utilizing Habermas's theory of the rationalization of society, a principal component of his critical theory of society, allows me to take a position that is neither solely constructivist nor functionalist, but both simultaneously. This is my version of what Taylor (1991: 79) speaks of in the opening quote as "completely different ground". As Braaten (1991: 79) describes it, this position is "a synthesis of functionalism and the *verstehenden* or hermeneutical tradition". By using insights from both traditions I can begin to ask about and seek answers to the multiple processes that take place in determining needs, developing policy, and implementing change in educational institutions.

Habermas's critical theory of society emerged from a tradition of critical inquiry, following the work of the Frankfurt School[13], in which the purpose of theory was to combine social science, ethics, and action or *praxis* in order to further the emancipatory goals of modernity. According to Braaten (1991: 78), Habermas argues that societal reproduction consists of material and symbolic processes to which functional and communicative rationality apply, respectively. Symbolic reproduction and communicative rationality characterize the 'lifeworld' whereas material reproduction and functional rationality characterize the 'system'. A brief overview of these analytically separate levels of analysis is provided below.

3.1 Lifeworld Processes

Habermas derives his notion of the lifeworld from Edmund Husserl, for whom Elveton (2005) observes, the lifeworld or *lebenswelt*[14] must not "be confused with the idealizing theories and methods of the natural sciences, the pursuit of which actively abstracts from

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[13] See Wiggerhaus (1998) *The Frankfurt School.*
[14] Huserl was the first to coin the term.

the lifeworld. Since lifeworld structures are experienced for the most part without their being made the object of explicit reflection, it functions in everyday experience anonymously, requiring a radical reflection for its identification". It is this everyday-ness of communicative action upon which the lifeworld is premised, and to which it owns its "anonymous" existence.

Although for Habermas there are no analytical equivalents of the economy and the state in the lifeworld, the lifeworld is characterized by those processes which largely take place in the family and institutions of the public sphere. Of the public sphere Habermas (1991: 26) states,

> [T]he bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor.

Cohen (1995) argues that civil society, a more advanced notion of Habermas's public sphere, is the lifeworld's analytical equivalent of what we will see as the primary sub-structures of the system, the economy and the state.

It is within lifeworld institutions that symbolic reproduction occurs. Symbolic reproduction is a "discursive process…an evolving interpretive framework" by which family members and citizens produce and reproduce culture, sociality, and identity (Braaten, 2001: 78). Specifically, Fraser (1995: 23) contends that symbolic reproduction "comprises the socialization of the young, the cementing of group solidarity, and the transmission and extension of cultural traditions". Schools, then, can be considered institutions of civil society in which the production and reproduction of culture, sociality and identity take place. It is here that, "A 'politics of inclusion' targets political institutions to gain recognition for new political actors as members of a political society and to achieve benefits for those whom they represent" (Cohen, 1995: 59). This is accomplished through communicative action, which follows what Braaten terms the "logic" of communicative rationality. That is, communicative action involves the making of three validity claims, and the discursive negotiation of those claims, in efforts to reach mutual understanding. These claims are truth claims (Is "X" true?), rightness or normative validity claims (Is "X" right?), and truthfulness claims (Is the person claiming

X being honest/sincere?). In order for legitimate consensus to be reached, this discursive process must take place in what Habermas terms an "ideal speech situation". This is a context in which everyone who is able to (i.e., those who can communicate) and has interest in the discussion can 1) take part, and 2) express their opinions/arguments, 3) in a manner which is un-coerced and un-hindered (Braaten, 1991:33). By engaging in this process participants can achieve mutual understanding, and possibly, agreed upon action.

3.2 System Processes

Habermas argues that system processes encompass primarily the institutions and organizations of the economy and the state. These facets of society are considered to epitomize 'system' processes according to Braaten (1991: 78) because "the evolution and behaviour of these systems can be explained functionally, as they tend to be organized to perform functions such as political and economic stability and prosperity". The economy and the state (and those system processes that have penetrated the lifeworld, which we shall see shortly) engage in material reproduction. Fraser (1995: 23) argues that material reproduction consists of 'social labour' which 'in capitalist societies [are] the activities and practices which make up the sphere of 'paid work'". This social labour is accomplished according to the "logic" of functional rationality, usually meaning the most efficient means to achieve a desired end; in modern capitalist societies, these means (or mediums as Braaten terms them) are most often money and power (Braaten, 2001: 85). Characteristics of system rationalization are evident when increased means of material production develop, division of labour increases, and there is an institutionalization of "the exchange relationship and positions of organizational authority or power" (Braaten, 2001: 86).

3.3 Colonization and Ensuing Crises

Recalling the third theme in my literature review, the convergence of communitarian and neo-liberal traditions in community education can be understood sociologically by looking at Habermas's notion of societal rationalization. Neo-liberal tendencies are representative of formally rational decisions made to meet the requirements of a demanding capitalist system, while communitarian/social-democratic

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tendencies (evident in critical pedagogy) are indicative of communicative rationality; an attempt to come to mutual understanding by engaging in a discursive process by which truth, normative and sincerity claims are made, justified, and negotiated. When both of these traditions converge in the same location, crises tendencies arise.

Braaten (2001: 77), following Habermas, states that "crisis tendencies in modern societies [can] be analyzed as the outcome of systematic distortions in communicative processes, caused by a tendency in modern societies to one-sided rationalization". This one-sided rationalization, in which functional rationality comes to inform lifeworld processes, is what Habermas terms the "colonization of the lifeworld". When colonization begins, lifeworld institutions often "uncouple" from the system; detaching themselves is an attempt to regain some lost autonomy. Habermas lays out four crises that may be consequences of colonization: economic, administrative, legitimation, and motivation. These crises primarily occur as the results of increased attempts by the state to address issues brought about by conditions of modernity and the "uncoupling" process, both of which are perceived of as decreasing social solidarity and increasing normlessness.

It is critical to point out that both types of rationality can be seen informing processes in both system and lifeworld, and that colonization and crises are neither unidimensional nor universal. Critically, however, actions within lifeworld and system institutions are *predominantly* coordinated according to one or the other (money and power or communication) (Arato and Cohen, 1988).

3.4 Summary

I employ Habermas's critical theory of society to analyze perceptions and experiences of inclusion in Community Schools because it allows me to simultaneously account for the structural constraints and individual autonomy that characterize Community Schools. According to Habermas, two forms of rationality inform two entirely different processes; functional rationality informs material reproduction or social work and communicative rationality informs symbolic reproduction, or the production and reproduction of culture, sociality and identity. Looking at the data gathered from the CSDC Project, and community education documents, I look for evidence of the extent to which perceptions

and experiences of inclusive processes in Community Schools are characterized by either or both functional and communicative rationality. That is, I examine whether the data reflect the three characteristic signs of material reproduction (increased means of material production, increased division of labour, and an institutionalization of exchange relationships and of roles of power and authority) or the process of communicative action (the making and negotiation of truth, truthfulness, and normative validity claims in an ideal speech situation), as characteristic of symbolic reproduction. I examine these processes for functional and communicative tendencies in order to determine to what extent these rationalities promote or prevent true inclusion.

Now that the reader has a sense of what inclusion is, and the theoretical perspective that is used throughout this paper, I briefly outline my chosen methods before moving to a discussion of what the data collection and analysis revealed of what inclusion actually looks like in these schools, and what promotes or prevents inclusive practices.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

In the middle of every difficulty lies opportunity. Albert Einstein

This chapter outlines the methods by which I pursue my research questions regarding what inclusion looks like in Community Schools, what promotes it, and what prevents it from taking place.

4.1 Design and Epistemological Position

This study employs two research methods: quantitative and qualitative. I use mixed methods for several reasons. The first is because the word "inclusion" means different things to different people. Thus, I must not only account for what staff say they perceive using quantitative data (the "what"), but must use qualitative data to account for the immediate and general context in which they develop their perspectives (the "why"). Mason (2006: 10-13) states that mixed methods are effective because they reflect the multidimensionality and simultaneous agency and structural aspects of social life. In choosing mixed methods, I hope to be able to talk about the different dimensions of inclusion, as both a process that is observable at the structural level, and as an ongoing experience. By using the survey data, I am able to assess how participants perceive of inclusion generally speaking. By including the open-ended responses, I am able to account for, to some extent, the lived experiences of inclusion in the participating schools. According to Mason (2006: 10), it is this ability to account for "social experience and lived realities" that make mixed methods so useful.

The second reason I use mixed methods is because, like most social policies aimed at marginalized communities, community schooling policy and practice are both complex and political. Others involved in this same research might recommend follow-up interviews be done, to determine if the school staff could reflect on and express why they have the perspective/s they do. I am of the opinion, however, that by going back to the academic literature and to policy documents related to inclusion, I can achieve a better sense of the tacit or unexpressed values inherent in pedagogical and policy

documents as they relate to the foundational ideals underlying community school policy. It is these values that stakeholders are exposed to throughout their schooling and career in the education system. These are values that individuals may not be conscious of, or able to express, but which directly, or indirectly, inform opinions and perspectives on community schools.

This research tackles the research problem in a primarily inductive and exploratory manner, making the epistemological assumption that a valid way to understanding inclusion is to investigate teachers' perceptions, which I assume is a relatively accurate reflection of an existing social reality. I examine staff members' perceptions regarding the nature and extent of democratic participation in the study population of community schools because it is assumed these attitudes affect actions. I examine policy and academic documents related to community schooling because it is these documents that lay the conceptual foundation for the work of community schooling to which all community schooling stakeholders are exposed to, and to which, to various levels, they subsequently subscribe. That these documents offer a contradictory picture of community schooling will be discussed below.

4.2 Quantitative Methods

The primary goal of the quantitative section of this paper is to understand the conceptions of inclusion held by staff members and their perceptions of participation by family and community members in inclusive activities. The logic of examining these conceptions and perceptions of staff is that in a solidly conceptualized community school paradigm, family and community—in addition to staff and students—are the stakeholders who are fundamentally important but who have played historically marginal roles in conventional schools. Ultimately, this section seeks to understand whether community schools appear to have truly adopted an alternative inclusive paradigm, conceiving of inclusion as I have laid out above, or if they are still mired in the conventional past, conceiving of inclusion as unidimensional and akin to integration.

I use factor analysis to explain the extent to which community and family are perceived to have influence in "types" of school activities. Schools practicing inclusion would presumably have community and family similarly involved in all "types" of

activities. I use correlation to examine the extent to which personal and school characteristics alter individuals' perceptions of community and family involvement in the school. By doing so, I can explain the extent to which "inclusion" in these schools extends beyond simple integration, and to which communicative action, in Habermas' sense of the term, is taking place

4.2.1 Participants

The University of Saskatchewan Ethics Board for Research with Human Subjects approved the Community School Data Collection Project[15] in May of 2004. As part of the memorandum of understanding signed between Saskatchewan Learning and the Department of Sociology in the spring of 2003, further academic analysis and publication of results regarding the data set was approved.

Nine hundred and twenty staff members from thirty schools in fourteen towns and cities across Saskatchewan completed the survey. Participating schools self-selected into the study after an initial invitation by Saskatchewan Learning.   Surveys were completed on a voluntary basis. About half of the staff respondents are teachers; about one-quarter are teacher assistants, aides or associates; and one-quarter are drawn from several other categories of staff members, including Principals and Vice-Principals, maintenance and support staff, Community School Coordinators, human service professionals, and librarians. For more demographic information, see Appendix A.

4.2.2 Coding Procedures

The case-study chapter of this paper examines staff participants' responses to questions about their perceptions of two different stakeholders' involvement, or their potential involvement, in 20 different education-based activities (See pages 46 and 47 for a list of these questions). The two categories of stakeholders are community members and families of students. The responses are scored from one to six, with one coded as "involved all of the time," two as "most of the time," three as " some of the time," four as

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[15] Development of the Community School Data Collection Project staff survey was undertaken by Dr. Joanne Butler and representatives from Saskatchewan Learning.

" rarely," five as "never involved," and six as "don't know." The "don't know"
responses were deleted from analyses. In order to create scales for each of seven factors
to be involved in factor analysis, the responses were reverse-coded so high scores would
indicate high involvement and low scores would indicate low involvement. One was
coded as 'never involved' and five was coded as 'involved all of the time'.

4.2.3 Statistical Analysis

The quantitative analysis is based on two analytical strategies. Firstly, factor analysis is
utilized on a series of responses which explore staff perceptions of how family and
community members fit into the daily practical and administrative components of the
school. The goal is to explore the complexity of participation through a correlation-based
strategy that assesses the unidimensionality of a series of questions. The potential
multidimensional nature of inclusion is assessed through a factor analysis on twenty
activities for each of the family and community categories. Factor analysis, as a data
reduction technique, groups variables that are highly correlated into conceptual units or
factors. As is shown in the results section, several distinct factors emerge. I use
reliability analyses to confirm the unidimensionality of the emergent factors..

In addition, the degree to which staff perceives that involvement actually occurs is
measured using the average perceived frequency of family and community involvement
on a five point Likert Scale. This analysis shows, with some statistical certainty, the
complexity of how community schools operate through the eyes of staff members and the
degree to which staff members perceive that inclusive processes are actually taking place.

The second analytical strategy is based on the need to explore whether the
paradigm of inclusion that frames community schools goes beyond formal integration.
To this end, I explore staff perceptions of inclusion within contexts of race, gender,
employment status, institutional context, and geography. The goal is to assess whether
inclusion is perceived and therefore likely practiced differently depending on the
background characteristics of staff and their schools. This is done by correlating teaching
and non-teaching staff members perceptions of inclusion with their background
characteristics including race (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal), gender, geography (rural

and urban), occupational status (full-time and part-time), age, length of employment, and length of designation as a community school. As mentioned before, I assume that staff attitudes and perceptions are a valid source of information about the nature and extent of democratic education. I make the additional assumption here that staff contextual characteristics may possibly be mediating factors or mechanisms for the advancement, or prevention, of inclusive processes.

