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REPRODUCTION, RESISTANCE & TRANSFORMATION AT MARANATHA HIGH SCHOOL

Donald Charles Roy
B.Ed., Dip. Teach.(Primary)

Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

School of Education
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July, 1988
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CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATE

I certify that the thesis entitled
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SUMMARY

The focus of this thesis is the attempt by the Seventh-day Adventist Church to reproduce SDA culture in students attending one of its schools, Maranatha High School. As a 'critical ethnography', it adopts a theoretical perspective from critical social theory to examine problems associated with this attempt. These problems are reflected in data gathered by a range of ethnographic techniques.

The study first portrays the socio-political dynamics underlying the historical creation of Adventist culture generally, its embodiment in institutional forms, and the development of a substantial educational structure intended to transmit that culture to succeeding generations.

The study then focuses on current SDA educational philosophy, and the assumptions underlying the principles of selection, organisation, transmission and evaluation of knowledge considered to be valid. It then examines how Maranatha High School itself seeks to implement those principles. In this context, the study also reflects on the political implications of the modes of management and institutional control adopted at various levels of the organisation and in the school.

As a dialectical study, the thesis views the school as a social setting in which knowledgeable humans engage in communicative interaction. Rather than promoting smooth reproduction, the school is portrayed as a site of struggle, negotiation and potential transformation as participants resist forces that they perceive to be constraining and oppressing them. Consequently the thesis examines the perceptions of the various groups of participants, and the nature and impact of their interaction. In as much as teachers are official
'managers' of SDA culture and knowledge, this examination focuses especially on their personal definitions of the situation, the dilemmas that confront them from internal and external sources, the development of their own cultural forms in response, and the implications this action has for cultural reproduction and continuity.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A research project such as this would not be possible without the continual support and assistance of a number of individuals and groups.

I wish to express appreciation to Professor Richard Bates, both for his expertise and guidance as a supervisor, and for his encouragement and support to me as a friend through what constitutes a significant 'intellectual journey'.

This study would not have been possible without the co-operation of both my colleagues and the students at Maranatha High School. I acknowledge my indebtedness to them for their responses and insights. It is my hope that this study will contribute to the betterment of their lives.

Finally, I wish to pay tribute to my family for its support and encouragement. In particular, I wish to acknowledge the part played by my wife, Barbara. Her understanding, patience and encouragement have been reassuring and supportive throughout the years of the study.
CONTENTS

SUMMARY ii.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv.

CHAPTER 1 – THE THEORETICAL PROBLEM & ITS THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE

I. SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION 1
   The Centrality of the Teacher in SDA Education 3

II. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM 4

III. THE THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY 5

IV. THE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH 10

CHAPTER 2 – SURVEY OF THEORETICAL & EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

I. THE STATUS OF KNOWLEDGE IN EDUCATION 11
   The Epistemological Foundations of Functionalism 13
   The Emergence of Alternative Epistemologies 14

II. THEORIES OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION 17
   The Correspondence Theory 17
   The Function of Ideology in Social Reproduction 18
   Bourdieu’s Theory of Cultural Reproduction 19
   Bernstein’s Theory of Class, Codes and Control 20
   Critique of Reproduction Theories 23

III. THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF SCHOOLING 25
   Schools as Cultural Sites 25
   Towards a Theory of Resistance 31
   Human Agency in Educational Organisations 35
   The Management of Culture and Knowledge 39
   Educational Management as a Technology of  
     Social Control 41
   Towards a Critical Practice of Educational  
     Administration 45
   Reproduction, Cultural Politics & Resistance  
     in Organisations 46

IV. THE MESSAGE SYSTEMS OF SECTARIAN RELIGIOUS  
    ORGANISATIONS 49
   The Knowledge Base 51
   Modes of Transmission 53
   Criteria of Success 55
   Administration of Sectarian Organisations 56

V. THE DILEMMA OF MODERNITY 57
CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION ............... 61

II. THE IMPLICATIONS OF POSITIVISM IN SOCIAL SCIENCE ............... 62

III. THE LIMITATIONS OF CONVENTIONAL INTERPRETIVIST APPROACHES ............... 64

IV. CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY ............... 67

V. A CRITICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SDA EDUCATION ............... 71

VI. CONDUCTING THE STUDY ............... 74

Gathering the Data ............... 74
The Relationship of This Researcher to the Setting ............... 75
The Creation and Maintenance of Critical Distance ............... 76
Entering Strategy ............... 78
Interviewing ............... 79
Unobtrusive Observation ............... 81
Documentary Evidence ............... 83
Qualitative Survey ............... 84
Analysing the Data ............... 84
Ethical and Political Issues ............... 86

CHAPTER 4 - THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

I. INTRODUCTION ............... 89

II. HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF ADVENTIST CULTURE ............... 90

III. DISCUSSION ............... 97

IV. THE ROOTS OF SDA EDUCATION ............... 99

V. DISCUSSION ............... 105

VI. THE DIALECTIC BETWEEN AGENCY & STRUCTURE IN SDA HISTORY ............... 109

VII. DISCUSSION ............... 115

CHAPTER 5 - THE MESSAGE SYSTEMS OF SDA EDUCATION

I. INTRODUCTION ............... 118

II. THE IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SDA EDUCATION ............... 119

III. THE CENTRAL MESSAGE SYSTEMS OF SDA EDUCATION ............... 123

The Knowledge Base - the Curriculum ............... 123
Modes of Transmission - Pedagogy ............... 125
Criteria of Success - Evaluation ............... 129

IV. DISCUSSION ............... 129
V. THE MESSAGE SYSTEMS AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL .......... 133

The Location and Setting of Maranatha High School .......... 134
The Knowledge Base - the Curriculum .......... 136
Modes of Transmission - Pedagogical Ritual .......... 142
Criteria of Success - Evaluation .......... 149

VI. DISCUSSION .......... 151

CHAPTER 6 - DYNAMICS OF INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION .......... 155

II. THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE .......... 156

III. STRUCTURES OF CONTROL .......... 157

Appointment of Teaching Personnel .......... 158
Inspections and Accountability Procedures .......... 159
Examination Orientation .......... 161
Bible 'Specialists' .......... 161

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT .......... 164

Dynamics of Instability .......... 164
Teacher Perceptions of Personnel Management .......... 169

V. DISCUSSION .......... 174

VI. THE 'DISABLING PATTERN' BETWEEN MINISTERS & TEACHERS .......... 177

Relationships Between Teachers and the Clergy .......... 178
Ministerial Domination of Teachers, Lives & Careers .......... 186

VII. DISCUSSION .......... 190

CHAPTER 7 - TEACHERS' VIEWS OF SDA MISSION

I. INTRODUCTION .......... 193

II. PERCEPTIONS OF A 'TEACHING MINISTRY' .......... 194

Teachers' Perspectives of Education .......... 197

III. DISCUSSION .......... 202

Teachers' Views of Religious Education .......... 204

IV. CULTURAL REPRODUCTION VERSUS CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION .......... 209

Symptoms of Change .......... 209
Contradictory Location of Teachers .......... 218
Perspectives of Parental and student Expectations .......... 220
Inconsistencies in Teachers' Perspectives .......... 222
V. THE MESSAGE SYSTEMS AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL ....... 133
   The Location and Setting of Maranatha High School ....... 134
   The Knowledge Base - the Curriculum ....... 136
   Modes of Transmission - Pedagogical Ritual ....... 142
   Criteria of Success - Evaluation ....... 149

VI. DISCUSSION ....... 151

CHAPTER 6 - DYNAMICS OF INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION ....... 155

II. THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE ....... 156

III. STRUCTURES OF CONTROL ....... 157
   Appointment of Teaching Personnel ....... 158
   Inspections and Accountability Procedures ....... 159
   Examination Orientation ....... 161
   Bible 'Specialists' ....... 161

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT ....... 164
   Dynamics of Instability ....... 164
   Teacher Perceptions of Personnel Management ....... 169

V. DISCUSSION ....... 174

VI. THE 'DISABLING PATTERN' BETWEEN MINISTERS 
& TEACHERS ....... 177
   Relationships Between Teachers and the Clergy ....... 178
   Ministerial Domination of Teachers' Lives & 
     Careers ....... 186

VII. DISCUSSION ....... 190

CHAPTER 7 - TEACHERS' VIEWS OF SDA MISSION

I. INTRODUCTION ....... 193

II. PERCEPTIONS OF A 'TEACHING MINISTRY' ....... 194
   Teachers' Perspectives of Education ....... 197

III. DISCUSSION ....... 202
   Teachers' Views of Religious Education ....... 204

IV. CULTURAL REPRODUCTION VERSUS CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION .... 209
   Symptoms of Change ....... 209
   Contradictory Location of Teachers ....... 218
   Perspectives of Parental and student Expectations ....... 220
   Inconsistencies in Teachers' Perspectives ....... 222
CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND ITS THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE

I. SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION

Since its inauguration in the USA in the 1870’s, the education system of the Seventh-day Adventist Church has functioned as an integral part of Church’s life and organisation, sharing significantly in its ministry and mission by contributing to the attempt to reproduce a culture with distinctive beliefs, lifestyle, world view and mission, in an environment relatively ‘sheltered’ from the influence of the rest of society. The reproductive intentions for the purpose of continuity are explicit in an educational philosophy statement published by the South Pacific Division of the Church:

The Seventh-day Adventist Church operates a church school system to ensure that its youth receive an education in harmony with the Church’s Christian standards and ideals and at the same time incorporating an appropriate balance between the academic, social, physical, vocational and spiritual needs of the individual. Seventh-day Adventists believe that there is peculiar to the Church, a body of knowledge with its values, beliefs, attitudes and habits that must be transmitted to each succeeding generation in order that the Church continue to exist.

A preliminary examination of this statement indicates a close relationship between between education as a social institution and the culture of the group responsible for its establishment. Although the notion of ‘culture’ is developed more fully in Chapter 2, it is appropriate to begin the study by recognising the conceptual parity
between this statement and the following definition of a social group’s culture.

Culture is a patterned system of knowledge and conceptions, embodied in symbolic and non-symbolic communication modes, which a society has developed from the past, and progressively modifies and augments to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence (Bullivant, 1981:3).

The intentions of SDA education are founded on ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions which legitimise the school as a key institution intentionally structured to maintain and reproduce its particular culture. That is, the Church sees socialisation in terms of instruction to shape individual and social identity in keeping with its prior definitions of meaning and reality. This ‘tradition’ informs and justifies the selection of valid knowledge, the modes of instruction to transmit that knowledge, and the criteria by which to evaluate the realisation of that transmission. For this reason, education for the SDA Church constitutes a form of ‘management’ of that knowledge upon which the culture is founded, while the total curriculum, its implementation and management constitute an observable embodiment of that culture and its supporting ideology.

Study into any aspect of Seventh-day Adventist culture must appreciate the group’s relationship to the rest of society. Traditionally, Adventism has attempted to foster a holistic perspective of life, so that worship, work or recreation is integrated by a pervading sense of religion. To the group’s members, ‘religion is life’. As Wilson comments:

The fact that a man is a ... Seventh-day Adventist ... is in itself the single most important fact about him, telling one more of what to expect of him than any other piece of information pertaining to him (1982:92).
Adventism, therefore, constitutes a distinctive sub-culture. According to Wilson (1975) it constitutes a religious 'sect' by virtue of its intentional 'separation from the world', its perceptions of 'truth', its historic identity and mission, and the normative life-style it espouses. To the Church, socialisation involves not only the transmission of cultural knowledge, values and mores, but also the maintenance of boundaries to restrict interaction with 'the world' which might erode the commitment of its members.

The Centrality of the Teacher in SDA Education

It appears to be the strong consensus, if not the virtually unchallenged assumption of most SDA's that the potential success of the Adventist school as a socialising agency rests predominantly on the shoulders of its teachers. It is perceived by the Church that the reproduction of Adventist culture is facilitated by teachers who 'model' that culture, that is, live a personal lifestyle that reflects and supports the beliefs, practices, values and mores of Adventism. Thus it is mandatory for all teachers in SDA schools to be practising members of the Church. Traditionally, Adventist teachers have regarded their work as 'vocation' in the fullest sense, believing in 'Divine guidance', not only in their general 'call' to be 'minister-teachers', but also with respect to the particular roles and locations to which they may be appointed. For this reason, both teachers and the church community as a whole have come to perceive and expect the role of the Adventist teacher to be constrained by strong sentiments of vocation, commitment, service and accountability.
II. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Despite the Church's intentions and efforts, the socialisation process that appears to have successfully reproduced SDA culture in earlier generations no longer appears to be a straightforward matter, particularly in Adventist secondary schools. The life-world of SDA teachers appears to be the focus of the competing politics of different groups. In recent years teachers have reported increasing restlessness among students, and a heightened awareness of scrutiny and demands for accountability on the part of parents, the Church and the State. In addition, the sense of religion that once tended to pervade all life and activity in the school is tending to decline. Aspects of historical Adventist culture appear to be increasingly contested, and in some cases, transformations are apparent. Although contestation is predominant among students and many of their parents, teachers also appear to be implicated in the process as they negotiate their relationships with one another, and respond to the constraints of the traditional organisational structure of the Church. At the same time, socio-cultural change among Adventists is associated with the significant erosion of the strong boundaries that have previously separated the group from 'the world'. Consequently, some Adventist teachers believe that some of the outcomes of the Church's education programme in the 1980's may be inimical to the intentions of Seventh-day Adventist education as it was originally conceived. In view of these indicators, this researcher believes that the notion of smooth, consensual transmission and reproduction of SDA culture in its traditional form must be regarded as problematic, particularly in the manner envisaged by the SDA educational philosophy statement cited earlier. It appears that the tension between continuity based on
historic tradition on one hand, and change informed by contemporary experience on the other, may have produced a crisis in SDA history.

III. THE THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

The social dynamics and processes associated with SDA schools are considerably more complex than previously acknowledged within the group. Moreover, the traditional functionalist assumptions upon which the SDA perspective of education is founded, both obscure and limit an understanding of that complexity. A mode of inquiry based on an alternative theoretical paradigm is necessary to appreciate and understand the current problems. Such understanding is possibly best sought by acknowledging the potential for cultural change rather than simply assuming cultural continuity, and by viewing the school as a site for cultural struggle. Consequently this study endeavours to identify and explicate the dynamics of cultural conflict and the forms of negotiation emanating from it, particularly that which implicates teachers as they occupy a significant social location in the Church's education programme.

A number of assumptions and concepts relating to Adventist education give the problem theoretical significance:

(1) SDA schools are organisations intentionally created for the maintenance and reproduction of culture through the shaping of individual and social identity and personal meaning. As such, they reflect the specific ideology that underpins an historic culture: that is, they are cultural artifacts in which teachers are 'managers of culture'.
(2) The selection of valid knowledge, the preferred modes of instruction and transmission, and the criteria adopted to evaluate that transmission are an observable embodiment of particular institutional interests and intentions.

(3) SDA schools are, therefore, not neutral. Rather they are political sites constituted as mechanisms for institutional control.

(4) However, neither students nor teachers appear to be passive, submissive pawns within a 'system'. Students appear to be knowledgeable and self-conscious to the extent that they are engaged in a struggle to change the existing forms of control. Similarly, teachers themselves may also question the legitimacy of aspects of the official ideology and management.

(5) It would appear that other ideologies beyond historic Adventist culture may be competing with and threatening that ideology via the action of members within the group.

It is apparent that the phenomena underlying these observations might be appropriately addressed from a perspective founded on the dynamics of cultural politics and their implications in the processes and administration of schooling (Bates, 1982, 1986a, 1986b). This developing perspective has its roots in the literature emerging from the New Sociology of Education and its emphasis on:

... the development of an epistemology that takes account of the social bases of understanding; a systematic analysis of relationships between social, cultural, epistemological and educational domination; the ways in which structures of domination control the practices of teachers; and the improvement of practice through processes of critical reflection on the relation between practice and the potential for human emancipation (Bates, 1982:3).
Consequently, this research problem might appropriately be illuminated by insights gained from the theoretical debate surrounding cultural and social reproduction (Althusser, 1971; Bernstein, 1975; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Giroux, 1983a). Culture in this sense is distinct from the traditional 'systems' notions of corporate culture which seek to justify managerial, manipulative forms of administration for the pursuit of 'excellence' and 'school effectiveness' (Bates, 1986a). The study consequently relates its inquiry and analysis to a notion of reproduction informed by the 'critical' tradition with roots in the Frankfurt school (see Giroux, 1983b). The adopted paradigm is 'critical' in the sense that it constitutes informed, evaluative inquiry into, and reflection on, taken-for-granted assumptions regarding education and the dominant modes of management assumed by those occupying administrative roles in the organisation. Popkewitz, for example, argues that:

By integrating the analysis of a particular programme with other literature that deals with the institutional character of schooling, the potency of an institutional context not only for channelling thought and action, but also for reinforcing and legitimating social values about authority and control can be illuminated (Popkewitz, 1981:189).

It follows that such an approach incorporates a critique of that knowledge which is fundamental to the culture of the members of the organisation. As Sirotnik and Oakes explain, this involves

... the explicit recognition and logical analysis of knowledge in the light of the values, beliefs, and socio-political interests that guide both the accumulation and use of knowledge. Through what is essentially a dialectical process of critical reflection and dialogue, explanations and understandings of phenomena (of schools and schooling) are examined in their social, political, and historical context (Sirotnik and Oakes, 1986:8).
Such considerations place an emphasis on principles of cultural transmission embodied in linguistic and ritualistic social structures over which administrators in the organisation maintain significant control.

But despite the appropriateness of a critique of structural forms in addressing the research problem, the researcher believes that study should transcend a static, deterministic analysis. The preliminary observations of symptoms of unrest and resistance among the group's members gives credence to Watkin's argument that 'educational organisations must be viewed not as mere technical systems but as settings where knowledgeable human agents engage in communicative interaction' (Watkins, 1986:101).

The study also needs to develop a critical historical perspective of the organisation to account for the way in which the participants have invented and constructed their culture, and in order to contextualise their struggles to produce and reproduce the culture. It recognises limits to the possibility of reproduction and it acknowledges the significance of the dynamics of lived experience of the participants, especially of students and teachers within the school, the meaning they attribute to the codes that influence their lives, and the responsive cultural forms they develop as they endeavour to reshape the culture of schooling.

These aspects of the research problem appear to be addressed, at least initially, by a growing body of literature that acknowledges the dialectical tension between human 'agency' and social 'structures' and the power of individuals and groups to resist, contest and potentially transform institutional structures (Giddens, 1976, 1979; Watkins, 1983, 1985). In this regard, Ball and Goodson argue that:
...a more productive and dialectical conception of teachers' work has begun to emerge (in which) the teacher is seen as involved in the development of creative, strategic responses to societal and situational constraints ... or as resolving ever present dilemmas ... through and within their interaction with pupils. Alongside this ... greater attention has been directed to teachers as human beings, as rounded social actors with their own problems and perspectives, making careers, struggling to achieve their ideals, or just struggling to survive (Ball and Goodson, 1985:7-8).

C. Wright Mills argues that 'social science deals with the problems of biography, of history, and of their intersections within social structures' adding that 'these three - biography, history, society - are the co-ordinate points for the proper study of man' (1970:159). This researcher accepts the validity of this argument in adopting a specific approach to the research problem. In the first instance, the preferred approach is to be 'critical' in character, consistent with the preceding discussion. Secondly, it also favour ethnographic modes of fieldwork to collection relevant data for analysis. This study, therefore, constitutes a 'critical ethnography'. A more detailed argument defending the adoption of this mode and describing the specific methodology employed follows in Chapter 3.

Within the ethnographic tradition of inquiry, it is consistent to begin such a study with what Malinowski (1922) describes as 'foreshadowed problems' rather than with hypotheses. The following foreshadowed problems reflect the focus of this study.

1. How does the SDA Church attempt to reproduce SDA culture in the context of church-school education?

2. What factors facilitate or obstruct that attempt?

3. What part do teachers play in these dynamics?
IV. THE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

This thesis is a critical ethnography of SDA schooling in one particular SDA school community in Australia - Maranatha High School. While the study adopts a variety of ethnographic strategies for the collection of data for analysis, it is not intended that it should constitute a full ethnography, that is, a complete account of the social situation at Maranatha. Schools are far too complex to examine exhaustively in the scope of a thesis such as this. Neither is it possible to critique exhaustively the larger church organisation it represents. Yet it must provide sufficient insight into the organisational context that constrains life in the school itself. Thus the study is selective, focusing principally on the work of teachers and the social relationships and institutional structures that impinge on that work, in an attempt to illuminate the foreshadowed problems.
CHAPTER 2

SURVEY OF THEORETICAL & EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

I. THE STATUS OF KNOWLEDGE IN EDUCATION

Until the 1970's, perspectives of education remained dominated by the structural-functionalist tradition, viewing society as an integrated structure consisting of a hierarchy of interdependent sub-systems, institutions and roles that function to promote consensus and stability within society as a whole, and success for its members. Functionalists recognise a number of influential institutions within society such as the family, peer groups, the church and the school. Of these, the school is assumed to be the key agency of socialisation - a process viewed in terms of the training of individuals 'to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles' (Parsons, 1959:297). At the same time, the Parsonian schema sees education serving a differential function by which individuals are allocated through sorting and selection to the respective roles for which they are best suited.

Durkheim (1956), who also sees socialisation as a central function of education incorporates a cultural dimension to the perspective. Education, he asserts, functions

...to arouse in the child: (1) a certain number of physical and mental states that the society to which he belongs considers should not be lacking in any of its members; (2) certain physical and mental states that the particular social group (caste, class, family, profession) considers, equally, ought to be found among all those who make it up.

(Durkheim, 1956:70)
As a result of this process, a child is seen to learn his/her 'culture'. Furthermore, Durkheim insists that it is the State's responsibility to teach the child 'to adjust to the milieu in which he must live' in order to avoid social disintegration into 'an incoherent multitude of little fragments in conflict with one another' (1956:79). Functionalist conceptions of education are preoccupied with a technocratic-meritocratic ideology that perceives the function of education in terms of a mechanistic 'input-output' process in which the greatest rewards go to those applying the greatest effort (Halsey, 1977). Thus education is seen as a form of 'investment' which views knowledge and skills in humans as a form of 'capital', the implication being that individuals are reduced to a mere resource of production (Schultz, 1977). Enhanced life-chances are assumed for the individual, paving the way for social mobility regardless of prior social background (Karabel and Halsey, 1977). Consequently, the blame for any 'dysfunctions' or failures in school performance tend to be attributed to pupils in terms of natural individual differences in psychological endowments, or I.Q., that purportedly determine mental and educational performance (Woods, 1979; Bennett, 1982).

Much of what constitutes life in schools was taken for granted as unproblematic to the extent that little was known about what actually transpires in the lives of the participants within classrooms. For this reason a number of theorists describe the school of this period as a 'black box' (Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Bates, 1981a; Connell, 1983). Wilson's (1962) idealistic sociological analysis of 'good teachers' sees them as little more than technicians responding positively to pre-determined and strongly defined 'professional' role responsibilities and expectations founded on the notion of the unproblematic transmission of 'agreed truths' and 'bodies of
knowledge' (Angus, 1986a). In the final analysis, the traditional functionalist paradigm in education constitutes a technology of control founded on the management of knowledge. Young observes:

> Functionalist theory ... presupposes at a very general level an agreed set of societal values or goals which define both the selection and organization of knowledge in curricula ... (It is) concerned with the 'organization' or 'processing' of people ... and takes the organization of knowledge for granted.  

(Young, 1971:26)

**The Epistemological Foundations of Functionalism**

Structural-functionalism is buttressed by an epistemology founded on a specific view of human nature and knowledge.

Without question, schools are social institutions established for the transmission of knowledge considered to be relevant to individual and social development. By nature, traditional education constitutes an empirical-analytical or 'received' view of knowledge (Habermas, 1971; Margetson, 1981). Such 'scientific' knowledge represents the accumulation of empirical data gathered through observation based on sensory experience (Phillips, 1977). A conscious effort is made to avoid the subjectivity of human bias in the belief that truth is objective, inherently neutral and therefore normative (Gorbett, 1972; Deblois, 1979). Such characterisations of knowledge are founded on an ontology which sees social phenomena as qualitatively the same as natural phenomena in a tangible, 'real' world composed of immutable structures that pre-exist the individual (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Deblois, 1979). Such 'scientistic', 'objectivistic' knowledge is expressed in propositional form as facts and generalisations which are abstract, law-like, quantifiable, replicable, causative, predictable and, therefore, absolute and 'positivistic' (Polanyi,
1958; Schroyer, 1970; Habermas, 1971). 'Theory' is viewed as the linear accumulation of propositions derived from primary observations, and it tends to equate with 'truth' which is verifiable through a rational process based on further observation and experience (Phillips, 1977; Stake, 1978). Not only is theory an articulation of assumptions and generalisations, but it is also seen as serving a heuristic function in informing the further accumulation of knowledge (Hoy and Miskel, 1982). Further, a consistent empirical-analytical view of knowledge is dependent on a determinist model of man who exists in a passive relationship with both his natural and social environment (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). From this perspective, therefore, the function of education is the transmission of knowledge for its own intrinsic worth as the basis of socialisation (Gorbett, 1972). Thus schools are seen primarily as 'instructional sites' (Angus, 1986b) with knowledge as a commodity to be transferred (King and Young, 1986). In this view, the curriculum is virtually 'a prepackaged corpus of knowledge which the teacher must implement as efficiently and effectively as possible' (Codd, 1982:15). Accordingly the teacher is seen to function in the role of 'an expert' by virtue of his/her accumulated knowledge (Freire, 1970).

The Emergence of Alternative Epistemologies

However from the late 1960's, this static and deterministic conception of schooling was strongly challenged by alternative views. Heavily financed government polices of educational reform failed to provide the promised equality in social and economic mobility for all (Jencks, 1972; Bennett, 1982; Giroux, 1984). Spurred on by an intensifying sense of 'crisis', theorists began to recognise and
explicate complex political and ideological implications of schooling (Young, 1971; Althusser, 1971; Habermas, 1973; Bernstein, 1975; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Apple, 1979, 1982a, 1982b). Instead of seeing education fostering consensus and equilibrium, theorists saw it in terms of coercive socialisation that served class interests. They insisted that:

Where functionalists have often viewed the educational system as offering opportunities for mobility for individuals, conflict theorists have generally stressed the role of education in maintaining a system of structured social inequality.

(Karabel and Halsey, 1977:35. Emphasis in original.)

Young and his associates (1971) pointed to links between the ideological and political nature of particular 'structures of knowledge' and the perpetual legitimation of social and economic interests by dominant groups. Thus the 'new' sociology of education was, in essence, a sociology of knowledge. The call for an enquiry into the status of knowledge in educational institutions gave impetus to an emerging, alternative interpretive epistemology (Gorbut, 1972).

