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School Culture:

Deciphering Some Basic Cultural Assumptions

Operating in a School in Zimbabwe

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School in Zimbabwe

Eric Mufambisi

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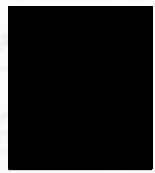
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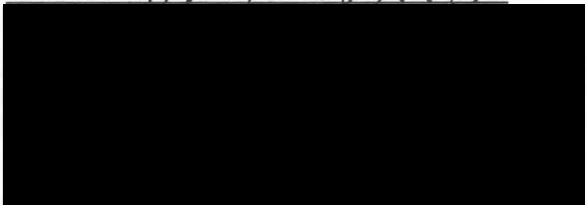
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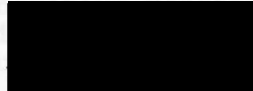
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ABSTRACT

Culture, defined as basic assumptions, undergirds values and governs behaviour. This study deciphered some basic assumptions operating in a school in Zimbabwe using Schein's method of observation, interviews and "joint exploration" with insiders. The culture deciphered could be described as follows.

School members consider their main task to be to ensure that students pass the external examinations. The maintenance of the internal environment of the school is not considered to be important. Teachers feel vulnerable in their relationship with the school administration and Ministry of Education officials.

They believe that decisions ought to be made by the school administration and that the standards of the founding headmaster ought to be the measure of the school's performance. Time is regarded as inexhaustible, and space is used on the basis of gender and seniority.

Prefects are considered important but have lost effectiveness and status. Teachers who act professionally are respected. Student behavior has deteriorated and assertiveness by the administration is considered important in ensuring discipline. The criteria for admission of students is not uniform but teachers value admission on the basis of academic performance.

Important activities include practical subjects (e.g., woodwork and building) and sports (especially soccer), but practical subjects have become gender specific. Sports facilities are not sufficient, making sports time free time for most teachers and students.

Teachers feel unsupported by the administration in matters of discipline; and corporal punishment is accepted as a method of discipline. Male teachers and students have minimal interactions with female teachers and students respectively.

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1982; Johnson, 1987; Deal, 1985) have made inferences from studies of the culture of corporate organizations (Schein, 1985, 1991; Guchi, 1982). There are very few empirical studies of the culture of schools. Most of the studies were conducted in Europe (Hammersley and Woods, 1984, and Docking, 1987, among others) and the United States (Rossman et al., 1988; Lightfoot, 1983; Goodlad, 1984;

Perrone, 1985) and Canada (Martin, 1984). A search through Novanet, ERIC, So

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

research on school culture has been conducted in the developing world. However, Introduction work has been done by

Revis This chapter gives the background to the study. An analysis of the rationale for the study of school culture is attempted and the research problems for this study are stated. Also, the delimitations of the study and the organization of the thesis is given.

made. The present research seeks to redress this situation, albeit in a modest

Background of the Study

Zimbabwe The purpose of this study was to investigate and decipher the culture of a school in Zimbabwe. Although much research has been conducted to decipher the culture of corporate organizations in the last decade, there has not been much research on schools. The content of the literature that does exist on school culture is largely theoretical. Many scholarly writings on the importance of culture in the schools (Sarason, 1982; Johnson, 1987; Deal, 1985) have made inferences from studies of the culture of corporate organizations (Schein, 1985, 1991; Ouchi, 1982). There are very few empirical studies of the culture of schools. Most of the studies were conducted in Europe (Hammersley and Woods, 1984, and Docking, 1987, among others) and the United States (Rossman et al., 1988; Lightfoot, 1983; Goodlad, 1984;

language, and habits. What is visible at this level is not of

Perrone, 1985) and Canada (Martin, 1984). A search through Novanet, ERIC, Sociofile and Abstracts indicates that little research on school culture has been conducted in the developing world. However, innovative work has been done by Reviere (1993) in the Caribbean and Orora (1988) in Kenya. In Zimbabwe, Zindi (1994) studied the incidence of bullying in some boarding schools. Therefore, because of the dearth of studies from the developing world, very little by way of cross cultural comparisons and cross cultural generalizations can be made. The present research seeks to redress this situation, albeit in a modest way. This study focused on one school in Zimbabwe and attempted to unearth the basic assumptions that underpin the values, beliefs, norms, rituals, ceremonies, language and the perception of the members of the school, i.e., the staff and the pupils. These basic assumptions developed over time and they constitute the basis on which organizational problems have been dealt with and have become generally accepted. These basic assumptions give meaning and consistency to the lives of the members of the organization.

Operational Definition of Culture

The definition of organizational culture for the purpose of this study is Schein's three tier construct of culture (Schein, 1985). The first level is the visible level of artifacts, i.e., the technology, the architecture, the language, and habits. What is visible at this level is not of

importance on its own in determining organizational culture but is important in that it is the manifestation of the operations of the deeply embedded assumptions. The second level, which is less visible than the artifacts, is values. Values are articulated ideals or normative statements of why people behave the way they do. They exist at the conscious level and, because they are not shared by most of the organization's members, they may be debated and tested by the organization's members. As they are proved right, they sink into the subconscious in a process known as "cognitive transformation" (Schein, 1992, p. 19) and become assumptions. The third level is assumptions. The potency of assumptions is that they determine the operative values and guide the construction of the artifacts.

It is these assumptions that Schein refers to as culture.

Assumptions are the differences between schools in terms of invented, discovered or developed by a given group and as it learns to cope with its problems and are taught to new members of the group as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems (Schein, 1991, p.12).

Statement of the Problem

Culture studies in educational organizations have tended to concentrate on the superficial manifestations of culture e.g., rites, ceremonies and behavior of organizational members, and not the deep-seated cultural assumptions that direct them. Only Orora (1988) and Reviere (1993) have

studied the cultural assumptions in a school using Schein's definition of culture and his methodology.

The problem for this study was firstly, to decipher the cultural assumptions operating in a school in Zimbabwe using Schein's method of culture analysis. Secondly, to examine how these assumptions directed the behavior of the school members and thirdly, to examine how the cultural assumptions are related to the values that the school members hold and the artifacts in existence in the school.

Dombo High School¹ is widely regarded by the community in which it is located as a successful school which gets consistently good examination results. This is in spite of the fact that the school is located in a high density residential area and draws its pupils mainly from a deprived social environment.

In Zimbabwe the differences between schools in terms of variables like performance, the behavior of students, and popularity with parents, is widely recognized but there has not been any attempt to locate some of the causes for these differences. This study sought to provide information on the assumptions that are operating in one school in order to understand some of the internal characteristics of a school that is viewed as successful. It also sought to provide a reference point around which other comparative studies may be

¹The real names of the school and the school members were changed to protect the identity of the subjects.

made in the future. This study used Schein's definition of culture and his method of cultural analysis. Schein's concept of culture, i.e., the basic assumptions, integrates various views about organizational culture as will be seen in the next chapter.

Delimitations of the Study

The research is limited to one school only and so the findings can only be applied to other organizations that bear a close similarity to the present school. On this point Lincoln and Guba (quoted in Firestone, 1993), say that

the burden of proof for transferability lies less with the investigator than with the reader. The investigator's responsibility ends with providing sufficient descriptive data to make such similar judgements possible (p. 18).

Only those basic assumptions that are shared by most of the school members are considered in this research. There was no attempt to investigate the existence of subcultures because of the limitations of time for the research. But this is not to say that subcultures do not exist in the school. Throughout the study, the following were assumed by the researcher:

a) that Dombo High School has a school culture which can be described in terms of basic assumptions and that these basic assumptions can be categorized using Schein's framework as shown in Table 3.

b) that this school culture can be deciphered using Schein's method of joint exploration within the ten-step mode, which is described in chapter 3, and that a cultural paradigm for the school can be constructed.

c) that this cultural paradigm provides an explanation for the behavior of the school members.

Rationale for Studying School Culture

The rationale given in much of the literature for the study of the culture of schools is the need to improve our understanding of schools; to improve the management and effectiveness of schools; and, in some cases, the need to change the direction in which schools are going.

Improving the Management of Schools

Understanding the School

One of the reasons why Goodlad (1984) embarked on a study of a number of schools in the United States of America was to seek improvement of the schools through an understanding of their operations. Lightfoot (1983) also studied selected high schools in the United States so that she could describe what was happening in the school, not only to the community, but to the school members themselves. It is logical for the stakeholders, that is, the community, the parents, the government and indeed the teachers and students to know what goes on in schools. It is a question of accountability. The school is an important social institution

in which the children spend a large portion of their lives and therefore the stakeholders have a right to know what goes on in them.

These significant publics need to know what values and norms are operating in schools and the distinctive character, or ethos, of each of them. They need to know what is taught, how it is taught, how the school responds to external pressure and how the school is organized internally. Understanding the culture of the school is important if informed decisions are to be made. More importantly, a knowledge of the school is important because it will allow parents to make informed decisions about schools.

Improving the Management of Schools

The emphasis in the literature is on the efficacy of school leaders in molding efficient institutions. Bolman and Deal (1994), Deal (1984) and Sergiovanni (1984) have emphasized the importance of leaders in the management of culture. They hold that for schools to be efficient, their cultures must be conducive to good educational performance. According to this utilitarian philosophy, studying the culture of the school is, therefore, an important step towards improving it.

Principals who are aware of the "cultural linkages" in their schools can use them to good effect to improve their operation and efficiency (Firestone and Wilson, 1985; Reitzug

and Reeves, 1992). Thus, a knowledge of the role that rites and rituals play, and the importance of the cultural communication in the school and the forms that it takes; a knowledge of the important role of ceremonies, e.g., teachers' meetings, assemblies, and awards will make the administration of the school more efficient by ensuring that the organization's members have a unity of purpose and that they share the same vision for the school.

Improving Effectiveness of Schools

The development of cultural studies in education was seen as an attempt to improve the effectiveness of schools and this was in line with the ideals of the effectiveness movement. According to Farrar, Neufeld, and Miles (1983) (quoted in Deal, 1985), the effectiveness movement involved

process reforms that strive to capture the imagination of school faculties, to revitalize those that are demoralized and to generate enthusiasm for joint work on common goals (p. 11).

In order to do this, the school must have a complete mastery of its culture. Effective schools have strong cultures and, by inference, if one wants to make a school effective, one has to create in the school a strong culture. The internal process and the social environments of the schools account for a significant portion of the variation in student achievement from school to school. This is a

testimonial for the importance of school culture (Beare, Caldwell and Millikan, 1989).

has been introduced and a rationale for the study of school culture provided. The

research Improving the Management of Change in Schools Chapter 2

revis Sarason (1982), Baker (1980), Rossman et al. (1988), Baldrige and Deal (1975), and Larson (1992) have studied the problem of change in many institutions, including schools. Their findings suggest that it is imperative that the culture of the institution be known to manage change. Sarason speaks to the futility of any attempt to change without due regard to the culture of the organization. Innovations to the curriculum are resisted and may die a natural death largely because the necessary cultural antecedents to change have not been studied and created.

At times it may be necessary to change the culture of the organization when the original one has become dysfunctional. Baker (1980) has a strategy for doing this. He advises leaders to identify the kind of culture needed for their organizations and compare it with the prevailing culture. Any mismatches would be eliminated by retraining or by changes in personnel (Schein, 1985). Mismatches can also be eliminated by leaders embedding new values into the new members coming into the organization.

If culture has so much influence on the process of change it therefore needs to be understood.

Organization of the Study

To this point the problem has been introduced and a rationale for the study of school culture provided. The research questions for study have been posed. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on culture in general and organizational culture in particular, and the application of these concepts to the field of education. Particular attention is paid to both theoretical and empirical contributions to the study of school culture. Chapter 3 describes the methodology for the study. It also includes a critical review of the methodology used in the study of organizational culture. The research procedures are also outlined.

Chapter 4 provides background information on the school, including the organizational context of education in Zimbabwe and historical and statistical data on the school. Chapter 5 deals with the research findings. The values and the assumptions that are operative at Dombo High School are discussed and evidence in support of these assumptions is introduced. Chapter 6 provides a synopsis and conclusion. The cultural paradigm of the school is described and the implications of the basic findings are considered. Also provided is a critical examination of Schein's conception of culture and his methodology.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on the concept of culture and how the concept has been used in the study of organisations. A brief survey will be made of how the concept originated and developed and how the concept of organizational culture is different from the concept of organizational climate with which it has sometimes been linked. Different views regarding the content of organizational culture will be examined and some of the characteristics of organizational culture will be briefly examined. Particular attention will be paid to the views of Edgar Schein and their relationship to other views expressed in the literature.

The application of the concept to educational institutions will also be considered with special emphasis given to its perceived usefulness to the study of school administration and curriculum. Empirical applications of the concept to educational institutions are also reviewed.

The Concept of Culture

The concept of culture is ambiguous. This is borne out by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) who listed more than 250 definitions. The anthropologist Edward B. Taylor is credited

with having introduced the term into the English language in 1871 (White, 1959; Sackman, 1991), but the concept can be traced at least as far back as John Locke in 1690 (Sackmann, 1991). Taylor's definition of culture was

that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Sackmann, 1991, p. 8).

This definition was not debated until the 1920's (White, 1959). It formed the operational definition used in anthropology during that period. This definition of culture also became accepted in sociology and social psychology.

In this definition of culture, emphasis is placed on the learned traditions that are socially, as opposed to biologically, transmitted (Barrett, 1984; Keesing and Keesing, 1968). Such emphasis is also evident in Kroeber's (1948) definition of culture when he defined the concept as

that which human species has and others lack...speech, knowledge, beliefs, customs, arts and technologies, ideals and rules... what we learn from other men, from our elders and the past, plus what we may add to it (p. 253).

In the same vein, Hall (1984) says that culture is a shared concept and, in effect, defines the boundary between any two groups of people and gives the groups their distinctiveness. This definition provided the focal point of anthropology and, in line with this definition, Durkheim (1895) acknowledged the potency of socialization and learning in shaping the life of man in society.

The anthropological definition of culture given above contrasts with the more humanistic definition which defines culture as all that is encompassed in the arts and intellectual life. Thus, culture is viewed as some universal concept, or construction which may be judged to be high or better by those who share it. In terms of this definition, there are some peoples who are uncultured and others who are cultured (Jaeger and Selznick, 1964). This conception of culture is not popular with anthropologists. A significant shift in the conception of culture by anthropologists occurred in the 1920's when new perspectives on culture were introduced (White, 1959). Sackmann (1991) identified three such perspectives and these perspectives reshaped the content of culture and the methodologies used to study the concept. Threading through these perspectives are the bi-polar views of culture as either adaptational or as ideational.

The Adaptational Conception of Culture

The adaptational conception of culture regards culture as evolutionary in response to the ecological setting of the social group. According to this way of looking at culture, customs and behaviors which diminish the survival chances of a society, are not likely to persist but those that enhance the survival chances are. In terms of this view, culture is, to a large extent, utilitarian or functional and all cultural

artifacts should be interpreted in terms of their functions in the society (Barrett, 1984).

The Ideational Conception of Culture

The ideational concept, on the other hand, views culture as

whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to [a group's] members. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior or emotions...it is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them (Goodenough, 1961).

According to Hall (1976), this way of looking at culture involves looking at the "non verbal, unstated realm of culture" (p.12). He goes further and says,

beneath the clearly perceived, highly explicit surface culture, there lies a whole world which when understood will ultimately radically change our view of human nature (p. 12).

According to Hall (1984), the reason for the study of culture is because culture controls behavior in "deep and persisting ways many of which are outside of awareness and therefore beyond the conscious control of the individual" (p. 12).

Not only do these two conceptions of culture permeate the perspectives detailed below, but they also have influenced the perception of organizational culture and consequently, approaches to its study.

Perspectives in the Study of Culture
Culture as a Complex Whole

According to this perspective, culture is all embracing and its content includes both the visible manifestations and the invisible ideas and meanings underlying these manifestations. In terms of this perspective, culture is a phenomenon that includes the "cognitive, emotive, behavioral and artifactual aspects of culture into one unified whole" (Sackmann, 1991, p. 18). The main proponents of this perspective are Benedict, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (Sackmann, 1991). According to this perspective, culture is defined as "patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting that are acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols" (Sackmann, 1991, p. 18). Keesing and Keesing (1968) refer to culture as the whole of man's learned and accumulated experience.

Culture as Specific Aspects

This perspective focuses on the manifestations of culture i.e., the verbal and physical behavior or practices, the artifacts or the underlying meanings. Culturally expressive activities, behaviors and material artifacts are an important component of study (Sackmann, 1991). Such activities as rituals, rites, language, stories, legends, myths and ceremonies are studied because they are manifestations of culture. Technology is studied in order to make inferences about the underlying meanings that give rise to it.

This perspective of culture has influenced the work of Trice and Beyer (1985) and is largely associated with cultural functionalism as explained earlier.

Culture as a Cognitive Construct

Focusing on ideas, beliefs, values or norms, i.e., the form of things that exist in the mind, enables the demystification of behavior and the exposure of the logic of all behavior that may seem illogical. According to this perspective culture is what humans learn and what they have in their minds and not what they do and make. Schein (1992), in defining culture as the basic shared assumptions held by members of a group, captures the essence of this construct. Culture is referred to as a set of shared understandings, or meanings, shared values, shared norms and expectations. As a result of the sharing of these attributes, people behave in predictable ways within their group and the commonality of these attributes within the group makes the group distinctive in character and separates it from the next group. As has been seen, Hall (1984) is a proponent of this construct of culture. According to him the concept of culture can be reduced to communication or how people make sense of their environment.

The Concept of Organizational Culture

Culture is regarded as an important component of the organisation. The term "organizational culture" actually became the buzz word for the 1980's. The motivation for the study of organizational culture was, and still is, the concern for the improvement of organizational performance. In the 1940s, the key to an organization's success was thought to be human relations training; in the 1950s the buzz word was management-by-objectives; to be replaced in the 1960s by decentralization. Decentralization was thought to be the solution to performance problems in corporate organizations. In the 1970s, the buzz word was corporate strategy (Salmans, 1983).

The study of organizational culture predates the 80s but it gained momentum during this period, particularly as it related to the study of corporate bodies. As early as 1951, Elliot Jaques was already talking about the culture of a factory when he said

The culture of the factory is its customary and traditional way of thinking and doing things which is shared to a greater or lesser degree by all its members and which the members must learn, and at least partially accept in order to be accepted into service in the firm... (quoted in Denison, 1990, p. 28)

This renewed interest in organizational culture was a reaction by the American corporate world to the Japanese success in business vis-à-vis the Americans. This intense reaction found expression in a number of landmark publications

that set the stage for future debate and enquiry: Theory Z (Ouchi, 1981); The Art of Japanese Management (Pascale and Athos, 1981); and In Search of Excellence (Peters and Waterman, 1982). These publications provided an introspective examination of how organizations can succeed. An off-shoot of this reaction was renewed attention to the study of the culture of organizations as a way for discovering lessons for the poor corporate performance. The underlying reasoning was, if organizations have the appropriate ideology and mission, and attributes of the culture of identifiable excellent organizations, they will also join the ranks of the exceptional organizations (Conway, 1985).

But in spite of these claims regarding the potency or efficacy of organizational culture there does not seem to be any consensus regarding what organisational culture is and what its precise dimensions are. This lack of consensus on the definition of culture has meant that different scholars have studied different things using different methodologies. This state of affairs has rendered it profoundly difficult to compare research findings of various authorities.

Kilmann (1984) has lamented that "culture means different things to different people" (p. 92). However, in spite of the definitional differences, one thing seems to be fairly commonly agreed upon by most scholars of organizational culture and that is "that culture provides meaning, direction and mobilization - a social energy that moves the corporation

into action" (p. 92). Also unanimously agreed upon is the idea that culture is a shared experience among members of an organization and that this experience centers around the organization's rules, norms, expectations, beliefs, values, philosophies and behavior. Thus culture is regarded as the underlying basic assumption that underpins and directs behavior.

It is not desirable to overwhelm ourselves with a multiplicity of definitions of culture. Rather, it is better to look at what various scholars have said about the concept of culture and how their definitions of the concept have shaped their particular research efforts.

Organizational Culture and the Utilitarian Principle

Factories and schools have many things in common. Both factory and school as we know them today originated during the Industrial Revolution and there is a similarity between how factories and schools are run. Also, the concerns for efficiency, productivity, accountability and discipline are common to both. One principle that has had a profound effect on the development of both factory and school is Bentham's utilitarian principle of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people" (Hearn, 1971). His *Chrestomathia* lays down the educational administrative principles that, even today, form the hallmark of administrative practice in

education. Together with Bell and Lancaster, they made popular the monitorial schools that spread throughout the world and whose operations are an imitation of the operation of factories (Miller, 1988). The utilitarian concern for production, reward/punishment, inspection, supervision, discipline and control and accountability are evident in our schools today. The panopticon principle of universal inspection ensured "the greatest good for the greatest number of people" (Miller, 1988).

The utilitarian principle also provided a way to look at social organizations like corporate organizations and schools. Its emphasis on production, control, discipline and efficiency has meant the development of certain types of institutions with certain architectural and cultural characteristics. The use of space and time and the hierarchical structures of social organization in the factory and the school, penitentiary, factory and the hospital are said to reflect the utilitarian principle. Bentham himself designed schools that maximized efficiency by exploiting space and instilling discipline. Bentham's panopticon principle was used as a design to maximize this control over the student. Such designs and prescriptions would undoubtedly result in the development of certain types of culture in these institutions and determine the function these institutions have in society. Thus, in looking at the culture of the school or the factory, the question of utility should always be in the foreground.

Most organizational culture studies seek to find out how the culture of the organization can serve the aims of the organization and indeed, of the society in which it is located. Studies of effectiveness of schools seek to identify how these institutions are serving the public good.

The morality of the principle of utilitarianism has often been questioned. Questions have been raised as to whose interests the utilitarian principle serves in a school and in a factory or a penitentiary. Are the physical structures in institutions designed to manipulate the behavior of organisational members? Are the structures of the buildings and the social organisation in the school and the factory the result of purposeful manipulations? These questions remain unanswered, but since the concern of the utilitarian is the use of space, structure and discipline to ensure efficiency, it may be rewarding to consider utilitarianism in all attempts to understand the culture of organisations like schools and factories.

culture are usually not brought out (Noy and Miskal, 1991, p. 223).

One thing Organisational Culture and Organisational Climate emphasized when looking at the differences between climate and culture is,

The term organizational climate at times is used interchangeably with organizational culture in the literature. However, these terms are different and it is important to make the distinction. Studies of organizational climate predate studies of organizational culture. The former were popular

in the 50s and 60s. The concept of organisational climate has its roots in social psychology and industrial psychology, whereas the concept of organizational culture has its roots in anthropology and sociology. Organizational climate has been defined as the personality of an organization. As such it involves a focus on the members' perceptions of the way things are in an organization. Schein (1985) considers that climate can most accurately be understood as a manifestation of culture. For him, culture is a much deeper and less consciously held notion.

Climate and culture researchers come from two different research traditions (Denison, 1990). Most climate researchers follow a quantitative approach but culture researchers rarely use quantitative methods. Climate measures a few dimensions of an organization, such as the satisfaction of organisation's members with the leadership, faculty behavior or principal behavior, but the inner workings of the organization which reflect its culture are usually not brought out (Hoy and Miskel, 1991, p. 223).

One thing however that needs to be emphasized when looking at the differences between climate and culture is, whereas culture studies emphasize the organization-wide occurrence of phenomena, climate studies isolate certain characteristics and study the organization in terms of those characteristics. Schneider (1990) regards climate as the perception of events, practices and procedures and the kind

of behaviors that get rewarded, supported and expected in a setting. Rousseau (1990) regards climate as the descriptive beliefs individuals hold regarding organizational properties. Such beliefs are held around such things as managerial trust, supportiveness and participation in decision making. Referring to climate as a perception, Denison (1990) says that in an organization there may be a climate of "satisfaction, resistance, involvement" (p. 24). These characteristics are measured using specially designed instruments.

It does seem reasonable to suggest that because of the differences in methodology and in view of the differences in emphasis between the climate/culture researchers the two concepts should not be used interchangeably.

Organisational Culture as Observable Phenomena

That culture provides the social bond or glue that holds an organization together (Kilmann, 1984) is not generally questioned in the literature on organizational culture. Culture is also said to provide the soul or the ethos of the organization. But how this soul or ethos manifests itself is not generally agreed upon by everyone. One school of thought posits that symbolic devices such as rituals, myths, stories, legends, rites and specialized language form the cultural manifestations of an organization. Indeed some scholars of this school regard a study of these as a study of the culture

of the organization. Pettigrew (1979) studied the culture of an organization by looking at symbols, language, ideology, beliefs, rituals and myth. He holds that symbols are objects, acts, relationships that have more than one meaning and that evoke emotions and drive man to action. He found that all these phenomena are expressive of culture and that they are the major vehicles by which it can be formed. Likewise, in his study of the culture of a funeral home, Barley (1983) used the semiotic approach which involved the identification of symbols and the meanings of these symbols in their context. He studied how the phenomenon of death can be made more normal through the proper arrangement of the dead person and through the change in the furnishings in the house where the death occurred.

Trice and Beyer (1984) also acknowledge the importance of studying culture through an examination of visible artifacts. Thus, they studied the various rites that existed in an organization. They looked at the rites of passage, rites of degradation, rites of enhancement, rites of renewal, rites of conflict reduction and rites of integration. Their argument was that such a study of rites and ceremonials was important in the identification of the culture of the organization. An understanding of the rites and ceremonials will unlock most of the meanings (but not all) that are deep-seated and are shared by the organizational members.

Values are normative statements that express ideals of human behavior. In the metaphor of

Organisational Culture as
Basic Assumptions

Trice and Beyer's (1984) deep-seated levels of culture or shared meanings can be equated to Schein's (1985, 1992) basic assumptions. Schein acknowledges the existence of the surface manifestations of culture. He also calls these surface manifestations artifacts. These include technology, dress, behaviors, language, architecture and habits. The importance of these is not as objects in themselves, but in the fact that they point towards the underlying, taken-for-granted assumptions. These basic assumptions are deep seated and have a potency to determine what goes on at the surface level. According to Schein, the basic assumptions constitute the culture of an organization. Culture, he says is "a pattern of shared basic assumptions invented, discovered or developed by a given group" (p. 247). The assumptions develop as the group learns to cope with problems of adaptation with the environment and with internal integration and they are seen as "the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to these problems" (p. 247). These assumptions have worked well and they are learned by new members of the group upon entering the group.

Between this deeper level of culture and the surface manifestations of culture is an intermediate level of culture. This is the level of values. Values are normative statements that express ideals of human behavior. In the metaphor of

science, they are like hypotheses that are still undergoing experimental tests. As these hypotheses are proved, they become taken for granted as truths and they sink into the subconscious and become basic assumptions. Phillips (quoted by Sackman, 1991) endorses Schein's concept of culture. Denison (1990) also subscribes to the basic assumption definition of culture when he defines culture as

the underlying values, beliefs, and principles that serve as a foundation for an organization's management system as well as the set of management practices and behaviors that both exemplify and reinforce those basic principles (p. 2).