T-tests for mean differences are used to test for significant differences between mean scores on the seven dimensions of inclusion that resulted from the factor analyses and five contextual variables, all measured at the categorical level: Sex; Location; Part-Time/Full-Time (PTFT); Position; and Ethnicity. For a list of how these variables were coded, see Appendix C. Simple zero-order correlation coefficients were used to test for the relationships between the seven dimensions and three additional contextual variables measured at the continuous level (years working at school, years since school was first designated, and age of respondent). All quantitative analyses were done using SPSS 13.0 statistical program.

4.3 Qualitative Methods

The qualitative data are obtained from the CSDC survey. The last question of the survey states: "Please tell us about anything that you would like us to know about your experience at your community school". Responses to this prompt are entered into the qualitative analysis coding program NVivo. Some responses are eliminated from analysis as they could either be used to identity participants, or were not related to Community Schools or community education in general. Reponses are deemed related to community schooling if they "rang true" to experiences I had and knowledge I gained during the study, primarily from the focus groups. For instance, a staff member complaining about a co-workers work habits would not be included as it would not contribute to understanding community schools in Saskatchewan, and it might serve to identify that, or another, individual. In this way, I employed judgment in selecting data for analyses.

Data are then coded, using grounded theory to initially guide the process, into fine categories using key words from the text as descriptors. Grounded theory methods,

according to Kathy Charmaz (2000) "consist of systemic inductive guidelines for collecting and analyzing data to build middle-range theoretical frameworks that explain the collected data" (509). It involves coding data as it is being collected (Charmaz, 515) and gradually building up themes and theories to explain the themes. It is important to note that I did not use grounded theory to develop a theory per se, since I had already chosen Habermas's critical theory of society as a framework. Rather, I chose to use grounded theory because I felt it was the best guide for coding the qualitative data in a way that remained true to what the participants said. I felt this was preferable to immediately applying a macro-theoretical framework like that of Habermas.

For the qualitative analysis, the actual words that participants used guided the coding process. For instance, many participants mentioned hiring practices, whether they wanted more say in hiring, wanted different people to be hired, wanted the Learning Department to change hiring practice, and so on. These responses were coded into a description-based theme called Hiring Decisions, and dealt with participants' perceived lack of input into hiring decisions at the school level. The description-based themes were then viewed through a Habermasian lens, looking to find similarities or congruences between that might reflect larger themes within the Habermasian framework. The major themes of functionally rational tendencies, and communicative rational tendencies were used as over-arching themes. Subthemes used were those of increasing means of material production , increasing division of labour, and institutionalization of exchange relationships and roles of power and authority (for functionally rational tendencies) and the production and reproduction of culture, sociality, and identity in an ideal speech situation (for communicatively rational tendencies).

 So, as an example, the ground-level and description based theme "lack of staff influence in hiring decisions" was then subsumed under the middle-level theme "institutionalization of roles of power and authority", which falls under the major theme "functionally rational tendencies".

The following discussion lays out functional and communicative discourses as they are found in community education and Community Schooling literature, arguing that they converge in the site of Community Schools. However, resulting from the colonization of lifeworld processes in community schools, two crises occur, those of

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legitimation and motivation. It is to this convergence, subsequent colonization, and the resulting crises to which I now turn.

4.4 Methodological Concerns

When the survey was designed, variables that were related in a conceptual way were clustered together, rather than distributed throughout the survey. It is possible that respondents may have answered these questions in a similar fashion because of their close proximity. Futhermore, given that the participating schools self-selected into the study, there is a possibility the data may not be representative of all Community Schools in the province. In addition, some respondents chose to not complete the entire list of 20 questions.

4.5 Limitations and Cautions

In this study I examine perceptions of inclusive processes, not a direct measurement of them. However, since these processes would be very difficult to measure, I can substitute teachers' perceptions as knowledgeable and invested participants in community schooling as a legitimate proxy, in the absence of this information. Also, family and community members were not included in the survey, and in this way, this study is missing an important voice.

Participating schools are all designated Community Schools from within Saskatchewan. Findings are thus not representative of non-Community Schools or of schools outside of Saskatchewan. Because of the political nature of this study, few demographic questions were asked of respondents, leaving relatively few independent variables to inform the analysis. In addition, many social, political, emotional, and professional factors play a role in determining perceptions, making it difficult to explain large amounts of variance in the dependent variables being analyzed.

4.6 Summary

Using quantitative and qualitative data from 920 staff members and thirty schools, I perform cross-tabulations, factor analysis, correlation, and textual analysis, in order to understand how staff members perceive of and experience inclusive processes in their schools. The quantitative data resulting from these analyses are intended to help illuminate my first research question: What does inclusion look like in community schools? The qualitative data help support the quantitative data, and are also used to answer my second research question: What promotes inclusive processes, and what prevents them from taking place?

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes. Marcel Proust

In this chapter, I look at the landscape of Community Schools in a new way. My aim is to examine perceptions and experiences of inclusive processes, asking, what do they look like in Community Schools, and what promotes, or conversely prevents, inclusive practices from taking place. I offer in this chapter empirical evidence to support my argument that both functional and communicative rationality are converging in community schooling processes, leading to colonization of communicative (or inclusive) processes by system logic, and therefore to several identifiable crises. These two forms of rationality will be discussed in detail next, providing evidence of the extent to which patterns of behaviour and political and local voices reflect these rationalities simultaneously. The fallout of this convergence, and the ways in which these rationalities alternatively promote and prevent inclusive practices from taking place, is then discussed. Please note that in this chapter, quotes from study participants are italicized.

5.1 Evidence of Functional Rationality in Community Education

In order to engage in the development of social capital, policy makers create and implement policies which can most efficiently being about desired ends - in this case, the development of networks, norms, and relationships of trust that can be mobilized for personal and collective gain. In this regard, I argue that community education policies and their implementation, as visible in Community Schooling discourses, exhibit the three hallmark characteristics of functional rationality. To reiterate, these three characteristics are increased means of material production, increased division of labour, and the institutionalization of exchange relationships and positions of organizational authority or power, and they emerge primarily, but not exclusively, out of an emphasis within community education on building social capital.

5.1.1 Increased Means of Material Production

Integrated services represent one of four 'key components' of the Community School framework. Saskatchewan Learning states:

> the objectives of integrated services within Community Schools are to: provide, in collaboration with community agencies, a wide range of responsive social, health, justice, and recreation services to address barriers to learning for students and to increase their opportunities of success; to develop interagency cooperation and community school partnerships to access community resources and to link needed services to the school; and to make the most effective use of school, community, municipal, and provincial resources (BCOH: 21).

To meet these objectives, a substantial number of new programs, or links to programs, are being provided. These may range from health, social, justice services or recreational and cultural services, to self-help and adult education, daycare, and the hiring of elders/seniors as resources. Critically speaking, all of these services have entailed a significant shift from the provision of these services by the family to provision by paid workers, whether employed by the school, the local community, regional or provincial authorities. Specific examples of such programs consist of nutrition programs led by workers trained in nutrition who provide breakfast, lunch, and snacks for students, counseling by school counselors (which may often include psychological specialists or elders), bringing in specialists to teach parenting courses, and hiring staff to provide daycare for students' children. Most of these programs and services have paid workers in charge, such as the Community School Coordinator[16], or counselors who may be shared between schools, although in some cases these services may be volunteered (such as elders who may not be on the school payroll).

5.1.2 Increased Division of Labour

"Community Schools employ many support personnel to address their vision, goals, and objectives. These positions take on a variety of different forms and are based on community-identified needs. Positions may include: cultural teachers/advisors, outreach workers, educational assistants, community school associates (or coordinators),

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[16] The Community School Coordinator position is a full-time position (sometimes shared between two small schools). He or she is responsible for acting as a liaison between the community and the school, helping plan and facilitate school events, applying for funding for various programs, and generally acting as a touch-stone for those requiring services or connection to services for themselves or their families.

counselors, addiction counselors, and others" (BCOH: 31). The additional provision of the multiple services and programs mentioned above has required an increased division of labour in Community Schools. In the past, teachers and administrators have played the role of parent, teacher, mentor, nurse, and counselor at multiple points during their working day. To some extent these roles remain, as the following teacher testifies:

> *I've enjoyed being part of a CS team- there's a bond of understanding and commitment in our building. Staff truly care about each child and work tirelessly to do what is best for each - be a listening ear, a guide, sounding board, consistent leader, teacher and even nurse sometimes. What an awesome privilege and responsibility.*

These roles, while voluntarily taken on by some staff, are also formalized into separate paid positions within the school, with specific mandates to meet each child's specific needs. This increased division of paid labour is an indication of the increasingly functional rationality of community education, where these formalized positions are intended to meet the particular, almost minute, needs of children in the most efficient and expedient manner in an effort to achieve better learning outcomes.

While more efficient provision of services for students and more time for teachers to focus on teaching were the outcomes in some locations - *"[In the previous school I worked at] we ran lots of programs that were initially spearheaded by teachers, but then taken over and run by parents and community volunteers."* - this is certainly not the case for all community schools. Roles that were intended to be taken up by family and community members volunteers are not always taken up, leading to teacher burnout and frustration. One teacher states: "*I understand from the "planning meetings" that a community school would lessen the work for me. I have not noticed this. Parents, community do not seem to fully understand 'community school'. I'm not sure myself.*" The workload of this teacher has stayed the same, despite assurances to the contrary. Others teachers express that their workload has not only remained the same, but has increased, due to extra programs and longer school hours. They say things like "*It seems at this school as if the teachers are doing/running it all. We can't take anymore. Teachers are getting burnt out.*", or

I see far too much expected of staff for programming. When they do conduct programs or help with them, this time is after the regular school day and is considered 'volunteer'. No time in lieu or compensation is awarded. This is clearly taking advantage of their expertise and is no way to treat valuable employees. I support the concept of community schools, but not if it leads to staff burnout.

These responses indicate a clear frustration that these extra programs have created more responsibility for teachers. It is clear that the extra time is not necessarily the source of frustration - teachers have always worked long hours and volunteered their time after hours - so much as what they feel is a lack of appreciation and compensation on the part of administration and the community.

5.1.3 Institutionalization of Exchange Relationships and Positions of Authority and Power

A corollary of the first two features of functional rationalization, the institutionalization of exchange relationships and positions of authority within the school is evident in Community School policy and practice. A large part of the Community School mandate is to increase involvement of family and community in the life of the school, particularly in teaching and mentoring young children. In this way, parent and community volunteers are embedded into the curriculum and, in a general sense, I argue the nature of their relationships to the school has become institutionalized. To test my argument, I engage in several types of analysis on the CSDC survey data. The findings provide solid empirical evidence of the role of functional rationality in education. After discussing the first, and basic, discovery that inclusive processes are deemed by teachers to be happening very seldom, I examine the dimensions of inclusive processes, and how they appear to be mediated by personal and institutional factors, before discussing how and why they are representative of functionally rational processes.

When community school staff members responded to the CSDC Project survey, they were asked to score themselves, students' family/caregivers, and general community members on the extent to which they believed they engaged in particular activities in or related to the school. These activities are listed below.

1. Interested in and attend extra-curricular activities
2. Assist with the school's extra-curricular activities
3. Take leadership roles with the school's extra-curricular activities
4. Purchase or sell fund-raising materials
5. Help with the organizing of school events
6. Have the opportunity to discuss and develop school policy
7. Actively participate in the school's visioning and goal-setting process
8. Have input into the selection of school staff
9. Have input into formulating and allocating school budgets
10. Have the opportunity to discuss and identify areas of need
11. Have the opportunity to discuss and identify community assets and strengths
12. Have the opportunity to discuss students performance and opportunity to learn at a school level
13. Have the opportunity to be involved in planning for improvement
14. Have the opportunity to be involved in establishing school discipline policies
15. Have the opportunity to be involved in establishing school learning resource policies
16. Have the opportunity to be involved in your school's SchoolPLUS facilitation team discussions
17. Have the opportunity to participate in the monitoring of school plans and priorities
18. Have the opportunity to be involved in the monitoring of students outcomes
19. Use the community school support services
20. Engage in personal and professional learning activities at your school

Table 5.1 contains the summed average score given by the staff participants to each of three groups (themselves, family, and community members) according to their perceived involvement in all of the above activities. A score of five would indicate the group is perceived to be involved "all of the time". A score of four means "most of the time," three means "some of the time," two means "rarely," and one means "never involved". Clearly, staff perceive themselves to be involved in these activities far more frequently than family and community members. In fact, family and community members are perceived by school staff to be involved "rarely" in these activities.

Table 5.1 - Average Score for Frequency of Staff, Family/Caregivers and Community Members' Involvement in 20 School Activities, as reported by Staff

Stakeholders	Average Scores
Staff	4.09
Family/Caregivers	2.34
Community Members	2.11

1=Never, 5=All of the time

Community Participation

Given that the mandate of community schools is to involve the whole community in these activities as part of an inclusive process, the rare involvement of family and community members in inclusive activities is both surprising and discomforting. This leads me to question: Do all staff perceive these levels of involvement uniformly? Are these levels of involvement the same in all locations involved in the study? This leads me to my next level of analysis.

After running factor analysis on all (20) questions, for both family and community categories, seven factors emerge in total. Four factors emerge for the Community category. The first factor for the community category, "COMMinternal" (see Table 1 below), largely represents activities that are "internal" in the sense that they relate to the student issues and to the inner-workings of the school, including student curriculum, discipline, or SchoolPLUS facilitation and monitoring. Staff members appear to see the community's involvement in these activities as fundamentally different from those in the second factor, "COMMexternal" (see Table 2). For a comprehensive list of activities that constitute each factor, refer to Appendix B.