The fundamental premise of this departure lies in the assertion that, knowledge, rather than being viewed as objective, neutral and independent of human action, is socially constructed through the experiences and consciousness of individuals living in a dynamic, dialectical relationship with society. Knowledge is therefore relativised and personal (Polanyi, 1966; Kuhn, 1970; Gorbut, 1972). Furthermore, Polanyi argues that much of this knowledge may exist as 'tacit' knowledge and may not necessarily be articulated. This view is founded on an ontology that does not maintain a subject-object dichotomy but rather views reality as a product of the human mind.
Truth and objectivity are, therefore, a social creation and are relative to the subjective experience of the individuals (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). It is argued that, because knowledge is socially constructed, it is ideologically constrained, that is, it is socially biased. It follows that theory, too, is ideological, while observation is dependent on the theoretical perspective of the observer. Kuhn’s (1970) now widely cited argument posits that even the so-called ‘scientific’ perspective of knowledge is a manifestation of social bias. Theory and practice are not dichotomised, but rather, theory is validated through praxis. In this sense, knowledge is conceptualised as a process rather than a product (Freire, 1978).

Rather than a passive, determined individual, the emergent, interpretive view is founded on the conception which, in the extreme, sees individuals as voluntarist – as active, autonomous, free-willed constructors of reality in a dialectical relationship with the rest of society (Freire, 1978; Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Consequently the concept of socialisation is not limited to the unilateral transmission of knowledge for the filling of adult roles but continues throughout the life cycle in all social situations...as a reciprocal process...(in which) children and parents or teachers and pupils or doctors and patients may socialize one another’ (Gorbett, 1972:6).

Instead of the school being an ‘oppressive’ institution in which the teacher dominates the selection of knowledge and the processes of learning (Freire, 1970), it becomes a venue in which ‘educators and learners all become learners assuming the same attitude as cognitive subjects discovering knowledge through one another and through the objects they try to know’ (Freire, 1976:225).

Positivism and interpretivism represent two extremes in the theoretical debate over the nature of knowledge. However some
epistemologists acknowledge that while social factors do impinge upon the organisation and structuring of knowledge in schools, relativists go too far in insisting that all knowledge is socially constructed and in denying the possibility for tests of truth, validity and objectivity (Pring, 1976; Lawton, 1975). Instead, some critics submit an alternative argument that is informed by the notion of 'epistemological pluralism' that insists that there are equally valid ways of knowing, each being characterised by different forms of enquiry and tests for validity, empirical science being only one such form (Popper, 1963). This view provides an opportunity for a 'critical epistemology' which supports the ongoing pursuit of meaning and authority through the reflexive, personal critique of these various forms of knowledge against their claims for validity. However as Codd (1981) points out, such effort does not presuppose the ultimate arrival at a single, absolute form but rather seeks a tentative, provisional, workable 'objectivity' that is always open to modification through self-reflection, criticism and counterevidence.

II. THEORIES OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Around the early 1970's, attention was directed to the alleged reproduction of the social inequalities of modern capitalist society through the selection and structuring of knowledge in schools. Gathering interest resulted in a number of theories that attempted to articulate the dynamics associated with the 'hidden curriculum' and the maintenance of hegemony by the dominant class (Young, 1971).

The Correspondence Theory: Bowles and Gintis's (1976) 'correspondence theory' attempts to link social class, the workplace and the school by claiming that 'the hierarchically structured pattern of
values, norms, and skills that characterize both the workforce and the dynamics of class interaction under capitalism are mirrored in the social dynamics of the daily classroom encounter' (Giroux, 1983a:262). To Bowles and Gintis, a 'hidden curriculum' is situated in social relations that are imposed upon, and internalised by students. For this reason, Bowles (1977) argues that schools in the U.S. do not pursue equality but rather serve capitalism by exercising social control to produce a skilled, disciplined workforce. For the most part, teachers and students are viewed as ignorant dupes of the subtle processes of this hidden agenda.

The Function of Ideology in Social Reproduction: Althusser also sees the school as the dominant agency in the reproduction of the capitalistic mode of production. However, where Bowles' and Gintis's view is located in the context of social relations, Althusser emphasises the cultural rather than the economic aspects of class domination. He sees socialisation by which the individual comes to 'live' this knowledge and these values, as being informed by 'ideology'. To Althusser, ideology is:

a system of representations, but in the majority of cases these representations have nothing to do with "consciousness"; they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as structures that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their 'consciousness'. They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally on one in a process that escapes them. Men "live" their ideologies ... not at all as a form of consciousness, but as an object of their 'world' - as the world itself.

(Althusser, 1969:233)

In these terms then, ideology cannot be separated from social life. It is more than simply an inherent and integral part of the totality of social relations. It is 'the "social cement", the indispensible source of social cohesion' (Giddens, 1979:179). It must be seen as the
active, practical experience of social agents by which they make sense of their world. Althusser argues that schools, as an 'Ideological State Apparatus' maintain the conditions for material production. Reproduction is seen in two forms – first, the reproduction of occupational skills and knowledge and second, the social relations that sustain production (Althusser, 1971:132). The dominant ideology is expressed and communicated through the routines and practices that characterise and constrain life in the school.

Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Reproduction: Bourdieu's theory is based on 'a system of circular relations which unites structures and practices' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:203), attempting to link the notions of culture and class with knowledge, power, socialisation and education through the concepts of the 'cultural capital', the 'habitus', 'pedagogic action', and 'symbolic violence'. To Bourdieu, the 'habitus' describes the 'interiorised master patterns' acquired by the individual through primary socialisation (1971:193). The habitus constitutes:

A system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to the analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems.

(Bourdieu, 1971:183)

The habitus represents 'cultural capital' or symbolic wealth that makes possible 'the apprehension and possession of cultural goods as symbolic goods (along with the symbolic satisfactions that accompany an appropriation of this kind)' (Bourdieu, 1977:488). In this context, 'culture' is taken to mean 'literature, science, religion, art, language and all the symbolic systems falling within the widest range of the term' (Kennett, 1973:239). Implicit within the scope of such a
definition are varying degrees of linguistic competence and 'styles of interaction', 'modes of thinking', and 'relationship to and affinity for the dominant aesthetic culture' (DiMaggio, 1979:1464). The school is seen as an extension of primary socialisation, enhancing the prior advantage of the dominant class by legitimising the selective 'pedagogic action' based on codes that are linguistically and culturally accessible only to its members. To Bourdieu this constitutes 'symbolic violence' against those 'deficient' in cultural capital. However these values constitute a structure of meanings, or an ideology, which is not only imposed on others, but the worth of which is taken for granted. Thus Bourdieu speaks of 'an ideology of illusion' that convinces the disinherited that their situation is not the result of symbolic violence, but rather to their own lack of scholastic and social 'gifts or merits' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:210). To them, 'school is alien and not intrinsically prized' (DiMaggio, 1979:1464). When working-class children match their 'subjective hopes' against the 'objective chances' (Bourdieu and Saint-Martin, 1974), they are inclined to eliminate themselves by early leaving or dropping out of school, thus completing the cycle of relations to 'reproduce the original structures and power relations which are the basis for the original symbolic violence' (Willis, 1981:54).

Bernstein's Theory of Class, Codes and Control: The focus of Bernstein's interest is the invisible, symbolic mechanisms which, he argues, link school curricula and social control, and favour dominant class interests in the reproduction of stratified society. These structures are perceived to lie embedded within institutional structures that inform the selection, classification, distribution,
transmission and evaluation of knowledge in schools. As Bernstein argues:

How a society selects, classifies distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control.

(Bernstein, 1975:47)

Bernstein conceptualizes these structures as three 'message systems'—'curriculum', 'pedagogy' and 'evaluation'. (1975:85). As 'specialized modes of communication', they are 'dedicated to the symbolic shaping and reshaping of the population' (1975:18). Through his theoretical framework, he focuses on basic questions that begin to illuminate the ideological implications of these message systems: 'what counts as valid knowledge,...what counts as valid transmission of knowledge, and...what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge on the part of the taught' (1975:85). In attempting to analyse and articulate systematically a complex socio-cultural, economic and political milieu, Bernstein dichotomises its dimensions into polar opposites. From this perspective, 'classification' describes the strength of the boundaries between the contents of the curriculum while 'framing' refers to the degree of control of teachers and pupils over pedagogical structures (1975:89). Thus, traditional, classical curricula with discrete subjects taught by specialist teachers in strong hierarchical teacher-student relationships represent a 'collection code', while an 'integrated code' reflects weaker, more informal, flexible and negotiable teacher/student relationships. Within Bernstein's schema, collection curricula and visible pedagogies are associated with the reproduction of the dominant social order. Strong control which is characteristic of a collection code is reflected in an objective, visible, 'standardised' assessment
framework. By contrast, evaluation procedures associated with an integrated code are 'multiple, diffuse and not easily subject to apparently precise measurement', which is not a priority (Bernstein, 1975:130). It follows that visible, rigorous modes of evaluation not only reflect dominant cultural interests but transform the consciousness of individuals and legitimise certain criteria of success or failure.

The link between these institutional structures and the consciousness of individuals is the notion of 'ritual' (Bernstein, 1975:54). Ritual is seen to function in reproducing either an 'instrumental order' represented by facts, procedures and skills, and an 'expressive order' which centres on beliefs, morals and values. What is being transmitted is a 'culture' in as much as it is founded on a selection of knowledge from wider society and shared by a particular moral community. To Bernstein, expressive rituals serve either a consensual function to unify the group and to foster cultural identity, or a differentiating function to reproduce social and authority relations. The 'instrumental order' is founded on the adoption of 'bureaucratic procedures which affect curriculum, the transmission of knowledge and the quality of the teacher-pupil relation' (Bernstein, 1975:63). This perspective asserts a relationship between education and the hierarchical division of labour in so far as the school functions to satisfy the needs of the market place through an integrated process of knowledge management, pedagogical practice, and selection of individuals through an evaluation system.
Critique of Reproduction Theories

One criticism made of the reproduction theories is that, while endeavouring to supercede functionalist determinism, they have developed a theory of 'hyperfunctionism'. That is, they are based on a mechanistic concept of culture that portrays schools as static institutions imposing the dominant culture and knowledge in homogeneous forms on a passive, submissive and oppressed working class (Giroux, 1983a). Such views, it is claimed, fail to acknowledge the 'humanness' of actors and the possibility of self-consciousness and reflexivity on the part of individuals. Consequently it does not allow for a theory of resistance to emerge. It is attended by a sense of pessimism that leaves little room for radical transformation of social conditions. Correspondence theories miss the complexity of life in school and the workplace and either ignore or fail to recognise the significance of the content of what is actually taught in schools. Similarly, although Althusser identifies a relationship between the production system and the individual, mediated by the school, he fails to address and illuminate any 'sustained analysis of day-to-day classroom practices' (Giroux, 1981:5). The classroom continues to be a 'black box'.

Giroux claims that Bourdieu's theory of ideology is limited, being preoccupied with ideologies reflected by students and failing to account for, or address ideologies imposed on students in an attempt to 'repress the production of counter-ideologies' (1983a:272). Second, it tends to ground domination in ideology alone and fails to recognise and consider the economic and material factors that determine opportunities available to the dispossessed. Third, DiMaggio (1979) suggests that there is some ambiguity and inconsistency in Bourdieu's
habit. On one hand it is regarded as durable while on the other, it is subject to transformation. Just at what point durability breaks down is problematic.

Bernstein's theory has been criticised as being abstract, static, formalistic and mechanistic, viewing individuals as the passive, ahistorical social product of structure, ignoring the existence of cultural, economic and political struggle and ideological argument, thus denying the capacity for human agency and resistance (Apple and Wexler, 1978). Bernstein's analysis, it is said, tends to reduce knowledge to a 'set of things to be transmitted' rather than dynamically portraying 'the flesh and blood of human existence' (Apple and Wexler, 1978:39). Giroux (1981) claims that Bernstein's theory takes a pessimistic, deterministic and limited view of hegemony that locks individuals into a no-win situation. Further, Willis (1981) is critical of the oversimplification of the concept of domination by class interests alone, arguing that it excludes other forms of domination and ideologies that may intersect with class.

However these criticisms should not be taken as sufficient cause to reject Bernstein's contribution out of hand. It is not totally 'wrong' in its insights into the ideological implications of school knowledge. Rather, it is in need of development and refinement to correct its perceived deficiencies. As Apple and Wexler (1978) argue, what is needed is an interactive perspective that recognises the part played by all participants vis a vis the 'message systems' of the school and society at large. That is, it calls for a 'relational' analysis that incorporates the action of teachers and students in the school and society in a dialectical relationship. Such a view is anti-deterministic, providing for the articulation of a discourse that reflects the reflexivity and autonomy of participants.
In addition, Bates (1983a) argues that although Bernstein tends to argue that the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluative systems are the message systems of the school, the administrative/political system of the school is somewhat independent of them, although it is articulated through them. None are discontinuous from one another. Nevertheless, there is justification for the inclusion of a fourth message system that reflects an ideologically constrained technology of management which controls access to the knowledge which 'counts'. Thus a fuller perspective based on the notion of 'message systems' comprises both 'structures of knowledge' and 'structures of control'. This modified perspective enables analysis to proceed, focusing on the fundamental questions:

1. What counts as knowledge?
2. How is what counts as knowledge organized?
3. How is what counts as knowledge transmitted?
4. How is access to what counts as knowledge determined?
5. What are the processes of control?

The following section seeks to develop such a dialectical theory that adequately captures the dynamics and implications of cultural politics in the school.

III. THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF SCHOOLING

Schools as Cultural Sites

Traditional concepts of schooling view socialisation as the unproblematic transmission of cultural knowledge. However 'culture' in this context closely conforms to the notion of 'high culture' which 'claims to identify and celebrate the greatest achievements of the human mind' (Bates, 1986a:8, 9). It sees culture in two senses:
... first, the 'ideal', in which culture is a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values. ... (and) second, ... the 'documentary', in which culture is the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded. (Williams, 1981:43).

There is a strong link between such conceptions of culture and positivist views of knowledge. According to Bates (1986a) it has been this conception of culture that has informed educational theorists like Peters and Hirst. Within this schema, the school constitutes an 'instructional site' for the promoting of 'excellence' in human attainment. However critical theorists argue that:

Schools are not merely instructional sites but also sites where the culture of the dominant society is learned and where students experience the difference between those status and class distinctions that exist in larger society ... One of the most important theoretical elements for developing critical modes of schooling centers around the notion of culture... (they) must come to be seen and studied as both instructional and cultural sites (Giroux, 1984:36-37).

Bates (1982) similarly argues a case for the necessity of a cultural analysis as an alternative to deterministic traditions, not solely because the dynamics of organisation can be better understood through such a perspective, but also because educational organisations, above all, are committed to the maintenance, transmission and recreation of culture (Bates, 1982:5-6).

Angus argues that culture is 'the prime mediator and outcome of educational practice', adding that 'What is being managed in schools therefore, is, above all else, culture' (1986b:11). Management is reflected in such aspects of schooling as curriculum decisions, pedagogical styles and practices, methods of evaluation, management policies, teacher-pupil relations, etc.
However the notion of culture envisaged in this alternative tradition marks a significant conceptual shift from those cited earlier. In moving towards a preferred alternative definition, Williams argues for

... the 'social' definition of culture, in which culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour (Williams, 1981: 43. Emphasis added).

However if any definition of culture is going to adequately capture and reflect the complexity of culture as alluded to by Hall (1981), the notion of culture simply as a 'way of life', needs further working and expansion. Clarke and his associates offer a fuller and more adequate definition which facilitates the understanding of dynamics of that society and the effect that cultural politics have on those dynamics.

The 'culture' of a group or class, the meanings, values and ideas embodied in institutions, in social relations, in systems of beliefs, in mores and customs, in the uses of objects and material life. Culture is the distinctive shapes in which this material and social organisation of life expresses itself. A culture includes the 'maps of meaning' which make things intelligible to its members. ... not simply carried around in the head ... (but) objectivated in the patterns of social organisation and relationship through which an individual becomes a 'social individual' (Clarke et al., 1981:52).

When such notions of culture as this are applied to schools, Greenfield sees them as 'cultural artifacts that people struggle to shape in their own image', reflecting 'the values that are central and meaningful in their lives' (1973:570).

This alternative definition of culture provides a conceptual framework of considerable value particularly in a study such as this, because when viewed in these terms:
Culture is observable, and empirical descriptions can be provided of the ways in which the meanings, values, ideas and beliefs of social groups are articulated through various cultural artifacts ... (which) constitute the structures through which individuals learn their culture (Bates, 1986a: 12).

However Bates also argues that learning that culture is 'not simply a passive process of soaking up maps of meaning articulated through the social structures into which one is born' (1986a:13). It involves individuals in a historic process in which differing experience and relationships with wider society result in a different consciousness. Consequently, individuals transform their culture during the process of learning it. Further, it is 'the struggle between such cultures that constitutes the major dynamic of cultural change' (1986a:14).

This redefinition of culture liberates the notion from the restraints of earlier reductionist perspectives informed by anthropology and functionalist sociology, which Giroux claims 'has not only obscured more than it has revealed, but also has often become an excuse for the status quo' (1981:18). Giroux endeavours to explicitly articulate a 'politicised' conception of culture, that is, he is not satisfied to define culture simply as 'lived experience' or 'a way of life' even though the notion of cultural politics may be implicit. Rather, he prefers to view it as 'lived antagonistic relations' which is:

... more than an expression of experiences forged within the social and economic spheres of a given society. On the one hand, it is a complex realm of antagonistic experiences, mediated by power and struggle and rooted in the structural opposition of labor and capital; and on the other, it is the transformative ability of human beings to shape their lives while only being partially constrained by the social, political, and economic determinants that place interventions on their practice (Giroux, 1981:18)
The Centre for Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham provides empirical support for such a position, convincingly demonstrating that mechanistic, deterministic perspectives which view schools as places where culture is imposed on students, are obsolete. Rather, schools are social sites attended by resistance, contestation and struggle - a process which produces culture, not as a static structure, but as lived experience (Apple, 1982a; Willis, 1977). An added advantage in this reformulation of culture is that it is also possible to identify and address cultural issues such as gender and ethnicity which are not necessarily framed within class definitions or the logic of capital (Giroux, 1981:19).

Bates (1986b) suggests that although any particular culture may appear to present itself to the rest of society as comprehensive, cohesive and legitimate, it must not be assumed that its particular 'whole way of life' is shared more or less equally by all the members of that society. Any society consists of different groups and classes that are unequally ranked in relation to one another, in terms of their productive relations, wealth and power' (Clarke et al., 1981:54). Consequently, they will be engaged in a continuing struggle in which one group will exercise cultural power and dominance over other groups. In that struggle:

The dominant culture represents itself as the culture. It tries to define and contain all other cultures within its inclusive range.... Other cultural configurations will not only be subordinate to this dominant order; they will enter into struggle with it, seek to modify, negotiate, resist or even overthrow its reign - its hegemony (Clarke et al., 1981:54-55).

It is this struggle between groups which constitutes the terrain of cultural politics. But this struggle for control is not dependent on physical coercion, but rather on moral and intellectual persuasion,
the object of which is cultural dominance. Gitlin encapsulates the hegemonic process well:

Hegemony is a ruling class's (or alliance's) domination of subordinate classes and groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology (ideas and assumptions) into their common sense and everyday practice; it is the systematic (but not necessarily or even usually deliberate) engineering of mass consent to the established order. . The hegemonic sense of the world seeps into popular 'common sense' and gets reproduced there; it may even appear to be generated by that common sense (Gitlin, 1980:253-4).

To Gitlin, the production and dissemination of cultural forms that are supportive of the dominant ideology is facilitated by the mass media. With Gitlin, Theophanous argues that the 'insidious aim' of the mass media is to:

...seek to create and sustain a world view, a complex system of beliefs and values about life and society, which has the effect of justifying and legitimizing the existing power structures (Theophanous, 1980:209)

Aronowitz (1977) follows after Horkheimer and Habermas in arguing that the mass culture so created causes society to loses its capacity and ability to think critically and to communicate ideational thought effectively. To Davies, 'hegemony is sustained precisely because such cultural practices appear to be so natural, and unquestionable to those experiencing them' (1981:57).

However Giroux argues that the notion of total domination is 'a myth' (1980:232). Cultural hegemony is not monolithic and fixed but must be 'won, worked for, reproduced, sustained' (Clarke et al., 1981: 61). It is a historical moment, ever subject to resistance, particularly in schools. Giroux points out:

... schools are historical and structural embodiments of forms and culture that are ideological in the sense that they signify reality in ways that are often actively contested and
experienced differently by various individuals and groups (1985:23).

Culture must be recognised as constructed through a complex network of social groups. However the cultures of these groups are unequally ranked, standing 'in opposition to one another, in relations of domination and subordination, along the scale of "cultural power" ' (Clarke et al., 1981:54).

Towards a Theory of Resistance

Willis (1977) posits a theory which links the micro structural forces in the home and school with the macro forces of society at large in a dialectical relationship rather than a crude duality. A fundamental assertion of this 'resistance theory' is the potential for countercultural human agency which enables subcultural groups to oppose and resist oppressive modes of domination embodied in institutionalised school cultures. In his ethnographic account of the oppositional behaviour of a group of working class boys in a British school, Willis argues that:

This opposition is expressed mainly as a style. It is lived out in countless small ways which are special to the school institution, instantly recognised by the teachers, and almost a ritualistic part of the daily fabric of life for the kids (Willis, 1977:12)

The rejection of authority and the official, academic curriculum spells 'failure' for 'the lads'. Mental, intellectual labour takes on symbolic meaning, being 'associated with unjustified authority, with qualifications whose promise is illusory' (Willis, 1977:146). That is, working class pupils who have internalised the 'shop-floor' culture of their families and others members of the same class oppose and reject
through counter-cultural action the ideology of the hidden curriculum that represents the official culture. While they perceive that the official curriculum is the guarantee of social success, they see it as only accessible to a select few of which they are not a part. Willis insists that it is their own rejection of mental work associated with their assertion of aggressive masculinity that creates antagonistic authority and gender relations which, in turn, perpetuates their enslavement through the removal of the opportunity for social transformation and emancipation through critical thinking. It is only in retrospect that they perceive their self-induction into their hopeless state to which education appears the only solution.

However subsequent ethnographic studies by Connell, Ashenden, Kessler and Dowsett (1982) reveal that even the perceived advances made by Willis's insightful perspective fall short of constructing an adequate account of the complexity that characterises the social processes of schooling. Connell and his colleagues have shown, for instance, that resistance is not limited to boys of the working class, but is widely observable amongst girls and upper class children as well, and may take a variety of forms of interaction between the 'authority structure of the school' and 'class and gender dynamics' at a varying levels of intensity (Connell et al., 1982:88) What is perhaps most significant is that criticisms made by pupils of alleged 'arbitrary authority, poor teaching, inconsistent discipline, favouritism, (and) lack of discipline' were made across the whole group, including 'good' students (Connell et al., 1982:85). However the 'difference' in social outcomes is seen to bear a direct relationship with the kind of economic and social resources commanded by the respective pupils' families. One form of student 'engagement' with the school is described as 'compliance', reflecting an apparent
desire on the part of some of them to cooperate and achieve. In one sense, this relationship appears to bring pressure on teachers to meet student and parental expectations by promoting academic 'success'. Consequently, the credit for 'success' tends to be attributed to the school. But, in another sense, Connell and his associates suggest that compliance may be seen as students' ways of 'distinguishing themselves from the "failure" around them' rather than a direct response to the school's efforts (1982:90).

Another form of affiliation, 'pragmatism' or mediocrity, accounts for the relationship of a large number of students to the school. They tend to 'work the system' for what gain it may offer to them personally in terms of enhancement of life chances via career and social opportunities rather than for any idealistic motive or principle. Connell and his friends insist that these 'attachments' - resistance, compliance and pragmatism - do not represent fixed 'kinds of individuals', but rather strategic relationships. They point out that 'most kids employ more than one strategy, at different times, in different subjects, and with different teachers' (1982:92).

What is clear is that students successfully assert their autonomy through innovative strategies calculated to mediate and subvert the intentions of the official organisational structures of the school (Woods, 1980a; Angus, 1984, 1986c). Students meet the symbolic violence of schools and teachers with a symbolic violence of their own (Riseborough, 1985:220). From this perspective, teachers, both corporately and individually, constitute the most significant point at which students may begin to penetrate the institutional structure. Consequently teachers are unrelentingly exposed to pupil 'processing' which contributes to the 'making or breaking of the teacher' (Hammersley and Woods, 1976; Woods, 1981). As Riseborough argues:
(In) a class society the school is an internecine class-
cultural battlefield not simply a bourgeoisie institution. As such, pupils are also the initiators and controllers of schooling; they occupy critical reality defining positions in school being 'determining mediators' of teachers' identities and careers (1985:204).

The effect of pupil power goes beyond the personal teacher level. Students are both

...overt curriculum and hidden curriculum decision makers...They make a major contribution to the social construction of classroom knowledge. Children actively select, organize and evaluate knowledge in schools. Further, lesson time is not solely the teacher's time, it is 'a stake and site of class struggle' (Riseborough, 1985:204, 214).

But this struggle is not viewed in terms of a bi-directional duality but rather as a dialectical relationship in which the emerging culture of the school is seen as a symbiosis of teacher and student action (Ball and Goodson, 1985; Riseborough, 1985).

Teachers, as well as their pupils, are not passive objects of pupil power. As Willis argues, 'teachers know quite well that teaching is essentially a relationship between potential contenders for supremacy' (1977:63). As a result, teachers negotiate exchanges and construct 'basic teaching paradigms' in order to maintain a moral order. However this moral order may vary significantly from official intentions. Further, there is a frequent disparity between an individual's 'teaching ideology' and his/her 'teaching perspective' that is, between one's personal ideals of teaching and actual practices (Sharp and Green, 1975:68-9). Similarly, Cusick (1983) shows that the outcome of teacher-student negotiation frequently varies significantly from formally articulated curricular and pedagogical structures. There is a link between this disparity and a variety of 'strategies' that teachers develop in order to 'survive' in the
classroom throughout their careers (Woods, 1980a, 1981; Measor, 1985). Teachers adapt to the competing pressures in the school, sometimes in the form of 'strategic compliance', or at other times functioning as active agents of innovation and change through the 'strategic redefinition of the situation' (Lacey, 1977:72-3). The self-created distance between teachers and their students has been argued to be a factor in the sense of depersonalisation and loss of self-esteem associated with teacher 'burn-out' (Maslach, 1982), while Woods (1979, 1980b) argues that pupil strategies are associated with a struggle to retain or create personal and subcultural identity in the face of dehumanisation resulting from institutional and external factors such as technological production and bureaucratic management.

Within the complex cultural-political matrix, teachers also exercise power to transform curricular and institutional intentions, both consciously and unconsciously. Teachers are not passive technicians of 'teacher-proof' curriculum packages. Rather, they are mediators of the educational intentions built into these curricula by virtue of differing perceptions of reality (Apple, 1979, 1981, 1982a; Kirk, 1986). As Watkins (1983) has shown, teachers frequently contest perceived interests, ideologies and forms of organisational control which confront them. While some teacher action may be overt, on other occasions, conscious 'redefinition of the situation' may occur 'backstage' in the private world of the teacher's classroom or at the informal, staffroom level (See Goffman, 1959).