Rousseau (1990) and Dyer (1986) also subscribe to Schein's definition of culture. Rousseau illustrates his definition of culture by listing the phenomena that are found at every level right down to the underlying basic assumptions, i.e., from the artifacts at the surface through to behavioral patterns, behavioral norms, values and finally, basic assumptions. Thus, any scholar who is writing about any stratum of the above is said to be studying culture. Dyer went further and carried out an exercise to decipher the culture of an organization using Schein's conception of the term and he identified values, perspectives, artifacts and basic assumptions.

Edgar Schein's definition of culture integrates various conceptions of the term. While not ignoring the existence of artifacts and values it emphasizes more the deep seated assumptions and unlike most research practitioners, Schein

provides a detailed outline of how an organisation's culture forms, how it is managed and how it is important to an organization.

How Organisational Culture is Formed

Sackmann (1991) has expressed some uneasiness about the emphasis that has been placed on the founder or entrepreneur in the process of corporate culture formation. Emphasis has been placed on the founder to the extent that most of what is referred to as organizational culture are the assumptions, beliefs and perceptions of one segment of the organization to the total exclusion of the lower ranks. But there is a clear sense in which it can be said that an organization's founders play an important role in the process of organisational culture formation. Schein (1985) strongly subscribes to this view. According to him, organisational culture develops from three sources: firstly, the values, beliefs and the assumptions of the founding members of the organization (e.g., the entrepreneur, the charismatic leader, or even the leader of a political party). The leader starts with a vision of the organization, brings together one or more people and convinces them how workable his ideas are. The leader charts for them the modus operandi for the organization. When such an initial group has been formed it starts to work towards the realization of the vision of the leader. Others are brought into the organization and together they begin to share

experiences about how to survive in the environment. This starts the formation of an organisational culture.

Secondly, the learning experiences of the members of the group evolve. As the fledgling organization develops it is beset by problems which it solves, resulting in members of the organization developing perceptions about reality and the way to solve these problems. Thirdly, new members bring into the organization new ideas and different ways to solve problems. These new beliefs are cross-fertilized with the original beliefs and values to produce a completely new set of values and assumptions. This is how organisational culture develops.

(Schein, 1985, p. 52)

Problems Around Which Organisational Culture
Forms During Culture Formation

Schein identifies two main problems that every organization encounters and as the organization solves these problems it develops assumptions regarding the correct way to think, feel, behave and perceive in relation to these problems. The first group of problems is related to adaptation to the external environment. Table 1 illustrates these problems.

As the group worries about its core mission, its goals and the means to accomplish these goals and as it worries about its methods of external evaluation, it begins to form a consensus about the best way to act.

Table 1
The Problems of External Adaptation and Survival

1. Mission and strategy. Obtaining a shared understanding of core mission, primary task, manifest and latent functions.
2. Goals. Developing consensus on goals, as derived from the core mission.
3. Means. Developing consensus on the means to be used to attain the goals, such as the organisation structure, division of labour, reward system, and authority system.
4. Measurement. Developing consensus on the criteria to be used in measuring how well the group is doing in fulfilling its goals, such as the information and control system.
5. Correction. Developing consensus on the appropriate remedial or repair strategies to be used if goals are not being met.

(Schein, 1985, p. 52)

The second group of problems is related to tasks of internal integration. Table 2 illustrates these problems.

The problems in this category are about the common language and basic conceptual system; about group boundaries and the criteria for inclusion in the group; about status; about personal relationships and the criteria for the allocation of rewards and punishment; about the common religion and ideology. The group will form a consensus on the correct way to act in order to ensure internal integration (Schein, 1985, p. 249). Consensus in the solution of both categories of problems will result in the formation of the culture of the organization.

Table 2
The Problems of Internal Integration

<p>1. Common Language and Conceptual Categories. If members cannot communicate with and understand each other, a group is impossible by definition.</p>
<p>2. Group Boundaries and Criteria for Inclusion and Exclusion. One of the most important areas of culture is the shared consensus on who is in and who is out and by what criteria one determines membership.</p>
<p>3. Power and Status. Every organisation must work out its pecking order, its criteria and rules for how one gets, maintains, and loses power; consensus in this area is crucial to help members manage feelings of aggression.</p>
<p>4. Intimacy, Friendship, and Love. Every organisation must work out its rules of the game for peer relationships between the sexes, and for the manner in which openness and intimacy are to be handled in the context of managing the organisation's tasks.</p>
<p>5. Rewards and Punishments. Every group must know what its heroic and sinful behaviours are; what gets rewarded with property, status, and power; and what gets punished in the form of withdrawal of the rewards and, ultimately, excommunication.</p>
<p>6. Ideology and "Religion". Every organisation, like society, faces unexplainable and inexplicable events, which must be given meaning so that members can respond to them and avoid the anxiety of dealing with the unexplainable and uncontrollable.</p>

(Schein, 1985, p. 66)

How Leaders Transmit and Embed
Organisational Culture

As has been seen in the last section, leaders play a pivotal role in a corporate organization in the creation and perpetuation of the organizational culture.

According to Schein (1985), leaders of organizations are instrumental in the transmission of organizational culture, particularly during the formative years of the organization. They do this through the process of socialization which is "the process by which new members acquire the core elements of a new culture" (p. 229). By this process new members are initiated into the organization. They learn the beliefs, the norms, the habits, the values and the basic assumptions of the organization. The new organizational members, and even the old ones, get a cue from the leader about what is important in the organization through what the leader pays attention to and what he does not pay attention to; what he measures and what he does not; what he controls and what he does not; how he reacts to critical happenings in the organization and how he carries himself about in the organization. What the leader considers as important is also seen in what the leader consciously teaches the organization's members. In addition, the leader's criteria for the allocation of resources, rewards and status within the organization, his criteria for promotion, also determine what he stands for. As a result of

all these activities, members are able to internalize the organizational culture.

Also important as a means of internalizing the culture of the organization are rites, ceremonies, important events, organizational logos, mission statements and the charters of the organization. As the high priest of the organization, the leader plays an important function. Using one organizational artifact or the other the leader may emphasize one value or the other (Schein, 1992).

Organisational Culture and Change

In studying culture in an organizational setting, the intention is to understand the organization and to be able to improve it. The improvement of an organization entails, among other things, management of its organisational culture and introduction of change. Schein (1985) argues that an organization's culture represents the ways that its members have learned to cope with uncertainty and anxiety. Although he acknowledges incremental change of culture as inevitable, he considers that it is unethical to attempt to change the organizational culture because, he argues, it is "tantamount to asking people to surrender their social defenses" (Hoy and Miskel, 1992, p. 220). Deal (1986) concurs when he says that culture "provides stability, fosters certainty, solidifies order and predictability and creates meaning" (p. 300).

Change means to the organization's members an alteration of the relationship with objects, activities, symbols and meaning. Change also means a break with heroes, heroines, values, rituals, ceremonies, and other characters of the organization. An organisation's members normally resist change unless "the old ways are clearly inadequate for a majority of people" (p. 300). According to Deal and Kennedy (1982) change means identifying with new role models; it means people telling different organizational stories; and it means people spending time differently than before. The reason why organization's members resist change was demonstrated by Bolman and Deal (1984). They said that the lack of needed skills, the problem of coping with new role expectations and conflicts arising from shifts in power all produce resistance to change. Moreover, change results in loss and grief and human nature tries to avoid this. Pettigrew (1990) lists the issues that make organisational culture difficult to change. He says the fact that culture is deep seated and pervasive, the fact that it is implicit and that it has no objective reality, are factors that militate against change.

But in spite of the inert character of culture there is a case for wanting to change it if the organization seeks to improve its performance. Schein (1992) has studied the dynamism of culture and attests to the fact that on a temporal scale, culture is evolutionary and that the changes that take place in culture are incremental in nature. Sathe (1986) and

Allen (1986) recognize the possibility of culture change and they suggest ways by which this can be done. In most studies of corporate culture the aim is to understand the concept with a view to manage it, control it , and improve it and if need be, change it.

The Dimensions of Organisational Culture According to Schein

Different scholars propose different numbers of dimensions for organizational culture. According to Schein, when the organization's members are grappling with the problems of external survival and internal integration they form assumptions around the dimensions shown in Table 3.

Assumptions form around each of the dimensions indicated. Taken together, these assumptions in the various dimensions will form the cultural paradigm of the organization. Thus, the basic assumptions of the group about the organizational relationship with the environment, about human activity, about the nature of reality and truth, the nature of time and human nature and the nature of human relationships will constitute the culture of the organization. It is important to notice how these dimensions are interrelated.

In the process of deciphering the culture of an organization it is these basic assumptions that will be unearthed through joint exploration between an outsider and an insider, the method of investigation suggested by Schein and discussed in Chapter 3.

Table 3
Basic Underlying Assumptions Around Which
Cultural Paradigms Form

<p>1. Humanity's Relationship to Nature. At the organisational level, do the key members view the relationship of the organisation to its environment as one of dominance, submission, harmonizing, finding an appropriate niche, or what?</p>
<p>2. The Nature of Reality and Truth. The linguistic and behavioural rules that define what is real and what is not, what is a "fact," how truth is ultimately to be determined, and whether truth is "revealed" or "discovered"; basic concepts of time and space.</p>
<p>3. The Nature of Human Nature. What does it mean to be "human" and what attributes are considered intrinsic or ultimate? Is human nature good, or evil, or neutral? Are human beings perfectible or not?</p>
<p>4. The Nature of Human Activity. What is the "right" thing for human beings to do, on the basis of the above assumptions about reality, the environment, and human nature: to be active, passive, self-developmental, fatalistic, or what? What is work and what is play?</p>
<p>5. The Nature of Human Relationships. What is considered to be the "right" way for people to relate to each other, to distribute power and love? Is life cooperative or competitive; individualistic, group collaborative, or communal; based on traditional linear authority, law, charisma, or what?</p>

(Schein, 1985, p. 86)

The Concept of Organisational Culture in Education

The development of the study of organizational culture in education should be viewed in the context of a larger movement in educational writings and research known as the effective school movement. This movement, which gained popularity in schools that were regarded as good and those that were

the early 1980's, was a response to the ideas of the previous decade made popular by Coleman and Jencks. Coleman's (1966) research conclusions after studying a wide cross-section of American schools was

that schools bring little influence to bear upon a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context (p. 325).

In the same vein Jenck's (1975) ideas largely supported Coleman when he, in his own research, discovered that what the child brought to school was more important than what happened in the classroom in determining the kind of person that he/she will be.

The general thrust of their arguments was that the school's influence on the child was not decisive and the school's role was less potent in determining educational outcomes than environmental factors. The implication of this argument was that, regardless of the type of school, conditions in the school, size of the school and the interpersonal relations within the school, the products from the school will reflect the background of the students. At the same time that the effective schools movement commenced, there was an explosion of scholarship on organizational culture. Rather than emphasizing the efficacy of background factors in determining outcomes, there was now increased attention paid to the internal conditions of schools. It was these, the argument went, that made a difference between schools that were regarded as good and those that were

regarded as bad. Much of the early work on organizational culture in education benefitted from the writings of corporate organization researchers. The early work on organizational culture in education was largely an extrapolation from the corporate culture literature (Deal, 1985; Schein, 1985).

Lately, the concept of organizational culture in education has gained wider acceptance. Special issues of journals have been published on school culture (e.g., Educational Administration Quarterly, vol.23, no 4, 1987; N.A.S.S.P. Bulletin, 1987). As in corporate organizations, there is concern in the field of education over the performance, the productivity and the effectiveness of schools and much of the recent literature on school culture is directed towards school change and school improvement. It is believed that an understanding of school culture is a prerequisite to making schools more effective. The publication in the United States of A Nation At Risk (1983) sent out signals that the educational system had to be revamped. Thus, studies of school culture and school effectiveness emerged to provide answers for pressing educational questions. However, much of the discussion of school culture remains largely "analytical, rhetorical and philosophical rather than empirical" (Hoy and Miskel, 1992, p. 218).

...stitutions consist of such things as the school's aims, the curriculum, organizational stories, organizational heroes and organizational structures. The behavioral manifestations

Theoretical Basis for School Culture

Much theoretical work has been done on the concept of school culture and this theoretical work points to the importance of culture not only for understanding schools but for their improvement. Unfortunately, what constitutes "improvement" is culturally defined.

The Content of School Culture

Deal (1985), writing about the effectiveness of schools, put forward the proposal that the understanding of the symbols and the culture of a school is a prerequisite to making the school more effective. He holds that the culture of a school may be recreated by establishing values, celebrating heroes and heroines, and by dramatizing and reinforcing the core values through ceremonies and stories. For him, by deduction these aspects of a school constitute its culture. Beare, Caldwell and Millikan (1989) provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the culture of a school. According to them, the foundation of school culture consists of the values, philosophy and ideology of the school. This conceptual foundation provides the driving force behind the artifactual level of cultural manifestations, i.e., the verbal, the behavioral, and the visual manifestations. The verbal manifestations consist of such things as the school's aims, the curriculum, organizational stories, organizational heroes and organizational structures. The behavioral manifestations

include the ceremonies, rituals, rules and regulations and community/school relations. The visual manifestations include the facilities and the equipment, the crests and mottoes, and the uniform. Different authors have emphasized one aspect or the other of this conceptual framework. This framework, like those of Schein (1985), Dyer (1986) and Rousseau (1990), integrates the various approaches into a unified whole.

The content of school culture has been studied from different angles. Firestone and Wilson (1985) provide a useful framework for beginning the study of organizational culture in schools. They hold that organisational culture can be studied by looking at its contents and its expressions. It can also be studied by looking at the primary communications systems within the school, e.g., organizational stories, and rituals. Chilcott (1968) encourages the study of life in schools, i.e., the behavior of students and their interactions in the school system; their use of time and their learning habits. Martin (1990) considers that school culture may be studied in relation to the three main arenas of a school: the organizational, curriculum and the action arenas. Henry (1992) studied school rituals as expressions of the world view of the students. She looked at the beginning of rituals such as faculty meetings and parent-teacher conferences in two schools and was able to establish the schools' world views and the basic assumptions that underpinned these views.

The literature on the content of school culture is diverse and most of the work that has been produced consists of varied accounts of the situation in schools (Goodlad, 1984; Perrone, 1985; Lightfoot, 1983; Wilson and Corcoran, 1987).

School Culture and the School Administrator

The school administrator is portrayed in the literature as a key figure in cultural formation, cultural transmission and cultural manipulation. Sergiovanni (1984) considers that the school principal plays the role of a high priest engaged in the building and the nurturing of the organizational saga which defines the school as a distinct entity identifiable within a wider culture. He/she does this by cultivating feelings of success among the school's members and by ensuring that positive stories of success are told about the school. When the principal does this, he or she is able to bond students, teachers and other school members to move towards the attainment of the school's vision. Deal and Kennedy (1983) maintain that a strong school culture provides internal cohesion and provides an atmosphere conducive to learning and teaching. They argue that, as a starting point, educational leaders know the cultures of their schools and determine how these cultures may encourage or undermine educational performance. Secondly, to them this is the hallmark of leaders of effective schools.

Deal has written about the role of the educational administrator in culture management in the school (1987, 1985). Johnson (1987) also assigns to the principal responsibility for the articulation, display, dissemination and shaping of the values of schools. In the same vein, Firestone and Wilson (1985) and Hope-Arlene Funnel (1994) suggest that schools have, apart from the bureaucratic linkages which consist of the formal rules and regulations, cultural linkages that include the stories, icons and rituals. Therefore, the principal's role is to influence the pattern of these cultural features if he/she is to be effective. He or she must do this by developing a communication system within the school. He or she must also manage the myths, legends, true events as well as ceremonial activities. Teachers meetings, awards and trophies, lesson plans and classroom furnishings must be cleverly manipulated to work towards the vision of the school. In other words, the principal's role becomes that of cultural manipulator who ensures that the desirable values of the organization are embedded and that the undesirable values are discarded. is not taught in a school.

In examining efforts to bring about changes in the schools, Sarasson (1982) attributes failure to those efforts that are either directed at the structural aspects of the school or at the curriculum without due regard to its culture. He suggests that special attention be given to the principals

In large measure, determined by his assumptions regarding, for

because they constitute the key personnel to effect change through the management of culture.

Regan (1988) makes suggestions on how principals can improve the administration of schools by changing their role from that of manager to that of symbolic leader. Lambert (1988) and Burns (1985) suggest among other things, how to build school culture and how culture can be used to manage discipline in the school. Other writers emphasize the role of the principal as that of creator of the vision of the school (Staessen and Vandenberghe, 1994). They also stress the values that go with this vision and how these would lead the school in the direction desired.

It is very evident from the literature that much importance is placed on the role of the principal in the management of school culture. This theme runs through most discussions on school culture.

School Culture and the Curriculum

Erikson (1987) suggested how culture may determine not only what is taught but also what is not taught in a school, i.e., the "null" curriculum. According to him, the basic underlying assumptions determine what may be included in the curriculum and what may not; they also determine how the teachers teach and how ability can be evaluated. Thus, when a teacher goes into the classroom his conduct of a lesson is, in large measure, determined by his assumptions regarding, for

example, appropriate teaching methods-e.g., whether he/she is going to use group work or not. The assignment of pupils to these groups is largely determined by assumptions regarding what constitutes good performance and what does not. These assumptions, according to Erikson, form the culture prevailing in the school.

Baksh (1990) lists some of the aspects of the null or hidden curriculum. He says sex role norms, views of knowledge and students' perception of their abilities are, in part, imparted by the culture prevailing in the school. The same goes for the socialization of new members into the social role ranks of the school. One can determine what the school values and what it does not and what matters in the school and what does not by looking at the time allocation for the various activities, by looking at the resource allocation in the school, and by looking at staffing of the departments. The efficacy of culture in determining what goes on in the schools is, therefore, immense.

Simpson (1990) examined the culture of a school by studying Empirical Studies of Culture in Schools particular

The body of literature of empirical studies of school culture continues to expand. Many research articles have been published detailing the social aspects of schools. But the units of study have varied. Some have looked at the whole school as a unit of research while others have looked at

components of the school; yet others have looked at the social and cultural interactions of personnel in the school.

School-wide Culture Studies

A number of studies have been conducted on individual schools or groups of schools to describe their cultures. These studies are characterized by the analyses based on participant observation. Such studies as Perrone (1985) and Boyer (1983), looked at "the current condition of American secondary education ... looking at teachers, at students, at what is being taught" (Boyer, 1983, p. xii). Goodlad (1984) also looked at 38 schools which included 12 senior high schools. Boyer (1983) studied 15 public high schools. These studies produced "thick descriptions" of the human aspects of schools. These descriptions are meant to portray what goes on in schools with a view to fostering public understanding and providing an informed basis for policy making about the future directions.

Simpson (1990) examined the culture of a school by studying what goes on in the school. For the particular school that he studied, he looked at the staff meetings, the teachers planning sessions, and various other activities within the school. He argued that a school's culture can be changed by altering such rituals and ceremonies. Lightfoot (1983) also provided portraits of a number of schools. The impelling question that most of these studies seem to be

answering is "what do schools look like inside?" Such studies have resulted in a better understanding of the internal life of schools.

Culture in Components of the School

The literature indicates that work has been done to identify the culture of components of the school. Much of the work on pupils in schools resulted from the change in perspective of the sociology of education brought about by the interpretative approaches represented by symbolic interactionism and social phenomenology. Aspects of pupil behavior, for example, their responses to organizational arrangements (such as streaming), their orientation towards the school and its authority structure, and their adaptation to the school society as a class, as a race or as a gender have been studied (Martin, 1990).

Reveire (1993) unearthed the perceptions, beliefs, values and assumptions of the students in a school in the Caribbean using the ethnographic method. She was able to show how the student body ascribed meaning to its existence in the school and its relationship to the environment. She deciphered a cultural paradigm, or a subcultural paradigm, which influenced student behavior. Wallace (1966) investigated the student culture of a mid-western college in the United States. He was concerned with how students' values influenced their perceptions. In both studies the reality of student culture

in the school or college was established. This culture is, in many ways, different than that of the faculty. In his study, Wallace looked at the socialization process of new students and found that socialization was rapid and was largely complete within a few months and Reviere found that students had a culture distinct from that of the administration of the school.

Yamamoto (1968) produced a collection of analyses of college student culture and most of the research findings in these articles point towards the existence and efficacy of such a culture. Hammersley (1984) also produced a collection of research findings of student culture. Most of the research reported in this collection used the ethnographic method and showed that students have a different perception of school than faculty. They have a close-knit social system that exists side by side with the official one. In some cases there may be a culture of deviance - a specific perception towards work avoidance, trouble and what it means to be at the school.

In his study of schools in the Atlantic region of Canada, Martin (1984), has looked at aspects of culture such as the students' orientation to school rules. He looked at how the students interpreted school rules and regulations. He also looked at the effects and social meaning of teachers' pets and how this affected learning and the lives of the students in the school.

Willis (1977) studied the boys from working class families in their final year in a Midlands school in Britain and argued that the most basic, obvious and explicit dimension of counter school culture is entrenched, generalized and personal opposition to authority (p. 11).

Leemon (1972) investigated the rites of passage involving students at a college the United States who joined a Greek letter fraternity. He identified the symbolism that was attached to these rites.

These studies show how students, as a subgroup, develop a shared way to perceive, to behave and to interpret events in the school.

Culture and the Study of School Personnel

A classic example of research on school personnel is Wolcott's (1973) study of the elementary school principal. For this study he used the ethnographic method. This enquiry was motivated by a desire to find out how the principal actually does his/her job as opposed to how he/she ought to do it. It is also a reaction against the statistical generalizations that were made by quantitative researchers about the principal's job. The result was a graphic account of the principal's interactions with colleagues, students and parents and how this social interaction shaped his/her perception of his/her role.

Orora (1988) also looked at the role of the principal and how it was influenced by the prevailing cultural assumptions in the school. He identified assumptions that are held by the school members and then investigated how the principal acted according to these assumptions. Other cultural researchers (cited in Docking, 1987) have looked at the function or role of the teacher in the school. They have identified the various social and psychological influences on the teacher and how he/she relates with his/her pupils in a school situation.

These studies show how important culture is in the school and how fruitful it is to study the phenomena. It must be realized, however, that each of the researchers in a particular area has a definition of culture that is slightly different from the other. But what is studied often points towards Schein's conception of culture.

The Basis for the Study of School Culture (1985)
-- Some Theoretical Problems

Culture as a monolithic concept has found support in the work of Schein. This approach emphasizes the role of the leader in culture formation and it emphasizes organization-wide consensus and harmony. An opposing view of organisational culture is what might be called the differentiation perspective which emphasizes the complexity of organizations and the fact that the organizational members belong to different cultures because they are members of

different task, work and problem solving groups. Rather than having an organizational culture in common, it is more accurate, according to this view, to talk about members belonging to a collection of sub cultures.

This has implications for this study. It raises questions about whether one can rightfully talk of assumptions shared by all members of the school or whether an analysis of the culture of a school should adopt the differentiation perspective. This study seeks to find out if a common monolithic culture exists in a school. This study is informed by Louis' theoretical arguments (1985) that firstly, because people in an organisation co-exist and interact on a fairly stable basis and because they have a common aim in the organisation, they ought to develop a common culture. Secondly, because an organisation's members are linked through common tasks, they develop common positions on issues and therefore develop common assumptions. Martin et al. (1985) also support this theoretical position.

Summary

In studying organisational culture, different approaches have been adopted and these approaches have tended to reemphasize the ambiguity of the concept. The culture concept has been applied to the study of organisations, particularly in attempts to improve their functioning and effectiveness. Culture is thought to play an important role in corporate

organisations and the creation and management of culture is thought to be the main function of the managers although Schein acknowledges the resistance of culture to change.

In education, the concept has also been used to explain the success or failure of schools, the effectiveness of educational personnel, the behavior of students and the problem of change. Most of these studies have been done in the developed world; very little work has been done in the developing world.

Methods that have been used to study organisational culture. Schein's method of deciphering the culture of an organisation, which was used in this study, will be placed in context. The method will be explained before the procedures related to the collection and analysis of data are detailed. Information on the sample and individual informants is provided and the ethical issues of the study discussed.

Review of Methodology

The lack of consensus regarding the definition of the concept of culture has meant that many different methods have been used to study the culture of organizations (Frost *et al.*, 1990). Organizational culture has been studied in various ways depending on the orientation of the researcher. The approaches to the study of culture vary from the longitudinal ethnographic studies with emphasis on observations (e.g.,

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This is a qualitative study which uses ethnography as a method of enquiry. Schein's method is used as a guide for data collection and analysis. This chapter is a review of the qualitative methods that have been used to study organisational culture. Schein's method of deciphering the culture of an organisation, which was used in this study, will be placed in context. The method will be explained before the procedures related to the collection and analysis of data are detailed. Information on the sample and individual informants is provided and the ethical issues of the study discussed.

Review of Methodology

The lack of consensus regarding the definition of the concept of culture has meant that many different methods have been used to study the culture of organizations (Frost et al., 1990). Organizational culture has been studied in various ways depending on the orientation of the researcher. The approaches to the study of culture vary from the longitudinal ethnographic studies with emphasis on observations (e.g.,

Pettigrew, 1979) to interactive interview methodologies (e.g., Schein, 1985). Other researchers have sought to decipher the culture of an organization through the use of questionnaires. Methodological orientations also vary from the purely qualitative methods that use participant observation, conversation and interview techniques (Rile, 1990) to produce rich accounts or "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973), to the more quantitative approaches that are used in organizational climate research. The ethnographic method has gained currency in the study of culture. According to LeCompte and Goetz (1982)

ethnography delineates the shared beliefs, practices, artifacts, folk knowledge and behaviors of a group of people. Its objective is the holistic reconstruction of the culture or phenomenon investigated (p. 54).

This method involves intensive and extensive data collection in a naturalistic setting (Gay, 1987). The ethnographic method uses observation and interviewing as well as the study of archival materials related to the setting. The superiority of this method and the reason for its appeal over the questionnaire method lies in the fact that it yields descriptions reflective of the experience of the subjects and therefore provides an understanding of process which other methods cannot capture (Bryman, 1990; Miles and Huberman, 1984). This method is able to bring out the meanings that are socially constructed in a group and from the point of view of the "natives" or the people that are being studied (Gregory,

1983). Its appeal also derives from the fact that the researcher sees the culture of the "natives" through their own eyes.

Most work on the diagnosis of organizational culture has been done in corporate organizations (e.g., Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Schein, 1991; Sathe, 1985) although there has been an increase in the use of the ethnographic method in educational organizations. The ethnographic method involves staying for a considerable period of time with the subjects and interacting with them. This results in a deeper understanding not only of the structure of the organization, but of the social interactions and the perspective of the subjects as well (Hammersley, 1992). Sackmann (1991) used interviews, observations and other data (e.g., archival sources, publications and policy documents of a corporate organization) to decipher the cultural knowledge or cultural cognition from the insiders' perspective. Her study involved taking up residence in the organization that she was studying. Sathe (1985) deciphered the culture of a manufacturing company, by interviewing company members and focusing on the background of the founders and others who followed them, the company's response to crises, and deviant members.