Table 5.2 - COMMInternal Variables and Loadings

Community Members have the opportunity to…	Loading	Mean
be involved in establishing school learning resource policies	0.838	1.78
monitor students' outcomes	0.792	1.90
be involved in establishing school discipline policies	0.784	1.93
monitor school plans/priorities	0.728	2.19
discuss student performance/opportunity to learn	0.675	2.35
be involved in planning for improvement	0.610	2.82
be involved in School PLUS facilitation team discussions	0.543	2.46

Note: Questions based on a five response Likert-scale. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=some of the time, 4=most of the time, 5=all of the time. Eigen value 8.307, percent of variation = 41.53, and Cronbach's alpha = .915

As for the actual extent of community involvement in internal school policy and practice, though, the overall assessments are relatively low, especially in the categories of "learning resource policy," "monitoring of student outcomes," and "school discipline policy." The means for these variables (1.78, 1.90 and 1.93 respectively) indicate that

most respondents consider that input from the community rarely happens. However, for other issues involving opportunities for improving the learning environment, it appears that the community has more influence, as suggested by the staff.

Table 2 shows the loadings for variables in the second factor for the community category, "COMMexternal."

Table 5.3 - COMMExternal Variables and Loadings

Community Members…	Loading	Mean
have the opportunity to discuss/identify community areas of need	0.787	2.99
have the opportunity to discuss/identify community assets and strengths	0.769	2.93
use the community support services	0.713	3.09
engage in personal/professional learning activities at the school	0.609	2.69
participate in visioning/goal-setting processes	0.537	2.24
have the opportunity to discuss/develop school policy	0.526	2.29

Note: Questions based on a five response Likert-scale. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=some of the time, 4=most of the time, 5=all of the time. Eigen value1.997, percent of variation = 9.986, and Cronbach's alpha = .871

COMMExternal represents the external positioning of community schools such that they may meet the needs of not just students, but their families and the communities in which they are embedded. This would explain the first four items, since they are the building blocks of community education. The last two items are perceived by staff as highly similar to the previous four, and thus, these policy-oriented activities are also seen as reaching outwards from the school. Perhaps this factor is considered as conceptually separate from "COMMInternal" because community members are traditionally seen to be more peripheral to the life of the school than family members, who have what could be perceived as a more distinctly vested interest in the school because of their children in attendance.

As for the actual magnitude of the influence, it appears that for endeavours like discussing and influencing community needs and strengths and the actual use of community services services, community members do have an impact. The means for these variables fall in the "sometimes" range (2.99, 2.93, and 3.09 respectively). However, for the actual influence on school policy, the means are smaller than those for community needs and services (means of 2.24 and 2.29).

Loadings for the third community factor (Table 3), of which the factor "COMMX-Curr" is constituted, are distinctly related to the SchoolPLUS theme of community building.

Table 5.4 - COMMX-Curr Variables and Loadings

Community Members…	Loading	Mean
assist with extra-curricular activities	0.819	2.22
take leadership roles in extra-curricular activities	0.761	2.07
are interested in/attend extta-curricular activites	0.755	2.50
help organize school events	0.636	2.26

Note: Questions based on a five response Likert-scale. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=some of the time, 4=most of the time, 5=all of the time. Eigen value1.457, percent of variation = 7.285, and Cronbach's alpha = .784

The variables that coalesce in this analysis are all related to community members' involvement in extra-curricular activities. Interestingly, staff members perceive such activities as distinct from the provision of services to the community (Table 3), and from the every-day administrative and curricular decisions that are made at the school (Table 2). In addition, despite the importance of extra-curricular activities to community building, the relative perceived involvement of community members is low with a range of means from the "rarely" (2) to "some of the time" (3) levels

"COMMResources," the fourth and final factor for the community category (Table 4), highlights the distinct conceptual separation between areas of curriculum decisions, service-oriented activities, extra-curricular activities and the selection and allocation of resources, both human and financial.

Table 5.5 - COMMResources Variables and Loadings

Community Members…	Loading	Mean
have input into selection of school staff	0.775	1.23
have input into formulating/allocating school budgets	0.765	1.20

Note: Questions based on a five response Likert-scale. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=some of the time, 4=most of the time, 5=all of the time. Eigen value = 1.030, percent of variation = 5.148, and Cronbach's alpha = N/A for a factor with two items

While the two activities do factor together, the means indicate quite clearly that community members have very little influence on the fundamental activities involving budget and hiring; the means of 1.23 and 1.20 indicate that community members are rarely or never involved in these decisions, as perceived by staff.

Family Participation

For staff perceptions of family involvement, the first factor which is labeled as "FAMInternal/External" (Table 5) contains the identical variables from the community internal and external dimensions, but here the two dimensions load together.

Table 5.6 -   FAMInternal/External Variables and Loadings

Families/caregivers have the opportunity to…	Loading	Mean
discuss/identify community assets/strengths	0.787	3.12
monitor school plans/priorities	0.768	2.60
be involved in planning for improvement	0.746	3.33
discuss/identify community areas of need	0.741	3.15
Families/Caregivers participate in visioning/goal-setting process	0.727	2.54
be involved in establishing school discipline policies	0.723	2.43
discuss/develop school policy	0.714	2.56
be involved in establishing school learning resource policies	0.709	2.09
be involved in School PLUS facilitation team discussions	0.688	2.69
monitor students outcomes	0.610	3.06
Families/Caregivers engage in personal/professional learning activities at the school	0.608	2.91
Families/caregivers use the community support services	0.600	3.46
discuss student performance/opportunity to learn	0.583	3.53

Note: Questions based on a five response Likert-scale. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=some of the time, 4=most of the time, 5=all of the time. Eigen value = 7.246, percent of variation = 36.231, and Cronbach's alpha = .920

There does not appear to be a distinction between the "internal" and "external" orientation of family activity that characterized the first two community factors. Both internal and external types of activities appear to be similar types of activity for family members, as perceived through the eyes of staff members. The logic of this finding may be based in part on the fact that the institution of education has historically considered family members (as outsiders) to have a more "natural" vested interest in school policy and practice than non-family community members (as outsiders), Having children in attendance at the school presumably justifies a broader and more comprehensive interest and influence in school activities than does simply being a member of the community

Interestingly, here, the overall means indicate a relatively large influence by parents on internal and external policy, compared to community members. For example, with regard to activities like "planning for improvement" and "using community support services," the means for family involvement (3.33 and 3.46 respectively) are larger than the means for community involvement (2.82 and 3.09 respectively, from Tables 1 and 2). Clearly, community members with children in school have greater access to both policy

development and use of resources than do community members without children in school.

It is important to note here that some of the largest influences for family members are those that would naturally accrue from parents' involvement in their children's academic careers—"monitoring student outcomes" and "discussing student performance/opportunity to learn" are typical examples (means of 3.03 and 3.53 respectively). It is additionally noteworthy, however, that these more expected activities of parents coincide with some less expected activities including planning for improvement, discussing community assets and needs, and using school resources. It appears that this constellation of internal and external activity is characterized by a relatively substantial degree of involvement in school policy and use-based activities for parents. This was not nearly the case for non-parent community members.

The second factor in the family category, "FAMX-Curr" (Table 6), contains the same variables as in the extra-curricular factor for community.

Table 5.7 - FAMX-Curr Variables and Loadings

Family/Caregivers…	Loading	Mean
assist with extracurricular activities	0.712	2.41
take leadership roles in extracurricular activities	0.673	2.18
interested in/attend extracurricular activities	0.586	2.91
help organize school events	0.522	2.58

Note: Questions based on a five response Likert-scale. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=some of the time, 4=most of the time, 5=all of the time. Eigen value = 2.211, percent of variation = 11.054, and Cronbach's alpha = .764

Clearly, staff members perceive that the management of school activities beyond normal school hours occurs as a result of the activities of parents as well as other community members. However, observing the relative magnitude of the input, it is clear that the involvement of family members is somewhat higher, but not appreciably higher, than that of community members in general.   For example, the mean level of involvement for "leadership roles in extra-curricular activities" is 2.18 for family members as compared to 2.07 for community members. The difference is not only small but the overall size of the means indicate that this activity occurs rarely for both groups. The only exception to this is attendance at extra-curricular activities and the mean of 2.91 for family indicates that

attendance happens "sometimes." Otherwise, for both groups, the involvement in other dimensions of the extra-curricular life of the school is quite small.

The third family factor, "FAMresource" (Table 7), contains the same hiring and budgeting variables as does the "community resource" factor (Table 5), indicating that staff members perceive that family and other community members influence these fundamentally important administration practices in similar ways.[17] More importantly, the degree of family influence expressed by the staff is very small.

Table 5.8 - FAMResource Variables and Loadings

Families/caregivers…	Loading	Mean
have input into the selection of school staff	0.654	1.20
have input into formulating/allocating school budgets	0.520	1.23

Note: Questions based on a five response Likert-scale. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=some of the time, 4=most of the time, 5=all of the time. Eigen value = 1.478, percent of variation = 7.390, and Cronbach's alpha = N/A for a factor with two items

The two means of 1.20 and 1.23 indicate that family input into hiring and budget decisions rarely ("almost never") occurs. The same is true for community input (Table 5) in which the respective means are 1.23 and 1.2. In effect, most staff members in the community schools in the study sample indicate that family and community input into hiring and budgets is a rarity, despite the mandate of the community schools program to promote community consultation and grass roots democratic participation in the school.

The findings in this factor analysis indicate that the traditional paradigm of parental involvement—inclusion in the monitoring of students and the exclusion in the monitoring of staff and administration--are still in place in the community schools that were investigated. It is also evident that the degree of influence is greatest in activities that are considered as part of traditional parental input, although evidence can be seen of parental input into non-traditional areas including needs assessment and the inventory of community assets. Clearly, however, this somewhat newfound input into school policy does not extend into the realm of budget and hiring. For the community members, in

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[17] As an important side note, after taking all five categorical independent variables into consideration, perceptions of the frequency of community *and* family involvement in Resource related activities were perceived by all groups as negligible. See Table 5.10 for details.

contrast, the involvement in the life of the school appears to be quite small in all areas of inclusion, at least relative to family members.

The above data provide evidence of the mostly unchanged roles of authority that currently exist in Community Schools, despite policy that mandates the dissolution of thse power relations. Another way to look at the institutionalization of roles of power and authority and the institutionalization of exchange relationships in Community Schools is by examining the role of the Community School Coordinator and Council. The creation of the Community School Coordinator position represents a specific example of the institutionalization of the exchange relationships, as his or her sole mandate is to act as a liaison between the community and the school. In addition, Community Schools are all to have Community School Councils, which are to consist of family and community representatives who can or will "speak for" families and community interests. This Council must demographically represent the community, must "have meaningful roles and responsibilities that include decision making and providing advice", must use inclusive processes "to seek engagements and reach decisions", and must lead in "the development, implementation, and evaluation of the Community School Plan" (BCOH: 27).

Along with the Coordinator and the Council, the principal is the third party in what is termed a Community School "leadership team". "A strong leadership team is created to achieve the vision, goals, and objectives of community education. Through their shared roles and leadership, they engage with the school and community to support well-being and success" (BCOH: 27). This leadership team represents the institutionalization of exchange relationships, and I would also argue of authority. Members of the leadership team are most often those with strong leadership skills, the willingness to spend time and energy on these tasks, and the socio-economic status to give them the freedom to engage in these time-consuming pursuits. In this way, individuals who already have a popular form of authority in the school or community will simply have this authority formalized by the selection and formation of the leadership team. [18] These dimensions of inclusive processes thus represent an institutionalization of

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[18] This is not to say that efforts to the contrary have not been made, but this is the most common outcome.

exchange relationships and roles of authority and power, one of the hallmarks of functional rationality.

5.1.4 Summary

Community Schools' many integrated services and the many people who are hired or volunteer to provide them are evidence of the increased means of material production and increased division of labour. While these first two functionally rational characteristics are fairly self-evident, the third and last feature is not. Factor analysis of the degree to which stakeholders are involved in activities related to the school indicates that this third feature, the institutionalization of exchange relationships and roles of authority and power, is, indeed, present. In terms of this third and final feature, policy makers' definition of inclusion as "processes that engage a broad section of community members" does not capture the complex nature of inclusive processes. In this exploratory case study, staff do not conceive of inclusion in a universal sense when considering community and family members. That is to say, the 'community member' category has four factors or dimensions, while the 'family' category has three.   These factors do not indicate levels or the extent of inclusion. Rather, they represent different dimensions or aspects present within inclusive processes.

There are four distinct dimensions of these processes as they pertain to community members. Internal activities are student and curriculum oriented, while external activities are community service oriented. Extra-curricular activities are related to community and spirit-building exercises, while resource related activities concern the hiring of personnel and the allocation of school budgets. The hiring of staff and the allocation of budgets as a separate fourth factor is indicative of a conceptual 'separation' between different stakeholders and their responsibilities that has been pervasive in so much of our educational history. The family dimensions are almost identical to those for the community, with one slight, but important, difference. The internal- and external-oriented activities that are conceived of as two separate factors for community members, are considered one factor for family members. This pattern is a logical extension of the findings from the community category in that family might be perceived to have a more

vested interest in both the internal- and external-oriented activities of the school, because of their children in attendance.

Having provided evidence of the presence of functionally rational processes in Saskatchewan Community School data, I now examine the data for evidence of communicative rationality, which informs communicative action. I look specifically for the extent to which culture, sociality and identity are produced and reproduced, both in the literature and in what staff have to say about their perceptions and experiences in their schools.