In this sense, contestation is founded on the notion of dialectic interaction of humans with social constraints which, themselves, are the outcomes of earlier social production.
Human Agency in Educational Organisations

In the past, research into schools as educational organisations has been dominated by technical theories which see them engaged in an attempt to develop structures for rational, efficient coordination and control of work processes, and the regulation of environmental demands (Meyer, Scott and Deal, 1980). To Greenfield (1983), modern organisation theory virtually anthropomorphises organisations, attributing to them separateness, independence and integrity, with minds of their own, beyond human control. Such views of organisations, set in the tradition of functionalist systems theory, are preoccupied with the notion of consensus, control and stability, thereby ignoring reflective human consciousness, experience, choice and value. Such views not only depersonalise administrative action and life, but in consequence, they also absolve human actors from responsibility (Meyer, Scott and Deal, 1980). Further, they deny the impact made by individual actors and the political implications of their interaction.

Greenfield proposes an alternative theory of organisation which acknowledges human action. He posits:

It is true that organisations appear to be solid, real entities that act independently of human control and are difficult to change. Yet the paradox is that vital spark, the dynamic of organisation is made from nothing more substantial than people doing and thinking. Organisations are limited by and defined by human action (Greenfield, 1980:27).

Viewed in these terms, organisations are 'constructed social reality', and 'social inventions', that is, 'human artifacts' (Greenfield, 1983:35, 37, 38). As such, they may be viewed as cultural artifacts. These social constructs are not neutral. As has been argued earlier, cultural negotiation is purposeful and therefore political. These
notions underlie Denhardt's argument which conceptualises organisations as

...historically constituted, humanly derived institutions, always subject to analysis and reformulation; individuals ...(are) seen as active participants in the process of constructing and modifying these institutions (Denhardt, 1981:73).

Thus organisations are expressions of relationships between the various actors, and therefore seen as instruments of power. As Greenfield argues:

The organisation is a tool that enables (more or less) some people to do what they want and that requires others to participate in the realization of others' desires, wants, beliefs and purposes. In this sense organizations are tools for action. They do what some people want to see done and they do it by enlisting or compelling the participation of individuals so that their efforts and talents produce what other people want (Greenfield, 1983:40).

But although Greenfield's concept of organisations significantly transcends modern organisational theory, traces of a dichotomy between voluntarism and determinism remain. That is, his 'agents' either act free of any constraint, or they are virtually powerless to resist the domination and compulsion of the organisational structure. Giddens (1979) answers this problem by proposing a dialectic relationship between human agency and structure. He emphasises

...the essential recursiveness of social life, as constituted in social practices: structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and 'exists' in the generating moments of this constitution (Giddens, 1979:5)

The theory conceives social actors as being knowledgable to the extent that they at least partially understand the 'social forms which oppress them' (Giddens, 1979:72). Humans are thus seen dialectically
acting and reacting within the social structures they have created, potentially transforming and reproducing them. At the same time, Giddens (1981) sees that these structures both enable and constrain ongoing production and change which proceeds as a series of dynamic 'episodes' in varying time and space. (See also Watkins, 1985).

In similar vein, Benson's (1977) dialectical view of organisations is founded on four basic principles. First, it is also rooted in the concept of the ongoing human construction and production of a social order which reflects 'interests of particular groups and their power to defend their interests within the social order' (1977:3). Secondly, he stresses the need to recognise the multiple relationships between social phenomena and the total social context rather than viewing these phenomena as isolated entities. Thirdly, Benson argues that social construction inevitably produces 'contradictions, ruptures, inconsistencies, and incompatibilities' (1977:4). Contradictions constrain further production by (a). constituting 'crises which activate the search for alternative social arrangements', (b). combining to 'facilitate or ... thwart social mobilization', or (c). defining 'the limits of change within a particular period or within a given system' (1977:5). Fourthly, Benson argues that a dialectical view is committed to the notion of praxis, that is, the potential for human agency to penetrate contradictions, to dereify oppressive social structures and to engage in social reconstruction (1977:6). Benson's perspective is particularly relevant to an understanding of the dialectic relationship of teachers within the school and their own political involvement in the on-going reproduction or transformation of existing socio-cultural structures.
The Management of Culture and Knowledge

Bates (1982) conceptualises teachers as 'managers of culture and knowledge'. Culture, in this sense, speaks of:

The beliefs, language, rituals, knowledge, conventions, courtesies and artifacts - in short the cultural baggage of any group, are the resources from which the individual and social identities are constructed. They provide the framework upon which the individual constructs his understanding of the world and of himself. Part of this cultural baggage is factual. It is empirical, descriptive and objective. Another part... perhaps the greater part, is mythical. It is concerned not with facts but with meaning. That is, the interpretative and prescriptive rules which provide the basis for understanding and action (Bates, 1982:6).

Bates argues that three key aspects of cultural myths - 'metaphors, rituals and negotiations', are the means by which interested parties attempt to manage and control the reality shaping processes of the school. In that process, teachers are themselves managed in the sense that they are constantly vulnerable to organisational and administrative structures and ideologies which shape their consciousness and attitudes, and thus mediate their action. Foshay (1980), for instance, shows how language based on metaphors that view children as 'cogs', 'machines', 'niggers', 'enemies', 'gentlemen', etc., and schools as 'factories', 'clinics' and 'bureaucracies', significantly influence attitudes and approaches towards group management, teaching styles, politics and power. These metaphors become ritualised into administrative patterns of action to control the usually taken-for-granted use of time, place and facilities, and determine the nature of activities (Lenny, 1974). Such patterns of action become the basis of of individual experience 'through which the human creates a concept of reality' (Eisner, 1979:271). Furthermore, administrative power is frequently exerted in schools to limit or exclude the participation of
student groups attempting to negotiate conflicting definitions of meaning, or to minimise the democratic participation of teachers in decision making (Hunter, 1980).

The initial impact of much of the literature of this genre is the impression that the hidden curriculum is transmitted unconsciously and indirectly. However King and Young assert that 'not all of the hidden curriculum is hidden, in the sense that all participants in school life are unaware of it' (1986:169). Teachers consciously attempt to present knowledge that is not part of the official curriculum, particularly relating to attitudes and social values. As Scheinfeld and Messerschmidt (1979) have shown, teachers' own 'relationships with the world' are expressed in the structural decisions they make in their own classroom. In the same vein, Young (1980, 1981a, 1981b) argue that a teacher's epistemological preferences have implications for the theory of learning that is espoused and the pedagogical decisions that emanate from those assumptions. These preferences relate to teaching techniques, the teacher's role and pupil action, textbooks, teaching materials and the manner in which they are used, and prescribed syllabi and examination courses. These decisions reflect a 'pedagogical style' that Esland argues, constitutes 'an aspect of culture' because:

It is derived from certain understandings of human behaviour and school conduct and is manifested in a range of appropriate organizational arrangements. Like any other aspect of school life, pedagogical styles with their supporting assumptions have become institutionalized and, through continued use, have become self-validating (Esland, 1977:9)

Approaches to evaluation in schools also reflect a predominance of bureaucratic interests that are preoccupied with 'managerial' rather than 'educative' concerns (Bates, 1983b). Government policies and
major competitive, public examinations, reflect a primary concern for evaluation procedures which enable the sorting and allocation of individuals to government, industry, and business. Teachers are caught in a trap in which they virtually have no alternative other than to comply with official, external demands, particularly when students and parents perceive examination success as cultural capital to enhance career opportunities and consequently hold teachers accountable for that success.

The ethnographic studies of Connell and his colleagues have illuminated the bureaucratic processes through which pupils' identities and careers are structured and mediated through differential streaming according to ability, thus ritualising and legitimating social organisation around a hierarchical, hegemonic curriculum (1982:120). But while all schools tend to share some elements in common, Popkewitz and his associates (1982) show that different kinds and classes of school - 'technical', 'constructive' and 'illusory' - reflect varying degrees of structure, control and a correspondingly different ethos in each case, which bear a direct relationship with the form of epistemology and pedagogy employed.

*Educational Management as a Technology of Social Control*

A key element in social, economic and cultural reproduction is the part played by administrators in the management of knowledge in schools. It is the 'structures of control' created by such administrators that constitute the fourth 'message system' argued by Bates (1983b) and cited earlier in this chapter. Education administrators have tended to adopt unquestioningly the principles of the 'cult of efficiency' that underlie management in the world of
business and industry (Callahan, 1962; Beare, 1982). The continuing increase in technology in modern industrial society and the diffusion and specialisation of occupations calling for new skills have intensified the demands placed on the school. Public policies on planning and implementation in education reflect these demands. For example, one of the terms of reference of the Williams Report (1979) was 'the relationship between the educational system and the labour market'. The production and transfer of 'technical knowledge' is facilitated through an ideological process of 'scientific management' (Watkins, 1986) in which teachers become 'transformed' agents of a capitalist system through 'a symbiosis of bureaucracy and professionalism' (Bates, 1983b). The perceived 'value of efficiency' has a transformative impact on human action and social relations, inasmuch as it

...becomes the instrument of regulation, acting so as to eliminate those human characteristics or actions which would deviate from the prescribed path (Denhardt, 1981:73).

This transformation is particularly significant in educational organisations as it marks a change not only in the degree of 'coupling' of internal and external processes as proposed by Meyer, Scott and Deal (1980), but also in the style. Bates argues for an additional dimension - 'cultural/rational' coupling - where

...the former refers to the processes of cultural justification including the norms, values and ideologies as they are mediated through metaphors, myths, ritual ceremonies and aesthetics, and where the latter refers to the rational structuring of activity according to processes of integration and systematisation by principles of efficiency and effectiveness (Bates, 1981b:17).

Berger, Berger and Kellner (1973) argue that the relationships between structures of knowledge and the structure of modern social
institutions are mediated by a bureaucratic cognitive style that is largely the outcome of social interaction and construction of personal meanings in a highly industrialised society generally. To Berger and his associates, bureaucratic consciousness is characterised by: 'orderliness' which presupposes 'general and autonomous organizability' and is reflected in the creation of hierarchical institutional structures; 'componentiality' which describes the arbitrary division and structuring of knowledge into distinct categories and structures; 'explicit abstraction' and a preoccupation with procedural rules based on assumptions of neutrality, generalisability and predictability, and; the 'moralized anonymity' and 'passivity' of individuals in their relationship with bureaucracy. Wake (1983:97-98) shows that these dimensions also constrain the management of education through the selecting, structuring, sequencing, transmitting and attributing relative status and value to particular forms of knowledge, thus perpetuating the legitimacy of the ideology of bureaucratic management. Bureaucratic modes of management are buttressed by a positivist epistemology in which knowledge is a commodity to be accumulated, possessed and transferred to others (King and Young, 1986:186). From this perspective, 'professionals' are experts by virtue of the quantity and status of the propositional, objective knowledge which they have amassed (Bates, 1983b). The elimination of the notion of human construction depersonalises both knowledge and students themselves as it treats them like raw materials. Teacher-pupil relationships move from a personal to a technical, depoliticised level at which the teacher is transformed from a knowledgeable person to 'a systems manager' (1983b). That is, he/she is 'deskilled' as an educator, while being 'reskilled' as an agent of social control in another (Apple, 1982b). At the same time,
the systems-view that informs such action ignores power relationships and legitimating ideologies (Watkins, 1986).

The consequences of bureaucratic management may be viewed in relation to problems in social relations, knowledge, communication and cultural concerns (Bates, 1983a). Firstly, Pusey (1976) sees organisations as the 'dynamic interrelationship' between three component dimensions: the 'formal' focusing on the distribution of authority and control; the 'technology' which focuses on the aims, objectives and rationale underlying the operation, and; the 'social' which focuses on interpersonal relationships and the identity resulting from that interaction. Pusey argues that an emphasis on the 'formal' and the 'technology' structures in educational organisations creates a disabling 'vicious circle' leading to disintegration of social dimension that is reflected in interpersonal distance, depersonalisation, alienation, loss of identity and the dissolution of community (1976:103). Secondly, in a knowledge-based society, knowledge tends to become a commodity to be produced and acquired as a form of capital. Bureaucratic management facilitates the imposition of controls to limit or restrict access to some forms of knowledge or stores of information (Bates, 1983b). Thirdly, in the Habermasian tradition, Watkins argues that the ideology of scientific management distorts ideal communicative action by 'veiling power, glossing over issues, manipulating trust and consent, misconstruing knowledge and limiting people's options' (1986:98). Fourthly, Bates (1983a) argues that the de-rationalisation, de-moralisation and de-politicisation of people destroys the foundations of the cultural community and the chances of collaborative construction of personal meaning. Thus bureaucratic rationality in advanced societies contributes to economic, political and social instability associated with what
Habermas (1975, 1979) describes as crises of 'rationality', 'legitimation' and 'motivation' that appear to defy resolution by scientific management strategies. Habermas argues:

While organizational rationality spreads, cultural traditions are undermined and weakened. The residue of tradition must, however, escape the administrative grasp, for traditions important for legitimation cannot be regenerated administratively (Habermas, 1975:57).

Towards a Critical Practice of Educational Administration

Habermas argues strongly that the solution to these crises rests in the development of a critical theory which facilitates the penetration and demystification of undemocratic organisational power structures, and the establishment of democratic discourse characterised by open criticism and understanding. To Habermas, 'ideal communicative action' is characterised by 'comprehensibility', 'sincerity', 'legitimacy' and 'truth' (1979). Such discourse seeks 'emancipation, individuation, and the extension of communication free of domination' (Habermas, 1971:93). Forester (1980), has adopted these 'norms of pragmatic communication' as the basis of a critical strategy designed to identify and overcome administrative distortions of communication (see Watkins, 1986). Thus, critical theory conceptualises the unity of 'criticism and praxis' (Carr and Kemmis, 1983:184). There is a strong similarity to Freire's notion of praxis based upon the 'conscientization' of oppressive forms of education (1970:58-59; 1976:225). Much of the critical theorising over the last decade has been informed by Habermas's perspective, particularly with respect to educational administration (e.g. Foster, 1980a, 1980b; Bates, 1982, 1983b; Giroux, 1983b; Watkins, 1986; King and Young, 1986). To the proponents of this tradition, the collaborative, open
critique of the administrative leadership of organisations is not
optional, but a democratic right of all participants. As Smyth (1986)
cites Grob (1984):

... leadership, more than any other kind of human activity,
must demand of its practitioners a willingness to open
themselves to critique ... leadership must be born - and
perpetually sustained - in the movement to turn back on
itself and establish its own credentials ... insofar as
leadership is the work of humans who are moral agents - it
must root itself in ... humility (Grob, 1984:269 in Smyth,
1986:7).

In similar vein, Foster argues that:

school administrations in particular must devise a study of
administration that asks how our fundamental organizational
structures influence social relations (Foster, 1980a:23).

To theorists like Rizvi (1986), the abandonment of traditional notions
of educational administration and the engagement in critical
reflection and discourse is potentially both illuminating and
transformative. From this perspective, the democratic community as a
social ideal is not an unattainable dream.

Reproduction, Cultural Politics and Resistance in Organisations

The first part of this chapter constitutes an eclectic survey of
literature that discusses issues relating to the sociology of
knowledge, the problems of reproduction, the inadequacies of
reproduction theory and the need for some dialectical notion by which
to more adequately address the dynamics and character of schooling.
The problem of determinism and static hyperfunctionalism in these
early theories is answered in this survey by literature that
contributes to a theory of resistance in which individuals 'come
alive', demonstrating the capacity to recognise and respond to the
social forces that impinge upon their lives. Nevertheless the survey does not accede to the extreme of voluntarism that fails to acknowledge the constraining power of humanly created structures. Consequently, social activity is recognised as characteristically political, being constrained by the hegemony of a dominant social class. Such a view recognises people in relationships in which the structural modes of control become institutionalised.

The survey presents a perspective in which the school is a cultural site characterised by a struggle to maintain and reproduce an ideology that favours the dominant class. It follows that the process of schooling tends to be undergirded by socially created institutional structures calculated to achieve these goals. These structures are knowledge-based, that is, they relate to the selection of knowledge considered to be valid, the means of realising that knowledge, and the ways of determining how well that knowledge is realised. Further, an attempt is made to maintain and protect these structures through a technology of control. Despite a number of criticisms discussed earlier, this researcher takes the view that Bernstein’s notion of the ‘message systems’ of schooling may be developed to conceptualise the epistemological foundations of an educational organisation, thereby providing a reference point to understanding the subsequent perceptions and political responses of the participants. It may be argued that the contradictions that lead to contestation by individuals or groups who are located within these structures - the ‘structures of knowledge’ and the ‘structures of control’. Therefore it is the view of the researcher that in commencing the study of a particular educational organisation, the fundamental questions posed by Bates at the conclusion of Section II may be appropriately addressed by critically examining its message systems. However it is
also argued that this examination should take into account the additional literature surveyed in this chapter which informs, expands and adds a dynamic to Bernstein's model and allows for the incorporation of a fourth message system as argued by Bates - a technology of management and administration.

As in educational institutions, other institutions can also be considered to have message systems reflecting a knowledge-based 'instrumental order' supported by mechanisms of control designed to promote continuity. Religious schools are no exception, as the religious ideologies of the denominations they represent have explicit epistemological foundations and they are conservative organisations in character. This researcher takes the view that the notion of message systems is particularly appropriate with respect to the study of sectarian religious organisations because they, too, subscribe to an explicit body of valid knowledge (doctrine, dogma, history, etc), didactic modes of transmission (preaching, exhortation, ritual), and normative criteria of evaluation (levels of commitment and compliance). Structures of control are also seen as important to maintain boundaries both to distinguish the members from outside society and 'shield' them from external influence. The argument is stronger still in the case of sectarian religious organisations with an associated school programme which is perceived by the parent organisation, the church, to share in its 'ministry'.

The following section discusses the applicability of Bernstein's model to schooling within sectarian religious organisations, drawing on the work of the Bersers, Luckmann, Kellner, Wilson, Wake, Knight and others.
IV. THE MESSAGE SYSTEMS OF SECTARIAN RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

Sectarian religious organisations, like schools, are social institutions employing technologies of social control based on the production, distribution and management of knowledge. Because 'the sociology of knowledge' is concerned with 'the whole area of social structure and consciousness', Berger and Luckmann argue that 'the sociology of religion is an integral and even central part of the sociology of knowledge', faced with the task of analysing 'the cognitive and normative apparatus by a socially constructed universe (that is, "knowledge" about it) is legitimated' (1963:423-424).

Berger's schema of sectarian typology highlights contrasting dominant motifs that reflect 'revivalist', 'pentecostal', 'pietist', 'holiness', 'chiliastic', 'legalistic', 'oriental', 'new thought' or 'spiritist' characteristics (1984:379). These characteristics are directly related to a particular attitude towards a world to be 'saved', 'avoided', 'warned', 'conquered' or viewed as 'irrelevant'. Berger suggests that not only are types mixed within the one group, but that they do not remain static. Due to changes of pressure both within and between the group and the world, there is a distinct tendency for transition over time from one type to another, or, as Wilson (1975, 1982) suggests, the group may tend away from sectarianism towards denominationalism.

Although Wilson also distinguishes between sectarian types, he formulates a schema of characteristics commonly shared by all such groups in their 'response to the world' (1982:103). As the classification implies, Wilson (1970, 1975, 1982) argues that sects are minority groups separate from the traditional church community and from the culture of wider society, and tend to be motivated by a sense
of special mission. This mission is legitimated by a claim of a monopoly on 'truth' which adherents perceive in terms of revelation and restoration in historical time, thus fostering a sense of an elite 'remnant'. Membership within the group is voluntary, requiring continual acceptance of a pattern of ethical and moral behavioural criteria that tend to reflect a distinctive life style which is not only espoused as inherently worthwhile, but constitutes an ethical protest against what is perceived as decadent society beyond. Total commitment to an exclusive cultural environment is expected, and control mechanisms operate to foster personal commitment and reinforce separatist boundaries.

To facilitate the social location of variants of sectarian rhetoric it is possible to invoke Knight's framework for the classification of religious cultures generally (Smith and Knight, 1978). This framework which locates attitudes along polar continua is founded on attitudes to society and institutions (reaction, conservatism, liberalism, revolution), the things which are valued for society and its institutions (totalitarian, pluralism, libertarianism, nihilism), approved style of education (didactic, maieutic, heuristic, deductive), and means deemed appropriate to achieve desired ends (censorship, propaganda, indoctrination, dictation, repression, tolerance, discussion, persuasion) and ...religious culture (sectarianism, denominationalism, secularism) (ibid).

Distinct types of sects reflect a characteristic ideology that justifies the working relationships between structures of knowledge and structures of control. It is therefore arguable that the reproduction and continuity of sectarian religious organisations is related to 'message systems'. That is:
How a *religious sect* selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the *knowledge* that it regards as constituting 'truth', reflects both a distribution of power and principles of social control.

(Adaptation of Bernstein, 1975:47)

This position is argued on the grounds that, both sects and schools are founded on an organised body of knowledge, (a 'curriculum'), modes of transmitting that knowledge, ('pedagogy'), criteria for judging success, 'evaluation') and structures of social relations ('administration and management'). The following discussion and Figure 1 on page 52 expand this theoretical perspective.

*The Knowledge Base*

This fundamental doctrinal corpus embodies 'what counts as knowledge', 'how that knowledge is organised' and 'the ideology that justifies the system' (Bates, 1983a). It therefore undergirds the epistemology of the sect and reflects a 'dominant cultural code' that defines 'truth' and establishes a *normative* basis for belief, morality and ritual (Bates, 1986b), and for the distinction between 'purity' and 'uncleanness', between the sanctity and 'secular defilement (Douglas, 1966). As such, it forms the basis of the 'conceptual map' that is expected to enable group members 'to locate themselves in social time and space, to participate in the rituals of community life, and to give meaning to the perennial existential questions relating to purpose, morality, and death' (Bowers, 1985:40). Berger sees this meaning system, or 'reality', reflecting a number of dimensions: a 'gnosis' (that is, a way of knowing); a concept of 'conversion' and 'salvation'; a sense of 'koinonia' (or 'community'); and an 'eschatology' (that is, a prophetic identity and destiny). An
THE MESSAGE SYSTEMS OF SECTARIAN RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

KNOWLEDGE BASE
Transmission of facts, procedures & skills
'What counts as knowledge'

MODES OF TRANSMISSION
'How transmitted'

CRITERIA OF SUCCESS
'How evaluated'

RITUAL
Consensus

differentiation

x 'Inspired' Writings
x Historical Knowledge
  - Myths
  - Sage
  - Folklore
x Doctrines & Dogma
x Normative & Ethical Codes

x Assemblies/ Worship/ Convocations
x Symbolism
  - Pictures
  - Icons & Logos
x Rewards & Sanctions
x Historical Celebrations & Re-enactments

x Authority Relations
x Administrative Structures

x Commitment
x Compliance
x Identity
x Moral/ Ethical Behaviour

NATURE
Objective
'Revealed'/ Given

PERCEIVED FUNCTION
Normative basis of Belief and practice.

Didactic
Passive learner

Hierarchical/ Bureaucratic Management

Normative

Maintains conditions of membership. Evaluates the 'quality' of moral/ ethical behaviour.

Fosters & reinforces consensus & identity to minimise or resist:
  - external forces of change
  - internal contestation

Social Control:
Craves and maintains distance, 'Red Tape'.
Limits discourse to maintain the status quo.
ordered formulation of this belief structure articulates the group's 'apologetic' by which it defends the legitimacy of its ideology. Embodied within the knowledge structure lie the group's 'seelsorge', that is, legitimate mechanisms for dealing with doubt, autocriticism and resistance (Berger, 1984:381-5). These standards of organisation and management represent 'tests of merit' for 'admission to membership', 'conscience', 'self-identification', 'expulsion' and 'legitimation' (Wilson, 1970:29-34). The primary sources of the knowledge base may be multi-faceted, and represent a relative hierarchy comprising: sacred, 'inspired' sources (e.g. the Scriptures); the writings of charismatic figures (often viewed as 'prophets') and myth that 'expresses, enhances and codifies belief' (Malinowski, 1948:79). Myth constitutes the basis of ritual and, comprises the doctrines and dogma that maintain codes of ethical and moral behaviour, sagas from the sect's history, and folklore, language and metaphors. Myth is also disseminated intensively through the sect's publications. Characteristically, the sectarian knowledge base is reified as objective and tends to be perceived as absolute, revealed 'truth' and as such, is rigorously defined, with firm, unambiguous categories and boundaries.

Modes of Transmission

Transmission of sectarian culture is sought through an 'expressive order' founded on ritual that functions to familiarise, relate and heighten respect in the individual towards the social order, and attempts to foster acceptance of the procedures adopted for the maintenance of consensus, compliance, commitment and control of ambivalence towards the social order (see Bernstein, 1975:54). From an
anthropological perspective, ritual acts constitute the 're-actualisation' of an earlier 'hierophany', that is, a celebration of an instance in which 'the sacred manifests itself as a reality of a different order from the "natural" realities' (Eliade, 1959:81, 10). As such, ritual is perceived to answer the 'ontological obsession' by transcending time and space to produce cosmological order and meaning out of the chaos of the human condition (Eliade, 1959:94). Streng sees the repetitive nature of ritual that surrounds myth and sacred symbol as an avenue by which communities find 'ultimate reality', and 'ultimate transformation' of the problematic human condition which is resolved into meaningful personal and social expression (1985:44, 45). Such views reflect strong functionalist tendencies which do not account for dynamics of social control which may be masked in the social structure. From an alternative perspective, the intentions and expectations of ritual may be seen as twofold - first for socialisation and the reproduction of culture, including any mystifications, contradictions and hegemonic ideologies that may incorporated, and second, for the maintenance of that reality and the plausibility structures that support it through routinisation and habituation (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Berger and Berger, 1976).

Bernstein's conceptualisation of ritual is appropriate. He regards it as 'a relatively rigid pattern of acts, specific to the situation, which construct a framework of meaning over and beyond the specific situational meanings' (Bernstein, 1975:54). Once again, they are viewed as serving for consensus or differentiation. Consensual rituals seek to foster identity within, and continuity of the institution through: religious ceremonies, sacramental celebrations, liturgical practice, convocations and assemblies; symbols, icons, logos, pictures; historical re-enactments and celebrations; rewards,
sanctions and recognition of 'success' in harmony with official codes of ethics and morality and; personal prayer, study and meditation. Ritual patterns constitute a 'visible' pedagogy that is characterised by didactic, passive relationship of the individual to the official, 'revealed' knowledge. Differentiating rituals mark off boundaries between groups to foster attachment to the group in which the individual is located, for example, between the sect itself and the rest of society in order to reinforce a distinctive identity, but particularly within the group, to foster respect and acceptance of authority relations and those in authority. An example is the rituals which ascribe status to particular members in positions of leadership and management, for example the 'ordination' ceremonies and the associated titles conferred upon religious leaders.