Deal and Kennedy (1984) suggest that the culture of a company can be diagnosed through the study of the physical setting of the company and by reading what the company says about its culture, observing how the company greets strangers

and how company people use their time as well as noting any other ways of understanding its culture through interviews and other techniques. In addition, they say, the culture of a company can also be deciphered by looking at the content of what is being discussed in meetings, and by paying attention to the organization's stories (Deal and Kennedy, 1984, p. 341). This information, it is said, will assist in revealing the underlying assumptions that constitute the culture of the organization.

Schein (1985, 1991) proposed the use of a "joint exploration" approach between the researcher and a "motivated insider" who lives in the organisation and is knowledgeable about what goes on in the organisation and has an interest to know the organisation's culture. Through interaction with the insider (or a group of insiders) the assumptions operating in the organization can be unearthed. This method involves observation, interviewing and the examination of behavior. Dyer (1985) used a similar method when he unearthed the values and the basic assumptions operating in a company. In this research Schein's method was used to decipher the culture of a school.

The ethnographic method has been used in the study of schools. Perrone (1985) produced portraits of 13 schools in the United States based on observations lasting 20 days in each school. Likewise, Lightfoot (1983) collected data in

Sullivan (1979) analyzed documents, used interviews and

uninterrupted consecutive days believing that I would gain a much richer picture from total immersion in the schools (p. 301).

She produced portraits of six schools based on detailed observational work, thematic in-depth interviews and the use of insiders' immediate and subjective views (p. 13). The use of portraiture allows personal inclination to shape the enquiry and admits to the shaping hand of the artist. The method is less concerned with the problems of replication.

Reitzug and Reeves (1992) used interviews and observations together with documentary analysis when they studied the principal's symbolic leadership. Both the formal and the informal interview were used and an interview protocol with 19 open ended questions was developed. Interviews started with the "grand tour" questions (Spradley, 1979) which Schein (1985) seems to advocate and which allowed the respondent to express without guidance what their feelings were on matters they themselves wanted to talk about. Then the subsequent questions, based on initial responses, became more specific and focused. In their analysis of data, Reitzug and Reeves used Sergiovanni's (1984) "leadership forces hierarchy" and grouped the principals' leadership activities into the technical, human, educational, symbolic and cultural realms and noting that the best schools had principals that were involved more in symbolic and cultural activities. In his study of the cultural assumptions of school boards, Sullivan (1979) analyzed documents, used interviews and

observations and involved senior administrators in the validation of his results.

Pettigrew (1979) studied a private boarding school in Britain and used "long interviews with former masters, governors and pupils" (p. 570). He supplemented the interviews with "documentary sources including private papers, speeches administrative documents and other archival materials" (p. 570). In addition he used questionnaires.

In her study of student culture in a school in the Caribbean, Reviere (1993) used Schein's "joint exploration" with the iterative clinical interview and the observation of artifacts. In the clinical interview data comes "voluntarily from the members of the organisation because they initiated the process" (Schein, 1992, p. 29). The researcher, like the clinician is in the organisation to help it to solve a problem and in the process the culture of the organisation is diagnosed. Reviere took up residence in the school for a month during which time she conducted her research. Likewise, Orora (1988) studied the culture of a school in Kenya using Schein's method. He engaged in participant observation, undertook interviews and examined documents. His study lasted nine months and during this period he stayed near the school and made observations daily in the school.

Rituals are practices and procedures and routines in an organisation that ensure that the organization's aims and values are maintained (Deere et al., 1989, p. 196):

Ceremonies as Definition of Terms

The following are the definitions of the terms as they are used in this study.

Culture is a

pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to be taught to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems (Schein, 1992, p. 12).

Values are guidelines for behavior which may find expression in the strategies, goals or philosophies of an organisation. They constitute the priorities or relative importance placed on things (Beare, Caldwell and Millikan, 1989, p. 180). Values may also be rationalizations of behavior or aspirations for the future and, as such, they may or may not be congruent with the underlying assumptions (Schein, 1992, p.21).

Artifacts are the surface aspects of culture that exist in an organization. Artifacts may be verbal, written, behavioral, and physical and include language, stories, and myths (verbal); rituals and ceremonies (behavioral) (Lundberg, 1985, p. 171). Artifacts are the surface manifestations of the deep seated cultural assumptions (Beare et al., 1989).

Rituals are practices and procedures and routines in an organization that ensure that the organization's aims and values are maintained (Beare et al., 1989, p. 196).

Ceremonies are celebrations of the life of the organization and include the celebrating of achievements in the organization. Unlike rituals, ceremonies are not routine (Beare et al., 1989, p. 196).

The headmaster/headmistress is the chief educational officer in a school. He/she is in charge of the educational process in the school. In Zimbabwe a head is also referred to as the chief accounting officer in the school.

The school magazine is the year book that is produced by the school in which there are articles about the school written by the students. It may also contain photographs of students and the activities that took place in the school in the course of the year.

A prefect is a student who has been assigned responsibilities of control over other students in a school. He/she takes over the responsibilities of control in the absence of the teachers.

School colors are official colors of the school. The school color is normally the color of the school uniform. In Zimbabwe the schools jealously guard their school colors to protect their identity.

F1 secondary schools are academic secondary schools whose subject offerings were academic and students who went to these schools had a better chance of pursuing academic courses at advanced levels and even up to university.

F2 secondary schools are practical-oriented schools whose subject offerings are mainly practical. The courses offered in these schools are terminal in that students who go through the system do not have a chance to go to university.

Motivated insiders were the principal informants who were willing to provide information about the school and who assisted in the diagnosis of the culture of the school.

Research Method

Schein's Method of Deciphering Culture

As has been seen, Schein (1985) proposed the use of a number of procedures to unearth the basic assumptions of an organization, namely, the iterative clinical interview, the group interview, and participant observation. Some of these procedures are used within the framework of "joint exploration" between an outsider and a motivated insider. This co-operative approach or interactive process between the outsider and the motivated insider is essential to this approach. According to Schein, the reason for the co-operative effort is to control the subjectivity of the outsider.

For Schein, the outsider need not prescribe what he/she feels is the culture operating in the organization rather, there should be a negotiated agreement between outsider and insider as to what constitutes the culture of the organization. Another reason for the co-operative approach

is to overcome the insider's lack of awareness of his/her culture since, according to Schein, the basic assumptions have sunk from the conscious level to the subconscious level. The outsider will help the insider to retrieve the subconscious assumptions. According to Schein, the nearness of the insider to his/her culture and the distance of the outsider, combine together to ensure that the assumptions of the organization are unearthed.

But in order to facilitate the process, the insider must be motivated, objective and articulate. He/she must also be able to conceptualize his/her views.

Schein's ten stage approach of data collection was used in this study. It sets out what needs to be done at every stage to ensure the deciphering of basic assumptions. This approach has a built-in check on validity. In all steps there is cross-referencing and cross-checking of information between the insider and the outsider as documentary material and the artifactual evidence is examined and discussed. This method of cross-checking (or triangulation) helps to eliminate or control the weaknesses of the interview method (Cohen and Manion, 1980; Powney and Watts, 1987; Woods, 1986, among others)

The other advantage of this method, that helps to improve validity, is the requirement that the researcher lives in the organization during the duration of the research. The rapport that he/she builds during this period should ensure the

elimination of uneasiness that is generated at the first encounter and should result in a more truthful response to questions (Wolcott, 1985)

The Ten-Step Approach

Step 1. Entering and focusing on "surprises"

The researcher enters the organization and begins to experience the culture of the organization. He/she seeks out things that he/she did not expect to find. These surprises may be generated from the behavior of the organization's members or the reception accorded the researcher. They may also be found in the design of the buildings and the use to which they are put.

Step 2. Systematically observing and checking

The researcher continues to observe and to isolate those surprises that the organization's members repeat and which are likely to be a reflection of the culture. Those behaviors or surprises that are not repeated may be just random occurrences and therefore not a reflection of cultural behavior.

Step 3. Locating a motivated insider

The researcher identifies an insider who is "analytically capable of deciphering what is going on" (p. 172). The insider must be someone who has the desire to

understand the culture of the organization. The insider, through joint exploration with the outsider, will explain aspects of the culture of the organization. The outsider asks questions of the insider explains. This interaction presumably draws from the insider explanations of the features of the culture that had sunk into his/her subconscious. It also checks the bias of the outsider who might want to give explanations that are wrong.

Step 4. Revealing the surprises, puzzlements and hunches

The surprises, puzzlements and hunches are discussed with the insider to see if they have any cultural significance. The outsider may even hazard guesses or put forward theories about what is going on in the organization.

Step 5. Jointly exploring to find explanations and identifying

The insider attempts to explain to the outsider what the surprises and the puzzlements mean and whether the hunches and projections of the outsider are correct. Group discussions may be undertaken at this stage. Other willing members of the organisation may be brought into the discussion. At this stage, the major cultural assumptions begin to emerge.

Step 6. Formalizing hypotheses

The emerging assumptions need to be tested against additional data. An examination will be made of the members' behavior or the values of the organisation to see if they support the emerging assumptions.

Step 7. Systematically checking and consolidating

New evidence is sought to confirm the assumptions. This evidence may come from interviews and observations. Systematic interviewing may now proceed because the researcher now knows what questions to ask and whom to ask. At this point the analysis of documents, stories and other artifacts and the systematic observation of behavior are undertaken.

Step 8. Searching for shared assumptions

This is the most difficult step. It involves going beyond the articulated values or the hypotheses and identifying assumptions shared by the organisational members. This step also involves stating clearly how each assumption affects behavior.

Step 9. Perpetually calibrating

These assumptions are refined by questioning other interested members of the organization. Such discussions may bring new data to light that will further refine the description of the culture descriptions.

Step 10. Writing a formal description

The assumptions are written down. Their relationship to one another should be brought out. This step is the articulation of the culture of the organisation. The interested insider is given an opportunity to go over the written description. This provides the means of validation of the description (Schein, 1992, pp. 171-177).

Schein's Interview Format

In addition to the ten-step method, Schein's interview format was used for identifying the critical incidents. This format was designed too assess the effect that these incidents had on the organization's members as well as to assess how the problems arising from them were solved. The format is as follows:

1. Let's go back over the history of your organization (school). When was it founded and describe the events that occurred at the time.

- a) Who was involved?
- b) What were the critical problems in getting started?
- c) What was the basic mission of the group (school) at the time?
- d) Were there specific goals and ways of working that emerged early?

2. Were there any critical incidents that occurred early in the history of the organisation (school)?

- a) Tell me how people were feeling about what was happening. Were they anxious or angry or delighted or what?
- b) What was done? Who did anything?
- c) What happened? Did the response work? How did people feel subsequently? Did the response continue? (Schein, 1992, p.178)

The important thing to notice about the questions asked is that they generate data which leads to the identification of the operative values and the underlying assumptions that determine how people feel and how they behave in response to organizational problems. The organization's members themselves are not conscious of these assumptions because they have sunk into the subconscious (Schein, 1985).

As responses are given to these questions the researcher determines the patterns and establishes the operating assumptions. These assumptions fall into the five dimensions that Schein proposes which are indicated in Table 3.

Research Procedures

Gaining Entry into Dombo High School¹

Communication with the Headmaster

The headmaster of Dombo High School was contacted in April 1994 to secure permission to do the study. Permission was granted by the headmaster (Appendix 2) pending approval by the Regional Director of Education. This approval was granted on 5th May 1994. The researcher was permitted to enter and do research in any school in the Province of Mashonaland East, Zimbabwe. (See Appendix 1.)

¹Pseudonym.

Preparatory Meeting with the Headmaster

On the 7th of May a meeting with the headmaster was held. At this meeting the purpose of the research was outlined and the operational strategy for the research was discussed. A simplified version of the research outline was handed to the headmaster for his examination and perusal so that he could familiarize himself with the research plan. It was also decided at this meeting that the researcher could start his research a day after the opening of schools for second term, i.e., on the 12th of May 1994.

The First Day at the School

The researcher arrived at the school on Wednesday, the 12th of May at 7.00 a.m. Wednesday is one of three assembly days during the week. The students and the staff were coming in. The students went down to the assembly area and by 7.30 a.m. they were assembled. The headmaster took the researcher to the staff room where the staff were waiting for staff announcements before assembly. The researcher was introduced by the headmaster to the staff and they were asked to give the researcher as much assistance as they could. The researcher was given the opportunity to talk to the staff about his research, which he did, emphasizing the methodology of the research and the type of assistance that he wanted.

After the meeting with the staff the researcher was taken to the assembly area and introduced to the students. Again

the researcher was asked to address the students about his research and about the type of assistance that he wanted. In both meetings the researcher emphasized the confidentiality of the interviews and the fact that individual identities would not be revealed in the report.

the upkeep of the school, the equipment, and the facilities in the school were observed.

Assignment to Teach Form 2 Geography

On the first day at Dombo High School the researcher received an unexpected request from the headmaster of the school to teach geography in place of the regular geography teacher who had taken ill. The researcher was asked to assist by taking three form 2 classes until the teacher recovered. By this development the status of the researcher changed - he immediately joined the ranks of the staff and enjoyed all their entitlements. This made it easier for the researcher to mix more freely with the staff and the students and to gain access to records, files and store rooms without the inconveniences of having to get clearance. The teaching assignment without remuneration, was for twelve periods per week of 30 minutes each.

Archival and Documentary Data

Most of the work was spent

Data Collection Procedures
Three main methods of data collection were used during the research:

year books (school magazines); circulars from the Ministry of Education; internal circulars from the headmaster; communications with the teachers and the students

Observation

Observations were made and recorded. The physical artifacts in the school, i.e., the types of buildings, the architecture, the spatial relationships of the buildings, the decorations of the spaces, the upkeep of the school, the equipment, and the facilities in the school were observed. The human environment was also observed. This included the behavior of the teachers, students and other organization's members, the activities that they performed, and the interactions that students had among themselves and with their teachers. Emphasis was placed on those behaviors that were repeatable as these constituted the cultural behavior of the group. Observations were made before, during and after interviews and in different locations and at different times, in the school. Observations were made on all facets of life in the school. These observations provided the surprises which were used as the basis for further observation or interviews. The researcher made it a point of being in different parts of the school whenever he was not teaching.

Group interviews in the form of class discussions were

Archival and Documentary Data

Most of the first week of the field work was spent looking at the school records. The following documents were examined: the year books (school magazines); circulars from the Ministry of Education; internal circulars from the headmaster; communications with the teachers and the students

(report cards, assessment forms, time tables, bulletins, personal files, duty rosters, annual school reports); and any other written information in the school about the school. Access was gained to the school's document storage rooms. In addition, minutes of meetings for most of the meetings held in the school were read.

Interviews

The formal interviews were conducted at times and places convenient to the interviewees - at break time, during teachers' free periods and at the interviewee's homes. In identifying the interviewees, an effort was made to have representatives from all of the main categories of the school's members, i.e., the teachers, the students, the nonprofessional staff, the parents, former faculty and alumni. This cross section was meant to provide checks on emerging themes and organization-wide assumptions. Table 4 below, shows the categories of people who were interviewed and the total time for the interviews.

Group interviews in the form of class discussions were held in addition to interviews with individual students in the sample. These group interviews enabled the researcher to gain a wider insight into the world of the students and what some of their assumptions were. The researcher held group discussions with forms 2A3, 3A4 and 4A4 at different times and the frankness of these discussions revealed clearly the views

of the students. Group discussions were also held with the staff during break and during sports periods. These discussions with two or three teachers at a time also provided a method of validating the emerging data.

Table 4
The Interviewees and Total Time Spent on Interviews

	No. in the school	No. interviewed	Total time in hours
Headmaster	1	1	3
Deputy Head	1	1	.5
Teachers	36	10	9
Students*	856	8	4
Non-professional staff	10	3	.75
Parents		4	2
Former teachers		1	.5
Alumni		1	.5
Total hours			20.25

*In addition, three class discussions were held with a total of 140 students.

Informal interviews were held with many teachers when the opportunity arose. The researcher was able to establish relationships with the organization's members beyond the researcher/researched relationship. The researcher also met students and teachers and workers inside and outside the research environment -at sporting fixtures, at clubs, at social gatherings and at their homes. The headmaster, for example, would visit the researcher at his home and at times

would ask the researcher to accompany him on certain official trips to the capital. It was during some of these moments that informal interviews were conducted. All were aware that the views so expressed could be used for the purposes of the research as this had been made clear when the researcher introduced himself to the school's members.

The researcher also went on school trips with the students. He went on an educational field trip to the industries in the town and also on an overnight trip to Mazoe Citrus Estate. During these trips the researcher interacted with the students in an informal environment and had the opportunity to observe their behavior.

Most of the prearranged formal interviews were tape recorded but the informal discussions and conversations were recorded in the researcher's field note book as soon as possible after they occurred.

Motivated Insiders

Schein (1985) considers that the final determination of the essence of the organisation's culture is possible only through a joint effort of researcher and insider. The key informant should be keen to learn the culture of the organization and should be able to articulate perceptions and views and at the same time be able to see the outsider's point of view. The researcher decided to choose two key informants- one a teacher and the other a student. This was done in order

to determine the assumptions of both students and teachers. The researcher had a wide choice of motivated insiders. From among the teachers he selected a long serving member of the staff a Mr. Mhangwa (pseudonym), who joined the staff in the 70's as an assistant teacher. Because of the length of his service at the school he was considered knowledgeable about what was going on in the school. The researcher found him keenly analytical as well as self-critical.

The key informant from the students was Dumisani (pseudonym), who was in his final year at the school. The researcher found him to be very knowledgeable about what was going on in the school from the student's perspective. He also held very strong views on some issues and was fairly articulate.

Data Processing Procedures

Data generated through formal interviews and conversations were recorded by tape or by hand. As stated above, where interviews were pre-planned and the informants did not raise any objections, the interviews were tape-recorded. But when such interviews were impromptu or took place where it was not possible to operate the recording device, notes were taken during the interview or as soon as possible after the interview. Observations of repeatable behavior were recorded daily until saturation was reached when no new information was being generated.

The data recorded were reviewed on a daily basis in preparation for the activities of the following day. Emerging themes from both interviews and observations were analyzed on an ongoing basis and the emerging themes were placed in the five categories of the dimension of culture suggested by Schein (1985) and Dyer (1986) and which are shown in Table 3. This was done to ensure that all dimensions were covered.

When Dyer (1986) was processing data on the culture of Browns Corporation he identified the artifacts, and their accompanying perspectives and values before he made inferences about the tacit assumptions. In other words, for every assumption that he discovered he listed the artifacts, the perspectives and the values that supported the assumption. Reviere (1993) listed the values that supported each of the assumptions that she discovered in the school that she studied. Sathe (1985) and Schein (1985) also used the same method in their studies of the culture of corporate organizations. Such a method ensures that the reader is paced through the stages of the analysis.

In the present study the cultural assumptions will be deciphered from the observations, interview data and the data generated by the artifacts and archival materials. An attempt will be made to project the findings and determine the changes that may be taking place in these assumptions in the school. As has been seen, this method of culture analysis has been used in the study of organizational culture by Schein.

Credibility of the Findings

The most fundamental concern for any researcher is to ensure the credibility of his/her research. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981)

for naturalistic inquiry, as for scientific, meeting tests of rigor is a requisite for establishing trust in the outcomes of the inquiry (p. 107).

This requirement is less difficult to fulfil for quantitative research than it is for qualitative research due to the nature of the data generated by qualitative research. LeCompte and Goetz (1982) provide an argument for testing for the validity and the reliability of qualitative research along the same lines as for quantitative research.

To improve validity they encourage qualitative researchers to concern themselves with such threats to validity as the influence of history and maturation, observer effects and selection of sample. Other qualitative researchers emphasize the proper exposition of the context of the research and a thorough analysis of the researcher's personal traits and biases so that the consumers of the research can judge for themselves the validity of the research (Kirk and Miller, 1986). Yet others emphasize the thorough exposition of the data processing methods used and how the conclusions are arrived at (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

In this study both concerns for external reliability and validity were addressed. The ethnographic method entails

residence at the research site for a period of time. The present researcher entered the research site on 12th May and left on 30th June 1994. Though this period was not as long as that suggested for anthropologists, it also was not short enough to be labelled "blitzkrieg ethnography" (Rist, 1980). The period of residence at the site enabled the researcher to investigate thoroughly the assumptions that were operating in the school and that affected the behavior of the organization's members. It also enabled the researcher to develop rapport with the respondents and very likely ensured a candid and truthful response to the questions posed.

Interviewees were carefully selected in order to ensure that all the segments of the school population were represented and to ensure that their diverse experiences and opinions were considered. They were drawn from students, teachers, the administration, staff workers and parents. Within each segment such features as gender, age, sex and the diverse social position were considered to ensure a broadly representative set of interviewees.

The principal interviewees were selected by the consensus of a significant number of the school members during discussions and after initial conversations in the field. An effort was made to select knowledgeable people who knew the culture of the organization and were analytical enough to be able to make inferences about their culture.

Qualitative research, by its very nature, uses human beings as sources of

All data were checked and validated through the use of triangulation. Data from the interviews were checked against observations, and archival data were checked against data generated through conversations. This was important because the researcher was concerned to locate shared perceptions, shared beliefs and shared assumptions. In addition, the draft list of assumptions shown in Appendix 10 was discussed with the principal informants after the initial round of interviews. As a result of this discussion, and after further interviews and observation, the assumptions listed in Table 7 were identified. This method of discussing findings with the organisation's members is recommended in qualitative research to ensure the authenticity of the findings.

A further check on validity is to present the findings in such a way that the "natives" themselves speak to the reader (Erickson, 1986). As much as possible, this was the method adopted in this report.

Ethical Considerations

In writing about ethics, Flinders (1992) discusses standards of informed consent, the avoidance of harm, and confidentiality. Soltis (1989) discusses ethical concerns such as respect for persons, honesty, justice, and social rights and wrongs. Both writers advocate the establishment of ethical guidelines to regulate research. Qualitative research, by its very nature, uses human beings as sources of

data. Informed consent of the members of the organisation is essential and for this study it was obtained and all the informants signed a consent form (Appendix 4). However, it is not possible to determine the effect of the researcher's intervention on the organization. An effort was made to be as unobtrusive as possible in all the activities in the school outside teaching time in order not to influence the functioning of the organization. This was done by not taking an overtly active part in the activities in the school.

The question of possible harm to the organization was a difficult one. A decision had to be made on how best to conceal the identity of the respondents and the identity of the school. The researcher decided to conceal the identities of both. This decision was, however, problematic in view of the fact that the researcher was very visible during the research and many people obviously knew that he was doing research in the school. Another measure taken to reduce harm to the organization was to send the draft of chapters 5 and 6 of the thesis to the school so that the findings could be reviewed by the motivated insiders and the headmaster in order to get a feeling of their concerns about possible harm to the school.

Another ethical question involved the interviews. Some of the interviewees were uncomfortable discussing certain issues related to the school and others did not like their

interviews to be taped. When such requests were made the researcher complied.

All the informants were assured of the confidentiality of the interviews. To ensure this, all the interviewees were given pseudonyms and they were also assured that the tapes would be erased soon after transcription.

Informed Consent

Permission to carry out the research was obtained from both the Regional Director of Education and the headmaster of the school. This permission allowed the researcher to conduct interviews, to observe school members and to examine the school's documents.

All informants signed the consent forms which authorised the researcher to use the interview data in the write up of the research report. In addition, all parents of the student informants signed consent forms authorizing the researcher to use the interview material collected from their children. In each case, the nature of the research was explained to the informants by written notice. The voluntary nature of their participation and their right to withdraw at any point during the research was emphasized (see Appendices 3, 4, 5).

Data on the Interviewees²Teachers

Mr. Chata took up the post of headmaster in October of 1993. He was on transfer from another school where he had been headmaster for four years.

Mr. Mazani joined the staff in 1975. He is one of the longest serving teachers in the school. He served under the founding headmaster.

Mrs. Muredzi joined the staff in 1985. She is a head of department. She served under the founding headmaster.

Mrs. Gadzandira joined the staff in 1986. She teaches home economics. She served under the founding headmaster.

Mrs. Mafuta joined the staff in 1982. She is a head of department and worked under the founding headmaster.

Mr. Matare joined the staff in 1984. He is a head of a department.

Mrs. Sitabe has been at the school since 1986. She teaches Science.

Mr. Tafa came to the school in 1991. He teaches history.

Mr. Mataranyika joined the school in 1990. He teaches Shona.

²All names of interviewees are pseudonyms to protect their identity

Mrs. Temera joined the staff in 1986 and she teaches Geography.

Mrs. Pasipanodya joined the staff in June 1994. She is the deputy head.

Students

Joyce is in form 4. She has been at the school for the last four years and will be writing the final examination at the end of the year. Joyce is a prefect.

Farai is a boy in form 3. Farai joined the school in form 1 in 1992 and has been at the school for three years.

Jane is a girl in form 3. She joined the school in 1992.

Funqai is a boy in form 2 and he has been at this school for two years. He writes his Junior Certificate Examinations at the end of this year.

Doris is a girl in form 2. She has been in the school for two years.

Martha is a girl in form 1. She has been at the school for less than a year.

Temba is a boy in form 1. He came to the school this year.

Parents

Mrs. Matanda has a daughter in form 3 and has been a parent of a child in the school for the last three years.

Mr. Mukunda is a member of the school development association. Two of his children are in the school and the others have been in the school since the late 70's.

Mr. Matangi has had a child in the school for the last two years. At present two are in the school.

Mr. Chigore is a parent of a Form 4 boy who has been in the school for the last four years.

Others

Mr. Muredzi is former teacher who left the profession and joined a private organization in 1993. He was a teacher at the school for eight years.

Mr. Machiri is a general worker in the school. He has been at the school since 1987.

Mr. Manyuchi is a general worker in the school. He has been in the school since 1983.

Mr. Chitimbe is a former student of Dombo High School. He completed form 4 in 1992.

Summary

Many methods have been used to study the culture of schools. The present study uses Schein's methodology which consists of the ten step procedure, making use of an interview guide and a motivated insider. This methodology identifies values and assumptions that operate in the school. In addition to the motivated insiders, other informants who

provided information were selected from the ranks of the teachers, students, parents, alumni and former teachers. In addition to providing information, they helped validate information generated from observations and from the examination of archival documents.

To ensure the validity of the findings, informants were selected carefully and the procedure of triangulation was employed. Following Erickson's advise, the "natives" were permitted to speak for themselves as much as possible throughout this thesis.

Ethical questions included the problem of possible harm to the school and to school members. To deal with these concerns, confidentiality was assured the informants and informed consent was obtained for the interviews in advance.

the school.