5.2 Evidence of Communicative Rationality in Community Education

Communicative action is the process by which symbolic reproduction occurs, and is informed by the 'logic' of communicative rationality. In this section I argue that symbolic reproduction, consisting of the three foundational endeavors of the lifeworld – the communicative production and reproduction of *culture, sociality*[19]*, and identity* – is evident in community education and Community Schooling literature. I look for evidence of symbolic reproduction in community education literature in general and the CSDC survey data in particular, and find it primarily, but not exclusively, in an emphasis within community education discourse on the ideals of critical pedagogy. Because of its foundational importance to the construction of both identity and culture, sociality will be discussed in conjunction with both processes, although the reader is cautioned to keep in mind that all three are inextricably linked in reality.

5.2.1 Sociality and Individual and Collective Identity

The development of individual and collective identity is crucial to community education, particularly so to Community Schools, as the development of these identities plays a large role in their reformatory and emancipatory goals.

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[19] sociality. (n.d.). "**1a.** The state or quality of being sociable; sociability. **b.** An instance of sociableness. **2.** The tendency to form communities and societies. " *The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition*. Retrieved April 16, 2007, from Dictionary.com website: http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/sociality

Nixon et al, (2002: 412-413), speaking of the role Community Schools play in developing democratic ideals, state:

> We assume, with Young (2000), that experiencing democratic processes is critical in building collective social responsibility and ensuring individual and social development. Inclusive democratic processes are the means by which people can both promote their own interests and hold those in power to account...This view of democracy resonates with Yuval-Davis's (1997) idea of `transversal politics', which draws from an agenda developed by Italian feminists. The two vital elements are engaging with others from one's own situation (`rooting') but with open-mindedness to the views of others (`shifting'). (See also Werbner and Yuval-Davis 1999, Yuval-Davis 1999).

Most study participants felt that this openness and willingness to engage with others in a constructive way is a prerequisite for working in community schools - one that is not often formally acknowledged in those who end up making important hiring decisions. Respondents stress the need to acknowledge and value this important attribute in the hiring process: *"To make community schools effective, schools should have people working in them that WANT to work in the current situation"*; *"Teacher placements should be voluntary and highly committed to teaching in a community school - not forced upon after request of transfer is submitted. Community members need to have input in the hiring process of teachers, not just the principals"*; *"I feel the staff in total need to be genuinely interested in community - not just the curriculum (not just a job. Their lives must be part of the community) and really need to see parents as partners"*. In other words, respondents felt that to engage in community education in an authentic way, staff themselves must be invested personally and professionally in the school and local community

Respondents felt that it takes a special sort of person to work in a Community School, one who strongly supports the philosophy of the school, who is willing to work collaboratively with families and community, and who cares deeply about the children they work with. These "special" staff members strive to make communicative action happen.

> *Consultation and communication must increase…Staff attitude and commitment are critical elements for the success and growth of community schools. We must have the strongest and most committed staff available.*

If we truly care about the children, let's start with the educators who are part of these children's lives. Give these students teachers that want to be part of the community school team! It is unfair to these children to transfer staff to community schools that do not want to be part of the community school team. These children do not have any say on who their teacher will be. Yet we expect them to adjust and handle the change. Who are we really fulfilling the need of here?

Many people are placed here to work who are very apprehensive about it. Many people find it is not for them. I think it is important to let those people go elsewhere. By the same token, those who do come to enjoy and do well in this type of teaching situation should be encouraged to stay and continue to work here.

These quotes indicate that staff in a community school are perceived as different from staff in other schools, particularly in their orientation towards their colleagues and students (and one would presume their families as well), and their commitment to the collective learning community. They stress the importance of individual staff members' identities being in harmony with the community school vision; a collective vision for the community as a whole, which is essential for engaging in critical pedagogy.

The emancipatory potential of critical pedagogy is premised on the extent to which individuals are able to take responsibility to be reflexive and critical of their own lives and social context. In order to be able to free themselves, individuals must understand who they are. Only then can they develop an understanding of what it is that constrains them. The important link between self-knowledge and identity and collective knowledge and identity is made by the following staff member. "*Those who are the most resistant to community school programming appear to be unsure of their gifts and abilities. This insecurity can lead to additional problems in dealing with staff and students*". To use Nixon's (2002) terms of "rooting" and "shifting", if a staff member is not deeply rooted in a philosophy of teaching and learning, a philosophy in which their role and purpose as an educator is defined, there is no place from which they may engage in dialogue about difference and change.

Mitchell and Sackney's focus on mutual understanding, not necessarily agreement, is a vital part of discursive will formation. In fact, "in a learning community, where individual and collective learning are deeply embedded in one another,

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contradictions and paradoxes (Swieringa and Wierdsma, 1992) are welcome" (Mitchell and Sackney, 2001). These quotes highlight the communicative and negotiated process by which mutual understanding may be achieved. It is this process that can potentially lead to "solidarity across differences", the ultimate goal of Community Schools (Bach, 2002: 2; see also Dei, 2002), and to the development of a political will or culture (see Chambers, 1995). One staff member stated that working at the school has "*been a learning journey for me. Although I thought I was able to assume why things happen, I've today come to learn to try to see life through someone else's eyes and try to find reasoning as they see it.*" This participant has come to understand that to be a member of a community school is to engage in an ongoing process of mutual understanding.

Several study participants were able to make the link between a collectively constructed identity and a sense of sense of mutual responsibility and trust, or what could also be termed an ethic of care. Staff describe this trust in different ways, from a level of comfort that students have, to stakeholders respecting and honoring the school and its mandate.

> *I have learned so much more about the need for resiliency, strength - based learning, the importance of relationship, trust and hope. The importance of perseverance and the very supportive idea of reintroducing the concept of 'spirituality' (as Parker Palmer speaks of it...) into our schools has become much clearer.*

> *I think community schools have a definite impact on the comfort that our children feel. They are more willing to let your know about problems at home, they feel a sense of trust. I believe they also feel that they are genuinely cared about.*

> *Working at a community school has been very rewarding. The community respects and honors the school. They treasure the staff and appreciate the efforts. It is their school - it has been described as empowering and liberating for all staff members as well as community members.*

> *I have worked in other schools, but did not get the feeling of family. The community is part of the school which closes the gap and increases levels of trust, which in turn benefits the students.*

An ethic of care is also evident in the following quotes, which express the challenging, yet rewarding nature of work in a community school, the importance of perseverance, and the satisfaction many staff feel having overcome these challenges. "*Teaching in a community school has been rewarding, frustrating, challenging, depressing and an amazing experience.*" The following two participants both use the words "frustrating" and "rewarding" or "satisfying", indicating the deeply personal nature of work in a community school. They speak of their experiences not as a job, but as something that defines who they are, as a vocation, a calling. Their work is part of their identity.

> *If there is any place you feel you really can make a difference it is in a community school. It takes a special staff to work here. It can be frustrating but extremely rewarding. Every little advancement is a victory. It is difficult to separate school and home life because even when you are at home, the workplace and its stakeholders are on your mind.*

> *My experiences at Community School have been the most demanding and frustrating of my career. There have been days and probably even whole weeks when I have questioned working where I do. Having said that, when I look back on my 22 year career in teaching and reflect upon the 'highs'...those moments of feeling satisfaction and the joys that teaching 'gifts' to us, I notice that the majority of those moments have existed with community school settings. Each reward moment has a visual - the faces if the children I teach. Community schools have allowed my to pursue the depth of relationships that necessarily involves heart, spirit, and mind. It is only when this depth is fostered that he whole child is fostered that the whole child will see education as something they own and self perpetuate.*

Given these responses, I argue that being an effective and engaged community school staff member requires a strong individual sense of worth and purpose as an educator, and a clear connection to other stakeholders and their common goals as a school and community.

5.2.2 Sociality and Community School Culture

Besides the social formation of individual and collective identities (two of three fundamental roles of the lifeworld), community schools also play the third role. That is, they are deeply involved in the creation and maintenance of a democratic and community-oriented school culture. And while some schools are more successful than others, there is no denying that staff feel very strongly that the community plays an

integral, irreplaceable role in the development of a community school culture. As one teacher states,

> *We as a staff felt we have to form a partnership with our Community to strengthen our school facility and our school commitments...basically to involve them with others in a respectful, social atmosphere...As the years go on we become stronger as a UNIT, and many have a voice in our learning and family-community programs.*

Another feels that the success of a school is judged by the extent to which relationships with community are developed: "*the importance of relationships. TRUST. If parents/elders/community members know/trust you, the experience/outcome for all involved can be very rewarding.*" It is important here to recognize the reference to an ethic of care, and the role of communicative action in developing this ethic.

The following teacher talks about the insular nature of her school before it was designated, and the significant changes she felt took place in regards to the school's relationship to the community, saying

> *I first came to this school when it was not a community school. It was always a friendly place and I felt welcomed and included by the staff. However, it was not the innovative, risk-taking, "community" minded building that I now work in. People (teachers) tended to do their own thing and change was not easily accepted. People seemed "stuck". Since becoming a community school many new people with new ideas have come to our school. Change is inevitable. This school has evolved into the type of building I love being part of. I think it is now a much more enriched, caring environment for our students.*

This respondent indicates that a school culture that embraces change, or seeks change, epitomizes the process of inclusion as a constant negotiation brought about by the acceptance of new people and ideas into the school community.

While the importance of community involvement in these schools is acknowledged by study participants, it is not always what they see taking place in their schools. The following participant talks of the need for parents to be more involved.

> *Staff put in a tremendous amount of effort into the many programs and are very motivated. Parent involvement needs to be addressed and increase. We need to*

> *motivate parents to feel welcome and encourage their participation and*
> *appreciation of what it means to be a community school.*

While some feel it is up to the staff to motivate family and community members to participate, some feel that they are ill prepared for this job. The following response implies that staff are not solely responsible for encouraging family and community to participate, but rather, that community school policy should have built-in directives to facilitate connection-making within the community.

> *No specific community built directive has been created because of the absence of*
> *the 'How to Build a Community School" Program, therefore family and*
> *community is unaware of the important role they need to play in our school to*
> *make it a true community school.*

In addition to the need to involve parents and community, and the need for a specific plan that will help staff engage in this outreach, the following participant highlights the difficulty in developing a learning community locally, when the divisions and schools themselves have not developed a community themselves: "*There is no formal relationship or communication between Divisions and Schools. How do you build community when there are political/economic/social barriers to overcome?*" Several responses from study participants speak to why community involvement may be slow in occurring. The first reason is fear of change and of the unknown. Study respondents say, "*What is now needed is the networking of community groups and members to involve them in a more meaningful way. I think we have to loosen up a little and not be afraid of the community outside our school*" or "*I was so surprised when I came here by the lack of staff commitment and their fear of change...At the same time, I was awed by the level of personal ownership felt by some for this institution.*" The second reason is historical is nature, and deeply rooted in past (and current) prejudices.

> *I would like to see more parents engaged in the school activities and leadership*
> *roles of the school. I see the school as only part of the solution to community*
> *development and partnership though. The health issues of the community are a*
> *factor as well as the systemic discrimination in our justice system. Until on a*
> *national/provincial level deep rooted issues are resolved, I feel the hurts are*
> *filtered down and affect the families/students at the school level.*

The last stated reason, why community involvement may be slow in occurring, and related closely to my previous discussion of the importance of developing individual and collective identities, is the inability of stakeholders to create a collective identity. This inability is reflected in the following quote. "*Many times our (staff, CS staff, CS council) worlds are parallel. Parents/community and community room staff have one set of plans and priorities. Staff often have another. Occasionally they are similar.*"

5.2.3 Individual and School Characteristics as Mediators of Communicative Action

Given the preceding discussion about the importance of the development of an individual and collective identity as learners in a learning community, and given the tremendous importance that school culture plays on family and community members' willingness to participate in school life, it is critical to look at those features that may prevent this participation from taking place. In this section, I examine the nature of inclusive education in relation to social and occupational diversity by correlating staff members' evaluations of diversity, in essence their estimation of democratic participation in school, with staff personal and contextual characteristics.

The following table illustrates the means for the constructs of community and family participation developed from the factor analyses within categories of race, gender, location, and two indicators of occupational status (Table 8). For Table 8, the dimensions of participation are reduced to a five point scale that represents the original Likert scale for individual items. In other words, the constructs are based on the addition of highly correlated items and then, the additive scale is reduced back to the original 5-item scale. I do so for comparison reasons and to provide the reader with a scale that has meaningful reference categories defined in the note at the bottom of the table, categories that represent ordinal levels of involvement. For a description of the variables that make up each factor, please see Appendix B.

Table 5.9 - Means for Dependent Variables with Categorical Contextual Variables

	Gender		Location		PTFT		Position		Ethnicity	
	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	PT	FT	Teaching Staff	Non-Teaching Staff	Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
COMMInternal	2.23	2.12	2.17	2.08	2.34	2.11	2.13	2.18	2.29	2.12
COMMExternal	2.70	2.71	**2.77**	**2.56**	2.63	2.72	2.69	2.76	2.92*	2.68*
COMMX-Curr	2.27	2.27	**2.22**	**2.38**	2.23	2.28	**2.22**	**2.38**	**2.49**	**2.24**
COMMResource	1.26*	1.18*	**1.16**	**1.30**	1.22	1.19	**1.16**	**1.29**	1.3*	1.18*
FAMInt/Ext	2.90	2.84	**2.97**	**2.54**	2.94	2.85	2.84	2.90	2.96	2.85
FAMX-Curr	2.57	2.51	**2.50**	**2.60**	2.50	2.53	**2.46**	**2.67**	2.64*	2.51*
FAMResource	1.27*	1.185*	1.22	1.18	1.17	1.21	1.18*	1.26*	1.25	1.20
N for columns	*67-138*	*214-574*	*222-529*	*65-190*	*65-190*	*255-636*	*192-501*	*100-215*	*36-97*	*251-622*

Bold - means significant at p≤ .05 level

* - means sig at p≤ .10 level

Note: All means are standardized on a five-point scale. 1=Never, 2=Rarely, 3=Some of the Time, 4=Most of the Time, 5=All of the Time

I assume, in this analysis, that perceptions are, at least somewhat, the result of how well actual inclusion works with reference to gender, location, ethnicity, and occupation and that respondents' experiences, for example, as racialized and gendered staff, for example, reflect the racialized and gendered nature of their schools.