Criteria of Success

The success of the sectarian organisation is judged in terms of individual compliance and commitment to the organisation that ensures its continuity. Thus in the dominant cultural view within the organisation, evaluation is conceptualised in relation to the 'internalisation' of ethical and moral norms within the individual, for example, 'Commandments', or normative behavioural codes constructed and endorsed by the organisation. Often viewed as 'the fruitage' (or works) of 'faith', such behaviour is taken to be a visible, objective index of the group's spiritual, moral and ethical condition. These standards and norms are legitimated by a view of knowledge as predominantly objective, 'revealed' and absolute. Consequently these structures constitute a form of social and institutional control that is resistant to change.
Administration of Sectarian Organisations

Both Wilson's (1975) and Berger's (1984) conceptualisation of sectarianism acknowledge that despite resistance to change within the organisation, sects tend to be transformed in type over time. Nevertheless efforts calculated to maintain social control are exerted. Such control tends to be implicit within structures of dominant knowledge and ritual practice. Differentiating rituals, for example, tend to reproduce hegemonic ideologies of authority, hierarchy and conformity that are embedded in bureaucratic modes of management. These structures effectively militate against change by creating distance between groups that are interconnected by bureaucratic 'channels of communication' ('red tape'), thus reducing face-to-face discourse and providing a buffer to minimise the threat of criticism, challenge and resistance.

Wilson's and Berger's perspectives of the relationship between specific type-change and the corresponding authority structures may benefit by further development. Tight, hierarchical structures are a phenomenon belonging to later phases of development. Such modes of management tend to follow an early phase of development during which, apart from charismatic leaders, relationships between group members appear to be relatively informal and egalitarian. In this light, bureaucratic control structures are a social creation that is a symptom of institutionalisation and reflects the focusing of efforts aimed at social control. The character of social structure and the relationship it bears to the particular form of community reflected at different stages of development bears a close similarity to Tonnies' (1957) notions of *gemeinschaft* (communal, holistic, intimate) and *gesellschaft* (individualistic, segmented, functional) communities.
V. THE DILEMMA OF MODERNITY

Berger's (1977) critique of modernity and its impact upon the religious perceptions of reality held by individuals bears a close relationship with his, and his associates' analysis of bureaucratic consciousness (Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973). Modernity is perceived to pose a number of 'dilemmas' for the maintenance of religious consciousness:

a) The dilemma of 'abstraction' brought on by the institutional processes of a capitalist, technicist, bureaucratised society (1977:102). Berger argues that this situation is exacerbated by the breakdown of community in the face of heterogenous urban growth and the domination of the mass media (1977:103).

b) The dilemma of 'futurity', that is, the transformation of temporality and the domination of time-keeping (1977:105, 106).

c) The dilemma of 'individuation' and 'the separation of the individual from collective entities' (1977:106).

d) The dilemma of 'liberation' and the problem of where to construct boundaries in the context of dynamic uncertainty.

e) The dilemma of 'secularisation' and its pluralising and relativising forces which are perceived to be 'antagonistic to the dimension of transcendence in the human condition' while simultaneously weakening 'the plausibility of religious perceptions of reality' (1977:110, 212).

The last decade has seen a growing interest in linking industrialisation, modernity and sociocultural change with a decline in religiosity among Australians (Harris, Hynd and Millikan, 1982; Wilson, 1983). It is also significant to this study that Knight (1978) identified considerable sociocultural change and resulting tension
among Brisbane Seventh-day Adventist students studying in secular tertiary institutions. Similarly, Garcia (1986) reported 'secularisation' to be 'the biggest threat' to the aspirations and administration of Catholic education in Australia.

At the same time, a number of religious organisations have experienced unprecedented levels of epistemological debate and political action and reaction: the Catholic Church in response to Hans Kung; the Coptic Orthodox Church in response to Father Zacharia (Plowman, 1978); and the Seventh-day Adventist Church in reply to radical intellectuals (Plowman, 1980). Each instance appears to have arisen from the contestation of aspects of official knowledge and, inevitably, the legitimacy of the authority defending it. In Australia, Ancell (1985), exemplifies the spirit of contemporary critique of 'authority' in church school systems which raises questions about what he terms, 'unhealthy and undesirable biases' present within Catholic education. Rodell (1984) also documents the cultural politics at play in the clash between a conservative council in a Presbyterian Ladies' College and the school principal who was alleged to have been promoting a 'liberal, humanist' tradition.

A sectarian community is already world rejecting and conservative with strong boundaries. However when confronted by the threat of erosion of the socio-moral order either from outside or within, it is likely to attempt to meet the challenge with a strengthening of the boundaries accompanied by further tightening of control through the reaffirmation of traditional codes of belief, ethics and practice and the institution of mechanisms to enforce accountability. In times of organisational crisis such efforts to 'compel belief' may begin to approach ultra-conservative fundamentalism of totalitarian proportions (Arons, 1983). It is at such times that the sectarian organisation
stands in stark contrast to the New Testament *ekklesia* model which, Andersen (1984) argues, is characterised by: the spontaneity and voluntariness of physical gathering and personal communication between members; the communal nurturance of 'psycho-social well-being' for the edification of personal and group integrity; and 'unity-in-diversity' that is non-discriminatory on the basis of culture, race, gender or social status. It is also noteworthy that Andersen's model alludes to a 'personal' unifying force in the form of a charismatic leader rather than emphasising and imposing formal institutional obligations which, it has been argued, tends towards dehumanisation, alienation and fragmentation.

A 'theory of resistance' in religious organisations appears to be intricately bound up in the contestation of authority to control knowledge through institutional structures. In any other form of organisation, institutional control can only remain intact as long as the ideology of the organisation remains plausible to its members and the legitimacy of authority of its leaders is freely conceded. If authority is asserted through hegemonic control, its continued maintenance may be problematic in as much as that hegemony will always be open to potential penetration, demystification, contestation and transformation.

Although this section has argued the appropriateness of a translation of Bernstein's notion of message systems with respect to religious organisations, the researcher acknowledges the problem of determinism which denies the potential for human agency. For this reason, this model must be complemented by a view of agency that acknowledges the possibility of resistance and contestation arising from sub-cultures that may develop within the group either through the demystification of inherent contradictions through the critical,
intellectual reflection of knowledgeable actors, or, through a dialectical process of socialisation in which the ideologies of society beyond impinge upon the sectarian culture as competing realities. That is, through the impact of pluralism and relativisation. By so doing, this study is able to acknowledge and take into account both micro and macro social forces and the contribution they make to the ensuing dynamics within sectarian religious organisations.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION

In acknowledgement of philosophers such as Kuhn, Polanyi and Feyerabend, Hamnett and his colleagues argue that because 'all theories of knowledge contain a certain conception of the relationship between perception, knowledge, and action', it is an illusion to imagine that totally value-free and objective inquiry is possible (1984:47). It follows that the choice of a particular paradigm reflects a set of assumptions held by the researcher. In the first place, it reflects a personal philosophical position, and second, it posits a particular mode of engagement as the most effective by which to penetrate the phenomena being addressed (Morgan, 1983; Thomas, 1983). The argument is equally true in this study in which a critical ethnographic approach has been selected because of a perceived need to transcend what are believed to be the limitations of conventional positivist and interpretivist paradigms.

The first section of this chapter begins by outlining and discussing fundamental inadequacies of these conventional approaches, particularly in the context of social science research. Then follows a description of critical ethnography, accompanied by an argument which examines its ontological and epistemological implications. The discussion then attempts to show how a critical approach is better able to grapple with the complexity of cultural reproduction, resistance and transformation in the context of schools as cultural organisations.
The next section describes the development of an appropriate conceptual framework and strategy founded on critical theory to guide observation and interrogation of this particular situation.

Next follows a description of the gathering and analysis of the data. This includes a discussion of the role of participant-observer in ethnography, this particular researcher's significant relationship to the research site, and the issue of critical distance. It also describes the sources of the data, the entering strategy, and the techniques adopted to extract that information. Next it outlines the framework adopted to analyse the data. Finally the section reflects on the issue of ethics in the conduct of the study.

II. THE IMPLICATIONS OF POSITIVISM IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

As a paradigm, positivism represents the Comtean concern for the unification of science into a single, orderly, interdependent system. It is founded on the assumption that a set of law-like, external principles function to determine and control both the natural and social worlds alike. Positivistic research seeks to discover these principles through the adoption of so-called 'scientific reasoning' which is preoccupied with the systematic observation, classification and arrangement of facts to produce a verifiable and generalised theory or propositional knowledge which, it claims, provides an description and explanation of the world, thus enabling accurate prediction (Codd, 1984). As Hamnett and his colleagues argue, 'implicit in this claim is the tacit assumption that...positive science provides the paradigm for proper thinking and conduct' (1984: 42, 43). In the process of deducing knowledge from sense-experience of what it sees as an objective, value-neutral environment, positivism
is committed to the maintenance of 'separation of the knower and the known, of the subject from the object' (Comstock, 1982:372), ostensibly preserving it from contamination or subjectivity arising from human politics, value systems and interests.

Critical theorists and philosophers have drawn attention to the pervasive intrusion of positivist rationality into most areas of social life. To Habermas (1971), this is reflected in 'technological consciousness' which fosters an unquestioned acceptance of objective modes of observation, analysis and evaluation. Similarly, the domination of objectivism in social science research can be readily documented. Because positivism reifies society as a neutral, constant, objective and measurable phenomenon which is thought to exist independent from the subjective perceptions of its citizens, methods involving quantification and measurement among large samples of people are considered valid and legitimate (Comstock, 1982; Codd, 1984; Giroux, 1983b). Such research focuses on human behaviour rather than intersubjective meanings and action. Critical theorists argue that a tacit ideology underlies positivist research which functions to mask social constraints and oppression (Sharp and Green, 1975). Society is thus dehumanised by positivist social research as it necessarily and inherently approaches its object, people, from an instrumentalist perspective that accordingly reduces them to material objects to be controlled, manipulated, and dominated. ... At worst, we are becoming increasingly aware of the charge that science and technology have often been used as tools for manipulation, repression, and domination, conditions scientific activity purports to redress (Hamnett et al., 1984:51, 63).

Habermas argues that the reification of science and technology results in an insidious form of ideological domination and legitimation of greater proportions and extent than previously. He comments that
... today's dominant, rather glassy background ideology, which makes a fetish of science, is more irresistible and farther-reaching than ideologies of the old type. For with the veiling of practical problems it not only justifies a particular class's interest in domination and represses another class's partial need for emancipation but affects the human race's emancipatory interest as such (Habermas, 1971:111).

Positivism and the scientific tradition which it has fostered may lay claim to being self-correcting and thus, to a limited extent, 'self-critical', in as much as they are always open to challenge on the basis of empirical evidence. However the supporting ideology is illusory in that it hides more than it reveals, and constrains more than it liberates.

III. THE LIMITATIONS OF CONVENTIONAL INTERPRETIVIST APPROACHES

Evolving from a social anthropological background, the interpretive tradition was concerned with 'dissatisfaction with limitations of traditional quantitative designs', and came to offer what appeared to be a viable alternative, particularly in educational research and evaluation (LeCompte and Goetz, 1984:37). Although a number of variants of interpretivism have appeared (Masemann, 1982:5), they are predominantly phenomenological and relativistic in character, with their roots in symbolic interactionism. The common emphasis is 'their substantive concern with the problem of subjective meaning as a basis for an understanding of the social world' (Sharp and Green, 1975:3). That is, they are founded on a perspective of human nature which emphasises the significance of human action in the construction of a social world through interpretation, interaction and negotiation. In so doing, they reject both the separation of individual and society, and biological, psychological, social or cultural determinism
(Sharp and Green, 1975:15). Instead of society seen as an objective reality, interpretive approaches perceive reality as being socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1967), thus bringing human actors as subjects 'right to the forefront of history and society' (Sharp and Green, 1975:20). Interpretive research strategies centre basically on participant-observation which seeks to elicit phenomenological data that 'represent the world view of the participants being investigated' (LeCompte and Goetz, 1984:38). However, despite the apparent advances made by interpretive research, aspects of it can also be criticised on epistemological and ontological grounds.

Interpretive research in education to date has been preoccupied with microethnography, focussing on 'the minutiae of classroom interaction, or analyses of assumptions underlying prevailing definitions of curricular knowledge' but in so doing they, 'present education as being carried on in a social vacuum' (Young and Whitty, 1977:7). As Reynolds observes:

Such material has usually emphasised both the ways in which the micro systems of education (classrooms and schools) are independent of the constraints of wider societal forces and the ways in which social reality is actively constructed by social members. Situation more than background is emphasised as a determinant of human action, and the processes of bargaining, truce making, rule formation, and impression management are all viewed - sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly - as being largely independent of extra-human constraints (Reynolds, 1980-81: 84).

Ogbu argues that not only do such approaches fail to recognise and conceptualise the constraints and influence of social structure upon schooling, but 'most school ethnographers of this tradition, appear in fact, to be either indifferent to theories of society and culture or unfamiliar with such theories' (1981:8). However the question is
more complex than simple omission or indifference. As Layder points out:

... the symbolic interactionist cannot even pose the problem of the relationship between interaction and structure. First... the interactionist ontology rejects such a dualism, and second, even if such a dualism were possible, there would be no means by which the idea of an external and determinative structure could be theorized, since that would require some form of rational argument which is prohibited by the stricture upon the emergent and grounded nature of theory (Layder, 1981:38).

Ogbu maintains that because the interrelationship between schooling and other social institutions is ignored, the attention of the micro-level researcher is misdirected into a preoccupation with the 'battle' fought between teachers and students and 'the instruments of war', when the cause may lie elsewhere (1981:13). Bates argues that one reason for the inadequacy of such approaches rests on their failure to address 'questions of time, place and structure' that impinge on the lives of the actors (1980:70). Such approaches fail 'to take account of the historical character of objectified knowledge' and 'the nature of the social relations temporarily determining a given stratification' (Holly, in Bates, 1980:70). As Sharp argues, 'structural patterns of social relations...(that) generate specific forms of consciousness' may 'pre-exist the individual' and not be comprehended by them (1982:48). It is not sufficient to know simply what is going on; it is important to ask why it is happening. In interpretivism there is no opportunity for any dialectical interplay between the data and an a priori theoretical frame of reference in order to identify these factors and foster an understanding of them. Furthermore, conventional interpretivist approaches lack a critical basis on which the researcher may make value judgments about the actors' constructions without distorting or misrepresenting them.
Despite the manifestation of efforts to 'bracket' personal bias, it is problematic whether the researcher can altogether avoid imposing some, at least, of his personal value system on his interpretations of the social constructions of his subjects.

The outcome is, that the implicit value orientations and ideological biases of such approaches produce not only a limited view. The insights gained may be actually misleading and may obstruct change and remediation. In focusing attention on the micro arena, such approaches, by default, tend 'to accept as a given the basic macro structure of a modern industrial society, its socio-political and ideological features', and in so doing, may be masking 'the constraints of the structure (and) the oppressive face of social reality' (Sharp and Green, 1975:28). In this way, conventional interpretivist research may serve to maintain the status quo (Fay, 1975:91).

IV. CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Critical ethnography is a relatively new perspective in educational research which stands in marked contrast to so-called 'scientific' rational approaches which it rejects. It refers to studies which use a basically anthropological, qualitative, participant observer methodology but which rely for their theoretical formulation on a body of theory deriving from critical sociology and philosophy (Masemann, 1982:1).

Its fundamental distinctiveness lies in its view of society and human nature, the constitution of knowledge of social processes, and its methodological approach to the study of society.

Critical theory stresses the notion of 'social production', that is, it builds on the ontological assumption that humans are not merely
passive objects being shaped by a real, objective world. Rather, humans are seen as active agents who negotiate and create a structure of systems of social meaning and practice (Benson, 1983:332). To Morgan,

the basis of human society is grounded in the process of communicative interaction - the ability of human beings to reflect on themselves and others and to engage in various forms of discourse as a means of 'making sense together' (Morgan, 1983:32).

Individuals are therefore perceived as subjects rather than objects of social processes in which they are engaged. In this respect, critical ethnography shares the perspective of interpretivism.

However the knowledge generated in the social community is not free from constraints. Rather it is partially shaped by the social context within which that action takes place. According to Thomas, these contexts, situations, structural forms and processes are historically determined. He argues:

Society should be understood as an interconnected set of social relations shaped by a historical context...(Society is) the product of historically patterned human activity in which people participate in predefined (yet partially autonomous and spontaneous) relations with one another, and in which they participate in the pregiven social structures and institutions that confront them (Thomas, 1983:485).

Giddens is in agreement when he argues that, although humans are capable of action and reflexivity, they are not necessarily capable, reasoning actors who know a great deal about why they act as they do (1976). Historical social structures and organisational relations work to either distort, disrupt or constrain individuals' lives, in some circumstances beyond their awareness (Forester, 1983). Thus critical theorists insist that social interaction takes place in a context of ideological domination and power relations to which
individuals contribute unequally (Karabel and Halsey, 1977). However humans do not have to remain unaware of the nature of their oppression. Human actors are seen as being able, either individually or collectively, to reflect on their particular history with the potential for active contestation, change and emancipation.

Critical approaches are underpinned by a view which insists that knowledge is more than 'the theoretical ordering of empirical observations of an objective reality' (Comstock, 1982:373). That is, it cannot be wrenched from its historical context and be reduced to a collection of classified 'facts' that permit generalisation and prediction in the social world, and ignore 'the genesis, development and normative nature of the conceptual systems that select, organise and define the facts' (Giroux, 1983b:14). Critical theory asserts that in attempting to 'neutralise' knowledge by dichotomising facts from values and 'scientific knowledge' from norms, positivist rationality creates a set of false dualisms which effectively destroy the possibility of critical thinking. It argues that social knowledge ceases to be true knowledge if it is decontextualised. Thus from a critical perspective, knowledge consists of intersubjective meanings and the way those meanings mediate in the processes by which social structures are constructed.

The critical view of knowledge also has implications for the notion of theory. Whereas Codd (1984) suggests that the fact-value dichotomy of positivism implies a logical gap between social theories and their practical application, a critical perspective is founded on the assumption that social theory is interconnected in a dialectical relationship with social practice (Fay, 1975). Thus, rather than being neutral and immutable, such theory is essentially a 'metatheory': that is,
it must acknowledge the value-laden interests it represents and be able to reflect critically on both the historical development or genesis of such interests and the limitations they may present within certain historical and social contexts... Thus a notion of self-critique is essential to a critical theory (Giroux, 1983b:15).

But while self-critique functions to unmask contradictions and imperfections that may exist in any particular system of thought, the process does not finish there. Dialectical thinking is more than mere academic reflection that seeks to increase knowledge as such. Its intention is inherently political, bringing with it the potential for social change, transformation and emancipation (Horkheimer, 1972).

The foregoing argument highlights the fundamental difference between critical ethnography and the conventional interpretivist tradition. As Masemann explains:

Critical approaches are distinguished from interpretive approaches primarily by their connection to theoretical perspectives which are linked to a general theory of society and a concept of social structure which exists beyond the actor’s perception of it (Masemann, 1982: 9).

In so doing, the gap is effectively bridged between macro and micro analysis. But the manner in which that theory is linked in the research process is also of fundamental importance. Conventional interpretivism unwittingly tends towards positivism and its preoccupation with empirical data that move towards the construction of theories that, in turn, explicate ‘causal relationships and ... covarying patterns’ (Sanday, 1979:532). Such approaches are founded on the notion of an ordered distinction between data and theory. In sharp contrast,

... a dialectical notion of society and theory would argue that the observation cannot take the place of critical reflection and understanding. That is, one begins not with an observation but with a theoretical framework that situates
the observation in rules and conventions that give it a perspective or framework (Giroux, 1983b:18).

By the same token, critical research does not call for 'a specious unity...in which one dissolves into the other', but rather 'a particular alliance' that allows for constant dialectical interplay (Giroux, 1983b:18). Theory and data are conceptualised as a duality rather than a dualism, thereby facilitating reflexive thought, critique, understanding and practice for those involved.

The foreshadowed indications of the problem as discussed in Chapter 1 suggest an orientation informed by critical theory. In similar vein, the survey of relevant literature in Chapter 2 represents a theoretical perspective on which to ground an ethnographic critique of the problems perceived to be associated with cultural reproduction in an SDA high school. With this in mind, the following section explains the specific approach developed for the examination of the foreshadowed problems.

V. A CRITICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SDA EDUCATION

As a critique of human action and interpretation, the study acknowledges the historical roots that have determined action and cultural understanding within a particular social group as a whole. The position is taken that life within the micro-world of one particular school cannot be readily appreciated unless viewed in the context of a larger social structure which itself is the outcome of earlier interaction. For this reason, this study examines and portrays the historical antecedents and the emergence over time of SDA culture generally, and the way that organisational interests are expressed in its educational philosophy and programme.
If, as in the case of this study, education is regarded as cultural transmission, the purposes will be reflected in the structured mechanisms, that is, the 'message systems' of the school and the way they are administered. These message systems bear a relationship to the distribution of power and control, not only between the school and students, but also between administrators and teachers at all levels of the organisation. Thus they are examined to determine 'the potency of (the) institutional context not only for channelling thought and action, but also for reinforcing and legitimating social values about authority and control' (Popkewitz, 1981:189). Because curriculum construction is considered to be of central importance in the reproduction of culture, the study examines what counts as knowledge, and how that knowledge is selected, organised and justified. The dominant pedagogy is examined for the implications of its views of the nature of knowledge, the role of the teacher, the status of the learner, 'ideal' relationships, and modes of transmission. It then focuses on the visible system of evaluation that is adopted to motivate students and to recognise and reward achievement. In the process, it considers the 'hidden' agenda which underlies the criteria and measuring procedures determining 'success' or 'failure' and the modes by which that information is communicated to the students and parents. Explicit forms of management at all levels of the organisation are evaluated for their implicit assumptions and interests. These interests are reflected in official policies and handbooks issued to either teachers in the parent organisation or to students in one particular school.

It cannot be forgotten that the socio-cultural dynamics of Maranatha High School are constrained by the overarching control of the larger organisation via its teachers. To this end, the study takes
into account the role of the organisation's administrators in attempting to mediate and shape the culture of the school by translating policies into action, particularly with respect to the work of the teachers. Consequently, the study begins to focus on the political negotiation of the social order as it affects teachers and administrators, and the implications of those politics in the struggles over power, authority and autonomy.

Because life as an Adventist teacher is constrained by a strong sense of accountability, the study must clarify what teachers themselves see as constituting the area of accountability, to whom individuals are accountable, and how that account is to be met (Hewitson, 1983:97). In particular, the study seeks to explain the position different teachers take within the cultural politics, particularly in the context of their experience at Maranatha High School.

Although SDA teachers are perceived to be centrally located in the process of transmitting and reproducing SDA culture, a critical research approach must take into account the intersubjective meanings, social rules, values and motives of all the groups of actors within the social milieu, seeking to understand the mediating influence of one group upon another. Of particular significance is the cultural reality of the students themselves. This phase of the study takes into account the internal dynamics of the school. Consequently it acknowledges the potential for differentiated intersubjective meanings to produce conflict within the group. This conflict becomes a focal point for the analysis and critique of resistance, contestation and possible transformation.
VI. CONDUCTING THE STUDY

Gathering the Data

Participant observation has always been ‘the primary technique’ adopted by ethnographers, enabling them ‘to elicit from subjects their definitions of reality and the organizing constructs of their world’ (LeCompte and Goetz, 1984:41). Berreman describes participant observation as

...the practice of living among the people one studies, coming to know them, their language and their lifeways through intense and continuous interaction with them in their daily lives. This means that the ethnographer converses with the people he studies, works with them, attends their social and ritual functions, visits their homes, invites them to his home – that he is present with them in as many settings and moods as he can. Sometimes he interviews for specific kinds of data; always he is alert to whatever information may come his way, ready to follow up and understand any event or fact which is unanticipated or inexplicable. The methods he derives his data from are often subtle and difficult to define (Berreman 1968:337, in Ogbu, 1981:6)

It has also an 'extensive' dimension with respect to time. If the investigator is to be successful in gaining acceptance and building relationships with the participants that will facilitate the gathering of data, there is no alternative to his or her immersion in the situation for relatively long periods of time (Walker, 1980). Brief 'blitzkrieg' encounters as described by Rist (1980) are inadequate and unacceptable.

In the case of this study, participant observation was combined with a variety of complementary techniques – formal and informal, interactive and non-interactive. These techniques include:

- unstructured interviews with participants;
- subsequent interviews with key informants;
- incidental conversations and discussions;
- unobtrusive observation in a wide range of arenas;
- document analysis;
- qualitative questionnaires.

Each of these techniques will be discussed in more detail shortly. However, their particular relevance will be more readily appreciated by first noting the special relationship of the researcher to the setting both prior to and during the major portion of the study, and the strategy adopted to gain formal entry.

The Relationship of This Researcher to the Setting

In the fullest sense, this researcher can be regarded as 'an insider', thus falling into a different category from the more common 'outside' participant observer. Having been born and socialised in 'conservative' Adventism, and having taught for nineteen years in SDA schools, he is intimately conversant with post-war Australian SDA culture. Because of this, and his extended participation over a number of years as a member of the staff and community of Maranatha High School itself, a particular variant of participant observation was applicable - that of 'participant-as-observer' (Gold, 1958). Prior to the first year of the study, 1984, he was already a member of the teaching staff. The following year he was appointed as the deputy principal of the school. During 1987, the researcher was granted full-time leave by his employing body to continue the project, however during this time, the privilege of access to the school remained.

While the 'closeness' of the researcher to the situation is felt to have been a distinct advantage in providing 'inside knowledge' of
the organisation, nevertheless, the issue of 'critical distance' is relevant and must be addressed.

*The Creation and Maintenance of Critical Distance*

The conventional view of criticism asserts the need for 'radical detachment' in two senses: 'emotional detachment' from 'the intimacy of membership', and 'intellectual detachment' from 'the parochial understandings' of one's own society, that is, 'open-mindedness' and 'objectivity' (Walzer, 1987:36). Because of their 'ethnocentric orientation', this view sees insiders as being open to the risk of bias, or insensitivity to the significant dimensions of social reality (Hamnett et al., 1984:84). Yet at the same time, ethnographic researchers attempt to gain access into the culture by 'immersing themselves in the setting' and 'living their way' into that culture (Wolcott, 1983:43). But despite the best intentions of 'naturalised strangers', this researcher argues that outsiders may still face difficulty in perceiving the tacit knowledge and subtle nuances that underlie and permeate cultural reality and, in consequence, may misunderstand, misinterpret and misrepresent that reality. To Hamnett and his colleagues (1984), there are distinct advantages to be enjoyed by a social researcher who is 'an insider', enabling him to produce 'authentic and valid knowledge' about the situation (1984:82). They argue that:

... social thought does not grow out of disembodied reflection, but is closely related to the cultural and philosophical background of the thinker... (Every) society is a symbolic system. It has distinctive signs, cognitive codes, and meaning systems, which only those who are socialized in it can fully comprehend. One has to belong to a society to understand socially shared realities. Outside social scientists, who obviously have limited exposure to the complex web of symbolic reality, are bound to remain at best
superficial and at worst misleading observers (Hamnett et al., 1984:82).