Finally, a description of Donbo High School and of its internal and external physical and social environments will be attempted. Emphasis will be placed on how the school environment affects the operation of the school.

The School's External Environment

Location of the School

Donbo High School is located in one of the eight administrative provinces of Zimbabwe known as Mashonaland

East. Most government departments have decentralized some of their functions to

THE SETTING OF THE STUDY

Map 1 Political Regions of Zimbabwe

Introduction

In this chapter the organizational context in which Dombo High School is located will be examined. A brief description of the administration of education in Zimbabwe will be given and attention will be given to the type of schools found in the country. Secondly, a survey will be made of the political-historical circumstances that led to the establishment of Dombo High School and its development to what it is today. Emphasis will be placed on the school's philosophical thrust at the time of its inception and how its operations are affected by the factors that are external to the school.

Finally, a description of Dombo High School and of its internal and external physical and social environments will be attempted. Emphasis will be placed on how the school environment affects the operation of the school.

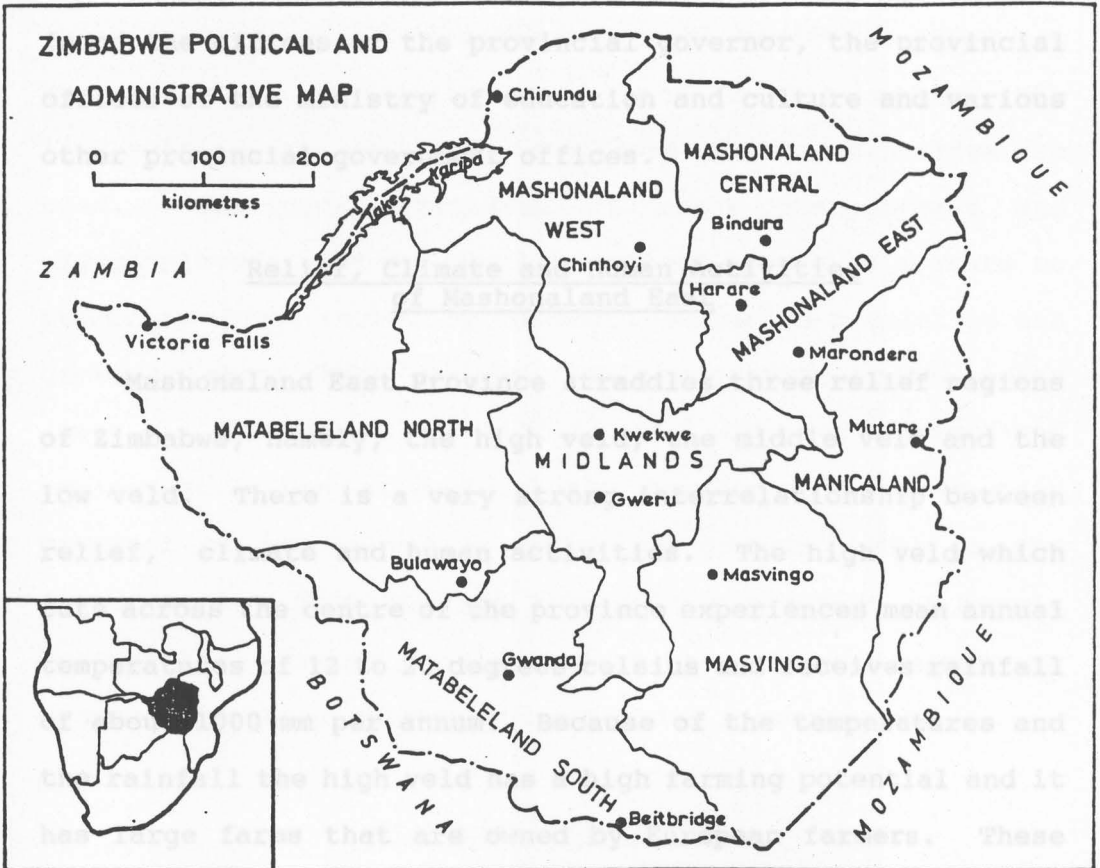
The School's External Environment

Location of the School

Dombo High School is located in one of the eight administrative provinces of Zimbabwe known as Mashonaland

East. Most government departments have decentralized some of their functions to the provinces.

Map 1
Political Regions of Zimbabwe



Mashonaland East Province is an large province which is divided into eight administrative districts. Each of the districts has a district service centre which services the whole district. Marondera is one such district and its district centre is Marondera town. Marondera town is both a district centre and a provincial capital. In the town are found the offices of the provincial governor, the provincial offices of the ministry of education and culture and various other provincial government offices.

Relief, Climate and Human Activities of Mashonaland East

Mashonaland East Province straddles three relief regions of Zimbabwe, namely, the high veld, the middle veld and the low veld. There is a very strong interrelationship between relief, climate and human activities. The high veld which cuts across the centre of the province experiences mean annual temperatures of 12 to 20 degrees celsius and receives rainfall of about 1000 mm per annum. Because of the temperatures and the rainfall the high veld has a high farming potential and it has large farms that are owned by European farmers. These farms produce crops like tobacco, maize and livestock. Marondera town, which is located in this region has farming-related activities like the Grain Marketing Board depot and an abattoir. There are also timber-based factories, a tanning industry, a brewery and a wine industry. In addition the town

is a very important educational centre with more than 10 secondary schools within a radius of 20 km of the town centre.

To the north and the south of the high veld rainfall decreases and the temperatures increase. With these climatic changes the human activities also change significantly. The low veld has rainfall totals of about 500 mm per annum and it experiences seasonal droughts. Drought resistant crops are grown in communal farming areas found in this region. The land holdings are small and traditional farming practices are used. The common problems of rural unemployment and underemployment and drought have forced people to migrate to the urban areas, including Marondera, where the population has grown to about 38000 people. This migration to the urban areas is in search of better conditions of living and employment. One attempt by the government to stem this movement of people was to establish growth points in the districts but this has not stopped the movement of people because the economic development in these growth points was not sufficient to attract the potential migrants.

money spent on white education could increase depending on the national enrolment

Historical Background

Fiola and Lanfords (1987) studied the educational plans for 29 nations including 16 from Africa and found that education is considered important for social equality and nation-building. They found that all plans emphasized the importance of education in the development of personnel.

Although at the time of Independence the education system of Zimbabwe was characterized as "racist, elitist, eurocentric and competitive, individualistic and capitalist oriented" (Jansen, 1991, p. 76.), the country embarked on a rapid, government-directed reform programme which resulted in a more equitable provision of services along non racial lines (Mackenzie, 1988). The rationale for this was, among other things, to ensure that sufficient personnel, which are an important ingredient of development, are developed.

As in Malawi and other former British colonies, the Zimbabwean education system at independence was characterized by a dual system: one for the white children and the other for the African children (Samoff, 1987). These two systems had disproportionate funding bases to support them. In 1970, the funding base for the African child was 10 percent of that of the white child (Nhundu, 1989). In the 1977/78 fiscal year government spent Z\$491.00 on a white child, and Z\$45.00 on an African child. In the same year expenditure on African education was held constant at 2 percent of the GNP whereas money spent on white education could increase depending on the national enrolment figures.

It is not surprising, therefore, that as a result of this inequity and, partly as a result of the new government's Marxist ideological leanings, major changes in the control and role of education were effected at independence in 1980 (Mackenzie, 1988).

1991). Such is The New Educational Aims and the Post-Independence School

Independence brought with it a non-racial and unified system of education. It also brought with it new aims for education and a new administrative framework. Because of the strategic role in which education was viewed, a highly centralized bureaucratic structure was instituted to control education and to ensure the attainment of set goals.

In 1980 education became a fundamental right for all children in Zimbabwe (The Zanu PF, 1980). In 1989 the government spent 10% of the GNP on education and the education vote was 22% of the annual budget. This is the highest ratio in the world (Dorsey, Matshazi and Nyagura, 1991). The Education Act of 1987 retrospectively established the objective of making primary education for every school-age child both compulsory and free (Education Act, No. 5, items 4-6). The other aims included the development of a non-racial attitude among youth; the creation of a national identity and loyalty; establishing literacy as a basic right; and providing education for all adults.

The impact of these developments on the school system was immense. Massive quantitative changes took place in education as a result. Between 1979 and 1987 there was a 688 percent increase in the number of secondary schools in the country - from 177 (1979) to 1395 (1987). Enrolments increased from 66,215 in 1979 to 672,653 in 1990 (Secretary for Education,

1991). Such increases and a massive expansion reverberated through the whole system. The same increases were experienced in the primary schools, the teacher training colleges, the technical colleges and the university. Needless to say, this rapid expansion of the system had adverse effects on the quality of education as teaching resources became stretched. The school as part of the system had to change in tandem with these changes if it was to survive. The large-scale enrolment changes necessitated the employment of untrained teachers and the setting up of so called double-session schools.

Control of Education in Zimbabwe

Education in Zimbabwe is firmly controlled by the central government. The Education Act states that

the minister shall promote and enhance the education of the people of Zimbabwe and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose and the minister shall secure the provision of a varied, comprehensive and constantly developing educational service throughout Zimbabwe (Education Act No. 5 of 1987, p. 208)

The Ministry of Education and Culture is the national authority for education in Zimbabwe. The ministry controls the provision of education through

(a) the payment of the per capita grant (money that is disbursed by the government to all schools in the country on the basis of the enrolment and the grade of the students; it is money that is disbursed notwithstanding the other monies that the school may raise from private sources); (b) the

provision of teachers (a certain number of teachers are provided based on enrolments and grade level; the ministry also controls the certification of all teachers and pays the salaries of teachers allocated to the schools on the basis of teacher/pupil ratios; (c) the provision of building grants for authorized construction in the secondary schools; (d) serving as the only registering authority for all schools in the country; (e) control of the curriculum and the examinations. According to the Act,

no person shall establish and maintain a school other than a government school, unless it is registered... Where the Secretary is of the opinion that adequate educational facilities already exist in the area in which an applicant proposes to establish a school, the Secretary shall advise the applicant in writing to that effect, and may recommend that the school be established in some other suitable area (Education Act No. 5, 1987).

The Ministry also has responsibility for educational policy, the gathering and dissemination of information on education, and the attainment of curriculum objectives (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993, p. 10). In terms of the policy, the formal curriculum in the schools is based on the syllabuses devised by the ministry and any deviation has to be authorized by the Secretary.

These bureaucratic controls indicate that the education system in Zimbabwe is highly centralized.

The Bureaucratic Structures in
the Administration of Education

National Level

The Ministry of Education and Culture in Zimbabwe is headed by the Permanent Secretary. The Permanent Secretary co-ordinates all activities of the ministry in the country. The Ministry of Education and Culture's head offices are in the capital and it is in Harare that policy is made.

Regional Level

There are 10 educational regions in the country. These regions are coterminous with the political-administrative regions. Each region is headed by a Regional Director of Education who, with the assistance of two Deputy Regional Directors and a team of education officers, is responsible for all primary and secondary schools in the region. Regional staffing and regional control of schools are some of the regional director's functions. He/she is accountable to the Permanent Secretary.

District Level

Each region is divided into districts. There are 55 districts in Zimbabwe and each one of them is headed by an Education Officer who is answerable to the Regional Director. The district education office is responsible for educational activities in the district. In practice however, the district

office is responsible for the primary schools. The Education Officer in the district is assisted by the District Education Officers who are responsible for the control of standards in the schools.

School Level

All secondary schools in Zimbabwe are graded on a unit system based on the enrolment and the level of education offered. There are three grades of secondary schools: grade 1 with 500 or less pupils; grade 2, between 500 and 960; while grade 1 schools have more than 960. In addition, all A level schools and most boarding schools are grade 1 schools.

The headmaster/mistress is the chief accounting officer at the school. He/she co-ordinates the educational function in the school and he/she liaises with the Responsible Authority and the parents over organizational matters in the school.

Such linkages, together with the controls provided by policy directives from the top of the hierarchy, determine how the schools operate. They also determine the extent to which the school can respond to factors external to it. Political, social, and economic factors impinge on the operations of the school in Zimbabwe as elsewhere (Hoy and Miskel, 1992). Bureaucratic linkages and controls also mean that some of the internal characteristics of schools, such as departmental

structures, subject offerings and instructional methods, are prescribed by the ministry.

In spite of these linkages, each school has a distinctiveness which arises from members of the school interacting among themselves and with their local environment.

Generally, government schools are better equipped than non-government schools.

The Types of Schools in Zimbabwe

The Education Act (1987) sets out two types of schools in Zimbabwe : government schools and non-government schools.¹ This classification is based on the source of funding and on control. Schools in each category can be either primary or secondary, boarding or day, co-educational or single sex, urban or rural.

Government Schools

Government schools are those that were established by the government and whose functioning is controlled by the Ministry of Education and Culture through its regional and district offices. They account for 15 percent of all schools. The Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for building the structures, i.e., the classrooms, the offices, and the students' hostels. The Ministry also determines the fees payable. Government schools operate on a vote allocation

¹Government and Non-Government are terms used in Zimbabwe to distinguish between schools controlled by the central government and those controlled by other agencies including local and urban councils.

system whereby the government allocates a certain amount of money to a school annually for approved expenses. Although the government is encouraging more participation by parents in the development of schools it remains the major source of money (Education Act No. 5, 1987).

Generally, government schools are better equipped than non-government schools (except the elitist private schools). Personnel in these schools are better qualified and provided with better in-service education than those in non-government schools and the personnel functions are more clearly defined.

Non-government Schools

In Zimbabwe there is very significant involvement by non-governmental agencies in education. About 85 percent of the schools are controlled by non-government bodies. The churches, local urban and rural councils, commercial and industrial enterprises, communities, parents and individuals have all established schools in Zimbabwe. Sixty-five percent of the schools are controlled by district and rural councils, 15 percent are mission, and 5 percent are trust schools (Dorsey, Matshanzi and Nyagura, 1991). Although the government provides per capita grants, pays salaries of teachers allocated on the basis of the pupil/teacher ratio and provides grants for authorized construction of secondary schools, the major part of school operating expenditures and

capital and recurrent costs are shouldered by the responsible authorities.

Therefore, depending on the financial base of the responsible authority the status of the school facility can vary from very poor to very good. Some non-government schools - particularly the private or trust schools - are richly endowed with facilities, while others are poorly endowed. The different types of schools also attract different qualities of personnel. Good students and good teachers gravitate towards the good schools.

In non-government schools, the headmaster or headmistress is responsible to the responsible authority, in spite of the government paying their salaries. The responsible authority (particularly the mission and the private schools) can veto the appointment of the headmaster or headmistress if they did not meet certain sectarian conditions.

The School's Internal Environment

History of Dombo High School

In the pre-Independence era, African education was meant to facilitate the conversion of the African to Christianity and to equip him/her with the basic skills necessary for cheap labour (Sage, 1989). The education system was based on racial discrimination and the attendant unequal accessibility. Not surprisingly, the 1982 personnel survey identified unequal

distribution of skills along racial lines in Zimbabwe. The origin of Dombo High School must be viewed in this context.

In 1966 the Rhodesia Front government led by Ian Smith presented a new education plan. According to this plan 37.5 percent of all African primary school leavers regardless of ability were to enter a two-year terminal secondary school course whose curriculum was "directed towards the probable type of employment which will be available....it is in commerce, industry and agriculture that work must be sought" (Moyana, 1979, p. 330). The plan was to establish 300 such secondary schools (Dorsey, 1989), which later became known as F2 schools, and to stop the expansion of academic secondary schools for Africans. The type of education envisaged in the F2 schools did not lead to apprenticeship training and the plan was meant to vindicate the white labour movement which felt threatened by the possibility of black Africans flooding the job market.

Unlike the academic secondary school curriculum, the curriculum envisaged for the F2 schools did not lead to university or to other institutions of higher learning but it led to a life of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. What the government wanted was

the establishment of a relationship between the school and the area in which it is situated. The school should be able to provide labour to meet the demands of industry. In rural areas ... it will be essential to link the two final years of schooling to agricultural activities (Moyana, 1979, p. 330).

Thus, in a way, the education envisaged was meant to stop the migration to urban areas and the encroachment of blacks upon skill areas held by whites. Under the government's plan, only 12.5 percent of the total primary school graduates would be allowed to go to academic secondary school which became known as F1 secondary schools. In all, only 50 percent of African primary school graduates could go on to either type of secondary school, this notwithstanding the fact that only 50 percent of all school-age Africans were in school (Dorsey, 1989).

The F2 schools were not popular with the Africans and provided one of the rallying points for opposition to the colonial education system. So solid was the opposition that when independence came in 1980 this system was replaced by the more academic secondary schools. Even before the attainment of independence the plan itself had experienced operational problems and by 1976 only 59 F2 schools had been built (Dorsey, 1989). There was a very small transition rate between the primary and secondary levels and an even smaller rate after the two-year secondary course.

Dombo High School was established in 1975 as a very small non-academic, F2 school, controlled by the Municipality of Marondera. When the school opened its doors it had an enrolment of 71 (38 boys and 33 girls) (enrolment statistics for 1975) with a staff complement of 6. These teachers held

the following qualifications: two had T2B training² from Mutare Teachers College; one had a carpentry course from Empandeni College; two had academic teacher training courses from Mutare, and the headmaster was a university graduate who had transferred from Mupamombe Secondary School in Kadoma. Of the teaching staff, 60 percent had technically oriented teaching courses and taught practical subjects like building, home economics and woodwork.

When the school started there was not much by way of infrastructure. There was a small office for the headmaster which has since been extended and enlarged and is now used as the headmaster's and deputy headmaster's office. There was also a small toilet block housing the boys and the girl's toilets and the male and female staff toilets. These toilets are now used by the juniors in the school. Two blocks of classrooms for academic lessons and the woodwork block, the building storage shed and the home economics block were available when the school opened (Mr. Mazani, Interview of May 1994). According to Mr. Mazani, who was a founding member of staff,

There was no school to talk about at that time. This whole area was a bush. We worked hard to develop the school to what it is today. Of course, later when the government took it over, there was more progress with the building of the structures that you see (Mr. Mazani, Interview, 16/5/94).

²T2B trained teachers taught technical subjects and T2A trained teachers taught academic subjects.

About the early days of the school, Joseph Chipunza wrote:

Gone are the days when ...[the staff] sat themselves comfortably (sic) under the tree having their coffee or meeting; the word "staff room" or office furniture was a strange dream (Dombo High School magazine, 1986, p. 35).

The shortage of facilities when the school started is shown by the headmaster's request to the Secretary for African Education. He requested (a) the laying of storm drains and paths in the school; (b) the clearing and grading of the sports fields; (c) the cutting and the tarring of a road into the school; and (d) the electrifying of the school.

He went on,

I would like to point out that this school is not in the rural areas as these requests may indicate, but in the main township of Marandellas (Letter, ref. P/1/1, 12/6/75).

The general despondency felt at the beginning of the school led the headmaster of the time to write to the Secretary for Education,

Also, I do request that the ministry considers a re-posting for me early next year to a position more suitable -- where I can be a teacher or a headmaster in a school which is properly built and equipped and where I can concern myself with those matters a teacher should concern himself with (Letter, ref. P/1/1, 12/6/75).

In 1976, the subject offerings of the school were English (42 periods), Environmental Studies (22 periods), Shona (22 periods), Mathematics (24 periods), Science (24 periods),

Woodwork (50 periods), Building (50 periods), Needle Craft (50 periods), and Home Economics (50 periods). Obviously, in the allocation of time, the bias was towards the practical subjects.

By 1979 however, the enrolment had risen to 332 and the number of teachers increased to 17. It seems that the initial problems had been somewhat solved when control of the school was taken over by the government in December, 1976. When this happened "furniture began to come in and many more classrooms were put up" (Mr. Mazani, Interview, May 1994).

Even today, the early problems are remembered in the school song that is sung at assembly and on other important days on the school calendar notably, the prize giving day and the installation of the prefects (appendix 7).

The main gate and the "other gate", both facing the high density suburb.

The School is Taken Over by the Government

The take-over of the school by the government in December, 1976, signalled a new chapter in the development of the school. It does seem clear that the municipality did not have the financial capabilities to operate the school. The minimal developments that took place in the early days were made possible through the use of the pupils' own labour. Government with its wider financial base ensured that the structural development of the school proceeded faster and in terms of a master plan (Mr. Mazani).

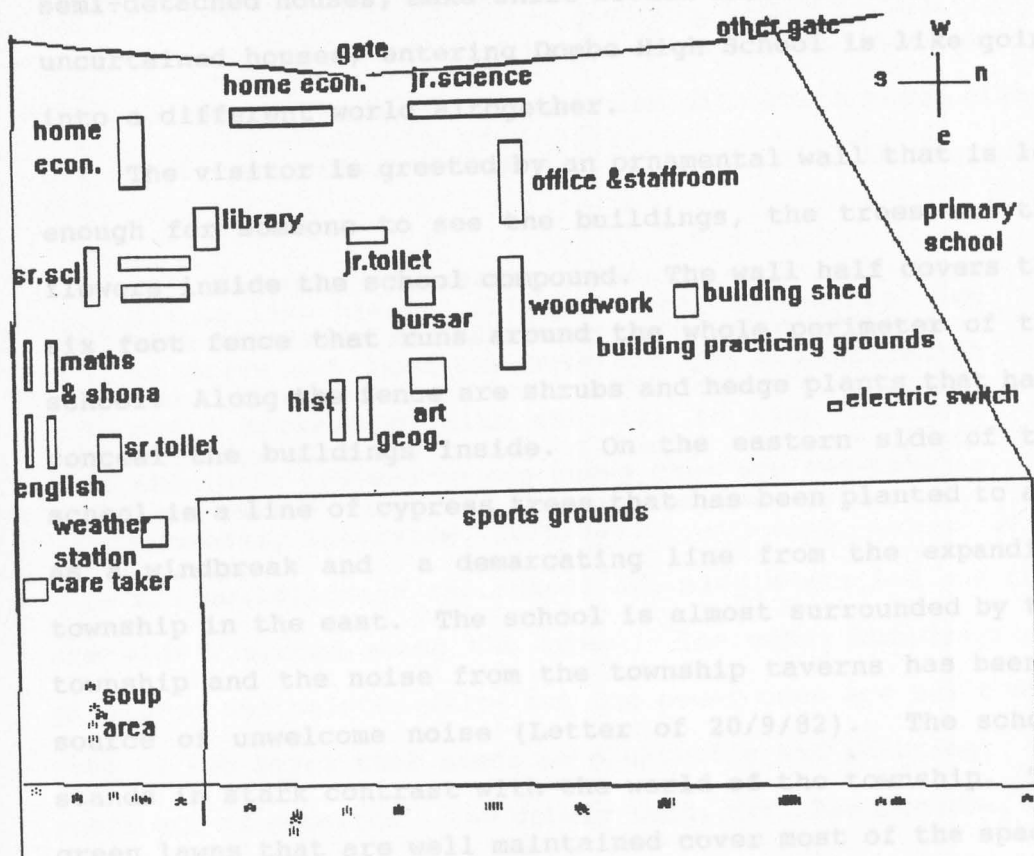
Physical Structure of the School

New buildings were put up to accommodate the ever-increasing enrolment. The senior science laboratory and the senior home economics block were built. Other buildings were built for history, mathematics, and geography classes and the staff room. Furniture for all these building was provided by the government.

As these developments were taking place, more personnel were added to the staff complement. The clerical staff and general hands increased. As the school was now located in a high density suburb, it was fenced-in to improve security. Other improvements included landscaping the grounds with lawns, shrubs and flowers.

Dombo High School has two main entrances -- the main gate and the "other gate", both facing the high density suburb. The "other gate" is not for general use. It is used only by those teachers who want to park their cars inside the school yard. It is also used by students and teachers to sneak out of the school yard without permission. This gate is located behind the school office and the school administrative block. Bulk deliveries to the school come in through this same gate as there is no other way vehicles can get into the school yard.

Map 2
Dombo High School



But by whatever means one comes into the school one has to pass through the township. For a person who has been walking or driving through the township with its congestion of semi-detached houses, make-shift wooden shacks, curtained and uncurtained houses, entering Dombo High School is like going into a different world altogether.

The visitor is greeted by an ornamental wall that is low enough for someone to see the buildings, the trees and the flowers inside the school compound. The wall half covers the six foot fence that runs around the whole perimeter of the school. Along the fence are shrubs and hedge plants that half conceal the buildings inside. On the eastern side of the school is a line of cypress trees that has been planted to act as a windbreak and a demarcating line from the expanding township in the east. The school is almost surrounded by the township and the noise from the township taverns has been a source of unwelcome noise (Letter of 20/9/82). The school stands in stark contrast with the world of the township. The green lawns that are well maintained cover most of the space, and paved walk ways link one building with another, so that no one walks on the lawns. The walkways are made of big square concrete slabs or of brown brick set in fascinating patterns. Apart from the lawns, one is struck by the amount and the quality of vegetation within the school yard. There are well preserved indigenous brachistegia and isobelinia trees with their low spread-out crowns scattered all over the school

yard. Also prominent are the aloe plants, mainly the musapana, the aculeata, the excelsia and the zebrina (after which the sporting houses in the school have been named). Other indigenous plants abound in the school and exist in harmony with the exotic decorative plants that line some of the walk ways. The care and attention with which these plants are maintained cannot escape notice. According to Manyuchi, one of general hands,

the founding headmaster used to care for these plants like his own children. He would spray them with chemicals and whenever one aloe died he used to drive out into the bush and get a replacement one. The same applies to the other trees. He would spray them with ant-kill to stop the ants from damaging the roots. I forget the name of the chemicals now and no one knows them now and that is the reason some of the plants are dying (Mr. Manyuchi, Interview, 16/5/94).

All buildings in the school are single-storied and they are widely spaced among the trees. The older buildings are plastered and painted white but the newer ones are built of a type of red brick that needs no plastering and painting. The roofs are of asbestos. The deputy head, Mrs. Pasipanodya, who had just been appointed to her post in the school offered this comment on the school:

When I came to this school I was struck by the vegetation and the flowers. I did not know that the school was so big. The buildings are shielded from view by the trees and the shrubs (Mrs. Pasipanodya, Interview, 15/6/94)

The Play Grounds

One of the early problems of the school was the inadequate space provided for the play grounds. The school is hemmed in by the township in the south, east and west and the primary school with which it shares its boundary in the north. The few sports play grounds in the school are located in the eastern lower end of the school. In this area there is one soccer pitch, two net ball, two tennis, and two basket ball courts. On many occasions, because of the shortage, the school makes use of the municipality's sports grounds. The sports ground area of the school is where the students mill around at break time when they are being served soup. Also, in this area, is found the outdoor amphitheatre where outdoor school plays are performed and the school's musical group practices on its instruments. Compared to the rest of the school this area is less well maintained than the upper part of the school.