Interestingly, the results for the gender variable show there are no significant differences between means of female and male staff for any of the dimensions of community or family involvement. The same is true for Part-Time and Full-Time (PTFT) job status. There are significant differences, however, between urban and rural locations, teaching or non-teaching staff, and Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal staff. Specifically, the results for location illustrate that the perceived democratic nature of inclusive education is influenced by the rural/urban nature of the community. Rural community school staff members feel relatively strongly that community members are involved in extra-curricular- and resource-oriented activities compared to their urban counterparts and they also feel this way more so than their urban peers for family involvement in extra-curricular activities. Perhaps, given the often close-knit nature of smaller communities, rural community citizens may perceive extra-curricular activities as community activities, not solely school activities, and therefore may be more likely to participate, as reflected in the opinions of staff.

Interestingly, however, urban staff respondents feel that for involvement in external activities, activities that are policy setting with respect to the school-community link, both community members and family members are relatively highly involved compared to their rural counterparts. The urban staff respondents make the same

relatively high estimation of involvement for internal activities for family members. If the perceptions reflect reality, one possible reason for higher levels of involvement in external and internal activities in urban areas could be that citizens in urban areas may have easier access to their school to get involved or to obtain services than those from rural areas. Perhaps rural locations are slower to acclimatize to the partial shift in power or authority from school to community that is called for by SchoolPLUS principles. It is also possible that community and family members in urban areas experience more need for the services the schools provide than do rural community and family members.
As for type of occupation of the staff member, non-teaching staff (see Appendix C for coding details) feel that community members are more frequently involved in extra-curricular and resource related activities than do teaching staff. Perhaps, non-teaching staff are more likely to interact with parents outside of the classroom, since areas outside the classroom are their "domain" of work. In addition, non-teaching staff also feel that family members are more frequently involved in extra-curricular activities than do the respondents who are teachers. Again, non-academic staff members are more likely to see parents at the school during the day, since they are not required to remain in the classroom to complete their work.

Finally, since low numbers of community school staff respondents self-identified as being of Aboriginal ancestry (See Appendix C for coding details), few associations were significant at the .05 level. Given that the sample size in the Aboriginal category is small (N=36-97), it can be presumed that if the sample size were larger, several mean differences would become significant, especially those that are currently significant at the .10 level. As a consequence, the author feels that a discussion of the absolute differences for the ethnicity variable is warranted.

Of the associations that are significant, respondents of Aboriginal ancestry perceive community members involvement in extra-curricular, external activities and resources (means of 2.49, 2.92 and 1.3 respectively) to be occurring more frequently than do respondents of non-Aboriginal ancestry (means of 2.24, 2.68, and 1.18 respectively). The same is true for their estimation of family members' involvement in extra-curricular activities (means of 2.64 versus 2.51 for non-Aboriginal respondents). Certain questions arise from these data. Is there pessimism amongst non-Aboriginal respondents that

Aboriginal respondents do not share, regarding perceptions of community and family involvement? Do Aboriginal staff themselves have higher levels of participation in which they would see these other groups participating more frequently as a result, or be more able to adequately gauge this participation? Readers could also surmise that non-Aboriginal staff may have higher expectations of families and communities members in regards to frequency of participation in school activities than may Aboriginal community staff members. This could be indicative of the direct connection made historically and currently in education research that links parent involvement at many levels (see for example Yan and Lin 2005; Kevorkian, 2005) with scholastic achievement. Aboriginal communities may be more likely to see parental involvement as contributing to a sense of belonging or place; if they perceive this sense of belonging to already be sufficient, they may not contribute to the extent that a parent subscribing to the former view might. These questions must be left unanswered, however, as the focus here is on the extent to which inclusive processes involve particular groups in a learning community, and what factors mediate these processes.

Next, I examine the three continuous-level contextual variables using Pearson's correlation coefficient as a measure of association between the interval level background variables and the seven factors.

Table 5.10 - Correlations between Background Variables and Constructs of Inclusion

	Years working at present school	Age of respondent	Years since designation
COMMInternal	**-0.116**	-0.027	0.069
COMMExternal	**-0.117**	-0.028	**0.131**
COMMX-Curr	-0.063	0.024	-0.018
COMMResource	-0.083	-0.087	-0.043
FAMInt/Ext	**-0.126**	-0.029	**0.130**
FAMX-Curr	**-0.103**	-0.011	-0.037
FAMResource	-0.070	-0.077	0.024
N for each column	287-919	281-895	287-920

Bold - means significant at p≤.05

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The matrix of correlation coefficients in Table 9 shows that as "years working at present school" increases, scores for all factors decrease. The negative relationships mean that as the number of years the staff members have been employed at school increases, perceptions of the frequency of community or family involvement decrease. Perhaps as teachers age, they are less likely to be involved in extra-curricular activities because younger teachers take over these roles and are consequently less likely to observe family and community involvement.

In addition, "years since designation" is positively related to "community internal" activities and to the "family internal-external activities. This means that the longer the school has been designated, the greater the staff estimations are regarding community and family involvement in activities both internal and external to the school. This may represent, in part, the successful implementation of SchoolPLUS policies leading to increased participation by all stakeholders as the spirit of a learning community is slowly developed over time. Lastly, as the age of staff increases, the perception of community input into budgets and hiring decreases. Although speculating, this could be because older staff tend to be involved in school activities less than younger staff and, therefore, are relatively unable to judge participation or are relatively likely to judge participation as low.

Having discussed in the previous section how inclusive opportunities are mediated by the stakeholders to which they are being extended to, I now address staff and school characteristics also mediate perceptions of inclusive practices. In this study, inclusive processes are perceived differently by respondents depending on the years they have worked at their present school, age, position at school, and ethnicity. School characteristics that mediate these perceptions are the number of years since designation and location. I intuitively argue that the more highly differentiated and mediated inclusion is within an institution, the more exclusive the processes within that institution are likely to be. In fact, highly differentiated notions and mediated processes of inclusion could themselves be mechanisms for exclusion. The fact that personal, school, and stakeholder characteristics mediate inclusive processes in a myriad of ways is an indication that communicative action is not the basis for interaction in many of these schools. If communicative action were, in fact, in place, these personal, geographical,

and political factors would be acknowledged, discussed, and worked through using communicative action, finding commonalities across differences, or at least reaching mutual understanding, rather than the disparate picture that is painted by these data.

5.2.4 Summary

The development of individual identity as a teacher and learner, whether for staff members, parents, or community members, is crucial for the development of a collective identity as a learning community. In fact, any democratic outcomes of a learning community can only come about when the community bands together to work towards a common goal. This requires that all stakeholders "buy in" to the community schooling philosophy to achieve the establishment of inclusive processes. These processes characterize an inclusive school culture, the ultimate goal of SchoolPLUS.

While communicative action appears to be a priority in some schools, according to CSDC data above, in others it is not. This finding is tied to the analysis of survey data to determine which individual and school characteristics are more likely to be associated with higher perceived levels of involvement. This is done in order to understand which variables (individual or school related) are more likely to be mediating factors in inclusive processes. Findings from this analysis indicate that inclusive processes are perceived differently by respondents depending on the years they have worked at their present school, age, position at school, and ethnicity. School characteristics that mediate these perceptions are the number of years since designation and location.

5.3 *Convergence, Colonization, and Crises*

> "It should be noted that the onus placed on active citizenship has not necessarily been accompanied by a substantive transfer of executive power from the centre to the locality. For governments, the idea of active citizenship is primarily significant because of the part it plays in political rhetoric and in strategic calculations. The adoption of active citizenship by recent governments, is yet to encompass the actual redistribution of political power: the emergence of a truly 'citizen-centred government', a modern type of Ekklesia, is still far from being realized (Marinetto, 2003: 118).

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If "citizen-centered" government of education does not exist in many of these schools, despite increased resources and Herculean efforts by many policy makers, school staff, administration and community members, what are the barriers or challenges to doing so? To begin, I argue that Marinetto's cynicism regarding the purely functional goals of policy and rhetoric may be somewhat overstated.   A delay in the redistribution of political power may not, in fact, be the result of empty and self-serving rhetoric, but the interplay of communitarian and neo-liberal ideals, as informed by communicative and functional rationality. As a result of the convergence of these two rationalities in community education policy, I argue that two kinds of crises are emerging. Legitimation and motivation crises emerge from the colonization of former lifeworld and communicatively rational processes by functional processes. The two legitimation crises are an inability to make consensus-based decisions, and an inability to define and measure success. Motivation crises are also a result of colonized lifeworld processes, and arise from the mandating of 'democratic' behaviours, even when no local consensus or political will formation has taken place.

5.3.1 Convergence and Colonization

Torres (2004: 168) states that, "the main determinant of public policy formation is not the pursuit of any particular interest, but of an abstract systemic interest", although he goes on to say that these abstract interests are shaped in part by "structural determinants which have a historic-organic origin" and "conjunctural determinants which [occur as] short-term crystallization of a peculiar constellation of forces in class and social struggles". In this case, inclusive processes as "peculiar constellations" are mediated by larger communitarian and neo-liberal "systemic interests".

The multidimensional nature of inclusive processes can be seen in "peculiar constellations" such as the development of social capital, emphasis on parental choice and responsibility, an ethic of care, and notions of social justice.   In many cases, the same means (parental participation) are used to achieve alternative ends (the establishment or re-establishment of community networks *or* increased responsibility and accountability of parents for students' success or failure). Because of this debate and

confusion, there exists much variation in the extent to which particular "inclusive" policies are "successfully" implemented at various schools.

As I have emphasized, inclusion is participatory, negotiated and discursive. This becomes problematic when decisions have to be made. Krysiak (2001: 8) states "[l]eaders need to engage their community members in a dialogue about their vision of community. Only when a vision is shared by all can there be community schools". Budzeszewski (1995: 26) qualifies this further saying "[f]irst, any "communitarianism" feasible for the polity as a whole could be reached only by strategic mutual accommodation; second, it could be reached only among those communities whose stories were sufficiently related for them to find some common ground". The vast amounts of time and energy required to achieve consensus regarding common "goods" or "grounds", especially those as controversial as education, make neo-liberal ideals an especially appealing reference point for decision making. Working towards neo-liberal ideals generally requires less labour- and time-intensive efforts to arrive at a decision. Chambers (1995: 164) argues that, "[a]s participation becomes wider and more diverse, discourse becomes less efficient…beyond small and relatively homogeneous groups, discourse cannot serve as an efficacious or even realistic method of decision-making". Further, Dryfoos, (1998: 106) states that "the political infighting amongst school boards, superintendents, unions, and the public" can also be an obstacle to local democratic forms of decision making and subsequent reform (cited in Krysiak, 2001). Because of these difficulties, policy makers are more likely to utilize a neo-liberal decision making framework when developing policy, despite the communitarian and democratic philosophy that originally informed development of the policy. There thus exists what Arato and Cohen (1988) would term an antinome between grass-roots authenticity and bureaucratic efficiency.

Inclusive processes are developed and enacted using different sets of normative assumptions and rationalities. These assumptions and rationalities are based on different ways of conceiving of the social world, social problems, and potential solutions to those problems. The convergence of communitarianism and neo-liberalism as normative imperatives is problematic because of the questions that are raised about what exactly inclusion means, what it should look like, and how it should be implemented. The

confusion leading from this convergence, and what I would argue is the colonization of lifeworld processes by system logic, leads to various crises.

5.3.2 Legitimation Crises

Mitchell and Sackney (2001) state that building a learning community's "organizational capacity entails creating a flexible system that is open to all sorts of new ideas, that welcomes the eccentric and unusual as well as the tried and true…That means, as Hargreaves (1993) warns, that individualism and solitude also need to be embraced, even in the midst of community and collaboration" (Mitchell and Sackney, 2001). Making a space for flexibility and paradoxes within educational policy, planning and decision-making is, to my mind, exceedingly difficult for policy makers. This is because, following Chambers (1995: 164), "[a]s participation becomes wider and more diverse, discourse becomes less efficient…beyond small and relatively homogeneous groups, discourse cannot serve as an efficacious or even realistic method of decision-making". Though the philosophy behind critical pedagogical processes in community education are informed by communicative rationality, these processes become institutionalized in their implementation out of pragmatic necessity (ie. are colonized), thus diminishing the extent to which this pedagogy can be authentically pursued or implemented. The functionally rational act of institutionalization of decision making processes is an act of colonization, and is inconsistent with the spirit or rationality of the original act or intention. Chambers (1995: 177) states that, "The ideal of a consensually steered society is the ideal of a society that is committed to a certain type of political culture. Implementing practical discourse then, is not so much a matter of setting up a constitutionally empowered "body" of some sort as it is of engendering a practice". Seen in this light, the paradox that exists in reconciling Bach's (2002) "solidarity across differences" with functionally rational processes is an example of a legitimation crisis in community education resulting from the convergence and subsequent colonization of lifeworld processes.

The institutionalization of exchange relationships and roles of authority and power, and the power differential that is exacerbated by this process is also evident in what staff members have to say when asked in the CSDC survey what they think

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researchers should know about their experience in community schools. By phrasing this question in a general way, participants had an opportunity to express what was of the most importance to them at that time, whether about the school itself, their experience in the school, or community school and SchoolPLUS policy. Responses to this question highlight the institutionalization process and relate to a lack of consensual hiring and policy making decisions, the prevalence of power relations in general, and what could be termed as a disingenuous democratic culture within some of these schools.