In proposing an authentic alternative to the conventional view, Walzer (1987) argues that the 'connected critic' has a distinct role to play. The insider is no less a social critic than the naturalised stranger. It is his concern for 'the success of the common enterprise' that motivates him to communicate with other natives (1987:39). His intimacy is seen as an advantage to communication in two senses. First, because he is conversant with the group's rhetoric, he is able to communicate within the 'historical and sentimental ties' that constitute the 'moral frame' of their shared reality (1987:62, 70). Second, critics who are strangers lack social standing with the group. They tend to be seen as 'enemies', and are likely to be resisted from the outset (1987:59).

But despite these 'advantages', the questions remain: is there enough room, and, what is it to be be properly critical? In response, Walzer agrees that criticism does require critical distance in the form of 'philosophical detachment' or 'stepping back... a little to the side' but only 'inches' away, followed by 'a treasonable engagement' that builds on common values and shared traditions (1987: 59-61). 'Critical science' provides an appropriate mode of inquiry to enable the attached critic to detach himself far enough, and to provide a conceptual screen rigorous enough to facilitate the discovery of the sometimes latent 'order' which is the 'mainspring' of a group's social relations and behaviour (Fay, 1987:69). The strength of the argument in favour of a critical approach is founded on an ontology that characterises humans as 'intelligent, curious, reflective and wilful', that is, with a capacity for 'self-understanding' (1987:47).
For these reasons, the researcher argues that it is possible for this study to proceed while consciously maintaining a tension between personal subjectivity and critical distance. Further, he argues that although his life-time association with the church has inevitably influenced his world-view, his social life has not been restricted within a sectarian milieu. His initial pre-service teacher education was in a state college and his first decade of practice was in state schools. In addition, all subsequent formal academic study has been in public institutions. Thus his socialisation has not been 'one-sided'. Wide-ranging social interaction with non-SDA's has made an impact upon his world view such that he is sensitive to the contrasts that exist between Adventist culture and society beyond. In addition, formal studies in sociology and the social sciences have allowed him to develop concepts and a perspective by which to view and analyse social phenomena more critically and to articulate the situation with accuracy for both insiders and outsiders. Finally, it was possible to maintain control over distance by adopting an 'insider-outsider' relationship similar to that Smith and Geoffrey in their well-known study (Smith, 1978). A similar relationship existed between this researcher and his principal doctoral supervisor. This provided opportunity for reflective discussions, or 'interpretive asides', to evaluate the developing critique.

*Entering Strategy*

Prior to the year-end vacation, 1983, an initial approach was made to the Principal requesting approval to conduct the study, commencing in the new year. Although approval was readily granted, the researcher requested an opportunity to present the proposal to the
teachers themselves, because of their involvement in the study. The Principal made time available at a staff meeting early in the 1984 school year at which the aims of the study procedures and personal involvement was explained, and questions answered. The only concern expressed was the matter of confidentiality. An agreement was negotiated whereby individuals would have the right not to be involved in the study from the outset, or they would have the right to veto any interview transcripts or any parts thereof, or any comments noted during incidental conversations or encounters. Furthermore, a guarantee of anonymity of individuals was extended. However if it was thought that the nature of the information might point unavoidably to recognisable individuals, clearance was to be sought from those concerned before that data would be included in the thesis. This proposal was unanimously accepted, and fieldwork began shortly afterwards with unstructured interviews of teachers. In the years following, new staff members were also given the choice to participate or not. During this time, there were no refusals.

Interviewing

Organised data-gathering commenced with a series of interviews with individual teachers, adopting an 'unstructured' approach (Simons, 1983). This form of interviewing attempts to be reflective or evocative, with the interviewer and the interviewee collaborating 'to create referent materials that will support a discussion of educational experience' (Stenhouse, 1983:67). This option is founded on the assumption that the participants are knowledgeable individuals who themselves can contribute a great deal of valuable information, some of which may fall outside the boundaries determined by a formally
structured questionnaire. However, in order to stimulate a response from the interviewee, and also to offer some direction to the ensuing dialogue, an agenda of items of possible relevance was prepared, seeking to elicit participants' perceptions of what it means to be an Adventist teacher. This agenda appears in full as Appendix D. Although the items of the agenda were arranged in a sequence, it was not intended that the subject be forced necessarily to follow it either in strict sequence or exhaustively. Subjects were also allowed the liberty of moving beyond the agenda items if they were so motivated. The agenda simply comprised a set of possibly relevant stimuli. Unless the subjects raised an objection, these arranged interviews were tape recorded both to allow the interviewer to maintain an informal conversational relationship with them throughout, and to permit transcriptions to be made, confirmed and analysed.

However this aspect of data gathering was not limited to single interviews, but a series. As issues were detected, it remained for the researcher to confirm or disconfirm them through further more focussed interviews, maybe with different people, attempting to elicit accounts of the social/material circumstances in the context of schooling which articulate those ideas. As the study progressed, certain individuals emerged as 'key informants'. These individuals appeared to have particular skills, insights and communicative ability on significant issues. Repeated dialogue with these informants not only yielded immediate data but frequently increased sensitivity to further implications of that information.

Brief spontaneous interviews or 'conversations' frequently occurred, yielding valuable data. These took place incidentally in such locations as the staffroom, duplicating room, in corridors and classrooms, travelling together or visiting in one another's homes,
providing opportunities to discuss relevant issues with which many teachers seemed to be preoccupied. Often a teacher stopped by the researcher's office to add a comment to an earlier discussion. On such occasions it was generally not feasible to reach for a tape recorder or even begin taking notes, both of which would inevitably have destroyed the spontaneity and fluency of the conversation. However at the earliest possible moment after the event, a detailed entry was made in a field notebook. Occurrences such as these highlight another aspect of participant observation that was used to advantage in this study - 'unobtrusive observation'.

Unobtrusive Observation

Because self-reporting on the part of participants may not always be accurate due to intentional distortion or fabrication for personally strategic reasons, observational data was sought and gathered to determine whether the interpretations given in the interviews and conversations actually held up. Observational data also assisted in the resolution of conflicting views expressed by different subjects. Bates argues that 'culture is constituted and expressed through institutions, social relations, customs, material objects and organisations', therefore it is to this extent 'observable' (1986a:12). In this study it was the researcher's aim to focus attention on those arenas where the culture is actually being created through discussion, argument and negotiation, examining issues thrown up in interviews. Data was thus gathered from meetings and encounters between teachers where they articulate their culture (e.g. staff devotionals, staff meetings, informal gatherings in the staffroom, teachers' conventions, etc.) and in encounters and
experiences between teachers and other groups and individuals, both in and out of the church, who constrain teacher culture in particular directions (e.g. students, parents, ministers, church educational administrators, school board, state authorities, etc.). During this time, a field notebook and diary was maintained to record the data. LeCompte and Goetz describe this process as 'shagging around' (1984:43).

It involves an informal process of eliciting participant constructs by means of careful listening and subsequent recording of what has been heard. In this way, the investigator examines how people categorize each other, the central issues of importance to participants, and any potential areas of conflict and accord (LeCompte and Goetz, 1984:43).

In adopting such a role, the researcher did not simply wait for something to happen, but was actively involved in an ongoing cyclic process which began with the intuitive recognition of promising leads, making strategic decisions as to how they might be investigated, implementing those decisions, and reflecting analytically on the accumulating data (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973:7). The outcome of that process was twofold. First it sensitised the researcher to further issues to be similarly pursued, and secondly and concurrently, it enabled the researcher to recognise patterns and processes of interaction (or themes), and to place them in an analytical framework or social map (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973; Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979).
Documentary Information

In the perspective of culture adopted in this study, documents are symbolic records and artifacts that represent the intellectual traditions of a particular culture, informing observers how men and women have made their own history. In this study, two kinds of documentary evidence were examined.

The first was the body of material that documents the emergence and evolution of the SDA Church in the nineteenth century, and its concern with church school education for its youth. Part of this literature comprised primary material published in books, periodicals, pamphlets and mimeograph to meet the perceived needs of the members of the group throughout its history until the present day, and is seen by this researcher as an indispensable component to set a historical context for a study focusing on Maranatha High School as a particular school embedded in a larger social organisation. Another portion of this literature comprised published secondary material which represents a commentary and critique of various phases and events within the group's history. The larger portion of this material originates from within the Church itself and reflects its self-consciousness in the dialogue, tension and debate associated with the construction of its culture. However a small portion also represents critiques from non-SDA sources that gained a response from the Church itself.

The second body of documentary data represented records directly associated with the work of teachers at Maranatha High School itself. This material included philosophy and curriculum statements, school handbook, teachers' course outlines, textbooks, official circulars and memos, student files, minutes of the school board.
Qualitative Survey

Because a significant body of research suggests that pupils condition teachers as much as teachers condition them, it was considered relevant to the study to gain an insight into the subjective meanings shared by students at the school. To this end, a written, qualitative survey was compiled and presented to the whole of the student body in 1984 (see Appendix E). It was the intention that this survey be presented at the same time to all students to minimise the effect of contrived answers. Class teachers cooperated in administering the survey. In writing the items, an attempt was made to allow for openness of response by seeking written verbal statements to relatively open questions. This approach was adopted because it was not possible to interview all students in the same way as the teachers. However it was not intended that this should be the only data gathered, but that it should also serve to focus later discussions with smaller groups or individuals to pursue any emerging issues that appeared relevant and warranted further development.

Analysing the Data

The point has been made earlier that simply by 'being there' as a participant-observer, a researcher begins to recognise significant patterns or recurrent themes emerging from the multiple sources of data which throw light on the foreshadowed problems long before the formal analysis stage of the study is reached. Such was the case in this study also. This phase of 'iterative analysis' served an important function in the progress and development of the study (Smircich, 1983). However a point was reached where the researcher intentionally and explicitly focussed on the collected data,
attempting to identify and articulate themes that explicate 'the social processes and structures that give rise to particular understandings and that presently serve to reinforce or maintain meanings, values, and motives' (Comstock, 1982:383). Similarly, a dialectical relationship existed continuously between theory and data throughout the data gathering process. But again, a point was reached for explicit analysis and interpretation, where the data was informed with the theory which, itself, was subject to confirmation or modification. While the relevant social theory being invoked was of the critical genre, critical theorists agree that judicious reference may be made to the findings of past interactionist or empirical research (see Hassema, 1982; Willis, 1977; Comstock, 1982; Giroux, 1984). In this case, reference was made to a body of studies of relevant aspects of schooling and teaching. However in doing so, the limitations of interpretive research argued earlier was borne in mind.

When it was felt that the point for formal analysis had finally been reached, an approach was implemented based on suggestions by Bogdan and Taylor (1975), supplemented by those of Benson (1973, 1977) and Schein (1984). This involved:

a. Studying the interview transcripts, observation notes, diaries and other data, noting any themes that appear to relate to and answer the foreshadowed problems. These themes are sometimes associated with descriptive terminology used by the participants as they attempt to describe their perceptions of the situation. Bruyn (1966) describes these as 'sensitizing concepts'.

b. Noting in the data, recurring phenomena or event sequences that are significant to the cultural politics of the situation.

c. Comparing the emergent patterns to previous studies and to the related available literature.
d. Relating the findings to the concepts associated with critical theory in an attempt to construct an interpretive framework that will give it sense and meaning.

**Ethical and Political Issues**

The very nature of critical research inevitably places the researcher in a relationship with participants, the larger organisation and society beyond that have crucial ethical and political implications. These implications take on further significance when the researcher is a fellow participant of the researched, as is the case here. For example, the data obtained either through negotiation with participants as they extensively explored the meanings underlying the experience of teaching potentially exposed teachers, students, administrators and others to unusual scrutiny and personal vulnerability with respect to individual privacy. Although individuals may initially express a strong interest in identifying and resolving what they perceive to be problems in their organisation, the researcher will inevitably discover a great deal more than originally envisaged. There will always be a risk that if *praxis* is not to be achieved, the potential exists for the creation or increase of tension between colleagues, students and the general public (Day and Stake, 1983:359). The school itself also runs the risk of embarrassment before the rest of the school community. In ethnographic research generally the issue has been, and still is, where do the rights of all the concerned parties begin and end? If, as MacDonald argues, 'the key justificatory concept' of 'democratic evaluation' is 'the right to know' (in Walker, 1980:37), then confidentiality is problematic, and the researcher is frequently confronted with difficult decisions about
allegiance, rights and priorities. At least in this study, an attempt is made to conceal the identity of individuals as far as possible, and if this is unavoidable, personal clearance has been obtained. However any personal names used should be assumed by the reader to be fictitious.

However it should not be forgotten that critical research is 'participatory research' which aims to foster reflexive thinking, not individually but as 'an intersubjective process involving a community of enquirers' (Hammnett et al., 1984:65). As Bernstein argues:

Critical theory aspires to bring the subjects themselves to a full consciousness of the contradictions implicit in the material existence, to penetrate the ideological mystifications and forms of false consciousness that distort the meaning of existing social conditions (Bernstein, 1976: 182).

In Comstock's view:

It is aimed not merely at understanding the world, but at changing it. ... It enables its subjects to reappropriate their life-world and become self-conscious agents of socio-historical progress (Comstock, 1982:388, 9).

Such a commitment and goal would appear to be all the more imperative in a case where contradictions and inconsistencies exist within an organisation whose commitments and aspirations are highly idealistic and apparently problematic. It would not be fair or justifiable to suggest that these contradictions are necessarily the outcome of dishonest intentions on the part of any one or more individuals. It is possible that although intelligent humans are interacting to shape their world, sensitivities can become ideologically frozen and can only be freed through a process of 'conscientization' and 'problematizing' (Freire, 1970). It is to such an end that this study is committed. It is not the intention of this researcher to engage in
frivolous criticism of an organisation of which he has been a part throughout his entire life. Rather it should be seen as an honest attempt towards *praxis* in one segment of society. As Walzer (1987) argues, the role of the 'connected' social critic is not to overthrow but to promote renewal that grows out of common values and shared traditions.
CHAPTER 4

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focusses on the social construction of Seventh-day Adventist culture. The historical portrayal and the associated theoretical discussion illustrate the constant, but varying tension between agency and structure over a period of a century and a half. It demonstrates how issues have been negotiated and settlements reached during particular periods of time. These periods have led into episodes during which participants have vigorously contested the legitimacy of elements of settlement, particularly aspects of the knowledge fundamental to the structure of beliefs, values, rules, norms and action.

As argued in Chapter 2, a dialectical perspective recognises organisations as the outcome of social activity (Benson, 1977; Greenfield 1973, 1983). It was also pointed out that this ongoing production, which sees the emergence and change of specific social orders, is embedded in a larger social context which both enables and constrains that production. Apple and Wexler (1978) point out that this activity involves cultural, economic, political and ideological struggles, and it is the cumulative record of these struggles in the production of a social order that constitutes a society's history. Furthermore, Apple and Wexler argue that in the case of educational organisations, their 'history' determines what is selected and taught in the schools within that community. It follows then, that an
analysis of what counts as knowledge in any organisation must seriously take into account the social context and the organisation's historical roots, seeking to appreciate how its members have progressively enacted their reality and have attempted to share their interpretations of their experience both within their own sub-culture and with society at large. The chapter also demonstrates how that activity constitutes a domain for the working out of cultural politics and the development of an ideological power base intended to control knowledge and further activity. It also shows the close tie between the religious culture and a developing education system designed to promote its continuity. In so doing, it recognises the contradictory location in the institutional structure of teachers who are commissioned as key agents of SDA cultural reproduction.

II. HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF ADVENTIST CULTURE

The Seventh-day Adventist Church was formally constituted as a religious denomination in 1863 in the U.S.A. during a period of religious plurality and controversy that accompanied general social upheaval and change in both that country and Europe (Farr, 1978:5; Damsteegt, 1977:3-16; Bellah, et al., 1985:225). It is significant to note that this period also spawned other major religious sects and was contemporaneous with Marx and Darwin. In essence, the emergence of Adventism may be seen as a characteristically radical sectarian reaction and protest with a strong chiliastic orientation. That is, while in a fundamental sense it rejected a society that it perceived to be spiritually and morally decadent, it also perceived that its mission as 'a remnant' was to confront and 'warn' the world of the cataclysmic events which it believed to be imminent.
The roots of the movement are located in earlier decades linking it to an interdenominational millennialist movement in the United States of America led by William Miller. The Millerites adopted a 'historicist' approach to the interpretation of Biblical prophecy, particularly the content of the books of Daniel and Revelation (Ball, 1981:204). This intensive study resulted in 'The Great Awakening', the focus of which was the imminent return, or advent, of Christ to the earth on October 22, 1844. Millerites sought to proclaim this conviction with single-minded enthusiasm. According to Damsteeg, 'the missionary consciousness of the Millerites must be placed within the context of their conviction that they were living in the time of the end' (1977:55). When the advent did not eventuate as expected, many were overwhelmed with humiliation, confusion, doubt and disappointment, yet, as Schwarz comments, 'there were hundreds who determined to retain "the blessed hope" as they turned back to their Bibles to determine where they had erred' (1979:53). Soon after 'the Great Disappointment' the group reached the conclusion that the date they had calculated was correct, but that it referred instead to a phase of 'judgement' which was to precede the advent, and that the advent itself was still in the future.

The nature, source, status and legitimacy of the knowledge that informs a sectarian group is important to the appreciation of that group's cultural development. During their early struggles Adventists were encouraged by what they perceived to be evidence of God's concern and interest in them. This was in the form of a 'vision' claimed to have been received by a 17 year old girl, Ellen Harmon, 'in which she witnessed a representation of the travels of the Adventist people to the city of God' (Neufeld, 1966:1406. See also White, 1882:12-19). This occurrence also contributed to the belief that 'the finger of
prophecy had marked them as the last day "remnant"..., called of God to preach the final gospel invitation to every nation and tribe on earth in preparation for Christ's return' (Paxton, 1977:54). This phenomenon was believed to be the first of many similar instances throughout Ellen Harmon's life, and it was these that constituted the basis of her communications to the Church through prolific writing and publishing of periodical articles, pamphlets and books (Neufeld, 1966:1414). She continued to play an increasingly influential role in the Church's development, both doctrinally and organisationally. The importance and esteem in which she was held by the Church is reflected in Neufeld's entry in the 'SDA Encyclopaedia':

ELLEN GOULD WHITE—Cofounder of the SDA Church, writer, lecturer, and counselor to the church, who possessed what SDA's have accepted as the prophetic gift described in the Bible (Neufeld, 1966:1406).

In the early years of her ministry to the informal group, she figured prominently in doctrinal discussion. Because of the broad matrix of the origins of early proponents of Adventism, many divergent views existed. Even Ellen and James White's own acceptance of the 'seventh-day Sabbath' which is now a fundamental pillar of church belief, was reached after initial discussion with another group member. White's early function was to foster cohesiveness in the group despite the diversity of belief. The first decade of this formative phase of development was characterised by intensive and collaborative 'Bible study, discussion, and prayer' (Schwarz, 1979:68). This development of what was to count as knowledge was not without controversy, and some positions came to be redefined markedly during that period. But despite the articulation of shared beliefs at this time, Schwarz claims that:
Although by the end of 1848 they had agreed upon basic doctrines which would always be regarded as the pillars of their faith, they also recognized that continued study could lead to a more complete understanding of these 'truths'. Thus they steadfastly resisted the formulation or the appropriation of a specific, comprehensive doctrinal creed (Schwarz, 1979:166).

The absence of a formally established organisation structure to mediate in that process allowed human agency to continue relatively unhindered. Although the members of the group shared a view of the authenticity of the Bible as a source of knowledge, they interacted with a degree of intellectual freedom in the sense that they were engaged in a deductive mode of learning centring on a collaborative, interpretive search for meaning within those bounds (see Aquinas, 1945, in Smith and Knight, 1979:126). Not only did discussion and debate continue with respect to doctrine, but also with attitudes among the group towards organisational unity. The sometimes bitter debate continued during the 1850's and early 1860's between 'splinter groups' (Schwarz, 1979:92) until a growing concern for public identity and the management of accumulating property and finances provided sufficiently powerful motivation to formally and legally institute the organisation as the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Integral with that organisation came a hierarchical administrative structure in which ministers held key positions of control, a situation which has continued to the present time.

In the years that followed, Ellen White herself was to engage in a number of open struggles with church administrators over the control of knowledge and authority. By the 1880's, earlier attitudes of relative openness in doctrinal belief gave way to more rigid institutional control over doctrine (Thompson, 1988). However White continued to resist. As Thompson argues:
Ellen White favoured a certain amount of debate in the church. And she believed church unity was to be maintained by other means than legislation or pronouncements by the church's authority figures (Thompson, 1988:50).

In addition, she opposed the centralisation of administration at Battle Creek. However the administration resisted, and proceeded against her counsel, in development and expansion at that location. This outcome served to reinforce the growing power of the clergy in the organisation, particularly with respect to control over knowledge. Such instances will be discussed in greater detail in Section VI of this chapter.

Despite these clashes, White exerted an influence in the development of doctrine and culture principally through her prolific writings. This influence became even more marked after her death. As a result, some critics accuse Adventists with the charge that they do not uphold the Reformation principle, 'sola scriptura' (i.e. the Bible alone as an authority for faith and practice), but that they place Ellen White above the scriptures. Adventists have typically countered such charges with White's own words:

The Bible, and the Bible alone is to be our creed, the sole bond of union. ... Our own views and ideas must not control our efforts. Man is fallible, but God's word is infallible. ... Let us lift up the banner on which is inscribed, The Bible our rule of faith and discipline (White, 1958:416).

As Adventist culture developed during its most formative years, it demonstrated a degree of pragmatism by occasionally incorporating elements of perspectives originating in other parts of society. Today a number of such aspects of lifestyle and world view are regarded as fundamental to Adventism. For example, SDA's tend to assume that views on temperance, healthful living and diet constitute part of a complete body of original, revealed knowledge. In actuality, these became part
of Adventist culture by accretion. This fact has implications for the notion of 'absolute truth' - a question of relevance to the study of SDA epistemology. American society in the early 19th century saw unprecedented interest in health reform and temperance with the formation of a large number of societies advocating abstinence from harmful and unwholesome foods and drinks. Froom observes that this interest was also accompanied by 'simplicity of dress and life'. It was considered a part of wholesome Christian discipline' (1971:61). Such a Puritan life-style also came to be incorporated into Adventist life, encouraged and endorsed by White's visions and publications. As a result, vegetarianism, and the abstinence from smoking and alcohol became a significant part of Adventist culture, founded on the concept of 'man as an indissoluble unity: body, soul, and spirit' (Zurcher, 1969:150). Consequently Adventists came to believe that development in any one of these aspects of 'humaness' was directly related and dependent upon harmonious development in other aspects of being.

Throughout its development, the group has emphasised the importance of personal morality, arguing that:

acceptance of Christ's Gospel always brings with it ethical and practical obligations, certain duties to be performed in relationship to God and man. And the nature of those obligations is to be understood as obedience... Obedience is the sequel to faith, law the concomitant of grace (Ball, 1981: 120).

To this end, the Church has traditionally claimed the immutability of the Ten Commandments (Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine, 1957:121). This position has frequently seen the organisation labelled by its critics as 'legalistic' and thus not truly protestant (Hoekema, 1963). However it has always responded by the assertion that obedience is not a means of earning merit, but
rather is an evidence of a 'regeneration' of the individual attributed to 'the working of the Holy Spirit within him' (Beach, 1963:164). But despite the official defense, it can be demonstrated that during a period of more than a decade leading up to 1888, the Church moved through a stage of development where it did tend to be strongly legalistic (see Berger, 1984:379).

One feature of Adventism that has been consistent over time, at least until recently, is its pietistic tendency. The movement has always considered the influence of 'the world' as constituting a threat to Christian character development. White offered constant counsel and exhortation to this effect:

The true followers of Christ ... will shun places of worldly amusement because they find no Jesus there, no influence which will make them heavenly minded and increase their growth in grace. Obedience to the word of God will lead them to come out from all these things, and be separate (White, 1930: 376-7).

For such reasons the organisation has traditionally been 'world-rejecting', frowning on indulgence in such 'worldly pleasures’ as 'the theatre and the dance hall'.

In drawing together and interpreting a substantial body of primary source material and research, both Adventist and non-Adventist and either approving or disparaging, Patrick (1987) summarises well the emergence and development of a distinct Adventist culture.

From the 'Great Disappointment' on October 22 1844, the most popular of a series of occasions they had projected for the coming of Christ, a small group emerged determined to discover through Bible study and prayer the reason for their error and a rationale for their continued existence as Christians. Hence from a revivalist/millenialist/pietist matrix, a new denomination was born and by 1880 was being organised, believing its raison d'être was to herald the imminent Second Advent and to call for a series of reforms in Christian doctrine and practice (Patrick, 1987:310-11).
III. DISCUSSION

It is appropriate to classify Seventh-day Adventism sociologically as 'a sect' because: historically, the organisation constitutes a distinctive sub-culture intentionally separated from the rest of society; it claims special revelation which it believes gives it a monopoly on 'the truth' and which authenticates a distinctive sense of mission and identity in the context of world history; it perceives itself to be a 'remnant' from a society which is destined for destruction; it actively engages in evangelism to confront 'the world' with 'the truth'; and it demands a life-style with ethical and practical obligations for those members who are willing to demonstrate total commitment to the belief system and norms of the group (see Wilson, 1975).

However because its origins are multi-faceted, it does not align exclusively with any of Wilson's or Berger's pure types of sect surveyed in Chapter 2, but has demonstrated either a contemporaneous blend of types, or a change in emphasis at different stages of the organisation's development, that is, between chiliasm ('the world to be warned'), pietism ('the world to be avoided'), revivalism ('the world to be saved') and legalism ('the world to be conquered') (Berger, 1984:379). The changing emphasis at any point of Adventist history is indicative of 'openings' and 'closings' of episodes that reflect the character of the historic construction and shaping of the group's culture through an agency-structure dialectic (see Giddens, 1981). For example, the early years appear to represent a pre-sectarian episode (Wilson, 1970) where the sectarian structure has not become firmly institutionalised and human agency not so constrained. While there has been evidence of a strong epistemic core
throughout the Church’s development, phases of contestation, debate, negotiation and cultural politics of varying intensity have figured prominently in determining the direction of the group’s development. The chapter also recognises how an ideology that justifies the purposes, values, action and structures of control evolves over time through social construction. This also applies no less to groups like SDA’s who attribute status and authority to a given external source such as the Scriptures. Despite claims of ‘the inerrancy of the Scriptures as a rule for faith and practice’, this portrayal of Adventist history shows that perceptions and interpretations of individuals within the group may be at variance. Furthermore, it shows that the group’s cultural knowledge has been subject to change through accretion over time. This has philosophical implications for the notion of absolute ‘truth’, which is fundamental to the apologetic of sectarian organisations.