Administration and Administrative Structures of Dombo High School

Headmaster and Deputy Headmaster

The school has had four headmasters since it started, the longest serving for 15 years (1975-1990). Because of the duration of his tenure, he had some impact on the school. It was during his tenure that some of the most critical events took place in the development of the school. These events

included the handing over of the school to the government, the advent of political independence with its new policy directions and the quantitative expansion of the system (Mr. Mazani, Interview, May 1994).

Between 1991 and 1993 the school had another headmaster who, together with his deputy, left rather unceremoniously as a result of alleged financial mismanagement. A caretaker headmaster was appointed in October of 1993 who administered the school for two weeks before the present incumbent took up the post in the same month. After a long period of stability under one headmaster the school is experiencing relative instability because of these changes. The removal of the headmaster and the deputy headmaster in 1993 undoubtedly had tremendous implications for the feelings students and the staff had about the stability of the school. It also came at a very difficult time for any school in Zimbabwe, a time when half the students were writing final examinations. In addition, during most of the first term the new headmaster was away from the school for prolonged periods of time on other official assignments³. Effectively, what this meant was that when the researcher started the project the headmaster was still new to the school and just beginning to feel his way around in the school. The headmaster said

³Mr Chata was involved in an exercise of the registration of voters in preparation for the 1995 general elections. Most headmasters were involved in this exercise. They were deployed to different registration points in different parts of the country.

one has to learn how things were done before one can bring about any new ideas and a change in the direction. Eventually, I want to establish how I want things to be done in the school (Mr. Chata, Interview, 30/6/94)

To make matters worse, a new deputy head was deployed to the school in June so that both of the top administrators in the school were new in their positions. As the key accounting officers in the school they are ex officio members of all committees, such as the School Development Committee, which is an association of parents with children in the school, and the finance committee, which controls the school's finances and disburses money for sports, school trips and other cultural activities (Ministry of Education, Handbook of Financial and Administrative Matters).

Duty Master/Mistress

Senior Master and Senior Mistress

The senior master is in charge of the pastoral guidance of the boys and the senior mistress gives guidance to the girls. They also deal with matters of discipline in the school. They form a link between the staff and the head and deputy.

Heads of Departments

At Dombo High School every subject on the curriculum has a department. The duties of a head of department are the formulation of departmental aims, drawing up the school

subject syllabus, requisitioning books, chairing departmental meetings, keeping inventories and monitoring quality in the department (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993). At Dombo High School the headship of a department seems to be conferred on the basis of seniority and also on the basis of qualifications. Other important considerations are "professional competence and loyalty to the school" (Mr. Chata, Interview, 10/6/94)

All heads of departments together with the head and the deputy form the academic board. The academic board has the function of advising the head on matters to do with the academic aspects of the school (Mr. Mhangwa and Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/7/94).

Duty Master/Mistress

Every week there is a duty master in the school. The duty master comes before the beginning of school each morning, stands at the gate and checks students' uniforms, shoes, and socks, general cleanliness and punctuality. At the same time if there is a notice for the students he/she writes the notice on the notice board and leans the board against a tree at the entrance for students to read. On assembly days, i.e., on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, the duty master/mistress ensures that the students are waiting quietly at the assembly area for the assembly to start. The duty master/mistress is supposed to be on the lookout for misbehaviour throughout the

week and to report it to the headmaster. The duty masters are assisted by the senior master and the senior mistress. In the past the duty master was supposed to write in the duty book his/her observations and recommendations each day that he/she was on duty. The headmaster and the teachers would read these notes. At the time of the study, this system had been discontinued.

Teachers

There are thirty-six teachers on the staff and all but one hold a teacher's certificate after O level. Only four of these teachers are university graduates although a fifth is on the point of acquiring a degree from a university in South Africa (ED.46B, 1994). The university graduates are in the following subject areas:- Shona⁴, history, woodwork and mathematics. About 50 percent of the teachers have been on the staff for more than 5 years. The average age of the teachers is 39 years although the oldest is approaching sixty years of age and the youngest is only 22.

Sports and Cultural Activities Committees

There are many committees in existence in the school. Each sport or club is run by a committee. The chairpersons of

⁴Shona is the language that is spoken by 75% of the population of Zimbabwe. It is one of the two main languages spoken in Zimbabwe.

the sporting activity committees constitute the sports committee which is headed by the sports master.

Non-professional Staff

Dombo High School has a non professional staff complement of 11 consisting of the following categories:

a) grounds staff - There are three general staff. Their job is to maintain the grounds of the school and to do general jobs that from time to time they are asked to do. They tend the flowers and shrubs and they are also responsible for making the soup that the students drink at break.

b) the office staff - There are two clerks/typists and a bursar. All the financial transactions are done by the bursar and the typists do all the typing in the school.

c) the laboratory assistants - There are two laboratory assistants in the school. They assist the science teachers to set up the experiments in the laboratories and to keep inventories of laboratory equipment.

d) the messengers - There are two messengers in the school. They clean the offices and run the errands and collect the post.

e) the librarian/executive officer - This man is an employee of the parents. Apart from working in the library, he also works as the on-site employee of the School Development Association. He collects the levy charged on

every student and does all the financial transactions of the School Development Association, to which he is accountable.

runs the errands and makes sure that the board is cleaned and

Prefects

Dombo High School has 18 prefects with equal numbers of boys and girls. In the past, prefects were elected by the student body. The system has, however, been modified with the passage of time and in response to the different philosophies of the headmasters. The present prefects were elected as follows: a list of candidates was drawn up and each form master conducted a class ballot with the winning name then submitted to a staff meeting where the final choices were made. The prefects were then officially installed at a public function (Mr. Mazani, Interview, 19/5/94)

Prefects play a very important function in the administration of the school and assist the teachers in the maintenance of discipline. They assist the duty staff to ensure that the rules and the regulations are followed.

Form Captain

The form captain is the form monitor and he/she is chosen by the class with the concurrence of the form teacher. His/her duties are similar to those of the prefects except that his/her responsibilities end in the classroom. The form captain is responsible for the class sweeping roster, for collecting the register from the headmasters office during

registration time, and for carrying books to the staff room or to the teacher's office at the back of the classroom. He/she runs the errands and makes sure that the board is cleaned and that there is enough chalk in the class room before the beginning of the lesson.

School Uniform

All students are required to be in school uniform during normal school hours. The uniform for all boys consists of black shoes, grey stockings, a blue shirt and a blue jersey; blue short trousers are worn by the junior boys and blue longs by the senior boys. The girls' uniform consists of black shoes, white socks, a blue jersey and a blue dress for the junior girls and a blue skirt and a beige shirt for the senior girls. In addition, all prefects wear a blue blazer with the school badge on the lapel pocket and badges to indicate their assignment and rank. Prefects also wear a blue school tie. The Dombo High School blue identifies the Dombo students in the locality and at interschool functions.

The school colours are blue and gold and the sports uniforms consist of items with at least these colours in varying proportions. Members of the school community and the larger community take particular pride in the school uniform.

According to Joyce:

our uniform is neat and good. We like it very much and we do not want anyone to change it. We do not want other schools to use our colours because it

Table spoils the whole point in having a uniform (Joyce, Interview, 10/6/94)

And according to Mr. Matanga who is a parent:

the children at Dombo High School have a high standard of everything. Their uniform is good and most of the children are well behaved. I think the teachers are doing a good job there (Mrs. Matanda, Interview, 18/6/94).

Form	Boys	Girls	Total
1	117	65	182
Total		351	856

Enrolment

To get enrolled at Dombo High School a child has to pass an entrance test. The selection committee sends out a circular to the surrounding primary schools informing them of the upcoming entrance examinations. Each primary school submits a list of 40 pupils who have indicated their preference for Dombo High School. After the entrance examination, the committee selects pupils for form one for the coming year. The headmaster also selects a certain quota in response to various pressures from the community.

Most of the students that attend the school come from the township immediately around the school but there is a significant number that come from townships further afield and from the surrounding farms (Mr. Chata, Interview, 10/6/94). The current enrolment is shown in Table 5.

- Woodwork
- Practical Food and Nutrition
- Fashion and Fabrics
- Art
- Catering

Table 5
Enrolment by Sex and Form in 1994

Form	Boys	Girls	Total
1	131	99	230
2	132	92	220
3	125	95	220
4	117	65	182
Total	505	351	856

(Enrolment Returns: Second Term, 1994)

Curriculum

Curriculum offerings at Dombo High School are determined by the government. The subjects offered are grouped into categories and every school must teach at least one subject from each category. The following subjects are offered at Dombo High School:

Languages	English
	Shona
Science	Core - science
	Extended science
Technical	Building
	Technical graphics
	Woodwork
Practical	Food and Nutrition
	Fashion and Fabrics
	Art
	Catering

advanced stage Catering the marking is now done by Zimbabwean
 Humanities Geography supervision of the syndicate. This
 examination History final examination for most students.
 According to Literature in English Education, 52 percent of
 Mathematics who sit this examination fail to enter tertiary

All pupils in the junior forms do the same number of subjects but at the Form 3 level there is more choice of subjects. Students have access to all subjects but in the practical subjects girls favour Food and Nutrition, Catering, and Fashion and Fabrics, while the boys favour Building, Woodwork, and Technical graphics (Timetable).

Examinations

There are two main examinations that are written by the pupils at Dombo High School:

a) The Zimbabwe Junior Certificate Examination, written by all pupils in Form 2. In the past it was a terminal examination for most students. Today, however, the bottleneck at this level has been removed and pupils can progress up to Form 4 in spite of their performance in this examination. This examination has become a diagnostic examination to assist in advising students in their choice of subjects at Form 3 level. The examination is set and marked externally.

b) The Cambridge School Certificate Examination is set and marked under the supervision of the Cambridge Examination Syndicate. Plans to localize this examination are at an

advanced stage. Most of the marking is now done by Zimbabwean teachers under the supervision of the syndicate. This examination is a terminal examination for most students. According to the Minister of Higher Education, 52 percent of the students who sit this examination fail to enter tertiary institutions (Edward, 1994). The figures in Table 6 show the size of the bottleneck at this level. For example, although there were 117,061 pupils in Form 4 in 1989, there were only 7,741 in Form 5; in 1990 there were 125,418 pupils in Form 4 but only 8,273 in Form 5 (Secretary for Education and Culture, 1990).

Table 6
Enrolment by Form to Show the Transition Rates after Form 4

Year	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Form 5	Form 6
1989	200650	184182	153610	117061	7741	6959
1990	192753	176885	161719	125418	8273	7417

(Annual Report of the Secretary for Education and Culture for the Year Ended 31st December, 1990)

To pass the examination the students must pass at least 5 subjects including English at grade C or better.

c) The National Foundation Examination is set by the ministry of Higher Education for those students who are doing an advanced course in Catering and Building on an experimental basis. Upon successful completion the student is better equipped to join the trades.

Summary

Dombo High School is part of a wider system of education. This system is controlled by an established bureaucratic structure and has experienced changes over time induced by changes in the political environment. The school originated in 1975 as a result of a political decision and it has developed over the years. Dombo High School has an internal organisation characterised by a hierarchical administrative structure. It has an enrolment of 850 students and a staff complement of 36. It offers a wide range of subjects, most of which are examinable at "O"level. In addition the school offers a wide range of extramural activities.

The school's historical development, internal organisation and activities, and its relationship with the external environment are important factors in the development of its culture. These factors have, together, resulted in the development of assumptions that the school's members hold.

CULTURAL ASSUMPTIONS IN DOMBO HIGH SCHOOL

Introduction

In this chapter the values and the assumptions underpinning Dombo High School's organisational culture are identified. According to Schein (1985), in order to analyze values one must discriminate between those that are congruent with the underlying assumptions and those that are in fact rationalizations or aspirations for the future (p.17).

This distinction will guide the discussion that follows.

Values and Assumptions

Schein (1992) makes a distinction between articulated or espoused values and enacted values. According to him, values are an expression of the individual's assessment of what is right or wrong. These statements have not been collectively proven to be right or correct ways to behave. Articulated or espoused values are statements of what ought to be as opposed to what is. Articulated values are what the organisation's members will say they do, but which may be out of line with what they will actually do in situations where those values should in fact be operative (p.19). Often, these values are not consistent with observed behaviour and the underlying assumptions.

Enacted values are those values that are congruent with the basic underlying assumptions. These are values that collectively have proved to be acceptable to the organisation's members and have gradually sunk into the realm of the subconscious. They have become basic assumptions. Schein advises that, in any study, these two groups of values should be distinguished. According to Schein (1985), in order to decipher basic assumptions, it is important to "examine carefully an organization's artifacts and values [and to] infer the underlying assumptions that tie things together" (p.17). Dyer (1986) also infers basic assumptions from the behaviour exhibited by an organisation's members and the values that they hold. In addition, basic assumptions may also be derived from the statements members make during interviews (Schein, 1985; Sullivan, 1989).

In this chapter, a value is identified by what the "natives" (Gregory, 1983) of the organization say during interviews. This value may be stated as the idealized perception of the students, the teachers and the parents or as a rationalisation for their behaviour. The assumption associated with the value is stated as the underlying principle that guides their actual behaviour. The identification of this principle is based on observations of behaviour and data generated from the examination of artifacts and interviews. Therefore, each assumption is stated and related to the articulated or espoused value that the members

of the school say they hold. This was done in order to determine how far the articulated values are a true reflection of the basic underlying assumptions. Some of the values which the school's members said they held were opposed to the assumptions operating. This was to be expected as not all values undergo a transformation to assumptions.

Administrative Periods of Dombo High School

The administration of Dombo High School is perceived by school members as falling into two main periods, i.e., 1975-1990 and 1991-1994. The period 1975 to 1990 is the period of the founding headmaster. Many of the informants consistently referred to this period in the interviews. They refer to it as one of stability when the school had only one headmaster. The period 1991 to 1994 was characterized by many changes in the administration. There was a new headmaster from January 1991 to October 1993. As noted earlier, he and his deputy left abruptly and he was replaced by a caretaker headmaster who stayed for two weeks before the present headmaster took over towards the end of October 1993. At the time of the study, the present headmaster had been on the job for only four months and a new deputy headmistress was deployed to the school during the research period. Therefore, the responses of school members should be viewed against a background of immediate administrative change.

Relationship of Dombo High School
to Its Environment

One of the dimensions around which assumptions form is the relationship of the organization to the environment (Schein, 1985). As the organization (school) interacts with its environment the members form assumptions regarding the best way to act in order for the organisation to survive in the environment. In this section, the school's relationship with the external and internal environment is examined. The values that the school members hold, and the assumptions that have evolved as a result of this interaction with the external environment will be identified. The assumptions that the school members have developed around their relationship with the internal environment of the school will also be identified.

Articulated value 1a. Dombo High School ought to produce good results in the national examinations and prepare students for "A" level.

One of the reasons why many of the students and parents chose Dombo High School was the perception they had that Dombo High School produced good results in the two national examinations, i.e., the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate and the "O" level examinations. According to Mr. Mukunda, chairman of the School Development Association:

I have had six of my children go to Dombo High School and one of them is still there. This is because the school produces the best results.

Better results than the other schools in this town that (Mr. Mukunda, Interview, 1/9/94).

According to Martha,

I chose Dombo High because I had heard that the teachers at this school work hard and that students pass. It is also the nearest school to my home (Martha, Interview, 15/6/94).

Mrs. Matanda had this to say,

Dombo High School has built a reputation for good results in this town and I feel proud that my daughter is at this school. I could not send my children to the other schools because they play and at the end of the day they do not pass (Mrs. Matanda, Interview, 23/6/94).

At one of the school functions the headmaster said,

one of the characteristics of a good school is its ability to prepare its students for the numerous examinations they will meet in their course of stay at the school (Headmaster, speech at prize giving day, n.d.).

Assumption 1a. Passing the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate and the Cambridge "O" level examinations is the main aim of Dombo High School teachers and students.

An examination of the documentary data and behavioral artifacts plus the researcher's own observations revealed that the articulated value that passing the examinations ought to be the main aim of the school is congruent with the assumption that was operating in the school and it is one of the main driving forces behind most of what the teachers and the students do in the school.

The researcher observed the following artifacts that indicate the importance of this assumption:

Emphasis on tests and examinations. An examination of the school calendar and the teachers' preparation books indicated that examinations are the most important events in the school year. The school syllabuses are divided into modules indicating the work to be completed every fortnight in the semester. Each of these modules is evaluated with a test. All work to be covered is organized so that the syllabus is completed before the final examinations. For the examination classes, the end of the examinations signifies the end of school. As soon as the examination ends, all students in the examination classes leave school. In the minutes of staff meetings many teachers complain about the loss of interest by students in coming to school and of the changed attitude of teachers towards teaching once the examinations have ended. In all the departments there is a requirement that tests be given on a regular basis and the results recorded in the teachers' record books; assessment files are kept in the staff room. For the examination classes, tests must be based on the format of the final examination in order to give students enough practice in answering questions. Comments on reports sent to the parents emphasize the assumption that examinations are important. Although teachers are supposed to comment on attitude, attendance, industry, obedience, politeness, helpfulness, orderliness, and punctuality, most focus on the

predicted performance in the coming examinations. Comments like "at this rate you will not make it at the end of the year"; "do not lose hope before the examinations" or "you have to work harder if you want to pass the "O" level examinations" are very common (Report Cards).

Analysis of the results. The publication of the results by the examination boards brings excitement to the school. These results are analyzed and the performance by subject compared with the performance of the previous years. The percentage pass is calculated for each subject. A staff meeting is held to discuss the results and the names of the best students are announced and applauded. The results are also announced at the school assembly and later displayed on the bulletin boards. Meetings are held in the departments to assess the performance of the departments in the examinations. The researcher attended one such meeting that was convened to discuss the Z.J.C. examination results and to identify the causes of and suggest solutions for poor performance.

Later, the academic board met for the same reasons and made suggestions to the headmaster, including the following: that class sizes were too big and the calibre of students being enrolled was not as good as in the past; that practical subjects be not given to the least capable students; that the headmaster should stamp out indiscipline in the school and that teachers should be more conscientious about their duties.

Such suggestions were thought to be necessary to improve the results in the school.

The teaching methods. The teaching methods used in the school emphasize the importance of examinations. Reference is continually made to past examination questions and examination techniques. The researcher was once asked to talk to the Form 4's about the expectations of the examiners in Geography (The researcher is an "O" level marker in the Cambridge Examinations). In Forms 2 and 4, Fashion and Fabrics class time is spent on the garment that is submitted for the examinations. In mathematics, the teacher constantly referred to past examination papers as a basis for lessons and his main worry was that most of his students would fail the examinations at the end of the year. This was causing him frustration and despair. This frustration was generally shared by the members of the department. According to one teacher,

a large percentage of the students have despaired over mathematics. It is a compulsory subject and this contributes to the apathy of the students. The classes are too big. This is the first time ever that I taught a class of 46. It is difficult to give individual attention to the students and moreover the marking load discourages the teacher. There is clearly a lot of pressure on the administration to enrol more students but this is being done at the expense of standards. You see those students running there? They are going to look for chairs from free classrooms. This movement of furniture causes breakages. At times you go into a classroom only to find that there are no chairs. This results in reduced motivation and general indifference and poor results (Mr. Matare, Interview, 16/5/94).

In geography the teachers were advised in the departmental meeting to

look at last year's paper. Map work must be taught once a week and tests must be given in alternate weeks. Corrections must also be marked. Most of the examination questions at both ZJC and Cambridge are data response questions and students must practice on this (Mr. Mhangwa, 31/5/94).

In science Mrs. Sitale, who has been teaching in the department since 1986, said

the single most important aim of the school is to make pupils pass in order for them to get jobs. There doesn't seem to be any point in education for life if there are no jobs out there (Mrs. Sitale, Interview, 8/6/94).

The students also feel that the passing of the examination is important and should be the *raison d'etre* of the school.

According to Joyce,

there are many activities in this school - sports, clubs but one has to be careful. What I want is to get 5 good "O" levels and then perhaps I can go for training somewhere (Joyce, Interview, 10/6/94).

Celebrating examination performance. The school celebrates the performance of the students in the examinations at prize giving days. Outstanding performance by students is acknowledged in the presence of parents and invited guests amid much fanfare and jubilation. In 1992, the program for prize giving day shows that, of the 17 prizes given, 10 were for academic performance. To further emphasize the importance attached to academic performance, these prizes were books (Mr. Mhangwa, Interview, 16/6/94).

It is evident, therefore, that the assumption of passing examinations is an important driving force in the school. It is, to a certain extent, motivating the behaviour of the school members. This assumption takes on an added importance because nationally examinations are important in determining who proceeds for training or further education. According to the Minister of Higher Education, about 57,000 or 52 percent of "O"level graduates fail to get access to tertiary institutions each year (Black, 1994).

Most of the long serving staff who were interviewed indicated that this assumption has not changed since the time of the founding headmaster.

Articulated value 1b. The school's internal environment constitutes an aesthetic element of the school and it ought to be maintained, at any cost, in the same state as in the past.

Interviews with the staff and the students indicated that the school grounds were more than just ornamental; they stand for the ideals and the effort of the founding headmaster and they are a living example of his dedication to the school. According to one teacher,

the grounds are a monument of the founding headmaster and they ought to be maintained. The former headmaster tended these flowers and these trees and we must not be seen to be neglecting them (Mr. Tafa, Interview, 2/6/94).

Although the outsider the school grounds look well maintained, school members feel that the standard of upkeep landscaped grounds, i.e., the lawns, the well maintained indigenous and exotic trees, shrubs and flowers that have been

arranged into attractive patterns of walk ways and tree lined boulevards.

According to the present headmaster, I cannot allow people to say that the standards of the grounds are going down because I have come here. You see there was a problem because there was no hose pipe to water the lawns. You know what I did? I just went to the treasurer of the School Development Association and demanded a hose pipe and there it is the lawns are being watered (Mr Chata, Interview, 13/5/94).

The school has three grounds people. There were four at the beginning of the year but one was promoted to clerk and left the school. The duties of the grounds people are to look after the grounds and to make sure that they are well maintained. The grounds people also have lawn mowers and other gardening equipment and a significant amount of money to spend annually on the maintenance of the grounds. This is a clear indication that the articulated value, the school's internal environment ought to be maintained, is important to the school.

Assumption 1b. The school ought to take a carefree attitude towards the maintenance of the school's internal environment.

According to the members of the school, there is now a lax attitude towards the maintenance of the school grounds. Although to the outsider the school grounds look well maintained, school members feel that the standard of upkeep has gone down and that the administration is not doing

anything about it. Ten teachers interviewed felt that the grounds are not as good looking as they were during the time of the founding headmaster. It does seem that the attitude towards the grounds of the school and the general internal school environment has changed and that, although the general hands are doing some work on the grounds, the teachers perceive their efforts to be largely inadequate. A reason that the general hands gave for the teachers' concerns was that the grounds are short staffed with only three grounds people instead of five, as in the past, and that the attitude of the students towards the school grounds and school property in general has changed.

The evidence the teachers gave to indicate the neglect of the grounds included litter on the lawns that went unswept, dead aloes that were not replaced, trees that were dying because they were not sprayed with chemicals, lack of attention to the grounds in front and at the back of the office block, flower beds that were not being attended and grounds staff that were not being supervised and who were loafing (Mr. Mazani, Interview, 23/6/94). During the period of study, the researcher witnessed an incident that involved the writing of graffiti in the senior toilets. The headmaster perceived it to be an indication of lack of respect for school property and proceeded to punish the whole group of Form 4's who were suspected of having done it. Fungai had this to say about the incident:

The graffiti was written last year when the former headmaster and the former deputy headmaster were forced to leave the school and this was because these two were cruel and the students did not have any channels by which they could be heard. It is bad and just imagine if an outsider saw it (Fungai Interview, 3/6/94).

Another example that was brought to the researcher's attention was the destruction of a large number of desks and chairs by the students just before the commencement of the study. This was seen as a further example of the changing attitude of the students towards school property (Mr. Mizani, Interview, 23/6/94). According to Mrs. Gadzandire,

now the grounds have really deteriorated. There is a lot of dirt around and nobody seems to care. Looking at the plants [the founding headmaster would care for those plants ... but now it seems we take them for granted - we just say they are there they are growing and whether they die or they survive it's up to God. We complained about the holes that these dogs [the guard dogs] were digging in the lawn. We asked that each morning these holes be filled - nothing has been done since January and they are still there and we are taught to appreciate the grounds but now we are learning to look at the grounds deteriorate. If you see dirt, you just say this is not my job and even if I say anything nothing is done. There is a carefree attitude in the school and it is getting worse every day. Each day things are getting worse (Mrs. Gadzandire, Interview, 30/6/94).

According to a former teacher,

the attention given to the grounds at [school] has now decreased. The students now just criss cross the lawns and they just walk along any path they please (Mr. Madzire, Interview, 15/8/94).

According to Dumisane, "one of the problems that we have as prefects is to keep students off the lawns" (Interview, 15/6/94).

Mr. Tafa, who is a long serving member of the staff, thinks that the problem of the grounds has been caused by the discontinuance of the gardening period in the junior forms, where students used to help with the weeding of the grounds and the picking up of papers (Mr. Tafa, Interview, 2/6/94).

The picture that emerges is of a situation where the school is not living up to the values that the members profess. The driving force for the actions of the school members is the assumption that the school grounds and the school environment are not important any more and that a carefree attitude is alright.

Articulated value 1c. Because the school is a part of the wider society, decisions made in the school should reflect what the society values but the interests of the teachers and students ought to be protected.

Most of the teachers interviewed acknowledged that the school had to operate in line with government policy. They acknowledged that the wider society as represented by the Ministry of Education, the parents through the School Development Association, and the immediate community, had an influence in the running of the school. They accepted their responsibility to follow the policy guidelines as set in the various circulars that originated from the Ministry. But they also felt that the teachers must be protected by the headmaster from the adverse effects of this wider environment. The headmaster, according to them, must create in the school

a community feeling based on mutual protection from an uncaring and impersonal environment. The headmaster must act as a buffer between the school and the wider environment.

Such external influences can be seen from what Mr. Mukunda said:

We cooperate with the headmaster. We ask the headmaster to submit requests for the projects that need to be undertaken and we also make suggestions. If a headmaster does things without consulting the parents we talk to him and we can appeal to the ministry. Our role is that of complementing the school in its efforts to develop. We also influence, through the headmaster, the behaviour of the teachers and the students and we also influence the enrolment decisions of the headmaster. He cannot take anyone who comes because this lowers the standards (Mr. Mukunda, Interview, 1/9/94).

The value that the school ought to be subject to the influence of the wider environment seems to be borne out by the artifacts, e.g., the circulars, the policy documents and the administrative instruments observed in the school. Such documents could also impose a sense of insecurity to the teachers from which they need to be protected. Some of the documents impose so many demands on the teachers which are threatening to them.

Assumption 1c. The administration will not protect the teachers from the adverse influence of the external environment.