As an example of the existing power relations, there is a sense in many of the survey responses that the local school staff and community and family members do not have a formative role in hiring people they believe will be an asset to the school and will help further the community school agenda in their community. Speaking of the frustration and sense of powerlessness staff members can feel when overlooked during the hiring process, one respondent says:

> *This year has been fantastic due to our principal and vice principal. I am disappointed that because of staffing circumstances in the division they are doing to break up a team of administrators that are ideal for a CS. They believe in the philosophy of community and have built a strong sense of it here. Staff would like some input as to their "leaders" for next year.*

Many participants feel that senior administrators do not have the grass-roots experience to understand, much less make decisions based on, what local schools and communities value in leaders. Says two survey respondents, "*The Director and Superintendent don't appear to value the differences between our school and others. I'd like them to spend 2 or 3 days in our school before they make staffing decisions.*", and "*There is a need to educate all schools in the school division about community schools. [The] director in the larger school Division is not supportive of or adequately informed about community school philosophy but is very instrumental in decision making and staffing.*" Again, we can hear the frustration in the voices of the participants, especially in the use of "don't appear to value differences" and "very instrumental" to describe the individuals that are supposed to be emulating and encouraging inclusive practices.

Speaking of the gap between community school policy of consultation and power sharing and practice, one staff member said:

I have watched divisions reduce community control, involvement in decision making and hiring. Teachers and support staff more and more can't be a part of the community because they are commuting from further and further as they are moved around. These huge divisions are like big box stores with no room for community.

This participants' use of the metaphor of a big box store is certainly a powerful and contentious one. It conjures up images of soulless, falsely cheerful institutions seeking to be everything to everybody, and which have tendencies to harm those whom can least defend themselves. In light of this metaphor, when we read the next response, we can see the same connections being made, though not as explicitly. A respondent says:

I would also like all staff to be involved in the decision making process on all matter pertaining to budgets, activities, and programs offered - The parents and community schools have as much if not more say about how and what their children are taught as the school board, directors and principals. As it stands now, all decisions are made at the top by people who have the greatest of intentions, but have the priorities wrong.

This top-down decision making process, for one respondent, "*seriously limited the development of our community school program.*" Frustrations surrounding what is perceived as the top-down decision making for community schools, besides the obvious inherent contradictions, are listed as follows. These too ring of "big box" practices:

A community school is the most demanding environment that exists in education. We do not have the luxury of time when dealing with our community's children and members. Restrictive practices, designed for 'average' schools: staff-students ratios; funding allocations; school division financial policies; programs that are elitist and exclusive; hours of operation...Most of these frustrations are policy and practice, not people.

A staff member succinctly summarizes these contradictions (between policy and practice) saying, "*One of the greatest frustrations I experience is the often disharmonious relationship between practice and existing administrative policy. At times there is a blissful ignorance or willing neglect of many of the issues and challenges [in] having a community school.*"

Besides the inherent contradiction of mandating democratic practices, a second form of legitimation crisis stems from situations represented by Mitchell and Sackney (2001, emphasis added) as 'progress' within learning communities: "Because a learning community is a human system, it moves through *cycles of progress and regress.* At times people will move forward eagerly, but at other times they will push against the flow of the process." For functionally rationalized states intent on empirically measuring the success of programs implemented to improve outcomes of student and community development, the very thought embracing regression would seem to be anathema to their intent. This is because "progress" is most often conceived of as linear and uni-directional. To conceive of it otherwise would make planning redundant, and measuring 'success' would be mortally problematized. We thus see system logic informing lifeworld endeavors when individuals (such as myself) and groups try to empirically measure schools' "progress" in developing inclusive processes, despite the fact that that this process may not proceed as expected. This creates a crisis of measurement, and thus for policy makers, of legitimacy.

5.3.3 Motivation Crises

A corollary of the above two crises, motivation crises also occur when critical pedagogical practices (which are informed by communicative rationality) are co-opted by institutions informed by functionally rational processes/ideals. In other words, they too are colonized. This can be seen in the creation of Community School Councils and the Coordinator's position. By virtue of their position, these individuals and groups are obligated to engage in communicative action. Despite the communicative rationality and communal philosophy underlying the creation of these positions, the fact that they are mandated ultimately represents an exercise of authority and the failure to provide an ideal speech situation. Most critically, much of the support for critical pedagogy is not coming from grassroots communities or the school "public" as a whole, but from administrators and practitioners seeking to make sense of and rectify poor learning outcomes. One participant speaks of how

> *[t]okenism and a huge lack of respect for the efforts and accomplishments of community schools by some senior administration and board members is a*

*frustration. There appears to be a huge education piece that senior administrators and board members must experience in order to truly appreciate and support CS practices and policie*s.

Participants speak of the importance of staff to "*buy into*" the philosophy of community education, and because they feel this hasn't been done, "*our school is failing in its leadership towards a community driven school.*" Some see "*other school staff and communities struggle with administrators who talk the talk and don't walk the walk, and see the tremendous negative impact this has on everyone involved.*" Others are frustrated with a "*lack of understanding amongst our staff as to how the whole Community School thing is supposed to work*". They feel, "*at times there is a blissful ignorance or willing neglect of many of the issues and challenges having a community school.*" Words such as "failing", "negative impact", "blissful ignorance" and "willing neglect" paint a picture of staff who are losing motivation, as they come to terms with their school's inability to put community school philosophy into practice.

As a visual representation of the motivation crisis that is occurring, in addition to the comments seen above, when we superimpose perceived levels of stakeholder influence at the school over perceived stakeholder's support of the school, we see a remarkable similarity in the distributions, as seen in Figure 5.1. This leads me to argue that levels of support that staff, family, and community exhibit are in direct relation to the amount of influence they feel they have. Wheatly (2002) has said, "there is no power greater than a community discovering what it cares about" (cited in BCOH: 23). *Conversely, no community is so powerless as that which is being told what it cares about.*

Figure 5.1 – Levels of Influence and Support by Stakeholders.
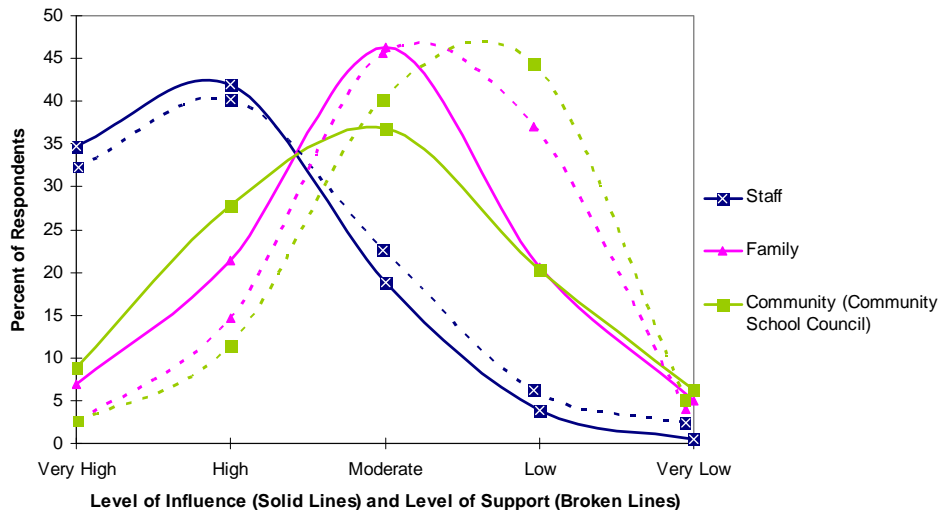
Because of what is felt as a lack of legitimate collective leadership by all stakeholders, individuals who feel strongly about the positive potential of community schooling are losing hope and even becoming cynical. "*I am very disillusioned with the philosophy and the actual working model of a community school. Politics enters into the 'Community School" model*." The following quotes exemplify cynicism in David Hilfiker (1996) sense of the word. That is, "numbness and cynicism, I suspect, are more often the products of frustrated compassion than of evil intentions" (p. 178). "*You must find a way to engage teachers with this stuff. Right now it is a burden and a poorly explained one. Unless teachers become bitten by the value of this stuff, it is doomed to fail!*"; "*We weren't psychologically and philosophically prepared enough to begin this in the first place. People call it "community school", play basketball at night and call it a done deal. I'm pretty sure it's something deeper and more profound than that*." From these responses we can sense these participants' desire to engage with families and community in a meaningful way. Their personal or collective inability to do so has instead become a bitter pill to swallow.

5.3.4 Summary

Crises in community education, understood in the way that Habermas applies the term, do not result from a lack of good intentions or diligence on the part of policy makers, school staff and administrators, or the families and community in general. Instead, as a result of both functional and communicative rationality informing Community School processes, the original democratic intent of these processes is somewhat overrun (or colonized) by the bureaucratic need to homogenize the policies for implementation. This need to create a policy for such diverse locations serving diverse peoples leads to a policy which is flexible, but for all intents and purposes, ambiguous. The subsequent interpretation of these ambiguous policies at the local level may range from a continuation of previous methods of interaction with family and community, to a sea-shift in thinking and practice. These wide variations in interpretation and implementation lead to several crises of

legitimation and motivation.   Legitimation crises are evident in calls for more "real" or influential forms of participation from staff and families in hiring and budgeting practices, for more equitable power sharing between division and schools, and for a more clear connection between policy and practice. Motivation crises are evident in frustration by staff members at what they feel is an increased work load, not enough meaningful support from family and community, and the apparent "tokenism" of Community School policy.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

[T]he road from public debate in which strategic actors compete in a market place of ideas to public debate in which discursive actors democratically work through their differences is a long one. Its length, however, is a poor argument for not setting out on the journey.   Chambers, 1995.

In answer to my research question, "What does inclusion look like in Saskatchewan Community Schools?", given the features of inclusion I laid out in the literature review, it is clear that Community Schools are not yet fully engaged in inclusive processes. Findings from the factor analysis provide evidence of the prevalence of 'roles' that staff, community, and family have typically played in the past. These roles have been clearly defined, in terms of the levels of authority and power that are accorded to each. It appears that these roles are still present, if not formally, then informally in the perceptions of the school staff. It is these very roles that Community Schooling and SchoolPLUS principles have been established to break down. These entrenched roles represent an institutionalization of roles of power and authority, despite the contrary intentions of the policy. They also represent a lack of social capital development in community school communities, where an increase in social capital would be linked to an increase in community members' influence at the school and community level, which in this case, has not happened. In terms of the other features of functional rationality, the increased programs and curriculum offered in Community Schools are evidence of increased means of material production, and hiring of extra personnel to ensure these programs are run effectively, along with the increased demand on teachers to help with these programs, is evidence of an increased division of labour. Together, these three characteristics of functional rationalization are clearly evident in Community Schools in Saskatchewan.

In terms of communicative rationalization, personal identities in some cases mesh with a collective identity as a learning community, leading to rewarding and effective learning experiences for all stakeholders. Many staff, however, have not developed a sense of themselves as part of a community school, leading to resentment over what they

feel are increased expectations, and confusion about the goals and methods community school use to build learning communities for everyone. Importantly, the development of personal and collective identities in a learning community is a necessary precursor to developing a culture of inclusion, which in many cases has not happened. Finally, responses related to the "special" types of people required to work at community schools, suggests distance between "regular" and Community Schools, despite SchoolPLUS aims to overcome this gap.

Given my discussion above, I argue that there does not exist, in many of these schools, an ideal speech situation, in the sense outlined by Habermas. That is, while all stakeholders have the ability to communicate, and are formally recognized as important contributors to the dialogue surrounding community schooling, there exists a level of coercion (whether implicit or explicit, or real or imagined) in many schools that prohibits any fulfillment of communicative action. Also, the fact that personal, school, and stakeholder characteristics mediate inclusive processes in a myriad of ways is an indication that communicative action is not the basis for interaction in many of these schools. If communicative action were taking place, all stakeholders would know how inclusion was being defined, at least at the local level, and would be able to recognize it in similar fashion. Communicative action would also lead to the acknowledgement and discussion of personal, geographical, and political factors influencing perceptions of community schooling, finding commonalities across differences, or at least reaching mutual understanding, rather than the disparate views and reactions to community schooling and inclusive processes that that is painted by the data above.

Disparate views on the meaning and purpose of community schooling, which prevent inclusive processes from taking place, are partly a consequence of the ways in which functional rationalization, particularly the institutionalization of roles of power and authority and exchange relationships, contributes to the dissolution or prevention of an ideal speech situation. Specifically, it prevents the discursive context from being non-coercive in nature. Thus, there are often issues of power at play, which lead to stakeholders' inability to freely talk about their needs and wants. In short, these seemingly opposing trends and ideals engender confusion and distrust as the source of mandated activities and the nature of intended outcomes are increasingly unclear.   At

times, staff, and sometimes family and community members, feel as if inclusion-focused policy is simply tokenism.

A comedian once said that as important as it is to listen to your spouse, it is even more important to *appear* to be listening[20]. While this may (possibly) be a short term solution to prevent nagging in an intimate relationship, it is poor advice for those who create and implement policy. Tokenism, in relationships or public policy, is defined as "the policy of making only a perfunctory effort or symbolic gesture toward the accomplishment of a goal"[21], and speaks to the desperate need many schools feel to appear to be working. The need to appear to be "successful" or "inclusive" is akin to what Ball (2001) speaks of as "'performativity". Performativity, for Ball, is essentially the "management of performance" (p.147). This performance is a "fabrication" that is produced in efforts to appear accountable (148); accountability being a fundamental principle of neo-liberal reform in education. What staff in the CSDC survey referred to as "not walking the walk", "need to buy in", "disharmonius", "blissful ignorance or willing neglect", and "artificial harmony" are all symptomatic of this alienating tendency. The important difference between appearing to listen in a marriage and appearing to listen in education policy, is that when policies are at stake, issues of power are at the forefront. To appear to be listening is to fail to acknowledge the profound power shift that must take place at all levels before true inclusion can be undertaken.