But despite the continuous negotiation over what should constitute official knowledge since the Church’s establishment, Seventh-day Adventists have tended to share typical fundamentalist conceptions of valid knowledge and ‘truth’ (also see J. Knight, 1978, 1985) in which ‘true knowledge’ is seen as predominantly objective, absolute and given, and is articulated in explicit doctrinal and other official statements. This ‘revealed’ knowledge has relevance in as much as its on-going acceptance constitutes the basis of admission into church membership. It follows that this corpus of revealed knowledge represents a dominant cultural code that is fundamental to the ritual practice and the normative behaviour of group members, that is, to the ‘message systems’ of the Church (see Chapter 2) as it attempts to reproduce SDA culture through institutionally controlled socialisation processes and structures.
However during early years, Seventh-day Adventists do not appear
to have regarded reproduction as a priority, since they saw the Second
Advent as imminent. But as time passed and a more definitive sectarian
cosmology took form, concern was felt for the continuity of the Church
and the need to ensure the socialisation of future generations within
the group and the resocialisation of converts. Along with this
development came the establishment of an independent system of
education to transmit the Church’s culture. The next section traces
the development of this programme.

IV. THE ROOTS OF SDA EDUCATION

In 1851, during the early emergence of Seventh-day Adventism,
Joseph Bates wrote in the official church paper, 'The Review and
Herald', 'urging parents to give proper religious and moral
instruction to their children' (Farr, 1978:5). Shortly after, Ellen
White joined Bates, insisting that it was 'the duty of parents to
their children' to provide moral training and to separate them from
'worldly associates and influences' (ibid). This led to the setting
up of 'home schools', taught and supervised by Adventist teachers.
However these languished and the children returned to public schools.
Following the establishment of the Church's headquarters in Battle
Creek, Michigan, in 1857, further attempts were made by a number of
private individuals to set up schools. However these too failed for
lack of parental and official organisational support. As Gilson
observes, 'it was evident that at the time there was no general
appreciation of the importance of the church to the school' (1965:18).
Up to this point, the main incentive for schools was the separation of
the children from 'corrupting influences', and Farr suggests that 'a shift to a more positive philosophy' was needed (1978:5).

This change in emphasis came in 1874 with the official establishment by the Church of Battle Creek College to teach the distinctive religious beliefs and morals espoused by the Church, and to teach 'the common branches of knowledge' and 'the communicative skills needed by Christian workers' (G. Knight, 1982:10). The intentions were explicitly twofold; first, to transmit a specific culture to its members, thus ensuring the Church's continuity in succeeding generations, 'if time should last', and second, to attempt to promulgate 'the Advent message' to wider society through public evangelism. White wrote the same year under the title 'Proper Education', advocating a 'balanced' education incorporating religious, moral, mental and physical development. She argued that education

... embraces more than merely having a knowledge of books. It takes in everything that is good, virtuous, righteous, and holy. It comprehends the practice of temperance, godliness, brotherly kindness, and love to God and to one another. In order to obtain this object, the physical, mental, moral, and religious education of children must have attention (White, 1948:131-2).

What transpired was indicative of an ongoing controversy between 'administrators' and 'teachers' over the status of knowledge both within the Church and its schools. In this instance, White's perspective was given official support by the leaders of the Church. However the programme actually adopted, centred on a 'classical curriculum' that was not only devoid of any practical or physical activities, but in its early years did not include Bible in its outline of subjects. White and other church leaders insisted on religious instruction being a compulsory component of the programme. It is particularly important to note at least White's insistence that
that the same degree of openness that she had advocated earlier should also prevail with respect to teachers and curriculum content (see Olson, 1981: Appendix A). However it was four years before Bible classes were convened (Gilton, 1965:12). Knight points out not only the slow evolution of mandatory Bible classes and a work-study programme during the 25-year history of the Battle Creek School, but also 'the reluctance in the school to remove the "heathen classics" from their central curricular role' (G. Knight, 1982:10). White and the fellow-founders of the education programme perceived that such a focus was antithetical to what they had envisaged.

It took a decade for the 'radical changes' of White's philosophy to be fully implemented at a school opened by G.H. Bell, one who had previously taught at the Battle Creek school. This was to pave the way for the establishment of three other schools based on Bell's academy. In 1891 White visited Australia, remaining for nine years, six of which she resided in New South Wales where she was instrumental in establishing a school, the Avondale School, later to be known as Avondale Missionary College, and now Avondale College, for the training of the future 'workers' of the Church. By contrast with Battle Creek College, this was to be 'an object lesson for the world, the pattern school, a sample school, and the model school' (G. Knight, 1982:11). Certainly, White's charisma left its mark on the ethos of the district, reflected in substantial cultural artifacts, not the least of which is her private residence, preserved with many personal effects serving as a heritage museum which is open to the general public. Thus the Avondale School was to serve as a prototype for SDA education, and the experience tempered White's subsequent writings on education. The principles which she advocated have come to be traditionally espoused by the Church, at least theoretically, to the
present time. These principles have provided the foundation for a philosophy of education from kindergarten through to college and university, in the largest protestant school system in the world. At all levels of this system, teachers are perceived to fill a key role in cultural reproduction.

Because of the 'spiritual' implications in White's conception of education, teachers employed in Adventist schools since the Church's establishment have been classified as 'teacher-ministers' as distinct from the clergy ministry. Consequently, it is mandatory that they be members of the Church, in 'good and regular standing'. For most of SDA history, the preservice education of teachers has always incorporated a programme of religious studies designed to prepare graduate teachers to teach the prescribed religious instruction curriculum in addition to their specialist fields of secular knowledge. Thus teachers are explicitly commissioned to pass on the revealed knowledge of the Church. Underpinning these expectations are the functionalist assumptions that transmission proceeds unproblematically at the hands of a compliant, committed group. It follows, however, that this is only likely to occur if the organisation is able to control the teachers.

Chapter 2 discussed the importance of ritual in cultural reproduction to 'keep alive' the significance of the basic perceptions and conventions shared by the people that comprise that social order. As commissioned agents of reproduction within the organisational structure, teachers may be viewed as initiators of ritual processes in the context of education. But it is also significant to note the organisation's ritualistic practice of constantly reminding teachers themselves of the ideological foundations and implications of SDA education, emphasising the need for personal understanding and
commitment of students. Since White wrote on the subject, there have been repeated attempts to keep the principles alive through a steady flow of pamphlets, booklets, articles in periodicals and journals, etc. However, despite this proliferation, indications suggest that consensus is problematic. Recent years have seen a growing awareness of the tenuous status of the revealed knowledge of the Church that is embodied in Adventist curricula, pedagogy and modes of management. Three possible reasons are offered. In the first instance, problems may be encountered as schools endeavor to modify and incorporate some secular curricula into the programme, and second, the development of intellectual sensitivity on the part of many teachers that enables them to perceive contradictions that exist. There is a distinct link between the latter phenomenon and John Knight's (1978) account of sociocultural change among a sub-group of intellectuals in the Church. Third, it is possible that as time passes, many teachers may not be conversant with what constitutes traditional SDA philosophy as espoused by White.

A survey of the official literature of the Church examining and promoting SDA education indicates that there is increasing reference to perceptions of either a failure to attain expected goals or declining sensitivity to SDA educational mission among the Church's participants. Recent years have seen concern expressed in two publications from the Church's own presses, the titles of which explicitly reflect concern for relatively unrealised ideals: 'Adventist Education at the Crossroads' (Moore, 1976), and 'Showdown. Can SDA Education Pass the Test' (Hilde, 1980). Another book, 'Why Teenagers Reject Religion' (Dudley, 1978), was the outcome of a doctoral study in the USA. The study looked at problem factors relating to the joint impact of the school, the Church and the home in
view of the currently high level of rejection of SDA values. Later, in 'The Journal of Adventist Education', Judd (1986) attempted to promote critical discussion among Adventist educators world-wide focusing on 'The Alienation of Adventist Youth From Religion'. The same theme was introduced shortly after by Johnsson (1986) in the first of a series of articles in the Church's world wide journal, 'Adventist Review'.

A relatively recent attempt which is significant to the study was made by Akers and Moon (1980) whose thesis developed the concept of 'the integration of learning, faith, and practice in every aspect of the curriculum'. Although the concept of holism has always been implicit in White's notion of a balanced education, Akers and Moon adopted the integration slogan from the writings of Gaebelin (1968), a non-SDA Christian educationist. Akers and Moon presented the paper to the SDA school system internationally in 'The Journal of Adventist Education' (1980). This publication was followed by an extensive tour by Akers to a number of countries, including Australia in 1981, where he presented views of 'integration' in seminars involving virtually all SDA teachers that were currently employed. As part of the 'integration' concept, Akers and Moon included the notion of 'the hidden curriculum', that is, 'what is taught unintentionally through either formal or informal curriculum' (1980:20). (Note: This usage of the term 'hidden curriculum' is distinct from its usage in the context of critical theories of cultural reproduction).

In recent years a large number of teachers have been confronted either directly or indirectly with the thought of George Knight, late of Andrews University, Michigan - an SDA institution. Knight (1980) has endeavoured to capture and interpret the fundamental principles of Ellen White's philosophy, contrasting it with a wide range of competing philosophical perspectives through an analytical framework.
that examines the metaphysical, epistemological and axiological implications of each. The substance and implications of this exercise, and the relationship it bears to the Church’s official view and expectations of schooling, will be addressed in greater detail in the following chapter.

During recent years, a number of Australian SDA teachers, including the present principal of the research site, Maranatha High School, have undertaken graduate studies at Andrews University and have returned to disseminate this view. Knight also interacted with a large group of Adventist teachers at a year-end summer school at Avondale College in 1984-5 while lecturing to teachers pursuing up-grading programmes. The impact of Knight’s restatement is still being observed and bears a relation to this study. It is clear that the Church has expended much time, energy and finance in the attempt to make ‘Christian education’ succeed. In a public statement made in the media by a church official in 1987, half the financial operating budget of the Church in the portion of the state which includes Maranatha High School was devoted to education. It is in the climate created by such significant input, both financial and human, that teachers operate under a constantly perceived demand for ‘accountability’ from the SDA Education Department, from parents, students and the remainder of the Church’s laity.

V. DISCUSSION

This section portrays the establishment of an education system intended to complement the function of the Church in transmitting a specific cultural paradigm. Teachers within this structure are employed for the specific purpose of transmitting received knowledge
controlled by the Church via message systems characterised by revealed knowledge, and didactic and ritualistic modes of pedagogy intended to foster consensus, commitment and acceptance of the status quo within the sectarian community (see Chapter 2). When viewed in the context of the agency-structure dialectic, a marked organisational trend towards hierarchical control that is concerned with the ongoing reproduction of SDA culture becomes increasingly evident. This presents a marked contrast with the earlier formative, pre-sectarian period of the organisation discussed in the first section of this chapter, where the emphasis was on collaborative construction through intellectual inquiry, discourse and debate - that is, on a form of agency. But once the knowledge produced by that agency was institutionalised as the basis of formal organisational structure, the nature of knowledge and the role of 'the learner' changed. It is consistent with the nature of any sectarian community and fundamental to its continuity, as is true of the present case, to maintain such control by limiting discourse and maintaining barriers against external threat. This control, which typically attempts to enforce structure and minimise agency, tends to be legitimated on ideological grounds. However this section also recognises that, at present, the threat of secularisation within Adventist schools is virtually inevitable as an outcome of the attempt by the education system of the Church to meet the demands of some external curricula and state controlling bodies. That is, tension is induced through attempting to synthesise two possibly disparate message systems. This tension is also exacerbated by the sociocultural change at the personal level, first, in the perceptions of teachers themselves, particularly in each succeeding generation as the original perspectives of the organisation's pioneers become more remote in time, and second, in the values and expectations of parents and
students. Furthermore, the position of the individual teacher may also become critical as time goes on if they should perceive contradictions within the official ideology that they are required to reproduce.

Traditionally, the primary role of administration and control within the Church, including education, has always been assumed by the clergy. The political implications of this structure point to the lower status of teachers in relation to the clergy. This structure might be seen as placing teachers in a potentially contradictory location. As humans with a capacity for agency, it is possible that their intellectual perspective and scholarship might identify contradictions and inconsistencies within the structure, particularly the cultural knowledge of the organisation, which they might have to resolve. These instances may be a carry-over from periods of intense contestation and debate over aspects of knowledge that occur at different times throughout the organisation's history, beyond the immediate action of the individual. However, these phases are relevant to the teacher's work in so far as the outcomes are likely to influence the content and character of the knowledge which he/she is commissioned to pass on. Furthermore, the threatened instability accompanying intense periods of contestation is likely to affect the teacher's work through an intensification of scrutiny of the work of all employed personnel by administrators intent on preserving the traditional pillars of the organisation.

Throughout its history and development, Seventh-day Adventism has experienced phases of criticism and dissent both from without and within, that have threatened the organisation's stability. In a sense it is not extraordinary that a minority religious group, attempting to reach and confront the world with what it perceives to be a
distinctive and unique message, tends to meet strong opposition and rejection from society at large. However dissent within the group itself appears to have posed a greater threat to its stability and existence. Schwarz suggests that 'religious groups are prone to fragmentation' as a result of dissatisfaction with leadership, the purported discovery of 'new light', and personal problems of egocentricity, mental balance, and position seeking (1979:445). Consequently close examination seems to suggest that there has always been tension between agency and structure, of varying intensity. The endemic contestation within the organisation is no less a phenomenon in the 1980's. Such tension and conflict are conducive to the generation of transformations of aspects of SDA culture, particularly with respect to doctrine and aspects of fundamental belief. Although in recent years these instances do not directly involve the Church's primary and secondary school teachers in open debate with the administrators, they do, nevertheless, impinge upon the work of these teachers. In most instances, the issues have roots in the nature, status and management of cultural knowledge - that knowledge which they are commissioned to pass on.

The next section addresses the problem caused by the controversy between revealed and questioned knowledge and its implications for teachers. It examines further the historical development of the organisation to identify instances of agency-structural tension resulting from increased contestation of aspects of traditional SDA knowledge by intellectuals in the Church, and the organisational response to perceived threat.
VI. THE DIALECTIC BETWEEN AGENCY AND STRUCTURE IN SDA HISTORY

To the Millerites from which Seventh-day Adventism emerged, tension resulted from disputes over the interpretation of Bible prophecy, and criticism from the churches from which they had separated themselves (Damsteegt, 1977:57-100). Branson describes the situation following 'The Great Disappointment', when Christ did not return on the date they had believed was indicated by prophecy, as a time of 'agonizing uncertainty and internal debate' (1981:2). Some resented Ellen White's role and counsel to the developing group, while others were critical of her husband's leadership (Schwarz, 1979:56, 57). When the climate of dissent prompted some to question the integrity and credibility of the organisation, White admitted that 'there are existing evils in the church, and will be till the end of the world', but that Adventists are still intended to be 'the light of the world' (cited in Schwarz, 1979:446). Threats to the stability of the Church then, and in the years that followed included: the protracted challenge of doctrine by Dudley Canright, a former minister of the Church whose publications affected the Church from the 1880's until his death in 1919 (Schwarz, 1979:464-470); the crisis of the 1888 General Conference session at Minneapolis concerning the Church’s position on the doctrine of 'righteousness by faith', which also involved bitter personal confrontations, the effects of which were to last over a decade (Olson, 1966); the 'Kellogg crisis' from 1901 to 1907 involving the influential Dr John Harvey Kellogg in confrontation with the administrators of the Church concerning criticism of the clergy, doctrinal issues, finance, and the location of various church institutions (Schwarz, 1979:282-298); and the 1919 Bible Conference
which saw an issue over the religious status of Ellen White's writings and the scriptures (Couperis, 1979).

In an attempt to inspire confidence in God's leading among members of the church and to refute the charges of outsiders', McArthur (1979:10) points out that the Church's historians - Loughborough, Olson, Froom, Nichol, Spaulding and Maxwell - adopted an 'apologetic', that is, a defensive stance. However, as McArthur observes:

To a striking degree the church's history was divorced from its social matrix. Above all, the apologias accepted unquestioningly the inspiration of Ellen White's pen, thus making the search for historical influences not only unnecessary but also threatening (1979:10).

But in the late 1960's, a radical change was to come about, first in the United States, and soon after in Australia, principally due to the emergence of scholarly, intellectual critique of SDA doctrine and rhetoric by members of the Church itself. McArthur comments on the change and its effect:

We are witnessing the first great age of Adventist historical revisionism... There has been created a new class of intellectuals within the church...whose function is to offer critical examination of the church's tradition. The Adventist Church has not known such a group before and is having trouble accepting its legitimacy (1979:11).

In McArthur's view, 'the revolution in Adventist historiography has been a function of graduate school education' (1979:10). This occurrence appears to have coincided with the appearance of 'Spectrum', a scholarly journal originating at Loma Linda University, an Adventist institution in the USA. Of its stated aims and objectives, one has taken on particular significance during the course of its publication. The journal aims:
To maintain an organ of communication wherein Seventh-day Adventist scholars may exchange academic information, thoughts and opinions (cited in Annual Council Report, 1984: 23).

Since its inauguration, 'Spectrum' has been a forum for wide-ranging open discussion on issues fundamental to Adventism. McArthur suggests that discussion of this nature has been appropriate because of the Adventist belief that 'there should be no disjunction between faith and reason' (1979:14). Upholding this principle, 'Spectrum' has published dialogue and commentary on many sensitive issues. For example, during the 1970's Adventism saw an extensive critique of 'the doctrine of salvation' which Rice suggests 'is the central and most comprehensive division of Christian theology' (1980:60). The effect was a revival of the sentiments of the 1888 Minneapolis Conference cited earlier. Rice argues that 'no area of theology has generated more sharply divergent opinions within the church'. The period saw the proliferation of books, articles and audio tapes among the members of the Church around the world, accompanied by lengthy comment in the press and non-SDA Christian journals. Many meetings with large attendances were convened to disseminate and discuss the doctrine of 'righteousness by faith'. Although the debate reached international proportions, Australia was regarded as the heart of the dissent, with Dr Desmond Ford, a lecturer in theology at Avondale College leading the attempt to revive the 'reformation' theology of Luther and Calvin. In the wake of the argument, Geoffrey Paxton's book, 'The Shaking of Adventism' (1977), 'produced a shaking of its own' (Rice, 1980:65). Paxton, a non-Adventist clergyman, had been engaged in post-graduate research on implications of the debate at Queensland University. His book was based on research that endeavoured 'to assess the claim of Seventh-day Adventists to be the authentic heirs of the protestant
reformation'. (Rice, 1980:65). His critique essentially consisted of a challenge against the validity of Adventism's claims based on its interpretation of Scripture and the manner in which, he argued, White's writing had been used to augment these claims. Perhaps the greatest effect of the book was indirect. That is, while the intricacies of Paxton's principal argument were perceived by many SDA scholars to be suffering from extreme polemical rigidity, it did serve as a catalyst to renew a spirit of intellectual inquiry into the plausibility of other aspects of the Church's belief structure. During this time 'Spectrum' commented extensively, thus extending the dialogue and disseminating opinion through the Church in all parts of the world.

Another significant issue both to Adventism generally and also to this study was 'the nature of inspiration and revelation', particularly with respect to the writings of Ellen White. The debate and its implications was also the focus of a series of 'Spectrum' articles that considered allegations of White's dependence on literary sources - an issue which has implications for the claim for divine inspiration. The matter of Ellen White's sources for her writings on health came under vigorous discussion during the late 1970's after the publication of Ronald Numbers' 'Prophetess of Health: a Study of Ellen White' (1976). In similar vein, 'Spectrum' became a discussion forum after Walter Rea levelled scathing attacks against Ellen White's integrity in his 'White Lie' (1981). Rea was subsequently relieved of his ministerial credentials, but not before his challenge had produced serious fragmentation in the church constituency in every corner of the globe.

Perhaps the most unprecedented threat to stability to date occurred during 1979 when Desmond Ford raised serious questions
concerning some basic and distinctive theological positions based upon interpretation of Biblical prophecy that have been traditionally held by the Seventh-day Adventist Church since its inauguration (Utt, 1980). After protracted discussion Ford was commissioned by the General Conference to prepare and present a document setting out his position. This presentation was convened at Glacier View in the USA in 1980 in what Cottrell (1980:2) describes as 'the most important event of this nature in Adventist history since the 1888 General Conference in Minneapolis'. The Glacier View hearing received world-wide attention, not only among Adventists but among many other religious communities also. Ford’s position was rejected, and in view of his refusal to retract or to refrain from disseminating his views, he too was relieved of his ministerial credentials in what constituted a degradation ceremony (see Garfinkel, 1976). This action created a crisis in the Church, particularly in the USA and Australia where a large number of ministers either withdrew from the ministry in sympathy or had their employment terminated because of the stand they had individually taken. During this set of events, ‘Spectrum’ was once again a forum for reporting and discussion (particularly Vol. 11, No. 2, 1980).

Although many other issues relevant to education such as the age of the earth, the evolution/creation debate and the apparent tension between religion and science have been addressed by 'Spectrum' (e.g. Couperis, 1980), the scope of this study does not permit an exhaustive treatment. The issues cited above however, give some indication of the journal’s involvement in a spirit of revisionism. It came as no surprise when at the 1984 Annual Council of the Church held in the USA, the General Conference President, the Church’s world leader, stated that he felt that the publication 'had departed from its
Laudable aims and had become a critical, destructive voice within the church and that its emphasis had become one of 'planting seeds of criticism, polarization, negative questioning, undermining confidence in church organization, and lessening respect for the legitimacy and authority of church leadership' (cited in Annual Council - Report, 1984:23). It was significant that during the General Conference Session of the world-wide Church held in the USA in association with that Annual Council, a document titled 'The 27 Fundamentals of the SDA Church' was released, reaffirming the Church's doctrines, including those challenged by Ford and Rea. Following this release, there has been a report in Australia of an instance where this document has been applied as a 'test of loyalty' to some members of the clergy.

The aims of 'Spectrum' are also held in common by a growing group of Adventist scholars that is attempting to 'preserve both academic responsibility and Christian accountability' (Patrick, 1987:317-8). They are appealing for more open and intellectual debate and critical examination of traditional constructs in order to refine and in some cases demystify them - a view of education that may become at odds with the 'passing on of tradition'. An example of this attempt is George Knight's 'Myths in Adventism' (1985) in which he discusses perceived myths concerning educational purpose, the nature and form of religious instruction, the sacred and secular, etc. However despite an avowed loyalty to Adventism and its philosophy of education by Knight and other individuals like him, a 'conservative wing' of the Church is highly suspicious and critical of the motives and actions of those that they perceive to be 'liberal'.
VII. DISCUSSION

This section clearly reflects the dialectical tension that exists between the status of revealed, institutionalised knowledge and free, intellectual inquiry which 'Spectrum' represents, that is, between structure and agency. It represents the rhetoric of a religious organisation which, after more than a century, continues to display a well defined and apparently well entrenched sectarian character that conforms to Wilson's (1970, 1975) generalised pattern discussed earlier in this chapter. This is particularly evident in recent years, in the closed, tightly-controlled epistemological stance adopted by the organisation in response to direct challenges by individuals like Rea and Ford who, in questioning the credibility of the group's charismatic prophet and key aspects of prophetic interpretation, have contested two fundamental pillars of SDA knowledge. The spirit of inquiry and questioning engendered by 'Spectrum' in other key areas has compounded that tension. The aggressive and radical response and defense strategies adopted by the organisation, together with the reassertion of the knowledge base of SDA culture in 'The 27 Fundamentals', is not surprising, in as much as the mutation of that knowledge would significantly transform the group's culture. In addition, the perceived intrusion of liberalism and secularisation into a large sector of the SDA constituency has aggravated the situation. Because the outcomes of these challenges and the direction of these trends are critical to cultural reproduction, the approved structural view legitimates a pattern of 'means to achieve desired ends' that are characterised by closure, censorship, indoctrination and pressure to conform, with a tendency towards cultural absolutism and ethnocentricism (Smith and Knight, 1978). This disposition
constitutes a set of attitudes that denies individual freedom of thought and choice. At times of intense crisis, the political authority structure attempts to control individual agency to an extent approaching totalitarianism. However the likelihood of successful maintenance of the status quo through the rigorous application of authority and control structures may be problematic. The tension between the 'formal structure' of the organisation, its 'techno-logic' and its 'social system' (Pusey, 1976) becomes such that the formal structure dominates and determines an intensification of aspects of its technological structure. The social dimension becomes eclipsed, which may result in counterproductive responses in the form of intense anxiety, aggression or withdrawal on the part of individuals, and a destructive force that militates against a communitarian ideal. On the other hand, the organisational reaction may be viewed as operating in direct proportion to the perceived contestation. It may also be seen as a reaction to the increasing activity of a sub-cultural cohort of intellectuals whose world view tends to be more liberal and open than the group of more fideistic, conservative members of the organisation (Knight, 1978).

Although the visible controversy tends to occur primarily outside of primary and secondary schools, it is likely to extend onto the terrain of education and impact upon the lives and work of teachers. The message systems of Adventist education are likely to reflect the 'techno-logic' of the parent institution, the church, so that any crises in the church are likely to lead to an intensification of message systems adopted for the church-school. This will have implications for the view of knowledge, the location of the teacher and the learner in the pedagogical relationship, the set of criteria for evaluating the success of the educational process, and the
administrative structures for the management of this process. This may pose a threat to teachers who are commissioned to pass on official knowledge, but who may be confronted by issues that they have to resolve in the school as they interact with an increasingly pluralistic clientele. Furthermore, teachers are located close to the group’s 'intellectuals' and consequently may themselves perceive contradictions that pose personal dilemmas.
CHAPTER 5

THE MESSAGE SYSTEMS OF SDA EDUCATION

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with how Adventist education, as an integral part of the Church's ministry, sets out to select, classify, organise, transmit and evaluate the knowledge it regards as important to its continuity. That is, it focuses on the message systems of the Church's educational programme in schools. The theoretical foundation for this analysis is the discussion of Bernstein's message systems and their adaptation as proposed and discussed in Chapter 2.

What the SDA Church intends for its educational programme and how it attempts to operationalise those intentions may be viewed at two complementary levels. The first level is a centralised authority which spells out the Church's expectations in documentary form issued to all schools and teachers. These expectations constitute a theoretical statement of the organisation's educational policy. The second level is the local school which is required to interpret and restate this policy as the basis for its attempt to implement the expectations of the organisation. It is at this second level that the particular form and quality of the school's message systems become clearly discernible. The content of the official documents at both levels is seen to represent what Benson (1977) describes as the 'organisational morphology' of the Church's education programme, that is, it represents the organisation's attempt to project an official image.
In this sense, it is a view of the organisation that is 'abstracted from its concrete, intricate relations with other aspects of social life' (Benson, 1977:10), and subsequent examination of social activity and relationships may substantiate or reveal contradictory elements that may show it to be less than 'true to life'. Despite the fact that an organisation's morphology is an abstraction, it reflects the ideological foundations that are used to justify Adventist education at both levels under consideration.

The first section of the chapter begins by examining these ideological underpinnings, seeking to identify the metaphysical, epistemological and axiological implications of official statements of philosophy and objectives as issued by the centralised authority. This analysis provides a basis for: (a) the identification of fundamental views held concerning education; (b) the knowledge base; (c) the modes of transmission, the orientation of the learner and the role of the teacher; and (d) the value system which underlies the objectives. A discussion then follows which draws on John Knight's analytical framework for the classification of religious cultures with respect to their attitudes to society and institutions, values and control, styles of education, and means toward ends (Smith and Knight, 1980).