Although the school members articulate the value 1c, they perceive a good school as one in which they are protected from the influence of the external environment. The Regional

Director's sentiments endorse the perception of the teachers at Dombo High School:

Everybody must be assured of the protection of the head. The teachers need protection from the government ministries, from the students and from the local community. The non-teaching staff need protection from both the teachers and the students. The students need protection against the prefects that abuse their power. The junior students need protection against the senior students. The female students need protection against the male students. All students need protection against student vandals and hooligans. In other words, everybody in the school should feel protected by the head (Chigwedere, 1994).

The perception of the teachers, particularly during the post-1990 period, was that the administration of the school did not protect them. This is in contrast to the founding headmaster whom they perceived as protective and compassionate (Mr. Muredzi, Interview, 15/8/94). Their behaviour is based on the assumption that developed during the time of the former headmaster whom, they said, threatened teachers to ensure compliance with the regulations. According to him,

during the time of [name of the last headmaster] disciplinary instruments were the order of the day. This was unlike the [founding headmaster] who used a lot of discretion which benefitted the school. He would understand the teachers and he would defend them. The [last headmaster] was not prepared to take what it cost to support someone. During the time of [the last headmaster] teachers could be transferred any time and without warning and the inspectors would come at any time without warning - a thing that never used to happen during the time of [the founding headmaster] (Mr. Muredzi, Interview, 15/8/94).

This is a form that is filled in by the headmaster and a committee that is selected by him/her to recommend salary advancement for teachers who satisfy certain criteria of professional ability.

At the time of the study teachers were still assessing the present headmaster but they were operating on the assumption that they were vulnerable.

According to Mrs. Mapondera,

teachers are vulnerable, they can be transferred at any time and unjust accusations can be made against them. The headmaster ought to protect his teachers and they must feel secure. For example, one teacher fell ill and she was asked to fill in the forms¹ and another teacher was absent and he was asked to fill in the absence from duty forms. I would want to know, when the headmaster leaves the school on his own private business does he fill in the forms. These forms spoil one's record at the ministry. Surely there is another more humane and less bureaucratic way of doing things. Rules and regulations are made by uncaring and distant people and the headmaster must be more sympathetic to the needs and the circumstances of the teachers (Interview, 2/6/94).

According to Mr. Mataranyika,

if the recent past is anything to go by I would not stick my neck out during meetings. You know, there is this ED 94.² You may not get any advancement in your salary (Interview, 10/6/94).

The operation of the assumption was manifested in a number of behaviours observed and reported during the study: the reluctance of the teachers to participate in meetings, a result, no doubt, of the open confrontations that the previous

¹These are the sick leave forms that according to the regulations one has to fill in when one is absent from duty on account of sickness.

²This is a form that is filled in by the headmaster and a committee that is selected by him/her to recommend salary advancement for teachers who satisfy certain criteria of professional ability.

headmaster used to have with teachers and the threats that he made. According to Mr. Muredzi,

Mr. [name of last headmaster] would take things very personally and any professional challenge would be taken as a personal challenge (Interview, 15/8/94).

All teachers interviewed indicated that they felt secure during the time of the founding headmaster. According to them even the education officers and the auditors would not harass them because he afforded them protection.

The Nature of Reality, Truth, Time and Space

In this section the values and assumptions that have developed in relationship to how decisions are made and the basis for action in the school will be examined. Values and assumptions about how assessments are made and how these assessments can be translated into action are reviewed. According to Schein (1985), as organizations develop they also develop assumptions about how time ought to be spent and how space ought to be distributed. These assumptions ensure the internal integration of the group and also ensures that the group is organized properly to work towards the attainment of its primary tasks.

Articulated value 2a. School members ought to be involved in the decision-making process in the school.

That this value was important to members of the school was evident from data generated through interviews and

conversations. It was clear that informants expected to be consulted before major decisions were made in the school. Documentary data and an examination of the administrative structures of the school indicated that this value is important. The school places importance on the departmental system of school organization. The department head's functions include providing advice to the headmaster in matters to do with the academic aspects of the school (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993). The academic board consisting of all heads of departments has, among other things advises the headmaster (Duties of Academic Board, 1994).

The researcher also noted that the administration values the participation of teachers in decision-making through their participation in committees in the school. There are committees for aerobics, chess, net ball, darts, drama, gymnastics, lawn tennis, music, rounders, table tennis, soccer, volley ball, catering, administration, transport, grounds, academic and discipline (staff room list, 1994).

The headmaster has stated the following views:

I believe in involving teachers in decision making. I believe in consultation with the various sectors of the school and this is the reason why we have so many committees in the school. It is a way of empowering the teachers. By and large, decisions are made by consensus in the school. I will change or modify my decisions to suit the consensus. The committee system seems to be working (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/8/94).

Assumption 2a. Decisions in the school are made by the administration outside the committee framework.

Value 2a is not supported by the evidence. Evidence generated from observations and interviews tends to indicate that the situation indicated by the value is different from the situation that is operative in the school. According to the teachers interviewed, the decision-making process does not in fact involve teachers to any significant extent. Most of the teachers interviewed said that they felt that decisions were made in spite of the input of teachers and students. The teachers felt that influence claimed for the committees was not justified as most were not operational. Mrs. Gadzandire's assertion was typical:

The committees are very ineffective. Let's look at the academic committee ... sometimes you don't know when it sits. And the recommendations from the committees are not heeded by the administration (Interview, 30/6/94).

According to Mrs. Sitabe,

it looks very good on paper, right. I am still to see if these committees...it is looking very democratic. I was used to the other thing. In theory it is a good thing but because of the changes I am looking at it with a jaundiced eye (Interview, 8/6/94).

One reason that the teachers gave in support of this assumption is that the committees do not meet. According to Mr. Mhangwa, the finance committee, which was supposed to be the most important committee, had not met for a long time and yet disbursements were made from the General Purpose Fund

which the committee is supposed to control³ The prefects reported that they had had only one meeting since the beginning of the year (Joyce, Interview, 10/6/94) and the academic board had met just twice to discuss the allocation of periods to staff and the ZJC results. Although this committee made some recommendations to the administration only one of the recommendations had been acted upon. The other committees had not met formally since the beginning of the year. Other evidence that this assumption is the driving force behind behaviour is the reluctance of teachers to take part in staff meetings in a meaningful way. The researcher attended three staff meetings at which the input of the teachers was sought on certain administrative matters. There was no participation at all.

On being asked why teachers did not take part, Mr. Mhangwa said that this trend started during the period after 1990 when a new headmaster came to the school and teachers were made to feel that any participation would be construed as a threat to the administration, particularly if the views expressed were different from those of the administration. Commenting on this lack of participation Mrs. Sitabe said,

³According to The Handbook of Financial and Administrative Matters the school has to have a finance committee consisting of the Headmaster as the chairperson, the Deputy Headmistress as the vice chairperson and a number of teachers including the teacher in charge of practical subjects. This committee controls the finances of the school which are drawn from under the General Purpose Fund. All purchases in the school have to be made by this committee.

terrible, terrible I say. I often thought that it was a result of tradition. The tradition was that the headmaster came to the staff meeting with what he wanted and it was well thought out and it was well planned and he presented the fait accompli to the staff. Overall the presentation was palatable. There may have been some mumbling and grumbling but overall everyone went along. Pathetic, pathetic is the only word for it (Interview, 8/6/94).

According to her, the non-participation of teachers in meetings did not start during the period after 1991 but has been a feature of staff meetings since the time of the founding headmaster. But, she concedes, the situation grew worse during time of the last headmaster, i.e., from 1991 to 1993.

Both the headmaster and the deputy headmistress are aware of this state of affairs. What they have resorted to doing to offset the effects of non-participation is to solicit the input of individual teachers in making decisions.

It is clear, therefore, that the value articulated is only an espoused value and that the actual behaviour of the organization's members is driven by a different basic assumption.

Articulated value 2b. Punctuality and the use of the full school time for school work ought to be important to the members of the school.

All informants hold the value that punctuality ought to be important and that teachers and students, once in the school yard must not leave until the specified times of lunch break and tea break or when special permission has been

granted by the headmaster. The tradition of punctuality has developed in the school over a very long time. Punctuality is one of the things that is mentioned in the school regulations:

an important part of courtesy is to be prompt and punctual so as not to keep others waiting. We must move promptly so as to be present before due time (School Regulation No. 2. see Appendix 8).

According to teachers, punctuality had become somewhat of a tradition in the school and this value was further articulated in a speech by the founding headmaster on prize giving. According to him,

if a school discards its traditions, it has no foundations to build upon, no patterns to follow and the whole tone of that school will drop. Students must understand that traditions are kept to help them learn discipline and to allow the school to operate at a high level it does (Headmaster, Prize Giving, 1989):

According to Mr. Machiri, one of the general hands, one of the common reminders from the administration to the workers is to be punctual.

Assumption 2b. The use of time at school during school time is entirely determined by the teachers and some of the time ought not to be used effectively.

Value 2b is supported by data only as far as coming to school and staying in the school is concerned. In the mornings, the duty-master and the prefects stand at the gate to check on punctuality. The headmaster himself is in the school by 6.45 a.m. and he is normally the first person to arrive at the school. Teachers are reprimanded for coming to school late. As a matter of practice, it was observed that

teachers and students do not leave the school grounds during normal school time. As one student said, the past. They are back to go out of the gate one has to pass in front of the headmaster's office. I can't dare if I do not have any permission (Temba, Interview, 14/5/94).

All respondents were convinced of the importance of coming to school on time but they did not have the same duty to be punctual for classes after break or when they moved from class to class during the change of periods.⁴ One of the complaints of one head of department was the fact that teachers were the main culprits (Mr. Mhangwa, Interview, 2/7/94). The researcher observed many teachers going for lessons late after break and continuing discussions on the walk-ways between classrooms for up to 10 minutes after the bell. Even the general grounds staff did not appear to be conscious of time because it took them a long time to do small jobs like boiling soup and serving it to the students at break time. This evidence shows that the assumption that is driving the behaviour of the school is at odds with the articulated value.

Articulated value 2c. The performance of the school today ought to be judged against its performance during the time of the founding headmaster.

⁴The school operates on the system of subject base rooms. At the end of a period students move from one subject room to the other and there is generally much movement. Students take the opportunity to bask in the sun and to visit the toilets and this results in delays of movement from one classroom to the other.

In interviews with the informants, the theme that dominates is their nostalgic perception of the past. They are backward-looking and according to them what happened in the past is the yardstick that should be used to judge the performance of the school. This value has inevitably resulted in much resentment and concealed conflict between the administration of the period after 1990 and those teachers who were on the staff of the founding headmaster. According to the present headmaster it sounds very unfair to his administration when the majority of teachers look back to the past and compare. Statements such as the following are indicative of relationships in the school and give meaning to the conviction widely held that the school's performance should be judged against past standards.

There are more cases of drunkenness than before. In the past whenever students met teachers in local bars they would run away. But today it is different. They blow cigarette smoke into your face like what happened two years ago. They even challenged a teacher to a fight (Mr. Mataranyika, Interview, 10/6/94).

The founding headmaster would just stand there without saying anything and the students would be quiet. There was a day when he remained in the school alone with the students when the teachers had gone home. There was order (Mr. Mhangwa, Interview, 12/6/94).

Assumption 2c. The performance of the school today ought to be the same as that of the time of the founding headmaster.

Evidence generated through interviews tends to show that value 2c is anchored in the basic assumption that many of the

members of the school hold that the performance of the school ought not to be different from its past performance. School members are quick to point out the changes that have taken place. Such changes as larger class sizes, more disciplinary problems with students and workers, the altered role of the prefects, and the reduced commitment to improving the school environment and test results are quoted as signs that the school has changed.

As a result of these changes it is said that the relationships between teachers, students, and the administration have changed for the worse (Mr. Muredzi, Interview, 15/8/94). Such sentiments have resulted in conflicts between the new administrators and the old staff. Conflicts were reported particularly during the time of when most recent of the former headmasters was attempting to assume control of the school. According to Schein (1985) any attempts to change an organisation's culture results in anxiety among members because change introduces uncertainty by removing the familiar and replacing it with the unfamiliar. The same process is being replayed today by another new headmaster who is altering the established way of doing things.

Articulated value 2d. For the good of the school and in the interests of order in the school, the use of space in the school ought to be regulated.

Most of the school members who were interviewed articulated this value. All students and teachers have a feeling of ownership about school; they believe it is necessary to limit the use of space for the benefit of the school. School members generally endorse the regulations that have been introduced in the school and that limit movement on the walk-ways, forbid walking on the lawn, forbid students to enter the staff room, stop students from getting into a classroom in the absence of a teacher, and restrict the area available to students to the lower part of the school, i.e., the area around the sports grounds. Their explanation is that without these restrictions the school's highly valued environment would be destroyed.

Assumption 2d. Claims to space should be on the basis of seniority and gender.

The articulated value 2d supports this assumption. In addition to the regulations and the general restrictions imposed on the use of space in the school, there is evidence that assumption 2d directs the behaviour of the members of the school.

Claims to space in the school are based on seniority, with the headmaster owning the largest and the students the smallest amount on a per capita basis. The upper side of the school, with most of the buildings is generally not available to the students. For the most part, the classrooms are out of bounds in the absence of a teacher. Student are generally

restricted to the walkways. Students have unlimited access to the area around the play grounds but even here various groups claim ownership to certain parts. The students have divided this area according to seniority, with the senior students controlling the part next to the senior toilets and the junior students claiming control over the part next to the building shed. It was observed that the different age groups would gravitate to these different parts at break time.

Students do not just walk into the headmaster's office. Nor can they just knock on his door. They stand in front of the office until the headmaster recognises them and asks them in. And no student passes in front of the headmaster's office as a sign of respect. It is a tradition that has been handed down from one generation of students to the other. Gender also plays an important role in determining who can use space. It was observed that there are certain areas where boys do not go. The area around the home economics department is only for girls, not because of any regulation, but by tradition. These observations tend to support the assumption that space is utilized and allocated on the basis of status and gender.

The Nature of Human Nature

In this section, attributes of members of the school will be examined. Schein considers that the two basic problems of any group are the problems of survival and the problem of

internal integration. In order for the organization to survive, members must have certain attributes that govern their relationship with one another. Such attributes reflect how the organization is integrated internally in order for it to accomplish its aims.

Articulated value 3a. Prefects are important in the administration of the school and they ought to be given their due position and respect.

The school believes in the institution of prefects. Prefects are regarded as an essential instrument in the administration of the school and in the control of students. They are regarded by the administration and the staff as part of the administration and as such they are supposed to be of a high calibre and their behaviour should be exemplary. Attributes like honesty, respectfulness and the ability to lead were mentioned as some of the most important attributes. Although most students feel that the prefects represent the administration and therefore should be considered apart from the student body, they cannot imagine a situation where there are no prefects at all. All students and teachers in the school that were interviewed indicated that the institution of the prefect is necessary and that the students occupying these positions should be of very high calibre in terms of behaviour and leadership qualities. According to the head boy of the school of 1991:

As prefects in a school, we are not policemen but intermediators. We are rather like a middle man.

We transfer information from the staff onto the students and vice versa (Kamangira, School magazine, 1990).

All students interviewed felt that the prefects need to know the regulations of the school and that they must be highly respected in order to execute their responsibilities effectively.

The prefects themselves are conscious of their importance in the school and down play their policing duties. They endeavour to project an intermediary image between staff and students. All members of the school are agreed that in order for the prefects to be effective they need the support of the school and this support must be visible.

Assumption 3a. Prefects are important in the disciplinary process but their behaviour ought not to be exemplary and they ought not be given support.

That the institution of the prefect is considered important in the school is borne out by the artifacts and the data generated through interviews. The importance attached to the office is inferred from the number of ceremonies attached to the office. The artifacts indicate the importance that is placed on the institution of prefect, including the elaborate ceremonies for the election, installation, and even demotion of prefects. These ceremonies have symbolic significance for the school. The prefects are elected by popular vote of the student body but are confirmed by the staff. The archival data indicate that the installation of prefects is an

important event on the school calendar and it takes place in the presence of the whole school and invited guests. This is meant to be an educative process for the school and the ceremony officially sanctions the role of the prefects. The installation involves the pledge of allegiance to the school and to the headmaster and the official pinning of the badges of office (Dumisane and Joyce, Interview, 1994). The archival data also show that there is an elaborate demotion ceremony for prefects involving the public removal of the badges of office from the offending prefect⁵

A further confirmation of the importance of the prefects is their special uniform with its badge of office. Prefects have the privilege of visiting other schools to witness the installation their prefects. But in spite of these institutional norms that dignify the position of prefect, the teachers and students believe that the prefects are not living up to the ideals embodied in the position. This belief not only influenced their relationship with the students, but their relationship with the teachers as well. The group discussion with Form 3A4 revealed that the prefects had become ineffective. According to one student in the class,

Both incidents, in her view, were indicative of the poor

⁵A document exists in the school archives that details the procedure to be followed when a prefect is demoted. It states that the prefect has to be charged by the head boy in front of all students and he/she is given an opportunity to defend him/herself. The headmaster is then solemnly asked to strip the prefect of his rank by removing the badge of office. This ceremony was performed in the time of the founding headmaster.

prefects are now very ineffective. Nobody listens to them any more. In fact, the junior prefects are bullied by the bigger boys and they are threatened with beating if they took any action at all. No one takes them seriously any more. Even if I am put on imposition I do not go and they can do nothing about it. Absconding from imposition is now not a very serious offence. In the past people used to be suspended for this (Form 3A4, Interview, 23/6/94).

These sentiments are also expressed by the teachers and the prefects themselves. The prefects admit that they find the control of students difficult, particularly at assembly. Dumisane, a principal informant, argued that this was because the staff do not support their efforts (Dumisane, Interview, 15/6/94). Eight of the teachers interviewed attributed the lack of prefect effectiveness to the fact that they do not get the support of the administration and that the prefects themselves do not set a good example to the rest of the students. According to one particular teacher, who was very forceful about her conviction, the problem is the poor calibre of the prefects. She cited a number of prefects who were not setting a good example. According to her, on one occasion graffiti found on the toilet walls was drawn by a prefect; she also cited the case of a prefect she had discovered drunk. Both incidents, in her view, were indicative of the poor quality of the prefects. Other offenses she mentioned were dishonesty, rudeness and a case of prefects bringing the school into disrepute during a trip to Nyanga (Mrs. Gadzandira, Interview, 30/6/94).

On the question of lack of support from the staff, Mr. Mhangwa, a principal informant, pointed out that in the past the prefects held a special position in the school and that this position was constantly bolstered by the frequent meetings prefects had with the headmaster. According to him, these meetings were no longer taking place regularly. Data available, in the form of the prefects' duty rosters and ceremonies associated with the prefects, therefore indicate that while they are considered important for discipline, their behaviour need not be exemplary and they ought not be supported.

Articulated value 3b. Integrity and professional behaviour ought to be a prerequisite for guaranteeing the respect of the students and the staff in the school.

Value 3b was articulated by both teachers and students at Dombo High School. This value shows that school members have certain criteria by which they judge teachers and that these criteria are shared by the students as well.

The students expect teachers to be professional in their approach to their work and that they project an image of respectability. According to Fungai,

a good teacher works hard. Many students do not like teachers that give too much work to the students but you know, it is to the advantage of the student. Some of the teachers who do not do their work loose their temper fast and they keep on scolding students and most of these teachers use the cane (Fungai, Interview, 3/6/94).

Fungai also had his ideas about what a good teacher should be like,

You know, sir, the teachers here, particularly the ladies, are smart. They dress up well and you can see a difference between them and the rural teachers. Teachers must be smart to set an example to the students (Fungai, Interview, 3/6/94).

According to the headmaster,

A good teacher is a person who does his work conscientiously and who behaves like a teacher.. You know ... a person who cares for the children (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/8/94).

This view is corroborated by Mrs. Mapondera who said

we have in this school some good teachers who work professionally without being followed behind by any one (Mrs. Mapondera, Interview, 2/6/94).

Assumption 3b. Teachers who behave like professionals are respected by every one.

The value that integrity and professional behaviour ought to be a prerequisite to the guaranteeing of respect of the students is a true reflection of the assumption by which the school operates. The evidence indicates that the school is determined to ensure the maintenance of a high standard of dress among teachers. Documentary artifacts reveal a dress code which, the researcher found, was strictly adhered to.

According to a letter from the Ministry of Education,

neatness and tidiness in dress of staff is something which should also be given careful consideration. The Public Service Commission's General Letter No. 16 of 1990 sets out clear guidelines concerning the standard of dress expected of the public servants which could well be expected of all the teachers whether members of the

Public Service or not (Ministry of Education, n.d.).

The male teachers at the school are always neatly and modestly dressed in tie and jacket. Although the female teachers had a uniform that they cooperatively agreed to use, only a few wore it to school. Nonetheless, they were very modestly dressed.

Data also reveal the existence of a code of conduct. It takes the form of a list of acts of misconduct and is posted in the staff room. This list shows the punishable offenses in the public service. The headmaster, according to the records, from time to time points out the necessity of adhering to this code (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/7/94).

The headmaster also emphasizes mutual respect between teachers and students:

I insist on respect for one another. I was shocked when one of the teachers called the messenger by his first name. You know how old he is? He could be the age of my father. How can anyone expect the students to respect him/her if he/she does not respect others (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/7/94).

Interviews also revealed that one of the things that the headmaster pays attention to in his attempt to improve the professional standing of the teachers is improper association between male teachers and female students. An incident that was reported to him involving this was thoroughly investigated. He also pays attention to the way teachers behave socially. When a teacher was reported to have been smelling of alcohol on the day of the consultation with the

parents he was told that he would be recommended for a transfer to another school (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/7/94).

It is evident that the assumption that is driving some of the behaviour in the school is that teachers who behave like professionals are respected. This assumption is a reflection of the value articulated.

Articulated value 3c. The administration ought to assert its authority in the school and ensure discipline among students.

The value that the administration ought to ensure discipline in the school by asserting himself is shared not only by the students but by the teachers and the parents as well. One of the most critical complaints by teachers as well as a big percentage of the student body was the lack of discipline in the school. They attributed this to the apparent indecisiveness of the administration. The value that the school holds in this area is that the administration ought to show more of its presence and for members of the administration to move around the school to check and ensure that discipline is maintained. This value stems from the founding headmaster whom the teachers consider as having been very disciplined himself and who ensured that discipline was maintained. The administration's lack of assertiveness was noted by Mrs. Sitabe, when she said,

there is a limbo situation in the school at the moment. I prefer to say that the school is trying to find its own direction without leadership. It is drifting along. It is going on its momentum at

the moment ... There is now a slackness and a loosening of discipline in the school. One goes around the town and one hears snippets from the parents that discipline is not as good as it used to be (Interview, 8/6/94).

Mrs. Gadzandire also presented a typical view on the breakdown of discipline:

The breakdown in discipline is also evident in the dress and the general manners. Students no longer give way when teachers are passing on the walkways and in the corridors (Mrs. Gadzandire, Interview, 30/6/94).

Their argument is that if the administration asserted itself, then this situation would improve.

Assumption 3c. The students at Dombo High School ought not to be well behaved and the school administration ought not assert its authority to stamp out indiscipline and give direction to the school.

The articulated value 3c is not supported by the evidence. It is only an espoused value. In fact, an examination of the artifacts revealed evidence indicating that assumption 3c is a true reflection of the rules by which people at Dombo High School operate.

At assembly the researcher observed disorderly behaviour among the students. According to the informants, assemblies have degenerated into purposeless gatherings and students misbehave by making so much noise that whoever is conducting the assembly cannot be heard. This happened even when members of the administration were there. Students also deliberately

distorted the tunes of both the school song and of the national anthem and shouted queer sounds during the assembly. The perception teachers and student had of the assemblies differed considerably from the writers own observations.

According to Mr. Mhangwa,

assemblies must be solemn occasions when the head/deputy would indicate his/her likes to the student body. Assemblies must be used to tell the students what they did right or wrong in the last week and what should be done in the coming week (Interview, 2/7/94).

According to a staff respondent, the staff felt that the administration was missed an opportunity to assert itself. On account of noise at times it was difficult to hear what was being said. The prefects and the staff on duty were trying with much difficulty, to make the pupils keep quiet.

The writer also observed noisy "prep" periods. Most of these periods were unsupervised. In spite of the duty roster posted on the staff board, teachers generally ignored prep duties. The prefects and the form captains were largely ineffective because they claimed that they did not get any support from the administration.

Other artifacts examined included the minutes of the academic board meetings. At these meetings, the academic life of the school is discussed by the heads of departments. One of their recommendations was that the head and his deputy should make their presence felt in the school and not confine themselves to the office. The board recommended that the head and the deputy wander around the school to see what is

happening and to deal with problems as they occur; in that way every one could be kept on his/her toes (Minutes of Meeting, 31/5/94).

The implications of these complaints are first, that the administration does not assert itself, and second, that the students and teachers sense it and slide into unacceptable forms of behaviour (such as students coming to class late, teachers abandoning lessons for flimsy reasons and grounds workers not doing their duties in the grounds). The students felt that discipline in the school had decreased as evidenced by the following: students sitting outside basking in the sun even after the siren for the commencement of the lessons; students not wearing the school uniform; beer drinking and smoking on the school grounds. According to one student,

you find the students wearing the zico shoes for sports and track suits for school and you find many different t-shirts around.⁶

Form 3A4's felt that all this was because the administration was lenient. Form 4A4's considered that the teachers had also become undisciplined and had taken advantage of a lenient administration by now coming to class late, by abandoning lessons when they were annoyed by a student and by smoking in class. All teachers interviewed believed that it was the responsibility of the headmaster and the deputy

⁶In Zimbabwe most schools have a school uniform which students wear at all times during the normal school time. Zico shoes are a type of sandal manufactured in Zimbabwe. They have become very common because they are cheap.

headmaster to deal effectively with discipline. As noted previously, recommendations of the academic board articulated these feelings: the presence of the headmaster and the deputy headmistress should be felt by the whole school; they should go on tours of the school and look out for those not conforming to the school's expectations; the tone of the assemblies should change and an effort made to inculcate what the school stands for (Minutes, Academic Board Meeting, 31/5/94).

Again, this assumption is different from that which used to apply during the period of the founding headmaster. The teachers seem to make a distinction between the present and the past regarding discipline in the school. The students tend to make a distinction between the present and the time of the immediate former headmaster.

Articulated value 3d. Admission of new students must be on the basis of performance in the entrance examination in order to improve the school's results and image.

Most of the teachers, students and parents interviewed expressed their support for this value.

According to Mr. Mataranyika, students must be carefully selected so that the school is not filled with poor students. We have to think about our status as a school. Our percentage pass has to project a good image for the school. If our percentage pass is low nobody would think that we are working (Group Interview, 7/6/94).

According to Mr. Chigore,

A child who comes here must be proud that he made an achievement by passing the entrance examination. The school cannot take every one (Interview, 19/6/94).

Assumption 3d. The criteria for admission to the school need not be consistent.