Examples of legitimation and motivation crises were provided earlier to illuminate the colonizing and crisis-producing nature of contemporary community education policy given the convergence of two opposing rationalities and the ensuing colonization in the everyday life and administration of the schools. Decision makers and local stakeholders are not only subject to competing rationalities but also struggle to reconcile these with personal and often changing beliefs. Torres (2004: 168) suggests that, "In this regard there will always be a gap between the publicly stated goals and targets of state policies and the actual outcomes, as well as there will be a practical and analytical difference between rationalities…and social action". This then is the paradox.

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[20] I would reference this quote if I could, but I do not know the comedian's name.
[21] tokenism. (n.d.). *The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition.* Retrieved February 13, 2007, from Dictionary.com website: http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/tokenism

Community schooling policy and practice exhibit inherently contradictory values and goals, leading to the suppression of the emancipatory potential of the policy.

6.1 Reverse Colonization and Possibilities for Inclusion

We are now left wondering, what can we do to change? What can we do to promote inclusive processes? While the predominant process of colonization entails system logic informing lifeworld processes, it would be remiss not to acknowledge the ways in which reverse colonization occurs, however minimal. Arato and Cohen (1988), along with Habermas, recognize the dialectic of modern capitalist welfare states in the sense that at all times, and to differing extents, there are oppressive and emancipatory forces at work. Arato and Cohen speak of three antinomes or struggles involved with using Habermas to understand institutions of civil society as part of the lifeworld. These antinomies exist between fundamentalism and self-limitation, between winning change and struggling to create a new identity to fit the new context, and between grassroots authenticity and bureaucratic efficiency (1988: 211). This last antinomy is evident in the fact that community education and its radically emancipatory philosophy can be seen informing educational policy at the system level.   That it informs policy at all is itself an aspect of reverse-colonization, or of lifeworld processes informing system agendas (i.e., grassroots authenticity). This philosophy has, however, been co-opted and utilized (however unintentionally) by policy makers as a means to increase bureaucratic efficiency, providing an empirical example of the ongoing dialectic between system and lifeworld logics. School reform, then, is not necessarily bound to end in confusion and ambivalence. It does only because the current educational system is set up in such a way as to favor certain types of reforms and not others. This will be discussed below.

Sarason (1990, 1995) has a lot to say about the potential of various school reforms, particularly "[calling] into question the assumption that opening up the decision making process will necessarily improve educational outcomes…changing such relationships is a necessary but not sufficient basis for desirable outcomes" (1990: 52). Sarason believes in two major principles regarding school reform. The first, the political principle, states that when decisions are made affecting you or your possessions, you should have a role, a voice, in the process of decision making (1990: 61). The second,

the principle of participation, refers to when people feel a sense of control or influence regarding matters related to them, they will be more committed and take more responsibility (1990: 61).

While he does not critique the intentions or the efforts of current school reform, and I concur, he does critique the nature of the school reform, arguing that to do anything but completely alter the governance structure is merely bandaging the problem, or, in some cases, making it worse.   He later observes that current efforts at "parental involvement [as school reform] looks like "shadow boxing" (Sarason, 1995: 11). Because calls for parental involvement were "not clear about the foci of such involvement, its means, forums and specific goals…embattled educators… interpreted the challenge as significant but in no basic way a threat to their customary autonomy (ibid)". To link this back to my earlier discussion, the current system is set up in such a way as to minimally disturb the power relations that currently exist at higher levels of decision making.   While Community School Councils may (somewhat) alter power relations at the local level, they were deliberately created to do nothing to alter relations at higher levels of authority.

To be fair, Sarason believes that the political principle is resisted at all levels in an education system: between national policy makers and provincial policy makers, between provincial policy makers and divisions, between divisions and school administrators, between school administrators and teachers/staff, and between teachers/staff and family/community. But it is with the school boards that Sarason takes specific aim, arguing that school boards are fundamentally unable to make decisions for schools, because of their lack of knowledge and experience in these institutions. School boards should, according to Sarason be "abolished". The irony of community school councils (which replaced traditional school boards) is that, while they may potentially be constituted of different types of people than typical school boards (though in reality the same people usually sit on the council as would sit on the board), the council does not have hiring, firing, or financial power that many school boards do. It is very likely that Sarason would find these alternatives just as stifling of the political principle as the original school boards.

As mentioned in the literature review, there are many barriers to the development of communicative action, pursuant to the formation of an ideal speech situation, in which those who would be affected by the policy could and would take part in its formation and implementation.   Of these, the most prevalent barriers to inclusive processes in Saskatchewan Community Schools include the fact that change is time consuming (but it is taking place), decisions have to be made regarding who will make the final decisions, and how they will be made, decisions have to made regarding who determines what assets and deficits individuals and groups have to contribute to policy formation and implementation, and based on what expertise, and finally, there exists in many communities a lack of existing relationships of trust and respect (all from Sarason, 1995: 66).   Many of these barriers are crumbling in Community Schools with strong leadership, especially in communities in which staff, family, and community members have taken up the challenge of communicative action, and have collectively come to a vision for their school and community, breaking down hierarchies and raising up the needs of students and their families. By prioritizing the networks and relationships that so often translate from social capital into other, economic and material forms, community schools in these communities are flourishing. These schools continue to be the exception, but serve as examples of good practice for all potential learning communities.

6.2 Political, Practical, and Theoretical Implications

After providing a broad definition of social inclusion, I have argued that community education institutions, particularly Community Schools, are sites for the mediation of inclusive processes by communitarian and neo-liberal ideals. These opposing ideals often manifest themselves in the same inclusive processes leading to confusion between and among Community School stakeholders regarding what exactly inclusion is, what it should look like, and how to effectively implement inclusive policies. At the political level, part of this ambiguity is intended and necessary in order to be relevant to the many diverse institutions community schooling will be implemented in. Part of it may also be that to be explicit about the need to implement Sarason's political principle at the school level (power sharing at its most explicit), would likely force policy makers to confront their own unequal power differential as it applies to those they serve.

Practical implications for the schools centre on the need to educate and ensure that Community School staff and administrators are knowledgeable of, and more importantly *in favor of*, the principles that underlie SchoolPLUS. In addition, moving staff when they want to stay and are welcome, or allowing staff to remain when they and the community do not feel they have the same interests, is anathema to community building and to the philosophy of community education.

In terms of theory, Habermas's theory of the rationalization of society provides an excellent framework with which to examine Community School discourses as sites for diverging interests. On one hand, discourses surrounding community schooling represent attempts by individuals and communities to "uncouple" from the current hegemonic educational system by participating in more local and communicatively-oriented production and reproduction of culture, identity, and sociality (critical pedagogy). On the other hand, they are also a means by which the state attempts to counter a perceived loss of social solidarity and normlessness (loss of social capital) by developing increasingly paternalistic and functionally rationalized mechanisms to regulate learning outcomes.

Having argued that community education discourses represent the convergence of Habermas's communicative and functional rationalities, I conclude that legitimation and motivation crises in Saskatchewan Community Schools reflect (and perhaps perpetuate) the ongoing colonization of lifeworld educational processes by system logic (ie. functional rationality). While this colonizing process is met with individual and collective forms of resistance, they remain relatively ineffective to date.

Future research in this area must entail rigorous and empirical study of the mechanisms by which communicative and functional rationality dually inform and are alternatingly successful in colonizing lifeworld and system processes. In community education terms, researchers must pay close attention to the ways in which lifeworld and system processes inform actions of administrators, practitioners and community members, including family and students. Specifically, this will require an examination at the macro-level of the social, political, cultural and economic context of schools, and at the micro-level, the perceptions of and actions taken by people within these institutions. Focus should be placed on the ways in which individuals and groups utilize schools as

institutions of civil society to collaboratively and successfully develop a political will around topics of interest to the learning community as a whole.

6.3 In Closing

What are the implications of this discussion of inclusive processes and the extent to which they are mediated by communitarian and neo-liberal ideals? I must cautiously agree with Golby (1997: 125) who states, "schools are ill-equipped in conditions of modernity to fulfill communitarian aims", and later "there can be no communitarian education without some drastic rethinking of the aims of education and some considerable and barely conceivable restructuring of the schooling system". Given that inclusive processes are so deeply ingrained in such fundamentally different ideologies, change is likely be slow and difficult.   In fact, as Sarason said "…you must never expect that a process derived from the political principle will be other than time-consuming, on the surface inefficient, its outcomes often unpredictable, and the timing and art of compromise should always be in the wings, clearly distinguishable from unprincipled caving in…[and it may be] a process for which you, whatever your assets of knowledge and experience, may be temperamentally unsuited" (1995:80).

More optimistically however, Nixon (2002: 419) argues that "from a practical point of view, it is worth reminding ourselves, as Young (2000:16) does, that 'uncertainty shadows democracy' and that struggles by oppressed and disadvantaged groups under conditions of inequality towards greater justice and deliberative democracy must begin somewhere". Nixon points to signs of movement towards increasingly democratic and egalitarian processes that can be seen in Scotland's New Community Schools. These signs of movement include the development of strong local government, structures in place for local democratic participation, and professional reorientation towards community-based change; all three movements can be seen to differing extents in Saskatchewan Community Schools. Chambers (1995: 177) reminds us that "[t]he road from public debate in which strategic actors compete in a market place of ideas to public debate in which discursive actors democratically work through their differences is a long one. Its length, however, is a poor argument for not setting out on the journey".

Findings from this study indicate that in many cases, community school staff are ready and willing to act on the principles of community schooling, and that, in some cases, these schools are flourishing. Understanding the nature of inclusive processes is an important contribution to the ongoing dialogue surrounding community schooling and democratic education in general. While it is important to acknowledge that inclusive processes are multidimensional and flexible, and are impacted in a myriad of ways by political and administrative processes, it would, however, be remiss not to ask about the ways in which these processes take place, under what conditions, and to what extent individuals and groups—teachers and otherwise—have on education policy.

Having now distinguished the nature of inclusive processes in community schools, and the ways in which political, staff and school characteristics mediate these processes, the authors and other researchers can begin to extend these findings to an analysis of the mechanisms that allow considerable interpretation of inclusive policies to take place. Future research holds promise for furthering inclusive processes, once the dimensions of, and barriers to, these processes are more fully understood.

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APPENDIX A

STAFF DEMOGRAPHICS (N=920)
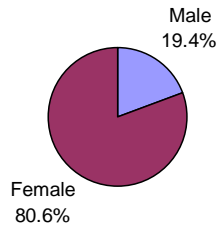
Figure A.1 - Sex of Respondents

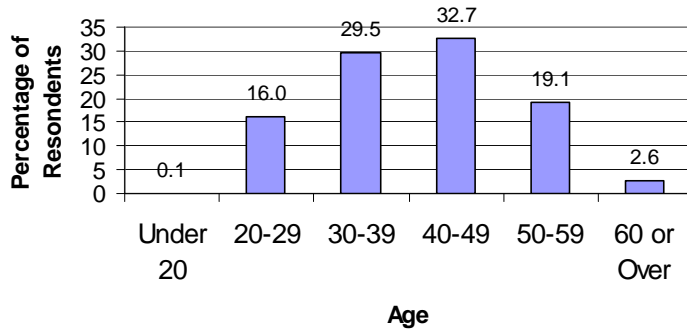**Figure A.2 - Age of Respondents**

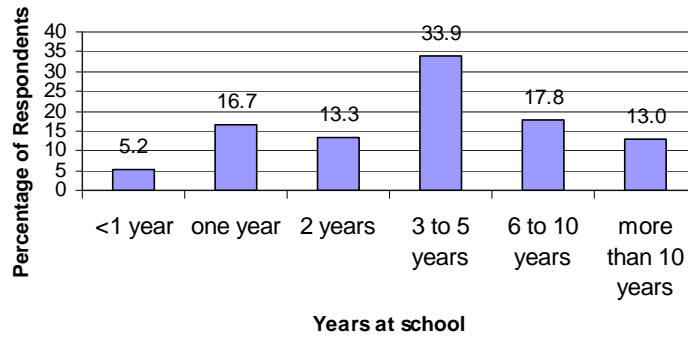**Figure A.3 - Years Staff Respondents Have Been At Present School**
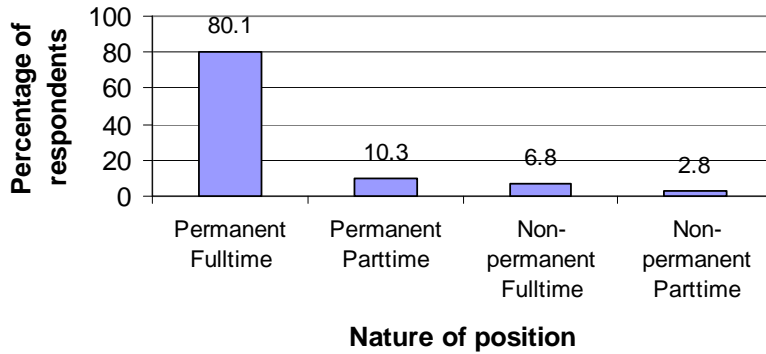
Figure A.4 - Nature of Respondents' Positions

Figure A.5 – Title of Respondents' Positions

Title of Position	Percentage of Respondents
Teacher	48.6
Teaching Assistant	12.2
Teaching Associate	7.0
Teacher's Aide	4.5
Caretaker/Maintenance Worker	3.7
Administrative Assistant	3.2
Principal	2.9
Community School Coordinator	2.7
Librarian/Library Technician	1.6
Nutrition Coordinator	1.4
Counselor	1.4
Vice-Principal	1.0
Elder/Cultural Advisor	0.2
Other	9.6
Total	**100**

Figure A.6 - Years Teaching by School Level

Distribution of teachers by number of years they have been teaching	Elementary Level	Middle Level	Secondary Level
0 to 4 years	18%	18%	7%
5 to 9 years	24%	37%	13%
10 to 14 years	14%	10%	20%
over 14 years	38%	32%	53%