The second section turns to the specific school site for this study, examining and discussing the way that it attempts to translate and implement these expectations through curricular, pedagogical and evaluative structures, and modes of management.

II. THE IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF S.D.A EDUCATION

As applied to this situation, ideology is taken to represent
a set of beliefs about the conduct of life and the organisation of society; a set of beliefs about man's nature and the world in which he lives; a claim that the two sets are interdependent; and a demand that those beliefs should be professed, and that claim conceded by anyone who is considered to be a full member of a certain social group (Corbett, 1965:12).

In the case of SDA education, this ideology is articulated in a statement of 'philosophy' and 'general objectives' at the beginning of its 'Education Handbook' (Department of Education, Australasian Division, 1981). The organisational intentions are explicit in this document which describes itself as 'a compilation of policies and procedures relating to the establishment, maintenance, administration and operation of schools managed and operated by the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australia'. A copy is issued to all full-time teachers employed by the Church. The statement of philosophy and objectives appears in this thesis as Appendix A.

The statement of philosophy and objectives is examined from the perspective of a framework based on George Knight's (1980) philosophical model (not to be confused with John Knight who is also cited in this thesis), and Schein's (1984) model of basic assumptions around which cultural paradigms form. Table 1 on pages 121-2 abstracts and summarises the fundamental metaphysical questions that are, at once, a view of 'reality' and the 'environment' contained in the philosophy, and a response to cosmology (views held on the origin of the universe), theology (concepts of a supernatural order), anthropology (the origin of man), and ontology (the nature of existence). It then addresses epistemological issues implicit within views of knowledge and 'truth', and finally, the axiological implications of views held on the nature of values, human activity and relationships.
TABLE 1

METAPHYSICS - THE NATURE OF 'REALITY'

Cosmology - Views held on the origin of the universe.

Universe created by supernatural will.

Teleological, that is, the universe is purposeful.

Natural environment founded on principles of law and order.

Natural laws are consistent, intelligible, definable, communicable and predictable.

Natural environment perceived via the senses.

Also a supernatural environment, beyond the senses.

Theology - Conceptions of a deity

Theistic, that is, a belief in a personal, infinite, creative God.

Anthropology - The nature of 'human nature'

Man viewed as a superior, created order.

Humanness is personal, reflecting individuality and purpose, with a capacity for rational cognition and action.

Man is holistic - both spiritual and secular. Interdependence of mental, spiritual and physical human functions.

While man is himself creative, that creativity is finite.

Ultimate dependence on the 'Creator'.

Man a free moral agent within the human realm.

Ontology - The nature of 'existence' and 'being'.

View of humanity's self-alienation from God.

View of a personal, cosmic controversy between 'good' and 'evil', beyond and including humanity.
**EPISTEMOLOGY - THE NATURE OF 'TRUTH'**

Ultimate truth perceived as God’s disclosure to humanity. While this disclosure represents *a priori* or ‘revealed’ knowledge, there is a dimension of 'discovery' through inquiry and perception of that source to produce *a posteriori* knowledge.

View held of a 'hierarchy' of knowledge:
- Scriptures, a primary source,
- External evidence - archeology, history, natural environment.
- Extra-scriptural authority. View of subsequent revelation through a human intermediary.

**AXIOLOGY - THE NATURE OF VALUES, HUMAN ACTIVITY AND RELATIONSHIPS**

**Ethics - The nature of moral values.**

Universal code of morality standards founded on the Decalogue. Principles of 'love', 'justice' and 'unselfishness'. Undergirded by perceptions of 'right', 'wrong' and human development towards 'perfectibility', 'temperance' and 'excellence', both in a personal, individual sense and in social relationships and interaction.

A distinctive 'work ethic' is espoused which encourages diligence and striving to achieve and excel.

**Aesthetics - The nature and appreciation of creative expression.**

Creativity is perceived to be personal and potentially unique in quality. However, it is expected that personal productivity, and the study of the creative products of others (e.g. literature, music, art) should be in harmony with ethical principles above.
III. THE CENTRAL MESSAGE SYSTEMS OF SDA EDUCATION

It is now appropriate to extrapolate the structures by which the church officially attempts to select, organise, transmit and evaluate the knowledge it wishes to make public. It has been argued in Chapter 2 that the message systems of the sectarian religious organisation parallel Bernstein's message systems of the school—curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation—in as much as both are engaged in the management of knowledge. It was also argued that, because of the view of knowledge typically held by sectarian communities, it is possible to develop a set of message systems which are fundamental to the administration of the schools of those communities. It is this framework that forms the basis to the following analysis.

The Knowledge Base— the Curriculum

The General Objectives cited above incorporate different forms of knowledge that the church considers to be essential in a 'balanced' curriculum: religious, intellectual, vocational, social and personal. It is expected that each of these will catered for in the Adventist school curriculum.

Religious Knowledge: It is at this level that the strongest attempt is made to foster individual interiorisation of the culture by defining the basis of the Adventist cultural paradigm in the form closely-structured 'master patterns' (Bourdieu, 1971) of myths, metaphors and ritual. Centralised control of this knowledge is explicit, being in the form of prescribed textbooks and teachers’
guides covering all grades from kindergarten to Year 12. Although this subject in the curriculum is called 'Bible', the study of Scripture itself is augmented heavily with extrascriptual writings from Ellen White together with myth and saga that seek to ritualise and reinforce individual and social identity both within the group and in relation to society beyond. A number of fundamental metaphors are discernible. At the personal level, a 'character building' metaphor emphasises personal development in relation to externally established criteria, the ultimate objective being, 'the restoration of the image of God in man'. A 'work-ethnic' metaphor acclaims personal striving for excellence. A 'servant' metaphor focuses on a commitment to self-abnegation, while notions of 'the truth', 'the Advent Movement' and the 'remnant' are encapsulated in metaphors that are consistent with a sectarian image. At all levels, the nature of knowledge appears to be objective and 'revealed', constituting a closed, collection code in which the reinforcement of the organisational paradigm and strong social control is implicit. Within this paradigm the orientation of the individual is passive.

Secular Knowledge: The Church also perceives a function of the school as being to prepare the individual for intellectual, vocational, social and physical fulfilment. Generally speaking, this aspect of the curriculum conforms with the curricula of state education authorities. The general approach is 'needs-based' which, once again, might be seen to be consistent with the view of the individual as a passive object.

Implications for social control are also clearly demonstrated in the manner in which state curricula are implemented. The philosophy statement's usage of the term 'general' with respect to the acceptance
of state curricula, provides an opportunity for the organisation to mediate and modify those curricula if they are perceived to stand in opposition to cultural norms. To this end, the 'Education Handbook' explicitly spells out guidelines and directives for: the teaching of evolution in science; the selection of literature; the attendance and production of theatrical and dramatic performances, the selection of music; and, activities that may contain elements of competition, particularly in sport and recreation.

Modes of Transmission - Pedagogy

Ritual figures prominently in the attempt to transmit both consensual and differential elements and metaphors of Adventist culture in the school.

Consensual Ritual: Basic to the ritualisation process surveyed in Chapter 2 is the mandatory daily Bible period, preferably at the beginning, or at least early in the school day. The fundamental pedagogical mode of instruction is typically didactic with set lessons and activities designed to pass on a body of given knowledge. Although recent revisions of the Bible textbooks have attempted to incorporate deductive and inductive activities for students based on source material, the 'specimen answers' shown in teachers' guides tend to suggest that the expectations are largely predetermined. In addition to Bible, and of a similar order of consensual ritual are the regular 'worships', assemblies and convocations that are an expected part of the periodic routine of the school.

The pedagogical approach to secular school-subject knowledge tends to be less rigorously controlled than religious instruction, unless there are perceived ideological clashes from 'dangerous'
elements of knowledge, in which case, teachers are expected to mediate.

In SDA education, consensual ritualisation as a form of a 'hidden pedagogy' also goes beyond instruction in the classroom. For example, all students are obliged to wear the regulation uniform, details of which are set by a central committee. The motto on the school badge, 'Nothing without labour' reflects the 'work-ethic' metaphor espoused by the organisation.

The school principal and the staff are expected 'to share in and contribute to the management of the school as an ordered society, including the formation of the rules for the proper functioning of the school and the conduct of students' (Department of Education, Section 7.10.a). The consensual intentions of the external structure governing rules and conduct are explicit in the directive which states that 'every teacher has an important part in helping the child to understand and appreciate the values and standards of behaviour of the school society and the necessity of conforming to its rules'. The form of discipline advocated, sometimes described as 'redemptive discipline', avoids corporal punishment as well as verbal intimidation and abuse, and seeks to maintain the personal dignity and integrity of the child. But although the objective of discipline is seen as 'self-government', this is not autonomous, but rather is in the order of compliant response to predetermined interiorised 'master patterns' (Bourdieu, 1971) that are part of the objectives of Adventist socialisation. Intransigence on the part of students is likely to culminate in suspension or exclusion from the organisation.

Differentiating Ritual: While the rituals discussed above reflect a consensual function, they may also be seen to serve a related
intentional differential function by virtue of the authority relations which they seek to establish and maintain. The administration of the school both locally and beyond by a hierarchical bureaucracy has strong functionalist overtones. This view of authority is underpinned by conservative notions of the school being an extension and complement to the institutions of the family and the church. On the other hand, the bureaucratic structure may be seen to be an agency for social control as it tends to maintain distance and thus, limits discourse between the individual and the authority structure.

It is appropriate at this point to consider the role of the teacher in the officially perceived pedagogical ritual of the Adventist school.

The Role of the Teacher: This perspective of the function of education locates the teacher in a key role as a 'transmission agent'. For this reason, the organisation places heavy stress on the notion of 'modelling' which has been theorised outside of Adventism in recent years by Bandura (1969) and Good and Brophy (1978). This principle is posited as justification for the basic condition of employment, which is, that all teachers must be practising members of the church. This is spelled out and argued explicitly in the 'Education Handbook' immediately following the statement of philosophy and objectives:

Recognising the importance of the 'modelling effect' which takes place when teacher and student work in close association, teachers are needed whose life style, attitudes and beliefs are such as to provide a suitable example to Seventh-day Adventist students. Therefore all the teachers employed by the denomination shall be members of the Seventh-day Adventist church in good and regular standing (Department of Education, 1981: Preamble to Section 3).

Integral with this notion of modelling is an emphasis on teacher-student relationships and an insistence on the indispensibility of
'the personal element ... in creating a wholesome learning atmosphere for the student' (Department of Education, 1981: Appendix A:18). The basis of this relationship is perceived to be 'mutual trust' between the two parties, reinforced with concern, empathy and patience that not only insists that 'each student is a unique individual with undeveloped potential', but is 'a candidate for heaven - a soul for whom Christ died'.

The modelling effect is perceived by the organisation as a significant part of a 'hidden curriculum'. But it insists that character building also depends on direct instruction in a set of standards of Christian practice encompassing morals, behaviour and health as perceived by the church. This policy imposes explicit limitations on both academic freedom with respect to doctrine and belief, and also personal lifestyle and world-view. It states:

The teacher must exhibit loyalty to the principles of the church and is committed to teach only those beliefs and concepts which do not conflict with its fundamental tenets. These limitations are voluntarily assumed by a teacher when accepting appointment within the Seventh-day Adventist school system. Conversely, when a teacher finds himself either unwilling or unable to comply with the church's principles of faith it becomes his duty to resign. Failure to act in good faith under these circumstances may properly be regarded as grounds for dismissal (Department of Education, 1981: Section 3.14)

Thus the demands on teachers are extensive as they go beyond academic instructional expertise to wide ranging personal moral, religious, emotional and social qualities. Not only are these expectations seen as placing severe stress upon teachers in terms of meeting the criteria, but also exposing them to potential tension between intellectual honesty and loyalty to the organisation in instances where contradictions of any kind are perceived.
Criteria of Success - Evaluation

The behavioural outcomes spelled out in the General Objectives are generally consistent with a conservative, functionalist view of education: religion - commitment to 'service' within the organisation and demonstration of Christian virtues; intellectual - rationality and purpose in thought and action; vocational - aspirations for excellence, initiative, self-reliance, resourcefulness and reliability; social - courtesy and self-discipline; civic - charity to fellow man; and physical - temperance and moderation. These criteria of success are expected to form the basis of regular school reports, both formal and informal, documentary and in personal interviews, between teachers and parents. The organisation attempts to discourage that form of evaluation which objectively and publicly ranks students against one another.

The foregoing examination of the central message systems of SDA education demonstrates that theoretically, they are not discrete systems, but are closely interrelated and are based on a particular metaphysical, epistemological and axiological view that seeks to transcend mere schooling, maintaining White's emphasis that 'true education is religion' (1913:108, emphasis mine).

IV. DISCUSSION

From this analysis it is possible to extrapolate a definitive image of education as officially perceived by the SDA church. John Knight (1985) appears to be correct in identifying a strong form of conservative fundamentalism that has largely characterised the group since its formal establishment until at least recent times. However, implicit within the philosophy statement examined above is an
aggressive, assertive element that may be seen on one hand, to be a rejection and a protest against what it has perceived to be the continuing threat of agnosticism, humanism, evolution and liberalism (Knight, 1985:20), while on the other, it represents a reaffirmation of fundamental tenets of protestantism. Thus, while Adventist education sees its role as a socialising agency, extending and supporting the efforts of the church and the home, these efforts may be perceived in conservative, functionalist terms. However that conservatism is only true within the sectarian domain itself. In its relationship with society beyond, Adventism’s attitude tends to be radical (see Smith and Knight, 1978). This gives the organisation an identity that bears links with the more revolutionary character of the organisation’s earlier years in the mid-nineteenth century to which reference was made in Chapter 4.

In Adventist education in its sectarian context, agency and structure may be seen to stand in a state of tension that resists transformation. SDA education’s intentions do reflect a reconstructionist element that rejects wider society and its values, and in its place, attempts to create a new social order. On the face of it, attributing both conservative and reconstructionist qualities to the one statement appears contradictory. However in this instance, the following explanation is posited. The ‘revealed knowledge’ founded on the ‘truth’ metaphor commonly espoused by group members in the past, tends to be viewed as absolute and resistant to change. That is, the structure stands as immutable. Consequently the image of the institution that attempts to pass on this knowledge is, indeed, conservative. On the other hand, the pervading view of man founded on conceptions of a ‘fallen human race’ with a potential for ‘character development’ and perfectibility poses a deficit view that urges
'reconstruction' and change at the individual level. These intentions are underwritten by a curriculum with a distinct 'needs-based' orientation claiming a 'balance' between the academic, social, physical, vocational and spiritual needs of the individual. This notion is further reinforced by White's argument that the goal of true education is 'the restoration of the image of God in man' - a goal which over recent years has appeared as the 'ultimate objective' at the beginning of most subject outlines in Adventist schools. The reconstructionist notion which is implicit within this goal statement also reflects an element of 'futurism' that shares two foci. First, 'optimal development' in the individual is sought both for 'life here and now as well as in the life hereafter', and second, the development of moral 'virtues' is seen as a prerequisite for 'service' both within the continuing church organisation and in society at large. Thus the reconstructionist emphasis is founded on the notion of a changing, developing individual, while the conservative emphasis pursues the perpetuation of a rigid institutional structure.

It is also possible to locate SDA education in relation to other ideological dimensions addressed in John Knight's framework for cultural classification (Smith and Knight, 1978): attitudes to freedom or control of the individual; related styles of education that are approved; the means considered appropriate to achieve desired ends; and the characteristic religious stance. The stress on organisational authority and control over the individual that is reflected in the reported data concerning the academic freedom of teachers suggests a strong tendency towards a totalitarian value system. Approved styles of education appear to be predominantly and consistently didactic, the stress being on teaching rather than learning. Approved 'means-toward-ends' give strong indications of
cultural absolutism, indoctrination, censorship, closure, ethnocentrism and pressure to conform. Consequently, the earlier assertions made in this thesis of the organisation's sectarian stance appear confirmed, at least at the level of the group's morphology. For these reasons, traditional Adventist education closely conforms to the pattern of a 'total institution'.

This analysis exposes a number of apparent contradictions which pose problems for teachers in the expected role of passing on the cultural knowledge. In the first instance, the heavy emphasis on teacher modelling presupposes a flawless image in the model. In view of the fundamental SDA view of man as morally 'fallen', faced by a lifelong process of reconstructive character development towards 'perfection', the likelihood of a teacher himself/herself modelling that ideal is problematic. In this case, the ideal image is organisationally prescribed and imposed upon the individual. A number of contradictory elements is present. The official view sees man as 'a free moral agent', with 'individuality' and 'power to think and to do,... not mere reflectors other men's thoughts' (White, 1903:17). However institutional constraints upon a teacher's freedom militate against the teacher modelling that same intellectual creativity which is the official expectation for his/her students. Students in the school are perceived to be individuals with undeveloped potential, but that same quality is denied the teacher. In this respect, teachers are little more than technicians.

Maintenance of the status quo in sectarian organisations is clearly associated with the control of both knowledge and those charged with its transmission. In this case, it is reflected in the conditions of employment and the controls over academic freedom of teachers. In the event of threat to the Church's plausibility
structures through attacks on aspects of its knowledge base such as in the recent debate cited in Chapter 4, the tightening of these controls tends to be increased. In consequence, conceptions of 'truth' may become reified, in some cases, almost to the point of neoscholasticism. This position poses problems for the teacher if he/she becomes sensitive to apparent contradictions in the cultural knowledge base. In such instances, the teacher is locked in a dilemma between conformity and intellectual honesty. Thus the institutional/professional interface may see some Adventist teachers in a contradictory location within the organisation.

A further problem exists with respect to the adoption of curricula from the same society whose ideology the sectarian organisation rejects. Although a number of the more obvious issues which are inimical to an SDA world view are modified, some of the more subtle, dehumanising macro-forces of society at large, may escape the sieve. This factor, in itself, has further implications at the theoretical level for absolutist, objective views of knowledge, and at the practical level, in translating theory into an operating policy in the school setting. It is to such an attempt that this chapter now turns.

V. THE MESSAGE SYSTEMS AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL

Each SDA school is expected to preface its total curriculum with a statement of its aims and objectives. In essence, this statement reflects the principles that underlie the central philosophy basic to all Adventist education as examined above. Maranatha High School's philosophy statement, which appears at the beginning of the School Handbook issued to all students, is no exception to that rule. The accuracy with which it reflects the central statement may be confirmed
by comparing the two documents (Appendices A and B). The school handbook may therefore be seen as also representing the organisation's morphology, that is, the 'official' conception of knowledge, how that knowledge is to be transmitted, and how that knowledge is to be evaluated.

The Location and Setting of Maranatha High School

Maranatha High School is one of 82 Seventh-day Adventist schools operating in Australia and New Zealand. It is a state-registered co-educational senior high school providing educational facilities for around 300 students from Years 7 to 12. These students normally leave the school with either a state-conferred School Certificate after Year 10 or a Higher School Certificate after Year 12.

The school is located in a rural-industrial area near the Church's principal 'college of advanced education' at which the majority of the organisation's teachers, ministers, nurses and financial, technical and clerical employees receive their pre-career preparation. A significant part of the local community is associated with education either as student, faculty or staff of either the college, the primary or high School. Maranatha High School is also associated with the college as the principal demonstration and practice school for its teacher-education students. In addition, a large church-owned and operated health food factory operates, providing employment for another segment of the town's population. A large SDA retirement home and village also attracts residents from many parts of Australia. Many of these 'senior citizens' are ex-students of the college and have served in the past as church employees. Throughout much of its history since the coming of Adventism, the district has exuded a
distinct religious sub-cultural ethos reflecting strong links with the college and Ellen White, the college’s founder and a past resident of the district. Thus the district appears to have held a strong cultural attraction to the group’s members. Because many Adventists perceive the educational facilities to be potentially beneficial to their children, the district also attracts new residents from many parts of Australia. Thus an appreciably high proportion of the town’s population is SDA making it the highest concentration of the Church in any Australian location. This has created an atypical community. Not only does the school serve this immediate area however, but also it receives commuting students from neighbouring towns.

Students: Approximately 95% of the students were born into homes in which at least one parent is a professing SDA. Some of these students have already been admitted into voluntary membership of the Church through the rite of baptism during early adolescence. If custom persists, many of the younger students will take this step some time during their high school career. Non-SDA students are not coerced into becoming members of the Church. However all students are required to pledge in writing that they will participate fully in all religious, academic and recreational activities of the school and ‘help to maintain its standards as a Christian institution’ (School Handbook, 1987:2). Applications for enrolment are at the discretion of the school board following an interview with the principal. Re-enrolments are also reviewed annually by the school board.

Teachers: The teaching staff, including the principal and deputy principal numbers 22. The pastoral role expected by the Church of its teachers in addition to the generally accepted teacher role is reflected in the conferring of either ‘teaching-ministry credentials’
or a 'teacher-ministry licence', depending on their respective years of service. For this reason, all teachers at Maranatha are practising Adventists as a condition of employment.

The staff is well qualified by Australian standards. Six of them hold post-graduate degrees, while the remainder hold first degrees or diplomas conferred by the college, or by secular universities and colleges of advanced education.

The Knowledge Base - the Curriculum

The knowledge base or curriculum of the school attempts to reflect a mandatory balance between religious and secular knowledge, both academic and non-academic. It constitutes the knowledge, procedures and skills the school considers to be necessary for individual preparation 'for this life and the life to come' (White, 1903).

Religious Instruction: Religious instruction is compulsory for all students. A revised 'international' syllabus has replaced earlier curriculum materials. The course is prescriptive from Years 7 to 12 and is designed to provide a comprehensive treatment of biblical interpretation and doctrine, Christian ethics and practice from an SDA perspective, and SDA church history. It has been approved by the State as a School Certificate course up to Year 10, and in Years 11 and 12 it has been granted status as an 'Other Approved Studies' course for the Higher School Certificate. The instrumental goals of the organisation are focused more strongly in the Bible curriculum than any other activity in the school. It is in this subject that the child is confronted cognitively with what it means to be an SDA. The knowledge component of the Bible curriculum is founded principally on revealed knowledge originating in the authoritative writings, dogma,
myths and sagas of the Church. This body of knowledge constitutes a ‘dominant or dominating cultural code’ (Bernstein, 1975) and as such, is intended to provide the normative basis for belief and practice. Although Adventist education aspires to the integration of ‘spiritual’ learning into all subject fields and activities, in actuality, the curriculum appears to come closer to a collection code with respect to its discrete relationship. Strong framing is reflected in the prescribed and ordered content of the curriculum in which a high level of teacher control is implied. To facilitate this purpose, the prescribed curriculum materials include teachers’ manuals which provide specimen responses to the activities in the pupils’ texts.

The Academic Curriculum: Teaching in this area is based largely on state education syllabi thus enabling the students to obtain external qualifications. Consequently the removal of a degree of direct organisational control is removed. However to offset this situation, the internal controls are implemented in instances where there is a perceived conflict between SDA philosophy, theology or life-style and the state curricula. In such instances, students are presented with a modified interpretation. Examples of modification are: the refuting of the evolution hypothesis in Science and Biology in favour of creationism; the selection of novels in English literature to avoid the undue portrayal of immorality, violence or other questionable phenomena; the omission of dance and forms of music considered inappropriate in relation to the Church’s criteria of acceptability; and the minimising of an aggressive competitive element in sport and recreation.

Ongoing concern and scrutiny of curricula to eliminate ‘dangerous knowledge’ (Johnston, 1978) is maintained through the school’s
involvement with other SDA schools in the region in a number of institutional mechanisms. In order to keep teachers informed of expectations and requirements, a number of committees function and seminars or workshops are convened. Three examples are given. First, the 'Reading Committee' for the South Pacific Division sets and disseminates guidelines for evaluating literature to be used in Adventist schools, particular in the teaching of English or for placement in the school library. This committee also compiles a list of appropriate book titles for these purposes. Second, in 1984, CASE, that is, 'Curricula for Adventist Secondary Education', was inaugurated. This is convened over two days, three times a year, and focusses on two school subject areas each occasion. It is attended by the principals from each SDA school in the region together with the relevant subject masters and staff representatives. While the principals meet separately for some sessions to discuss administrative and policy matters, subject representatives engage in seminars, discussions and workshops to develop curricula that meet the criteria of an Adventist philosophy. Although the concept of CASE appears to have been initiated by principals and teachers as a means of inservice support and self-help, an element of control was incorporated through the direct involvement of division, union and conference education directors. Third, in 1986 and 1987 another committee was engaged in revising guidelines for sport and recreation, particularly with respect to competition. In 1987 this committee also addressed the issue of dance in physical education in view of the State's requirements for school registration.

The Non-Academic Curriculum: In Years 7 and 8, all students are required to take a selection of fine and applied arts subjects to give
an opportunity for creative expression. In Years 9 to 12, a range of electives allows students to pursue these interests and to combine them with academic subjects taken at the upper level.

In Year 7 to 10, all students follow a compulsory physical education programme, and all are expected to participate in the weekly sport programme which offers non-contact sports in an attempt to avoid physical violence.

During Year 10, all students are involved in a weekly 'careers' class and in addition, one full week is spent in 'work experience' of a student's choice. Its principal purpose is: to inform students about a wide range of vocations; to provide information concerning tertiary courses and their prerequisites; 'to introduce students to the knowledge and skills associated with getting and keeping a job'; and 'to acquaint students with working conditions and practices and to help pupils become familiar with the changing nature of work and the workforce' (Careers circular to parents, March, 1987).

**Subject Selection:** The curriculum allows for choices between electives in the two middle and two upper years of the school. Prior to this, all junior pupils follow a common core of subjects. But while a superficial reading of the subject offerings suggests that they extend over a wide range of spiritual, mental, fine and applied arts and physical content, there is a significant misconception which amounts to an omission that carries important implications. This occurs in Social Studies. In this case, the subject title, 'Social Studies', is a misnomer. In actuality, it consists of discrete components of History and Geography, sometimes taught by different teachers. As a result, the opportunity and potential to foster a hermeneutic view of knowledge in an interdisciplinary social science
mode is lost. This is more than mere oversight however. Part of the problem lies in the lack of teaching personnel with expertise in the social sciences, largely due to the absence of appropriate preservice courses at the college. In effect, the resulting academic curriculum has a strong 'scientistic' bias (Habermas, 1971) with virtually no provision for reflexive cognitive experience. This appears contradictory in view of the philosophical position that attributes rationality and reflexivity to the individual. This situation is repeated in the middle years where the choice is between the explicitly named subjects, History and Geography.

In Years 9 and 10, students again study a core of academic subjects supplemented by a number of electives which are predominantly fine or applied arts. Only one of the core subjects, Mathematics, is studied at one of three ability levels established by the State. However because Mathematics is a high-status subject, this has the potential for fostering a degree of class-consciousness based on the acquisition of 'academic capital'.

Although explicit streaming tends to be frowned upon in Adventist schools, the potential for self-streaming by students is built into the HSC subject choices. The school is in a 'Catch-22' situation in view of the current social, economic and government pressure for students to remain longer at school, the result being, a growing number of students for whom academic success in the HSC examinations is problematic. To assist these students, the traditionally heavy academic subjects are arranged on the list of electives opposite what are perceived to be the 'softer options'. Again, and with greater likelihood, the stage is set for stratification of the student body with the 'upper-class' comprising the 'technocrats' of the school population. A minor '1-unit' subject with a social science orientation
is offered. However its unfortunate title, 'General Studies', its low points-credit rating, together with its placement in the range of electives as a 'fill-in' subject, reinforce the low status attributed to it by many students and teachers.