Value 3d only partially reflects the operative assumption of the school. A Form 1 selection committee prepares the entrance examination for new students. After the entrance examination a list is drawn up of those students who qualify. The headmaster makes the final choice. According to him:

In addition to the number selected through the entrance examination I also take some for public relations purposes. My enrolment is literally bursting through the seams. I have 46 in each class in Form 1 and I do not have the facilities in the home economics department (Mr. Chata, Interview, 12/5/94).

In addition to the Form 1's, the headmaster also takes some transfer students from other schools if their parents have transferred jobs. These students present a problem because their subject combinations are different from those offered in the school. As a result, the criteria for selection are not uniform. Most teachers interviewed believe that the discipline problems they are encountering and the students' lack of motivation are a result of the selection system. According to Mr. Matare

a large number of the students has despaired over mathematics. It is a compulsory subject and this contributes to the apathy of the students ... Such an attitude is perhaps because of the student

selection system which is not rigorous enough and which results in the intake of incapable students (Interview, 16/5/94).

According to Mrs. Muredzi,

I do not understand why we have so many pupils in a class. It is exhausting to teach 25 students in a Home Economics class. Moreover there is no selection any more and this will affect the results ... the quality of our students has gone down (Interview, 16/5/94).

Thus, it seems apparent that more than one criterion is used in the selection of students and members of the school interpret their behaviour in terms of this assumption.

The Nature of Human Activity

In this section, the assumptions related to the school's main activities will be examined. Some of the key activities of the school will be identified and school members' assumptions in relation to these activities will be deciphered. These assumptions, which constitute the driving force behind the behaviour of the school's members, will be discussed. Schein argues that if an organization's assumption about its primary tasks are out of line with societal expectations, then the it faces a survival problem.

Articulated value 4a. To prepare them for life, practical subjects ought to be important in the curriculum for all students.

All members of the school articulated the value that practical subjects are an important component of the

curriculum and that all the students ought to take them. In fact, the origin of the school was based on this value. The value is encapsulated in the motto of the school, "Education is for life." When the school started, its main thrust was the practical subjects.

The teachers' articulation of this value is supported by the students when they said,

Practical subjects are good because you may not go further with education but you may get a job using what you learned in woodwork or building (Temba, Interview, 14/5/94).

Although parents think that academic subjects are preferable as they tend to lead to prestigious jobs, they are in agreement that the practical subjects are well worth doing.

According to Mr. Matangi:

I want my son to be someone better than me. He has to go to the university and be somebody. But I think learning to do things by hand is also useful and this school provides that (Interview, 19/6/94).

Assumption 4a. Practical subjects are important and everyone must take them.

That the value articulated in respect of the desirability of doing practical subjects is reflective of the school's basic operating assumption was determined by both observations and interviews. Archival data also support the fact that this assumption is one of the driving forces behind what actually goes on in the school.

As has been seen in chapter 4, the historic orientation of the school has been towards practical subjects. When the

school started it was less an academic institution and more an institution which offered practical subjects (As an F2 school, it provided more practical than academic subjects in the curriculum). Although its F2 designation changed in 1980 because of its political overtones, the practical thrust of the school did not change much. There are five buildings for practical subjects accommodating woodwork, building, food and nutrition, fashion and fabrics, and art. Out of 36 staff 12 teach practical subjects. Every pupil in the junior forms completes three practical subjects and everyone in the senior school completes at least one practical subject.⁷ There is an element of subject specialization in the senior forms.

Practical subjects take up three hours of instructional time each every week compared to two hours for history, geography, and shona. Further expansion of practical subject offerings is under way with the introduction of more specialized technical training. Courses in catering and building are now offered on an experimental basis and a system of attaching students doing these courses to companies in the town of Marondera is being tried. At the time of the study a number of students were attached to a giant supermarket in the and where they were practicing their catering skills. According to informants, a number of students had earlier been

and building although he admitted that there had not been any girl in the two subject areas since the school started

⁷Junior forms are Forms 1 and 2; and the senior forms are Forms 3 and 4.

attached to a nearby boarding school and they assisted in the preparation of food for the students.

Expenditure on practical subjects is much higher than on other subjects. Apart from the government allocation for the purchase of books and capital equipment, students pay extra money over and above the school fees for the supplies required for these subjects (ingredients for food and nutrition, sewing materials for fashion and fabrics, timber for woodwork and the practice bricks for building). Such additional expenses make practical subjects the most expensive subjects in the school. All practical subjects offered at the school are examinable subjects at both ZJC and "O" levels.

Articulated value 4b. All practical subjects ought to be available to all students regardless of gender.

Official policy in Zimbabwean schools bans gender discrimination in practical subjects. According to Mrs. Madzire,

there is nothing to stop boys from doing fashion and fabrics or food and nutrition. In fact we used to have boys doing these subjects in the past. Today, only girls do these subjects. This is perhaps because of the influence of tradition (Interview, 16/5/94).

Mr. Mazani, who teaches woodwork, did not think that there should be any rule to stop the girls from doing woodwork and building although he admitted that there had not been any girl in the two subject areas since the school started (Interview, 23/6/94).

Assumption 4b. Certain practical subjects in the school ought to be restricted according to gender.

Observation revealed that the current picture is that certain subjects are for boys and others are for girls. Although there is no stated policy to support this distinction, all students doing building and woodwork were boys and all students doing fashion and fabrics, and food and nutrition, were girls. Although there is no policy to stop either gender from taking any subject, this distinction is observed. Both teachers and students felt that the gender division by subject matter reflected a division in the wider society where certain activities were designated male or female activities. The boys interviewed were not able to reconcile this state of affairs with the fact that in the world of work more men were employed in the food industry and in the garment-making industries than women.

Articulated value 4b. Sports ought to be an important activity in the school.

All students and teachers interviewed attested to the importance of sports in the life of the school. The Ministry of Education encourages sports in the schools. According to the headmaster sports are important to develop skills which otherwise would go undeveloped. According to him every student in the school should do at least one sport. (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/7/94). The sports master, also thinks that every student ought to be involved in sport:

Sports are important for relaxation. Not everyone is academically gifted and so you will find that some students do well in sports. We have several students who passed through this school who were not very good in class but who are doing very well in sports. We have Harrineck who is a long distance runner who got a sports scholarship and is running well in America, Morgan Tandi who is playing [soccer] for COSCO, Sauke who is playing for Eiffel Flats, Nyasha Nyamajiwa who is playing for Tanganda in Mutare. They were not good in class but because of sports they are where they are now (Mr. Mataranyika, Interview, 10/6/94).

Assumption 4b. Sports are important in the curriculum.

Articulated value 4b reflects an assumption that is widely shared by most members of the school and which directs their behaviour. An examination of artifacts and data generated through observations indicates that sports are important in the school. One afternoon on the timetable is devoted to sports every week. Facilities, though considered inadequate by the staff and students, have been constructed as a result of the financial input of the School Development Association. A soccer pitch complete with terraced stands and a VIP shed has recently been constructed. Courts for most sports offered have also been constructed, viz., volley ball, net ball and tennis. Facilities have also been provided for table tennis and indoor games.

The annual calendar provides for sports. In the first term emphasis is on cross country and track and field events. Interschool tournaments are entered, e.g., the Dairiboard

The sporting houses are named after the aloes in the school. The houses and their house colours are Aculeata-gold; Exolisa-red; Eshina-orange and Nussapana-blue.

Cross Country and the Messa and Mobil athletics competitions⁸. Field and track events are emphasized. In addition, the school is divided into sporting houses which engage in competitions in various sports, each with a house sporting colour.⁹ Sports are organized by the sports committee which was inaugurated in the school in 1984.

In second term, the most important sports are the ball games:- soccer, net ball, tennis and volley ball. The school has taken part in the Coca Cola tournament and the Dunlop competitions with good performances.

Other artifacts indicate that sports are important. Pride of place is given to sports achievements on prize giving day and the symbols of victory, i.e., trophies are prominently displayed. On prize giving day there are prizes for good performance and the achievements of the sports persons of the year are celebrated. Trophies to mark victories are displayed.

Articulated value 4d. All students and teachers ought to be involved in sports during sports time.

School members articulated this value. Every teacher and every student is attached to a sport. According to the time

⁸These are sporting tournaments that are sponsored by companies. Dairiboard is a dairy products company, and Mobil is an oil distribution company. Messa, however is an organization of schools in Mashonaland East.

⁹The sporting houses are named after the aloes in the school. The houses and their house colours are Aculeata-gold; Exelsea-red; Zebrina-orange and Musapana-blue.

table, every teacher is supposed to supervise at least one sport. The sports master emphasized the value that he attaches to full participation in sports by both students and teachers. Every student ought to have a sports uniform, and progress in sports is commented upon in the progress reports of the students. According to the headmaster, teachers are supposed to be in attendance at sports and all are to assume coaching duties (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/7/94).

Assumption 4d. Sports time is free time for the teachers and most students.

At face value, this assumption seems to contradict assumption 4b but it must be realized that there is a shortage of facilities in the school and sports can only be made available to a small percentage of students at any one time. Therefore, sports time means that most students and teachers not taking part directly, have free time.

Articulated value 4e. All sports offered ought to be of equal importance to the school administration.

Teachers and students articulated the value that the school ought to treat all sports equally in terms of funding. Disappointment was expressed by some teachers in charge of certain sports who did not get sufficient financial support to meet their requirements. Tennis, volleyball, basketball and netball were allegedly under-funded. This discouraged many of the students and teachers (Mrs. Sitabe, Interview, 8/6/94).

Assumption 4e. Soccer is the most important sport in the school.

Observation revealed that in spite of value 4e, most school members regard soccer as the most important sport. This assumption directs the behaviour of students, staff and parents. More was spent on soccer than any other sport. The soccer team got uniform costing about \$2,400 and a set of track suits costing \$1,500 within a short period of time. The soccer team had spent \$800 for transportation by June. According to the headmaster, soccer being the national sport, it ought to take "pride of place" in the school (Mr. Chata, Interview, n.d.).

On one occasion when Dombo School was playing a neighbouring school, most of the teachers who were supposed to be supervising prep, went to watch the match, leaving the school with no teachers to supervise the students who remained behind. The parents also attach much importance to soccer and their attendance at matches is greater than at other school organized events (Mr. Chata, Interview, 12/5/94). According to Mr. Muredzi,

Soccer at times divides the town. When we played against [name of the school] it was a do or die situation. The atmosphere became tense and adequate measures had to be taken to ensure that the electric situation did not ignite into open fighting (Interview, 15/8/94).

Assumptions The Nature of Human Relationships

In this section assumptions related to inter-relationships within the organization will be identified. According to Schein (1985), in order for individuals to be safe, comfortable and productive, there must be a proper way for those individuals to relate to one another. Assumptions in this category affect the cohesiveness of the group.

Articulated value 5a. Teachers ought to instil fear in students to ensure compliance and order in the school.

Most of the teachers and students interviewed agreed that fear ensured orderly behaviour by the students. According to the students this was more evident during the tenure of the last headmaster. During that time the stick was used very liberally, not only by teachers, but by the administration as well. During the time of this research the stick was still very much in evidence. The teacher considered most notorious in this regard had this to say:

I do not know what teachers mean when they say they have discipline problems in class. I do not have any at all. I know how to deal with it (Mr. Tafa, Interview, n.d.).

The chairman of the School Development Association made this comment about the practice:

We support corporal punishment which is administered lightly and infrequently. But when it is given, the teacher must do it as if he/she were doing it to his/her own child (Mr. Mukunda, Interview, 1/9/94).

¹⁰ Circular from the Ministry of Education an excerpt of which is found in the log book.

Assumption 5a. Corporal punishment is an acceptable way of enforcing discipline and it ought to be used by teachers.

Evidence to support the fact that this assumption is driving behaviour at the school was derived from observations made in the field and from incidents reported to the researcher by informants. It was observed that many teachers used corporal punishment on both boys and girls. This in spite of the fact that there exists a regulation that strictly forbids the use of this type of punishment on girls and which sets out the rules by which it can be applied to boys. According to the regulations only the headmaster or someone specifically delegated by him may administer corporal punishment and a record must be kept of such punishment in the log book (Ministry of Education, n.d.).¹⁰ An examination of the school archives did not reveal the existence of such a record.

On two occasions the researcher observed two different teachers slapping students in the face. On other occasions the researcher observed different teachers using a stick to hit both boys and girls in the palms of the hands and on one occasion he observed a female teacher using a blackboard duster to hit the buttocks of both boys and girls in a Form 1 class. Although not all teachers used this method of punishment most did not find anything wrong with its use. In

¹⁰Circular from the Ministry of Education an excerpt of which is found in the log book.

fact, some of the teachers who would not use corporal punishment referred the misbehaving students to those that would. The belief, according to Mrs. Temera is that,

the school is an extension of the home. At home corporal punishment is used ... its the case of spare the rod and spoil the child. Look at [names]. They are impossible kids. You have to use the stick on them to produce good results. Look at Mr. [names]. He uses the stick in his office. All the children know that the area around his office is known as the "silent zone." At one time I had a problem with a boy and I took him to him. He gave him many good ones and from that point onwards I have had no problems with him at all (Interview, 7/6/94).

The method is widely used and according to Fungai,

some teachers are fair but others are not. The bad teachers ask you a question in class and if you get the answer wrong instead of correcting you they beat you. There are a few bad teachers like these on the staff. When I came to this school I was told by some students that when you did wrong the former head and deputy took the bamboo over there [pointing] and they beat you with it. Sometimes they beat you with [an electrical cable]. I like the present headmaster..when you do a bad thing he corrects you by talking to you. But you see, sir, some of the students are so bad that they need it (Interview, 3/6/94).

The headmaster's philosophy is:

I do not believe in corporal punishment but I do use it, I know teachers use it but the regulations are very clear. Of course they know that no teacher will be protected by the school in situations when this practice is questioned (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/7/94).

The practice was questioned once. According to Mr. Mazani a young girl was beaten by Mr. Mataranyika and the girl fainted. It was four hours before she came to. The parents learned about it and were furious but the matter was resolved

peacefully within the school after much pleading with the parents (Mr. Mazani, Interview, 23/6/94). The assumption that corporal punishment is an acceptable way of enforcing discipline in the school and that it ought to be used by teachers is a significant force regulating the behaviour of many students and teachers in the school. It also undoubtedly influences the student/teacher relationships.

Articulated value 5b. In their relationship with students teachers must be considered to be acting in loco parentis and must be considered to be acting in the best interests of students.

This value was articulated by many of the teachers interviewed. They believe that the administration ought to support the teachers' professional judgements all the time, particularly when there is a misunderstanding with a student. According to Mr. Mhangwa, who best expresses the views of teachers,

the starting premise is that the teacher is right and the student is wrong when dealing with indiscipline (Interview, 16/6/94).

The teachers feel that when such support is not given, their morale will be affected and/or the teachers will take disciplinary processes in their hands.

Assumption 5b. Teachers ought not to be supported by the administration when they have discipline problems with students.

According to the headmaster, female teachers felt the Teachers can embarrass the administration of the school. The administration could lose credibility in the eyes of the students for whom they are here (Mr. Chata, Interview, 21/7/94).

He cited an example of a teacher who had sent a misbehaving pupil to the office without stating what the student had done. The version of the story that he got came from the student and in the absence of the teacher's version he let the student off. The students feel that they get a better deal when their cases are dealt with by the headmaster than if they are dealt with by the teachers. A number of cases were cited where students were sent to the headmaster and the students got off lightly. Such cases include the prefect who was found drunk during the Trade Fair; the prefect who was rude to a sports coach and embezzled money from the Interact Club, a student who wrote graffiti on the walls in the toilets (Mrs. Gandzandire, Interview, 30/6/94).

Thus, the assumption that teachers ought not to be supported when they are dealing with discipline problems governs their behaviour.

Articulated value 5c. There ought to be limited contacts and interactions between males and females in the school.

This value was articulated by many members of the school. According to the teachers, there should be limited contacts between males and females as this was the accepted practice in the wider community. The male teachers who were interviewed felt that there was very little that they had in common with

female members of the staff. The female teachers felt the same about the males. According to Mrs. Muredzi,

Some of the men use vulgar language which we, as married women, cannot accept (Interview, 16/5/94).

According to Mrs. Gadzandire,

It is traditional that men and women do not mix socially and this is perhaps the reason why the male and the female teachers do not mix (Interview, 30/6/94).

The male staff see the female staff as too religious for their liking and this was the main reason why there was no interaction.

Assumption 5c. Males and females have nothing in common and hence ought not to interact.

This assumption reflects the value that the members hold and which they articulate. The behaviour of the students and teachers is driven by the same assumption. Most of the students support the separation of boys and girls. Some of the boys interviewed indicated that they were freer with other boys than they were with the girls. It was observed that in the staff room, there is a very clear division between male and female teachers. The females sit on one side of the staff room and the male teachers sit on the other side and there is very little interaction. The few female teachers who associated with the male staff were regarded as less than moral. So noticeable is this situation that the new deputy head was assigned the task of trying to bring the teachers together.

The administration is viewing this matter with concern. I was tasked by the headmaster to find out the cause and to try and solve it (Mrs. Pasipanodya, Interview, 15/6/94).

According to Mrs. Sitabe,

There is a pleasant atmosphere amongst the staff. But if you go deep into it you will find division. There are divisions in attitudes between males and females, Christians and non-Christians. The administration should look into this with a view to enabling people to let off the steam (Mrs. Sitabe, Interview, 8/6/94).

Summary

In this chapter some of the values the teachers and students at Dombo High School embrace have been identified. These values constitute articulated ideals about life in the school and the hopes of the school members regarding their activities and how they should relate to each other in order to achieve the organization's aims. Also identified were the tacit assumptions of the students and staff of the school—the basic assumptions that seem to undergird their behaviour. As was shown, some of these assumptions express the values professed by members but others point to a distinction between what the organization's members think ought to happen and what is happening in reality.

As the school has gone through administrative changes in the recent past, what members perceived to have been the basic assumptions driving behaviour during the last most stable administrative period of the school were frequently noted.

This was done in order to have an idea of the changes that have taken place in the culture of the school over time.

The values and assumptions that affect life at Dombo High School are summarised in Table 7 in Chapter 6. Each value is stated along with the assumption that it is related to. The values and assumptions are grouped according to the dimensions suggested by Schein. It is assumptions that describe the school's culture. school, for the principal, for educational administrators and for further research are discussed. Finally, a critical reappraisal of Schein's methodology for deciphering organizational culture is provided.

The Culture of Dombo High School

The problem for this study was firstly, to decipher some of the basic assumptions that govern Dombo High School as school members sought to solve the problems of external adaptation and internal integration. Secondly, to examine how these assumptions influenced the behavior of school members, and, thirdly, to examine how the cultural assumptions are related to values and artifacts in existence.

To identify these basic assumptions, motivated insiders who were knowledgeable of the operations and who were prepared to jointly explore the culture of the school with the researcher were recruited to assist with the study. The assumptions that were identified were invented or discovered

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

In this chapter an analysis of the cultural assumptions of Dombo High School is offered and the salient features of the culture of the school are identified. The implications of this study for the school, for the principal, for educational administrators and for further research are discussed. Finally, a critical reappraisal of Schein's methodology for deciphering organizational culture is provided.

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To identify these basic assumptions, motivated insiders who were knowledgeable of the operations and who were prepared to jointly explore the culture of the school with the researcher were recruited to assist with the study. The assumptions that were identified were invented or discovered

by school members to cope with their problems and were taught to new members of the group as correct ways to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems. To decipher these basic assumptions, the researcher examined artifacts, which consisted of visible or material things and verbal or cognitive behaviours. In addition, the values that school members hold were identified. These artifacts and values were used to decipher the basic assumptions underlying the school's operations. The values and assumptions identified are summarised in Table 7 below.

Table 7
The Values and Assumptions Deciphered
in Dombo High School

Values	Assumptions
1a. Dombo High School ought to produce good results in the national examinations and prepare students for "A" level.	1a. Passing the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate and the Cambridge "O" level examinations is the main aim of Dombo High School teachers and students.
1b. The school's internal environment constitutes an aesthetic element of the school and it ought to be maintained, at any cost, in the same state as in the past.	1b. The school ought to take a carefree attitude towards the maintenance of the school's internal environment.
1c. Because the school is part of the wider society, decisions made in the school must reflect what the society values but the interests of the teachers and the students ought to be protected.	1c. The administration will not protect the teachers from the adverse influence of the external environment.

Values	Assumptions
2a. School members ought to be involved in the decision making process in the school.	2a. Decisions in the school are made by the administration outside the committee framework.
2b. Punctuality and the use of the full school time for school work ought to be important to all members of the school.	2b. The use of time at school during school time is entirely determined by the teachers and some of the time ought not to be used effectively.
2c. The present performance of the school ought to be judged against its performance during the time of the founding headmaster.	2c. The performance of the school today ought to be the same as that of the time of the founding headmaster.
2d. For the good of the school and in the interests of order in the school, the use of space in the school ought to be regulated.	2d. Claims to space should be on the basis of seniority and gender.
3a. Prefects are important in the administration of the school and they ought to be given their due position and respect.	3a. Prefects are important in the discipline process but their behavior ought not to be exemplary and they ought not be given support.
3b. Integrity and professional behaviour ought to be a prerequisite for guaranteeing the respect of the students and the staff in the school.	3b. Teachers who behave like professionals are respected by everyone.
3c. The administration ought to assert its authority in the school and ensure discipline among students.	3c. Students at Dombo High School ought not be well behaved and the school administration ought not assert its authority to stamp out indiscipline and give direction to the school.

Values	Assumptions
3d. Admission of new students must be on the basis of performance in the entrance examination in order to improve the school's results and image.	3d. The criteria for admission to the school ought not be consistent.
4a. To prepare them for the life, practical subjects ought to be important in the curriculum for all students.	4a. Practical subjects are important and everyone must take them.
4b. All practical subjects ought to be available to all students regardless of gender.	4b. Certain practical subjects ought to be restricted according to gender.
4c. Sports ought to be an important activity in the school.	4c. Sports are important in the curriculum.
4d. All teachers and students ought to be involved in sports during sports time.	4d. Sports time is free time for the teachers and most students.
4e. All sports offered ought to be of equal importance to the school administration.	4e. Soccer is the most important sport in the school
5a. Teachers ought to instil fear in the students to ensure compliance and order in the school.	5a. Corporal punishment is an acceptable way of enforcing discipline and it ought to be used by the teachers.
5b. In their relationship with the students, teachers must be considered to be <u>acting in loco parentis</u> and must be considered to be acting in the best interests of the students.	5b. Teachers ought not to be supported by the administration when they have discipline problems with the students.
5c. There ought to be limited contacts and interactions between males and females in the school.	5c. Males and females have nothing in common and hence ought not to interact.

It must be noted that, due to the scope of the study and the limitations of time, only a few such assumptions were identified. The assumptions and their related values were placed in categories (1 to 5) which Schein proposed. It is the assumptions that constitute the culture of the school.

Relationship of the School to the Environment

The fundamental issue in the assumptions in this category is how the students and teachers view the school's role vis-à-vis its internal and external environment. This is the role that justifies its existence as a recipient of public financial support and as a custodian of society's children. At Dombo High School the basic assumption 1a, that passing examinations is the main aim of the school should be considered in the context of the expectations of society. For the pupil and the teacher who come to the school, school activities and the behaviour of school members make sense only if they are viewed in light of the stated assumption. The students expect to pass the examinations and they expect to function in an environment where teachers teach so as to enable them to gain admission to "A" level schools.

This assumption is widely held in the school and it is the driving force behind the behaviour of students and teachers alike. This is not to say that all members of the organisation respond uniformly to this assumption - only that most of the school activities, e.g., the ceremonies, rites,

scheduling of activities, assessment methods used, and what the teachers and headmaster pay attention to, are directed by this assumption.

However, the staff members, who are a key driving force in enabling students to proceed to "A" level schools, feel insecure in their relationship with the administration of the school. Their behavior is directed by assumption 1c. This insecurity derives from their experiences with the last administration rather than with the present. Because of this feeling, the attainment of the stated aim of the school may run the risk of being sabotaged. The insecurity they feel is affecting their relationship with the students as well. Although they share the main assumption regarding the primary task of the school, their behaviour in relation to the administration is guided by the basic assumption that they are not protected enough against the adverse effects of the environment. Their perception of the school is that it has become, in the last few years, an institution where distrust between teachers, administration and students is rife, undermining the spirit that is essential to the achievement of the primary task of the school. Their behaviour is guided by the belief that they have no security of tenure in the school and they could be transferred at the slightest whim. Their perceived solution is for the administration to be more sensitive to their individual problems and for it to re-introduce a feeling of family in the school which prevailed

during the time of the founding headmaster. In response to this feeling, they have developed a defensive and self-preserving behaviour in their relationship with the administration. It affects their relationship with students and makes them passive during meetings and other events.

The school also responds to its internal environment. All school members profess some pride in the school grounds and the school buildings. They consider them to be part of the school's identity and a reflection of the high standards that the school traditionally had insisted upon. However, most members now believe that this aspect of the school environment is no longer important and a new assumption is operating, as evidenced by the careless and carefree attitude of students and the administration towards the maintenance of school property. Indeed, the students display an irresponsible attitude towards the environment as evidenced by their lack of respect for the school's buildings and grounds.

The Nature of Reality, Truth, Time and Space

The school's values with respect to reality, time and truth seem to be different from the operating assumptions but values with respect to space are congruent with the basic assumption governing the behaviour of school members.

Reality

School members are basically backward-looking. They seek answers from their experience and value the past because it once provided answers that worked. Thus, most of the administrative decisions that the organization's members feel comfortable with are those that match decisions of the past. The effect of this orientation is that whatever happens now is judged by what happened in the past. The standards of the founding headmaster are considered the yardstick by which everything in the present is judged. This is reflected by assumption 2c.

Truth

According to school members, the most visible artifacts (in the form of the organizational structures), do not reflect what actually happens in the school. Assumption 2a indicates that decision-making is viewed as the prerogative of the school administration with the teachers and students playing no role in the process. Teachers and students do not feel that they can influence school decisions but they feel that they can show their powerlessness by a form of indifference and passive acceptance. The teachers believe that any active participation in meetings is misunderstood by the administration and may result in unpleasant consequences for them -- a thing not uncommon during the recent past.

The Nature of Time and Nature

School members' orientation towards the use of school time seems to contradict the stated aim of the school. Although the articulated value regarding the use of time is revealed by many artifacts, e.g., the timetable, the punctuality rule, and careful scheduling of activities, other data support an assumption which is that time is used inefficiently in the school. To most of the organization's members, the reality is that time is an inexhaustible resource and this is reflected by the assumption 2b.

Space

Space at Dombo High School has symbolic value. The way it is distributed and allocated to the various members reflects the operation of assumption 2d and the value placed on seniority and gender status. Each group claims some degree of ownership or territoriality. Senior boys and junior boys generally congregate in different areas of the school at break time. The senior boys have claimed ownership of the area around the senior toilets and the nearby classrooms; the junior boys mill around the soup area and soccer grounds. The headmaster claims ownership over the biggest amount of space. Certain areas in the school are out of bounds to certain members of the school community but are accessible to others. There is limited accessibility to some areas and unlimited accessibility to others.