Figure A.7 – Grade Taught by Respondents

Bar chart "Percentage of respondents" vs "Grades taught":
- Pre-Kindergarten to Grade 3: 22.6
- K to Grade 6: 10.4
- K to 8: 2.2
- K to 9: 5.5
- Grades 3/4/5 to 12: 4.3
- Grades 4 to 6: 12.1
- Grades 4 to 9: 2.7
- Grades 7 to 9: 6.4
- Grades 7 to 12: 7.0
- Grades 9 to 12: 1.7
- Grades 10 to 12: 4.9
- All Grades: 9.8
- Other/Not Applicable: 10.4
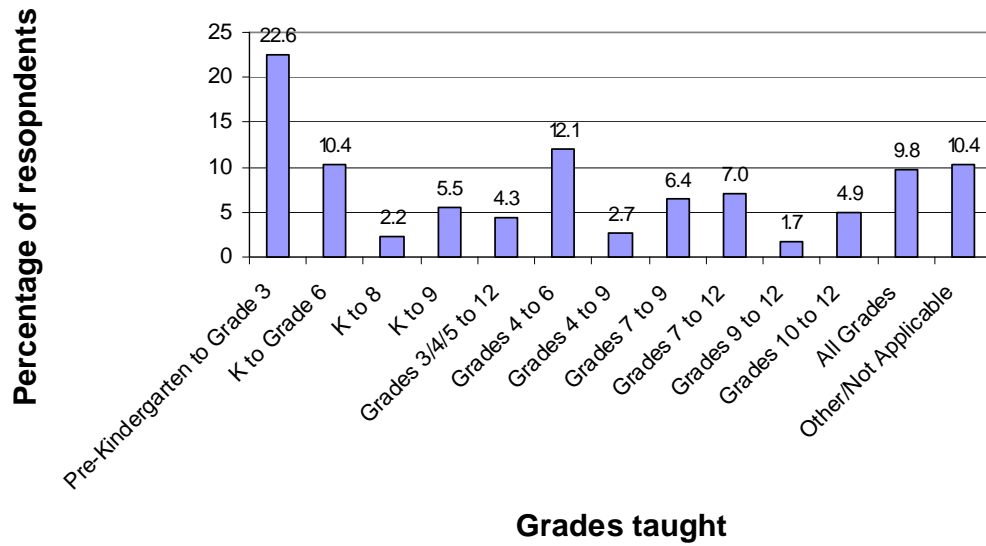
Figure A.8- Subjects Taught by Respondents

Bar chart "Percentage of Respondents" vs "Subjects taught":
- Most Subjects: 38.6
- Arts: 1.4
- English/Language Arts: 2.2
- English/Math: 5.4
- English/Math/Science: 3.3
- English/Math/Physical Education: 1.6
- English/Math/Art: 1.8
- Other: 32.1
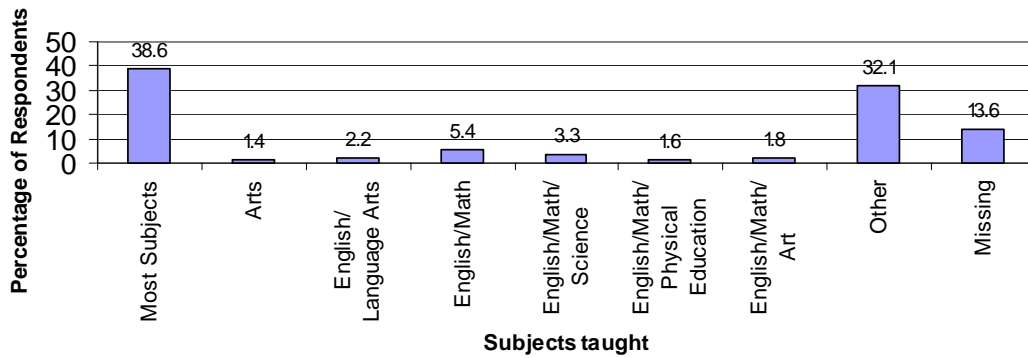- Missing: 13.6

Figure A.9 - Ethnic Heritage of Respondents
* Figures are based on those who provided a response (note that 13.1% of staff did not respond to this question).
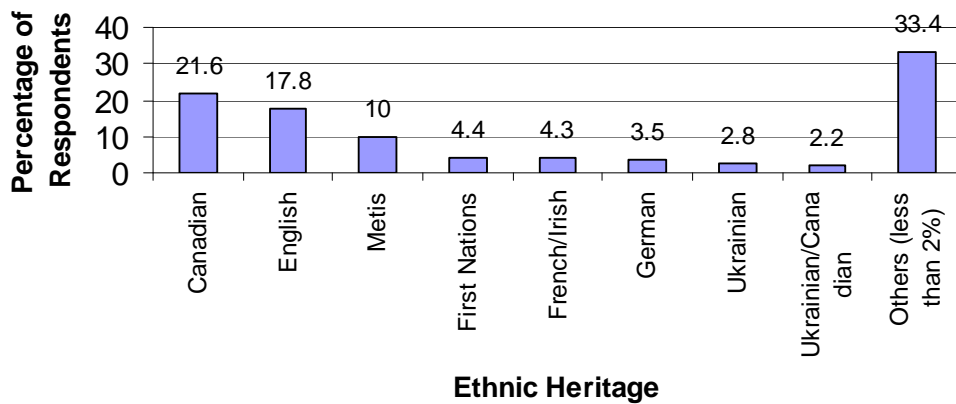

Bar chart "Percentage of Respondents" vs "Ethnic Heritage":
- Canadian: 21.6
- English: 17.8
- Metis: 10
- First Nations: 4.4
- French/Irish: 4.3
- German: 3.5
- Ukrainian: 2.8
- Ukrainian/Canadian: 2.2
- Others (less than 2%): 33.4

Figure A.10 – Proportion of Staff Who Work with Split or Multigrade Classrooms
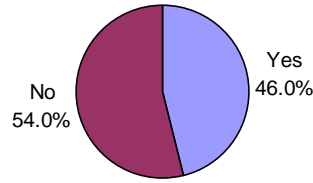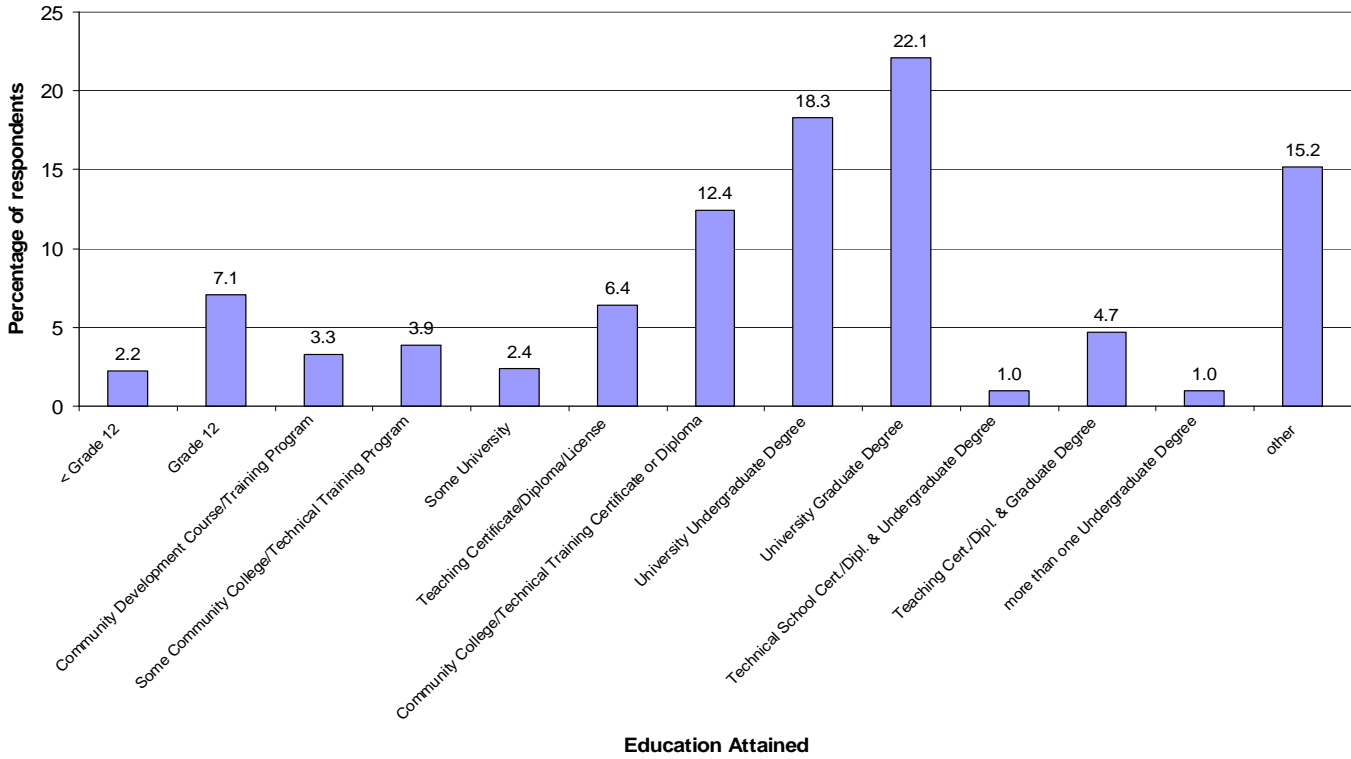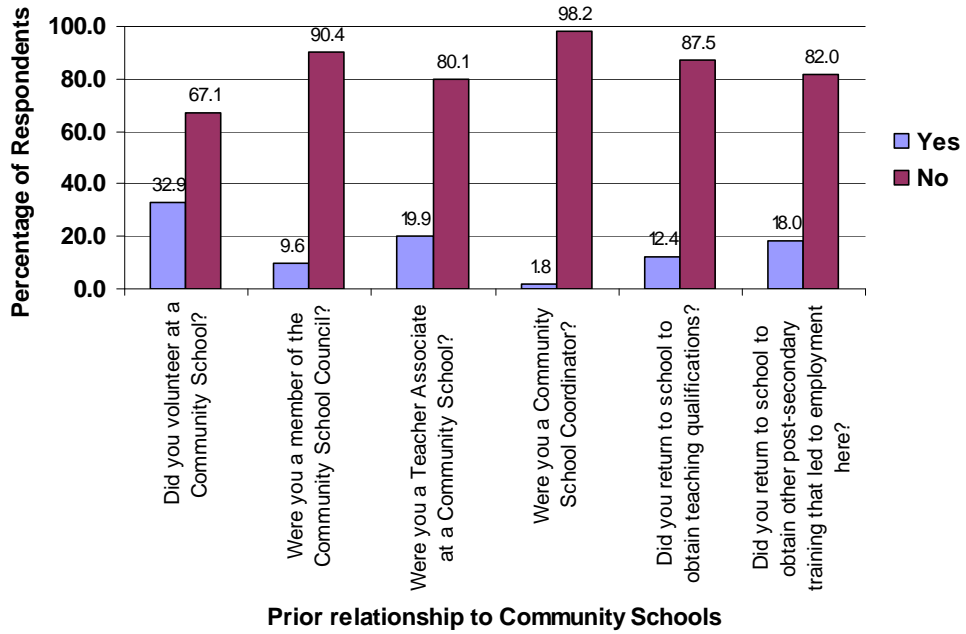

Figure A.11 - Educational Attainment of Respondents

Figure A.12 – Respondents' Prior Relationship to Community Schools

APPENDIX B

LEGEND OF FACTORS

COMMInternal
Community Members have the opportunity to…

be involved in establishing school learning resource policies
monitor students' outcomes
be involved in establishing school discipline policies
monitor school plans/priorities
discuss student performance/opportunity to learn
be involved in planning for improvement
be involved in School PLUS facilitation team discussions

COMMExternal
Community Members…

have the opportunity to discuss/identify community areas of need
have the opportunity to discuss/identify community assets and strengths
use the community support services
engage in personal/professional learning activities at the school
participate in visioning/goal-setting processes
have the opportunity to discuss/develop school policy

COMMX-Curr
Community Members…

assist with extra-curricular activities
take leadership roles in extra-curricular activities
are interested in/attend extra-curricular activities
help organize school events

COMMResources
Community Members…

have input into selection of school staff
have input into formulating/allocating school budgets

FAMInternal/External
Families/caregivers have the opportunity to…

discuss/identify community assets/strengths
monitor school plans/priorities
be involved in planning for improvement
discuss/identify community areas of need
Families/Caregivers participate in visioning/goal-setting process

be involved in establishing school discipline policies
discuss/develop school policy
be involved in establishing school learning resource policies
be involved in School PLUS facilitation team discussions
monitor students' outcomes
Families/Caregivers engage in personal/professional learning activities at the school
Families/caregivers use the community support services
discuss student performance/opportunity to learn

FAMX-Curr
Family/Caregivers…
assist with extracurricular activities
take leadership roles in extracurricular activities
interested in/attend extracurricular activities
help organize school events

FAMResource
Families/caregivers…
have input into the selection of school staff
have input into formulating/allocating school budgets

APPENDIX C

CODING OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Location – Rural or Urban NB: For the purposes of this paper, rural locations are defined as having <5000 residents.

Sex – Male or Female

PTFT – Part-Time or Full-Time

Position – Teaching staff or Other staff. Other staff include Principals and Vice-Principals, maintenance and support staff, Community School Coordinators, human service professionals, and librarians. NB: Staff that identified as half-time vice-principals and half-time teachers were coded as 'non-teaching staff' since they would have an administrator's perspective that a full-time teacher could not.

Ethnicity – Aboriginal or Non-Aboriginal. NB: Aboriginal includes any person who self-identified as being of First Nations descent, whether Inuit, Aboriginal, or Métis.