The Nature of Human Nature

The school places great importance on the office of prefect and this is reflected in assumption 3a. Both staff and students value the prefects but only in so far as the incumbents are of a certain quality. Prefects also lack support from the administration. Students and staff believe that the fundamental basis for the institution is the integrity and morality of the incumbents. At Dombo High School, it is believed that such integrity and morality have been lost and the prefects have become ineffective. This has had repercussions for discipline in the school. The present prefects are considered largely ineffective and this ineffectiveness stems from lack of support from the administration and from their own poor behaviour.

School members value an assertive administration. Assumption 3c reflects this. Their belief is that assertiveness on the part of the administrative team is a sine qua non of good administration. However, they like this assertiveness to be tempered with benevolence and understanding. This had worked in the past and had ensured discipline in the school. They believe that the present administration could well emulate the leadership style of the founding headmaster by being stricter and less lenient with the students. Their attitude reflects the assumption that students need not be well behaved. School members also feel that students considered for admission should be of sound

academic standing. This value is not supported by the assumption 3d that the criteria for admission ought not to be consistent and which is a reflection of what is happening.

The school also values mutual respect between teachers and students. But the assumption 3b, that drives the behaviour of most teachers and students falls short of this value: it is an absence of respect towards teachers who do not act professionally. The students acknowledge that, in the school, there are good teachers who are professional and do their work conscientiously, but they also say that some are not so professional especially those who beat them. This creates mistrust among the students.

The Nature of Human Activity

The question of which activities are important in the school has a bearing on the performance of the school and its relationship with its environment. Assumptions have developed around the important activities of the school. The articulated value that practical subjects ought to be important and that all students must do them is a reflection of the operative assumption. School members believe that practical subjects are important in the curriculum: the operative assumption 4a, is that the school must prepare the students for the real world and that practical subjects provide some of this preparation.

spor Practical subjects enhance the chances of employment in the outer world. Although access to practical subjects is officially unrestricted, assumption 4b indicates that gender differentiation has developed in subjects which reflect the traditional occupational roles of males and females. In regard to who takes home economics, this differentiation is incongruous, since in the world of work most food preparation and fashion and fabrics industry jobs are occupied by men.

gaid School members consider sports to be an important activity. This assumption, 4c, drives the behavior of school members. Though the school has limited space, it has managed to build sports grounds and sports is a regular activity on the timetable. It is considered important for recreation and an alternative route to success for the less academically inclined students.

Teac In spite of the importance attached to sports, on account of limited facilities, only a small fraction of the students actually participate. Assumption 4d indicates that sports time at Dombo High School is considered free time for most of the students and teachers. The teachers expressed frustration over the shortage of facilities and about the fact that most of them lack formal training to coach the sports that are offered. In spite of the articulated value that all sports ought to be of equal importance in the school, the operative assumption is that soccer is considered the most important

sport. It is favoured in terms of funding and draws the most spectators.

The Nature of Human Relationships

At Dombo High School assumption 5a, that corporal punishment is an acceptable form of discipline, has shaped the relationship between students and teachers. Although other institutional methods of control are used, (notably, pastoral guidance by the senior master and senior mistress), most school members accept corporal punishment as an important method of compliance and discipline. It is available to all teachers although some do not use it. The students do not generally question the use of the method but they do object if it is used unfairly and excessively. As a result, the relationship between students and teachers is based on fear. Teachers who refrain from using corporal punishment are more highly regarded by the students and are considered more approachable.

Teachers perceive that they are not supported by the administration in matters of discipline. Assumption 5b is directing their behavior. As a result, they have devised their own systems of discipline (which include corporal punishment). They also think that their authority has been eroded by the indifferent administration, which in turn causes distrust.

There is very little interaction between males and females in the school. The operative values (and assumptions) reflect the values of the wider society, which frowns upon interactions between married women and men. In their interactions with each other, teachers reflect the operations of assumption 5c. Students behavior also mirrors this same general assumption. Interactions are on the basis of gender, as shown by their claims to particular space on the school grounds and in the buildings.

The Study in Perspective

School culture studies seek to understand not only how schools work (Goodlad, 1984; Lightfoot, 1983), but also to improve the management (Bolman and Deal, 1984; Sergiovanni, 1984; Firestone and Wilson, 1985), and effectiveness of schools (Beare, Caldwell and Millikan, 1989). They also seek to improve the management of change (Sarason, 1982; Baker, 1980; Larson, 1992). Most of these studies have been made on schools in the developed world; very little has been done to study school culture in the developing world and thus facilitating cross cultural comparisons.

This study, was conducted in a third world country. It provides empirical data to illustrate certain cultural assumptions. It also shows that these cultural assumptions help define the culture of the school and determine the behaviour of school members. This study forms part of a

growing body of studies that have used Schein's definition of culture and his methodology to decipher it. Orora (1988) and Reviere (1993) have used the same definition of culture and the same method to decipher the culture of schools in Kenya and the Caribbean respectively. They have also provided a small but important point of reference for cross-cultural comparisons.

Orora, who pioneered the application of Schein's method to the study of schools, deciphered the operative assumptions of a Kenyan school which provided an explanation for the behaviour of school members. He explained the behaviour of the principal in terms of these assumptions.

Reviere studied the culture of a school in the Caribbean and identified basic assumptions that determined student behaviour. Her study, also confirmed the existence of student sub-cultures. The present study deciphered the assumptions of school members in a Zimbabwean school. The importance of these three studies lies in that they provide a perspective different from most cultural studies done in the developed world. Apart from enabling one to understand the operations of the school which was studied, this study, like all the other culture studies, reveals implications not only for educational administrators, but for the school members themselves.

although sports are considered important in the school, there are insufficient facilities and trained personnel to ensure that the whole range of sports is

Implications for Educational Administrators

An analysis of the cultural assumptions operative in Dombo High School reveals that some are congruent with policy laid down by the Ministry of Education but others are not. In fact, some are so divergent with policy as to cause some concern. A study such as this brings out the importance of the individual circumstances of the school in determining how policy is interpreted and implemented and also how clearly laid out policy may be modified during implementation.

In Dombo High School assumptions that are congruent with policy include: 1) passing examinations is the main aim of the teachers and students; 2) practical subjects and sports are important. But assumptions that raise concern are those related to: 1) the school's carefree attitude towards building and property maintenance; 2) sports time as free time for teachers and students; 3) the school's endorsement of corporal punishment as an acceptable method of ensuring school discipline; and 4) the school's view that certain practical subjects are offered on a gender differentiated basis. From an administrative point of view, it would be interesting to know why Dombo High School is prepared to go against official government policy on these matters.

Other violations of policy are for pragmatic reasons. For example, although sports are considered important in the school, there are insufficient facilities and trained personnel to ensure that the whole range of sports is

available. As a result, only a few students take part and the rest are unable to participate. The origins of the assumption that sports time is free time for students and staff is clear to see. The administrator can only ensure that policy is approximated as closely as possible by ensuring that the necessary facilities are built.

Implications for the School

Cultural studies of organisations are evaluative. Both from a theoretical and an empirical point of view, they seek to bring about improvements in the organization (Schein, 1985; Sathe, 1985; Sarason, 1982).

The writer's motivation upon entering the school to do this study was not to be a consultant or a therapist. His motive was an academic one. He went into the school to examine its culture and to understand why school members behaved the way that they did. The importance of the cultural assumptions diagnosed in the school should depend more on the point of view of the school's members than on the stance of the outsider. It is for the school to determine whether the assumptions so identified work towards the attainment of their aims, and therefore should be strengthened, or whether they go against the image that the school would like to project.

The literature emphasizes the decisive role that people in an organization play in its operations and how, in order to effect improvements in performance, the human aspect of the

organization must be considered. The implications of this study for Dombo High School are clear. The school should be concerned about those assumptions that are not compatible with the school aims. For the school, assumptions about exam preparation, its primary task and the importance of sports and academic subjects, are positive. They only need to be reinforced. However, it does seem that the biggest problem results from assumptions dealing with relationships in the school. There seems to be distrust among members of the school and such distrust is counter-productive. It works to undermine the aims of the school. The teachers' experience in the recent past has taught them to be distrustful of the administration. They are not involved in decision making, they do not use time effectively and they are not supported by the administration when they have student discipline problems. The students distrust the teachers and the prefects. This distrust has to be eliminated in order to build an environment which is conducive to the accomplishment of the school's primary tasks. Assumptions that are dysfunctional need to be changed through a conscious process of socialization of the organisational members or a change of leadership style.

Implications for the Headmaster

The literature emphasizes the role of the leader in culture formation and in the manipulation or management of culture in an organization (Schein, 1985). School culture

studies emphasize the importance of the headmaster in creating the school's culture (Orora, 1988; Sergiovanni, 1984; Deal and Kennedy, 1983). This has implications for Dombo High School. The headmaster and the deputy are new, having taken over a school with established traditions. On the other hand, the staff is fairly stable and more than 50 percent of the teachers have been in the school for five or more years. This group of staff members maintained the old assumptions and traditions of the school. Whatever changes the headmaster wishes to introduce in the school, he has to involve them if he hopes to be successful. The assumption that decisions are made by the headmaster alone is negative. It is important to broaden the basis of effective consultation with the staff to ensure that they effectively participate in decision making.

In the daily activities of the school, the administration should aim to influence the culture of the school. Whether it realizes it or not, the style of leadership of the head, as the leader of the administrative team, reflects the type of culture that is to develop in the school. There is dissatisfaction over the administration's handling of discipline and school assemblies: all of this is negative and attempts must be made to change this situation. At Dombo High School indications are that some of the assumptions that have developed result from the administration's lack of assertiveness in handling disciplinary matters. School

and how the culture of a school can be related to the schools'

members want the administration to show a presence and ensure that discipline is effectively maintained in the school.

Implications for Theory

This study contributes to the development of the theory of school culture. It provides empirical data on certain basic assumptions and how these assumptions influence the behaviour of teachers and students in a school. Thus, it is confirming evidence that behaviour in a school can be explained in terms of basic assumptions that regulate the conduct of school members.

The study also contributes to theory by improving our understanding of how schools operate.

Implications for Further Research

This study is not exhaustive. Only a few of the cultural assumptions operating in Dombo School were identified. A more comprehensive study would bring out more cultural assumptions in respect of other aspects of life in the school.

Dombo High School is an urban school located in a high density residential suburb. There are many other different types of schools in the country. These different schools need to be studied to determine the basic cultural assumptions that govern the conduct of school members. It would be of interest to know how school culture develops in the different schools and how the culture of a school can be related to the schools'

performance. The examination of the culture of subgroups in the school was outside the scope of this study. Research should be done in this area to find out how subcultures impact upon the operation of the school.

Another area for further research is how the colonial values and assumptions have influenced the present culture of the school. This would be important because the schools in Zimbabwe are colonial institutions and their mode of operation is largely colonial. It would be interesting to know how the colonial values of stability, loyalty, duty and rigid discipline have influenced present values and assumptions operative in the school. The influence of the present atmosphere of change in Zimbabwe also needs to be examined. Factors like urbanization and the rising social awareness in the post-colonial period may have impacted on the development of assumptions operating.

Schein's Methodology Revisited

(199) Schein's methodology was designed to decipher the organisational culture of a corporation - at least, in part, as a therapeutic measure to solve the organisation's problems. He went into the organisation as a clinician and a consultant (Schein, 1985). The motivated insider had a stake in the process. This point is crucial because the type of data revealed in a clinical situation is different from that generated in an ordinary research situation. Clients call the

consultant when they are frustrated and unhappy and when rational approaches to things do not work. In addition, the fact that he/she is paying for the service should make the client to reveal things.

For this research, the researcher went into a school to diagnose its culture to satisfy his academic interests. School members were passive participants during the exercise. Although some interest was expressed by some school members in the research (and the outcome thereof), this level of interest was not the same as if the researcher had come into the school as a consultant. The researcher had to identify his own motivated insider, and had to go about the research in a most unobtrusive way in order to minimise disruption of the school's routine. The onus was also on the researcher to sustain the interest of the informants for the duration of the research. Reveire (1993) experienced the same problem.

Schein's method was developed to study corporate organisations. In addition to the differences that Reveire (1993) pointed out between schools and corporate organisations namely: that the power structure of a corporation are linear and hierarchical whereas that of schools is diffuse; and that the leader in a corporation has more stake in the business than the headmaster/mistress; Larson (1992) adds other factors that may make culture formation in schools different from that of corporate organisations. Such characteristics as the ever changing clientele, the minimal use of technology,

lay professional control, their internal and external vulnerability, the problematic goals and goal ambiguity of schools distinguish them from corporate organisations.

Corporate organisations are profit oriented and the production of commodities is a central function of many. The same cannot be said of schools. In this situation it does seem that culture develops along different lines in schools than in corporate organisations. The question then becomes, how applicable is Schein's method to the school? In spite of the differences, it is not difficult to find similarities between corporations and schools which justify the use of the method. Both have the same concerns for effectiveness, efficiency and economy.

Assumptions are an abstract construct. Assumptions are not visible like artifacts, nor are they found at the conscious level like values. The problem of inferring assumptions from values and artifacts is the most confounding problem with Schein's methodology. Much depends on intuition and patience. Schein acknowledges the difficulty of inferring from values and artifacts but suggests that this is the only way to access deep-seated assumptions.

In this study, assumptions were arrived at by comparing what people in the school said they valued with their actual behaviour. Their behaviour showed the operation of basic cultural assumptions. Often there was a difference between what people said they valued and their actual behaviour. To

validate the assumptions, other data (interviews and archival material combined with observations) were examined.

The use of the motivated insiders as the principal informants is problematic. It assumes that they are analytical enough to be able to lead the researcher towards an accurate diagnosis of the culture of the school. To ensure a higher degree of validity, data generated from the motivated insiders was constantly checked against data from observation, artifacts and interviews.

In spite of the problems attendant to the use of Schein's methodology and concept of organisational culture, his approach is clear and can easily be followed and applied. As a starting point his methodology provides a means to study an elusive concept.

Mufasbiel, the headmaster of Marondera High School, who is presently a student at Dalhousie University in Canada, has been granted permission to carry out his research at your school. Please afford him as much assistance as you can.

Thank you in advance for your assistance.

E.E. MUFASBIEL
A/DEPUTY REGIONAL DIRECTOR, SECONDARY
FOR: REGIONAL DIRECTOR MARONDERA EAST
ED/DM

REGIONAL DIRECTOR
MINISTRY OF PRIMARY AND
SECONDARY EDUCATION
05 MAY 1994
MARONDERA EAST REGION
P.O. Box 752, MARONDERA

APPENDIX 1

Regional Director's Permission to Conduct Study
at Dombo High School

Reference: M.Ed. Research Project
E. Mufambisi
E.C.NO. : 029253 W

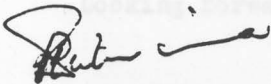
Ministry of Education and Culture
Mashonaland East Regional Office
P.O. Box 752
Marondera

5 May 1994

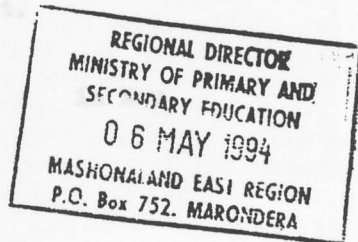
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The bearer, Mr E. Mufambisi, the headmaster of Marondera High School, who is presently a student at Dalhousie University in Canada, has been granted permission to carry out his research at your school. Please afford him as much assistance as you can.

Thank you in advance for your assistance.



E.K. MUTUWIRA
A/DEPUTY REGIONAL DIRECTOR : SECONDARY
FOR: REGIONAL DIRECTOR MASHONALAND EAST
EKM/DM



APPENDIX 2

Permission from the Headmaster of Dombo High School
to Conduct Study

100 South Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia,
B3J1S8,
Canada.

Dear Sir,

PERMISSION TO USE INTERVIEW MATERIAL

7 February 1994

I am a student of Dalhousie University, Halifax, and I am doing a Master of Arts degree in Educational Administration. As part of the requirements for this course I am conducting a research involving the interviewing of teachers, students and parents of ... High School.

Mr E Mufambisi

1404 Edward Street

Halifax, Nova Scotia

B3H3H5

CANADA

with the deciphering of the culture of ... of any school consists of the values, beliefs and attitudes held in common by members of the school. These beliefs, values and perceptions that give the school its distinctiveness and determine how things are done in the school.

A knowledge of the culture of the school is important not only to the members of the school but to the community and the parents in their search for an understanding of how the school operates and how the school can be improved.

Whether the culture of the school is a method of enquiry known as ethnographic method is used. This method involves prolonged periods of observations in the school, interviewing the staff and students and collecting archival data in the school.

Dear Sir,

RESEARCH PROPOSAL AT ... HIGH SCHOOL

As you know, I sought your permission to interview you during the school year.

Pending the results of your request from the Permanent Secondary of Education on your intention to conduct your research at ... , you can count on our support.

Your promise that all the interviews will be held in the strictest of confidence and that no names or facts from the interviews will not reveal your identity to the school. Also, as an ethical requirement, make you aware that you may withdraw from the project should you feel so inclined but I am hoping that you will continue to assist me by co-operating.

If you are agreeable to this request I ask that you complete the enclosed form and sign it. I shall be grateful for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Eric Mufambisi

APPENDIX 3

6033 South Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia,
B3J1S8,
Canada.

Dear sir,

PERMISSION TO USE INTERVIEW MATERIAL

As you know, I am a student of Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada and I am doing a Master of Arts degree in Educational Administration. As part of the requirements for this course I am conducting a research involving the interviewing of teachers, students and parents of ... High School.

My thesis deals with the deciphering of the culture of school. The culture of any school consists of the values, beliefs and perceptions held in common by members of the school. It is these beliefs, values and perceptions that give the school its distinctiveness and determine how things are done at the school.

A knowledge of the culture of the school is important not only to the members of the school but to the community and the parents in their search for an understanding of how the school operates and how the school can be improved.

To decipher the culture of the school a method of enquiry known as the ethnographic method is used. This method involves prolonged periods of observations in the school, interviewing the school members and reading the archival data in the school.

As you know, I sought your permission to interview you during the research. Your honest point of view and your honest responses are helping towards the diagnosis of the culture of your school.

Now I require your written permission to use your comments from the interviews and I promise that all the interviews will be held in the strictest of confidence and that whatever I quote from the interviews will not reveal your identity and the identity of the school. I must also, as an ethical requirement, make you aware that you may withdraw from the project should you feel so inclined but I am hoping that you will continue to assist me by co-operating.

If you are agreeable to this request I ask that you complete the enclosed form and sign it. I shall be grateful for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

Eric Mufambisi

APPENDIX 4

Permission to Use Interview Material

I.....give permission to Mr. Mufambisi to use the interview material that he collected from my son/daughter.....during

Igive permission to Mr. E. Mufambisi to use my interview material. Mr Mufambisi has explained to me the nature of the research that he is undertaking. He has also indicated to me the precautions that he will take to protect my identity and I am satisfied that he will abide by his word.

.....at any point before the completion of the final report.

I am also aware that I have the right to withdraw this permission at any point before the final report.

Signed.....Date.....

Signed.....

Date.....

APPENDIX 5

Parents' Permission to Use Interview Material

Name of interviewee	Date of the interview	Duration of interview
I.....	June 3, 6, 27,	1hr
I.....give permission to Mr. Mufambisi to use the interview material that he collected from my son/daughter..... during his research at High School. Mr Mufambisi has indicated that he will protect the identity of my son/daughter and I am satisfied that he will abide by his word.		
I am also aware that I have the right to terminate my son's/daughter's participation at any point before the completion of the final report.		
	June 17	15 mins
Mrs Mavanda	June 19	30 mins
Signed.....	June 19	30 mins
Mr Chipore	June 19	30 mins
Mr Mavanda	September 1	30 mins
Mr Muredzi	August 15	45 mins
Mr Machiri	May 16	20 mins
Mr Mawuchi	June 16	20 mins
Mr Chitiabe	June 6	20 mins
Mr Chaka	May 12 and July 21	2 hrs
Mr Mhangwa	May 12, June 6&30 July 2	5 hrs
Mr Mwalu	June 13	1hr
Mrs Mawandira	June 30	1 hr
Mrs Sitabe	June 8	1 hr
Mr Makaramwika	June 10	1hr
Mr Tafa	June 2	30 mins
Mrs Mawandira	June 15	1hr
Mrs Muredzi	May 16	1 hr
Mrs Pasipamodye	June 15	1hr
Mr Mawera	May 16	1 hr
Class discussions	June 21	1hr 45 mins

APPENDIX 6

Interview Schedule

Name of interviewee	Date of the interview	Duration of interview
Dumisane	June 3, 6, 27,	1hr
Joyce	June 10	30 mins
Farai	June 3	30 mins
Fungai	June 3	30 mins
Jane	July 1	20 mins
Martha	May 14	25 mins
Temba	May 14	10 mins
Doris	June 27	15 mins
Mrs Matanda	June 19	30 mins
Mr Matangi	June 19	25 mins
Mr Chigore	June 19	30 mins
Mr Mukunda	September 1	30 mins
Mr Muredzi	August 15	45 mins
Mr Machiri	May 16	20 mins
Mr Manyuchi	June 16	20 mins
Mr Chitimbe	June 6	20 mins
Mr Chata	May 12 and July 21	2 hrs
Mr Mhangwa	May 12, June 6&30 July 2	5 hrs
Mr Mazani	June 23	1hr
Mrs Gadzandire	June 30	1 hr
Mrs Sitabe	June 8	1 hr
Mr Mataranyika	June 10	1hr
Mr Tafa	June 2	30 mins
Mrs Mapondera	June 15	1hr
Mrs Muredzi	May 16	1 hr
Mrs Pasipanodya	June 16	1hr
Mr Matare	May 16	1 hr
Class discussions	June 23	1hr 45 mins

APPENDIX 7

The School Song

Our home at Dombo
Our home is now successful
We had problems developing the school

Our parents had problems developing the school
We used to build in the morning
We used to build in the evening

Oh we had problems building the school
We had problems building the school
Our school is now developed

1. Tidiness applies also to dress. To wear the correct clothes (uniform, sports kit) on every occasion is to show respect for your school and for one another.
2. If one is late for any duty, lessons, impositions etc. one should explain the delay to the person in charge. In the same way, courtesy demands that one should not leave any duty without the knowledge and agreement of the person responsible.
3. It is most important for the benefit of all that each one should respect the property of other individuals and which is used by all. This means, for instance, taking great care not to damage furniture, games equipment or other school materials; using library books correctly and unselfishly; and avoiding damage to flowers, shrubs and trees.
4. At all times we must show respect for one another by care for the health and the safety of each other and ourselves. Rough and disorderly behavior, especially in the corridors, is always uncivilized, and can be very dangerous.

THE CARE AND THOUGHTFULNESS OF EACH IS THE GOOD AND HAPPINESS OF ALL. LET US WORK TOGETHER SO THAT THE EFFORT OF ALL MAY BE THE BENEFIT OF EACH.

APPENDIX 8

School Regulations

ATTENDANCE AT THIS SCHOOL IMPLIES READINESS TO KEEP ALL THE RULES OF THE SCHOOL.

1. We show regard for others by good manners and courtesy. This means, for instance, that we do not disturb others by making loud noises (whistling, shouting and so on) where they may be working or resting. It means too, that we make great efforts to keep the school tidy, indoors and outside.
2. An important part of courtesy is to be prompt and punctual, so as not to keep others waiting. We must move promptly so as to be present before due time.
3. Tidiness applies also to dress. To wear the correct clothes (uniform, sports kit) on every occasion is to show respect for your school and for one another.
4. If one is late for any duty, lessons, impositions etc. one should explain the delay to the person in charge. In the same way, courtesy demands that one should not leave any duty without the knowledge and agreement of the person responsible.
5. It is most important for the benefit of all that each one should respect the property of other individuals and which is used by all. This means, for instance, taking great care not to damage furniture, games equipment or other school materials; using library books correctly and unselfishly; and avoiding damage to flowers, shrubs and trees.
6. At all times we must show respect for one another by care for the health and the safety of each other and ourselves. Rough and disorderly behavior, especially in the corridors, is always uncivilized, and can be very dangerous.

THE CARE AND THOUGHTFULNESS OF EACH IS THE GOOD AND HAPPINESS OF ALL. LET US WORK TOGETHER SO THAT THE EFFORT OF ALL MAY BE THE BENEFIT OF EACH.

APPENDIX 9

The National Anthem of Zimbabwe

Oh lift high the banner, the flag of Zimbabwe
The symbol of victory proclaiming victory
We praise our heroes' sacrifice
And vow to keep our land from foes.
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land.

Oh lovely Zimbabwe, so wondrously adorned
With mountains, and rivers cascading, flowing free
May rain abound, and fertile fields,
May we feed, our labor blessed
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land.

O God, we beseech thee to bless our native land
The land of our fathers bestowed upon us all
From Zambezi to Limpopo.
May leaders be exemplary
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land.

1. In their relations with the students, teachers are right all the time.
2. The school is an executive arm of the ministry of education and school policy ought to reflect this.
3. Soccer boosts the name of the school.
4. The school is a meritocracy and certificates and the school must provide these.
5. The school is part of society and the school must satisfy the needs of this society.
6. Committees broaden consultation and spreads the decision making responsibilities.
7. A big percentage of the student body will fail their examinations.
8. The school grounds are a sacred monument of the founding headmaster.
9. Change and new ideas are unacceptable to teachers and students in the school.

Preliminary Description of the Culture of
Dombo High School

1. The administration is not creating an atmosphere conducive to discipline in the school.
2. An African administration cannot run this school and still maintain the standards that were established by the founding headmaster.
3. Students must be drilled and coached to pass the examinations and this task must be considered important by all teachers.
4. To ensure discipline the administration ought to lead with firmness and resolve.
5. Space in the staff room is not available to all equally.
6. Sports are of secondary importance to academic subjects in the school curriculum.
7. In their relations with the students, teachers are right all the time.
8. The school is an executive arm of the ministry of education and school policy ought to reflect this.
9. Soccer boosts the name of the school.
10. The society values meritocracy and certificates and the school must provide these.
11. The school is part of society and the school must satisfy the needs of this society.
12. Committees broaden consultation and spreads the decision making responsibilities.
13. A big percentage of the student body will fail their examinations.
14. The school grounds are a sacred monument of the founding headmaster.
15. Change and new ideas are unacceptable to teachers and students in the school.

16. Without discipline no learning takes place and the image of the school is adversely affected -- the standard of discipline in the school is going down.
17. The administration should ensure that discipline prevails in the school.
18. Sports give an opportunity for the less academically inclined students to build self esteem.
19. Soccer is the most important sport in the school.
20. Decision making is the prerogative of the headmaster.
21. Relationships must be based on mutual respect.
22. Space in the school is not freely available to all students at all times.
23. Prefects are representatives of the student body and the administration and must be treated with respect.

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