Extra-Curricula Activities: A large concert band of approximately 60 players provides its voluntary members with opportunities to perform extensively throughout the district at church and civic functions. In 1984, 1985 and 1988 the band travelled to Queensland, Western Australia and New Zealand respectively. A school choir provides additional opportunities for musical expression. Each year the band and choir contribute together with other school groups to a special church service in two of the district's largest churches.

Opportunity for the attainment of some external awards is provided. For example, a small group of students are assisted in their participation in the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme at all levels. Another group is given opportunity to gain the St John's First Aid Certificate while a larger group is prepared as part of the sport programme for Royal Life Saving Awards in swimming.

An annual school magazine production, 'Horizon', offers some opportunity for literary and artistic expression and experience. Although this is largely the work of a group of Year 11 students, school supervision is maintained to ensure that the production is 'representative' of the school's desired image.

Student volunteers each year assist in fund raising and collecting for charitable organisations such as Red Cross, Salvation Army, Dr Barnardo's and Freedom from Hunger.
Modes of Transmission - Pedagogical Ritual

It has been argued earlier that ritual forms the basis of the 'expressive order' upon which sectarian religious communities depend in their attempt to create and maintain within the individual a sense of identity within the social order, and respect for and acceptance of the procedures that are fundamental to the continuity and control of that order (Bernstein, 1975). Ritual for both consensus and differentiation may be readily identified or extrapolated from the 'school handbook'. The contents of the handbook are such that they represent a visible pedagogy that complements the strongly classified and framed curriculum.

Although the specific content may change in Bible classes, there is an element of consensual ritual within its organisation and regular, daily practice. Religious knowledge is ostensibly high in priority. Traditionally, Bible has been scheduled as early as practicable in the day to reinforce its perceived high importance and image. Similarly, at the beginning of each school day and in each class, it is a customary expectation for the teacher to present a short devotional talk of a religious nature and to offer prayer. Prayer is also offered in each class at the end of the day before its dismissal. A weekly ritual also convenes in the form of an assembly in the hall. Assembly features a speaker from the clergy, staff or community, or it may be presented by a class or student group. They are generally religious in emphasis. Once again, the content is not prescribed, however the relatively standard ritual format which involves announcements and comments by the principal, group singing, and prayer followed by an address or other presentation is calculated to foster consensus towards cultural values and procedures. The format
tends to follow along traditional sequences and styles of activity regularly experienced by the majority of the students in the Church at the weekend and, in this respect, it serves to reinforce symbolically the link between the school and the Church. The same is true of the visible presence of ministers and other church personnel who visit and officiate. Each year, a week is devoted to a special daily series of assemblies presented by a guest speaker—once again, usually a member of the clergy. This 'Week of Prayer' series has a strong religious orientation and is designed to confront the students with choices for, or reaffirmation of Christian commitment. The commitment envisaged in this instance is twofold. First it seeks to persuade students who have not yet formally and voluntarily sought membership within the Church through the ritual of baptism, and second, for those already baptised church-members, a renewal of commitment to demonstrate a life-style that reflects a personal value system that is in harmony with the organisation's normative and ethical expectations. In these instances, the learner tends to be located in characteristically didactic learning experiences, that militate against reflexivity, contestation and transformation. Some of the more participatory activities, for example the annual school presentation by some students in the larger local churches as part of the regular worship, occur in a ritualistic context that, through a 'hidden curriculum', aims once again to reinforce consciousness of the close link envisaged between the school and the Church. Similarly, the venue for the annual speech night has been recently changed from a hall to one of the churches in an attempt to create and reinforce a spiritual dimension perceived to be lacking in the event.

The annual distribution and dissemination of the school handbook by the principal, deputy and the teachers also constitutes a
consensual ritual in so far as it draws students repeatedly to the normative standards for school life. As a condition of continued enrolment students are expected to demonstrate their 'willingness to uphold the standards of the school at all times both on and off campus'. These behavioural expectations, are reinforced by sanctions which also appear in the handbook, thus exposing students to a visible pedagogy that is integral with those structures.

The ritual of compliance with respect to 'uniform and dress' has a consensual intention in as much as it is perceived by the school to contribute to 'school tone' and to be 'a mark of loyalty to all the school stands for'. This uniform is to be worn on all occasions including travel to and from school on public transport. In this context, the specific mention of 'modesty and self-respect' in dress and decorum, and the prohibition of jewellery and make-up are reminiscent of the traditional standards of general dress advocated by the Church. Students unable to meet the uniform requirements on any occasion are required to participate in another ritual to obtain a 'uniform pass' from the principal or deputy principal in exchange for a letter of explanation from a parent or guardian. Such students must wear a signed 'sticker' affixed to the lapel throughout the day indicating that they have been checked 'through the system'.

The system of sanctions for failure to comply with the handbook requirements also constitutes a consensual ritual. The various levels of discipline become public through detentions or, for more serious misdemeanours, suspension or expulsion. The application of these sanctions has the intention of drawing public attention by 'making an example' of the individual's 'deviant' behaviour in order to discourage deviance among others and foster consensus. Thus at all
levels there is an overt attempt at social control through rituals that sometimes resemble 'degredation ceremonies' (Garfinkel, 1976).

Pedagogical styles in the classroom may also be viewed as ritualistic, but in this instance, an apparent contradiction tends to confuse the situation. According to the school handbook, the relationship sought between teachers and students at Maranatha High School also appears to be in harmony with an official statement in 'Education Handbook' which asserts that each student is a 'unique individual ... endowed with infinite possibilities for development', and that this potential can only be fully attained in an atmosphere of mutual sensitivity and trust. It therefore insists that a 'personal element ... is essential in creating a wholesome learning atmosphere for the students'. For this reason Maranatha officially frowns upon the streaming of classes on the basis of ability, encouraging each student to perform on their own merits and 'to advance as fast and as far as he is capable'. However in the middle school, the state Mathematics curriculum regulations require students to study and be assessed at one of three ability levels - 'advanced', 'intermediate' and 'general'. The hidden curriculum in this instance may be perceived to foster an unintentional differentiation as it promotes stratification on the basis of ability, as discussed earlier with respect to subject choices. In the same vein, the configuration of subject electives at the senior years of the school promotes differentiation which 'marks off' one group of students from another and 'deepen attachment behaviour to, and detachment behaviour from specific groups' (Bernstein, 1975:56). This function is inimical to the consensus and egalitarian values within the group that are perceived to be essential to the continuity of the sectarian
community. Further, it may constitute a transformatory force within the culture.

A classroom ritual with consensual intentions is the Adventist tradition of expecting teachers to serve as Bible teachers in addition to their secular subject responsibilities. Preservice teacher education at Adventist institutions caters for this need by including units of both content and curriculum method courses in their programmes. The intended message is transmitted through the modelling of a holistic attitude that attempts to transcend the boundary that is perceived to exist between the sacred and the secular. However the fact that an intensive treatment of Bible is allocated to a distinct forty-minute period each day, effectively partitions it from other knowledge.

Although some aspects of organisation appear to promote unintended differentiation as discussed above, the school does intentionally structure aspects of its administrative action upon differentiating rituals with the aim of creating order based on a respect for authority relations within the group. Within the school, the emphasis in on the differentiation between age groups. For example, language usage categorises students as 'juniors' or 'seniors'. The common practice in the weekly school assemblies of requiring students to sit in class groups in a sequence ranging from juniors at the front to seniors at the back is also a differentiating ritual followed at this school. While the compulsory uniform draws a distinct line of demarcation between teachers and all students, a small 'concession' is made to senior students who are permitted to wear white shirts or blouses in place of the regulation blue worn by the remainder of the school. This too might be viewed as a 'safety valve' ritual of the kind discussed by Coulson and Riddell (1970:58) to minimise or
alleviate resistance to control implicit in the structure, particularly since the uniform constitutes a control mechanism that in the senior school establishes a distinct line between students of seventeen or eighteen years of age from young adults with whom they associate outside the school. However all students wear a uniform of some kind which serves to transform all children into pupils, thus effectively separating pupils from their homes and the community and emphasising who is in control. The control structure closely approaches a 'total institution'. In this respect there is a contradictory control issue in so far as Adventism sees socialisation as the shared responsibility of the home, the church and the school. There is potential for conflict if aspects of personal expression through the wearing of items of jewellery or distinctive hairstyles approved outside the school by parents are disapproved by the school.

The 'total control' of the school is demonstrated by other regulations regarding student travel, either by bus or private means. Although bus proprietors are contracted by the State Government, the school takes an active interest in student conduct during travel and takes disciplinary action for misconduct. Some senior students who hold driving licences must apply to the school in writing and have parental approval to drive themselves to and from school. Students are not permitted to carry other students without the written consent of the parents of both parties. Student vehicles must be being parked in the car park and not be used during the day without permission from the principal. Students are not permitted to leave the school campus during school hours, including lunch hour, without parental request and the knowledge of the principal.

While the structure of sanctions and rewards has a consensual purpose, it also serves as a differentiating ritual that reinforces
authority relations both within the school and between the school and the home. All teachers have the authority to issue school detentions for any misdemeanour for which recorded disciplinary action is considered appropriate. Parents are advised of the occurrence on an appropriate pro forma. In turn, they must acknowledge the information by returning the form with their signature. Detention students report at lunch time to the rostered supervisor to carry out assigned tasks, generally of a janitorial nature. If four lunch detentions are accumulated, students receive an after-school detention. Further afternoon detentions can render the student liable for re-registration which exposes him/her to the jurisdiction of the school board. Serious misdemeanours become the concern of a 'discipline committee'. Appointed each year, it typically comprises the principal, deputy principal, senior mistress and two staff members. Recommendations of this committee are presented to the teaching staff for its consideration. Students may be suspended for up to two weeks pending action by the school board which has the prerogative to expel the individual if it considers his/her misdemeanour to be of sufficient gravity. The categories of activities are published in the school handbook:

* Using, possessing or distributing tobacco, alcohol, narcotics or drugs.
* Gambling, or the possession of gambling devices.
* Using profane language or possessing obscene literature.
* Dishonesty or theft.
* Wilful destruction of school property.
* Improper conduct of a sexual nature.
* Undermining the religious ideals and standards of the SDA Church.

(School Handbook, 1987:11)

Although the committee's primary focus is on conduct at the school or on school functions away from the campus, the scope of the school's
authority becomes evident as it takes an interest in student activities outside of school hours if they are deemed serious enough to bring disrepute to the school and the Church. Under such circumstances, the committee may recommend disciplinary action, usually in the form of a term of suspension, or a request to parents for the withdrawal of the student, or expulsion. The discipline committee may also be seen to create 'distance' between the school and the miscreant by distributing punitive authority and control over a number of members, thereby depersonalising decisions concerning sanctions, and minimising the effectiveness of a potential challenge by a single individual.

Criteria of Success - Evaluation

Students at this school study to attain academic awards in the form of certificates based primarily upon examination performance. At Years 10 and 12, students who qualify receive from the school either an SDA Secondary Certificate or a Senior SDA Secondary Certificate respectively, authorised by the Church. To qualify for these a student must pass in Bible/Religious Studies and not less than four other subjects. In addition, Year 10 and 12 students may qualify for a State Government award in the form of either a School Certificate or a Higher School Certificate from the Secondary Schools Board or the Board of Senior Schools Studies respectively. In the remainder of the school, promotion is dependent on satisfactory academic performance from year to year based on examinations, assignments and classwork. In view of the school's ideological perspective of the status of religious knowledge, a student's promotion is also dependent on a pass in Bible/Religious Studies or a performance consistent with their
academic subjects. An examination report on each student's performance is forwarded to the parent(s) after each examination, followed by parent-teacher nights that allow for private discussion.

The examination and assessment procedures outlined above appear to be consistent with the characteristically strong classification and framing of curricula and the visible pedagogy discussed earlier. The examination policy also constitutes a ritual underpinned by concepts of order and control of knowledge. Student progress and access is virtually dependent on individual academic performance. The emphasis appears to be on student accountability in terms of factual knowledge, even in Bible, with the student's response being graded by 'scientific', normative measurement procedures that seek to arrive at a set of objective statistics that can be communicated to parents on a report sheet, and recorded permanently in the school files. To some extent, an attempt is made to counter the perceived relative injustice of summative evaluation by adopting a formula which incorporates a formative assessment component in the final result. This proportion, based on classwork and assignments, is greater in lower grades, and it reduces as students approach public examinations in order to 'predict' more accurately their future HSC performance. In addition, each student's 'conduct' is assessed in terms of the perceived degree of fit between his or her behavioural performance and the ethical and moral codes of the organisation. The result of such assessment is entered on the student's report in verbal terms - ranging from 'excellent' to 'unsatisfactory' - the highest award being made for visible compliance. Again, this is related to a consensus ritual which seeks to control individuals within organisational boundaries. It would appear that the examination system tends to be more managerial than educational, fulfilling the ends of institutional and social
control as a process of allocation, stratification and exclusion (Bates, 1982), thus exposing some students to 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). In addition, the potential effect of this structure is perceived to constitute a contradiction as it fosters a competitive, individual ethos rather than commitment to the organisation - a situation that is likely to be critical to the continuity of a sectarian community. It also appears to be contradictory to stated SDA educational philosophy in two other respects. First, it can be argued that the adoption and continued use of an assessment structure based on a hierarchy of discretely partitioned subjects, legitimates high classification and framing as normal in the minds of the various participants. Such a position is seen as inimical to Adventism's aspirations for an integrated approach to education. Secondly, it does not support the theoretical view of the learner expounded by White, which sees the individual with extensive capacity for creative thought and action.

VI. DISCUSSION

The philosophy statement that appears at the head of Maranatha High School's handbook (Appendix B) gives the impression that the school's perspective of education is not haphazard but rests on a rational framework of specific metaphysical, epistemological and axiological assumptions. The statement appears to be consistent with the normative assumptions and practices that are reflected in the historical portrayal that was the focus of Chapter 4. Like the centralised, official statements concerning SDA education, Maranatha affirms the notion of integration with respect to 'faith, learning and practice'. That is, it projects a view of education that theoretically
attempts to maintain an emphasis on the integration of knowledge, both sacred and secular, as advocated by Ellen White. This perspective may be viewed as a 'cultural artifact' in so far as it represents a deliberate attempt to transmit the elements of a distinct culture, and to shape individuals to reflect 'the values that are central and meaningful' to the group (Greenfield, 1973:570).

However in the case of the school's attempt to meet this ideal, a number of problems stand out. Although Adventist usage of the term 'integration' is somewhat different from that of Bernstein, both notions share some common ground. In Bernstein's terms, integration speaks of the weakness of classification and framing between subject disciplines and the content of those disciplines. Adventists insist that Biblical revelation should speak to and mediate all knowledge and that there should be no dichotomy between the religious and secular. Yet, the extent to which Maranatha High School actually classifies and frames the knowledge that constitutes the academic, religious and non-academic curriculum, suggests that fostering integration and holism is problematic. In the first instance, this situation is aggravated by making Bible a discrete subject in the curriculum. Instead of informing the 'total curriculum' as theoretically intended, Bible tends to be compartmentalised in a way such that it must compete for status with other subjects in the curriculum. Rather than being truly integrated, the overall curriculum appears to be uncomfortably eclectic, endeavouring to satisfy a mixture of humanistic, technologist and academic demands either from individuals or groups within the Adventist community or from state authorities. The result is a curriculum that comes closer to Bernstein's closed, collection code than it does to an integrated code. Efforts to maintain registered status with government regulatory bodies may at the same
time militate against holism and contribute to the kind of ambivalence asserted by Knight (1985). Thus there are distinct problems in maintaining a sectarian community, that is, being 'in the world but not of the world'. While official documents emphasise the importance of 'other-world' values, a tension appears to exist between these aspirations and the social and economic values of larger society, particularly in view of the school's intense interest in preparing students to meet the criteria of an external examination system. The potency of the implicit dilemma will be examined further in later chapters of the thesis.

The sectarian character of the organisation is strongly reflected in the intended modes of control that undergird the fundamental epistemology of the school. That is, control is embedded in an ideology that seeks to legitimate the selection, organisation, transmission and control over knowledge. In this instance, control towards sectarian interests is reflected first in the strong classification and framing of the communicative patterns and relationships created between knowledge, the teacher, the student and the rest of society, and second, in a visible pedagogy that not only focuses on students but also explicitly mediates the practice and personal behaviour of the teachers themselves. This gives Adventist education as represented by Maranatha a distinctiveness that contrasts with secular, humanistic approaches to education. Further, while it attempts to foster conservative religious values, it pursues not a mainstream Christian world view, but, instead, a sectarian version of it.

In examining the message systems embedded within Maranatha's programme, it is sometimes difficult to separate education from institutional concerns. Aspects of the administrative structure
constitute a technology of control in which the priority is the reproduction of traditional SDA culture, thus ensuring the status quo and the continuity of the organisation. However this poses a significant issue in as much as it loses sight of the individual, and with it, the validity of personal experience and reality, not only for students in the school, but for the teachers also. Implicit in controls over teachers is a process in which they may become deskillled and transformed to become little more than 'systems managers', thus stifling intellectual development and reinforcing positivist notions of knowledge and 'truth'. The portrayal shows that despite SDA education's endorsement of White's view of human rationality and autonomy, Maranatha's message systems conceptualise education in predominantly functionalistic terms in which the school is virtually a 'factory' preoccupied with a closely monitored input/process/output dominated by potential reward at the end via an external examination of the State. Under such a regime, the notion of personal individuality and freedom, and the existence of an integrated curriculum that enhances learning, discovery and creativity, is largely illusory.
CHAPTER 6

DYNAMICS OF INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

In order to appreciate the implementation of Adventist educational philosophy in a specific school, it is necessary to examine that school's operation in relation to the larger organisation of which it is a part. This has relevance in as much as it puts into context the structures of institutional control designed to promote the reproduction of knowledge and culture of the Church. It is these forms of management that Bates (1983b) argues constitute an 'administrative message system'. This message system is perceived to overarch Bernstein's curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation message systems (see Chapter 2).

In the Chapter 5, incidental reference was made to 'conditions of employment', and to 'academic freedom' in SDA schools. The first half of this present chapter builds on these issues, examining aspects of the the management of personnel and knowledge. It first describes the hierarchical structure of the Church at large to provide an awareness of the organisational context in which particular schools and individual teachers operate. It then provides an account of personnel management structures under which teachers are appointed and the ways their careers and personal lives are determined by the organisation. It then focuses on administrative procedures adopted to evaluate the 'effectiveness' of teachers as 'agents of transmission'.
Although focusing on 'structures', this section endeavours to transcend a static, deterministic representation of the administrative message system by examining the dialectical nature of the dynamics associated with it. Thus while recognising these strategies to be the outcome of intentional, political human construction, at the same time it acknowledges resistance and tension on the part of other agents within the organisation as they respond to these constraints.

The final section considers the relationship between 'teacher-ministers' and 'clergy-ministers' who comprise two groups within the organisation with ostensibly complementary missions. Data from event sequences, interviews and observations portray the institutional dominance of one group, the maintenance of this dominance through hegemonic control, and the implications of this relationship for both the promotion of community and the reproduction of traditional culture.

II. THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

SDA education is sometimes described as 'systemic', that is, no Adventist school is autonomous, and although local circumstances place their own demands on any school, an effort is made at each level of a hierarchical structure to ensure uniformity in administration and educational philosophy. For this reason, any SDA school may be viewed as a corporate unit within a larger ecclesiastical body, the whole of which is administered by centralised control.

Administration of the 'world field' centres in the General Conference in the USA. Around the world, the Church is organised into 'divisions' of which the 'South Pacific Division' is one, administering the Church in Australia, New Zealand and the South
Pacific. These divisions are further subdivided into 'unions', there being two in Australia and New Zealand and three in Oceania. The unions are made up of 'local conferences' (or 'local missions' outside Australia and N.Z.), each of which covers roughly half to the whole of a state or island group. At each level of this hierarchy, 'education directors' administer the schools within their region. The appointment of education directors at the local conference level is a recent innovation, although it is not yet universal. Some directors have also been withdrawn recently. It is highly significant to this thesis to note that at each level, all officers and employees answer to the 'president' who is the executive head of church administration in his region. Presidents are always appointed from the 'clergy'. At the corporate school level, the principal is appointed to serve as the official administrator in association with a 'school board'. This body is made up of representatives elected annually from each of the separate churches that send students and contribute financially to the school's operation, together with ex officio representatives from the local conference administration. In large schools, this board generally meets monthly.

III. STRUCTURES OF CONTROL

The foregoing organisational structure is explicitly hierarchical in character, implying a form of centralised bureaucratic control. Broadly speaking, control focuses primarily on the personnel employed within the Church organisation, and on the knowledge they are expected to transmit. In the first case, conditions of employment and the obligatory duties associated with the various roles in SDA schools are spelled out in detail in 'Education Handbook', a copy of which is
issued to all employees. Examples of employment conditions and limitations on academic freedom were cited in context in Chapter 5. The personnel management structure provides for the appointment of personnel by a centrally located committee. This will be described in greater detail shortly. In the second case, the management of knowledge is attempted through the dissemination of curricula together with systematic school inspections and similar 'accountability' processes. A description of these structures follows also.

Appointment of Teaching Personnel

Appointments to all Adventist schools in the South Pacific Division are normally made through the Central Staffing Committee. This committee consists of education directors at the upper levels of the hierarchy together with the 'division secretary', who, like the presidents, is appointed from the clergy. The Central Staffing Committee has operated since the late 1960's. Prior to that, personnel were 'called' by local conferences from any location in the division. At the time, the president doubled as the education director, giving him an opportunity to personally control the selection of personnel and maintain contact with the operation of the schools in his region. But with the growing number of schools and personnel, the process created organisational upheaval and management problems when unexpected gaps were created through teachers being called out of one conference to another by another president. This tended to occur most frequently in the case of individuals considered to be 'the best teachers'. Consequently, at a teachers' convention held at the union conference level in the late 1960's, a strong request for a change led to the establishment of the Central Staffing Committee to care for the
appointment and transfer of teachers throughout the Division in a more systematic manner. The majority of members of this committee were senior education directors. The committee's function was to coordinate and control the unnecessary movement of staff and maintain a fair sharing of expertise. Thus the power, prerogatives and autonomy of the presidents was somewhat curtailed. However transfers continued at a considerable rate due to it was felt that 'good teachers should be shared around'. School staffs found it difficult to consolidate and create a local ethos due to constant turnover and change.

Despite the restraining function of the Central Staffing Committee, presidents have still maintained an active political interest in staffing, frequently attempting to negotiate with the committee. A further step towards the regaining of earlier control occurred in 1986 when the Presidents' Council was successful in its insistence that the annual biographical returns supplied by teachers to the Central Staffing Committee be channelled through local conference presidents, providing them with an up-to-date dossier of individual employees and allowing them to negotiate on a more informed basis.

**Inspections and Accountability Procedures**

The work of Adventist teachers, both individually and corporately, has always been inspected on a periodic basis, both by inspectors from the State, and the Church's education directors. However a more recent SDA innovation from the United States being imposed on Australian schools is the 'accreditation' programme. Described as a 'self-study' programme, it is designed for schools to facilitate the evaluation of the total local school programme. The process involves
meetings of sub-committees of school administrators, staff and community members in a period of intense critique over a number of months. All of these groups contribute to the compilation of a comprehensive report, a copy of which is supplied to each member of an 'inspection panel' prior to the actual period of inspection which usually extends over a number of days. Although the extremely rigorous process is purportedly voluntary on the part of a school, some administrators have attempted to make it compulsory. The implications for control are self-evident, first, because of the more intensive scrutiny it provides for administrators, and second, the self-regulatory nature of the process. That is, schools know that a high rating in the inspection assessment is dependent on conformity to official criteria. In this instance, the notion of self-critique does not imply autonomous, creative human agency but is, in fact, a control mechanism that obliges schools to conform to a predetermined, external 'ideal'.

Rhetoric in Adventist education for more than a decade has been coloured by metaphors and slogans that are indicative of the organisation's aspirations. The term 'the blueprint' was popularised through Akers' and Moon's (1980) emphasis of 'the integration of faith, learning and practice' (see Chapter 4). This concept has influenced the criteria adopted in the evaluation of the work of teachers and schools. Similarly, the notion of 'striving for excellence' has also emerged in recent years. In one sense this may be seen as a manifestation of the 'protestant work-ethic'. However it may also be indicative of a form of elitism with social-class connotations. While a distinction should be made between this school and elite private schools, it is true, nevertheless, that the school has earned a reputation in the local region and its environs for greater success
in the HSC than state schools. The associated status has made enrolment attractive to some upper-middle class, non-SDA parents who have been willing to expose their children to the risk of influence from a sectarian culture for the sake of greater opportunities and life chances via an apparently better HSC performance.

Examination Orientation

But parents and students are not alone in their preoccupation with public examination performance. During 1986, prior to a school inspection by church officials, a communique requested the provision of statistical information relative to the operation of the school. Prominent in this list of requirements was a request for information relating to the school's performance in recent public examinations. However no similar request was made for information relating to the religious education programme and its evaluation. Academic success in high status secular knowledge and public recognition by society beyond is apparently seen as enhancing the image of the school and its 'pursuit of excellence'. Further reference will be made in the next chapter to the extent to which public examinations dominate the attention of the teachers themselves and the implications for continuity or transformation of SDA culture.

Bible 'Specialists'

Another recent innovation is the appointment of full-time Bible teachers with specialist skills, knowledge and expertise to teach as large a portion of the Bible classes as possible. Designed to offset perceived 'inefficiencies', this was to replace the customary practice of having the staff generally double as teachers of religious
education in addition to their secular subject fields. It is appropriate at this point to take a brief excursion into the circumstances that have prompted this innovation and justified its implementation, thus demonstrating one of the ways the organisation responds to the perceived failure to achieve some of its goals.

In 1978 Roger Dudley's book, 'Why Teenagers Reject Religion' highlighted what was perceived to be an accelerating decline in religiosity and an increase in alienation among the Church's young people. Although focussing on adolescents in the U.S.A. the book struck a sympathetic chord in Australia where it became the basis of protracted discussion in school staff meetings, staff rooms and teachers' conventions. Ministers also made use of the materials from the pulpit. Such was also the case in this district. The issue was revitalised in June, 1986, in a series of four articles in the Church's world-circulating periodical, 'Adventist Review'. The Editor, who also wrote the lead article, visited this district later in the year where he commented on the series in one of the local churches at which the researcher was present. He asserted that 'the problem appears to be associated with difficulties in the transmission of SDA values to young people in the Church'. In this context, 'values' are seen in terms of 'Adventist vision' reflected in active commitment to the Church's distinctive beliefs, identity, lifestyle and mission. He added in a later conversation with the researcher:

Many young people on looking back are not appreciative of Adventist education. It seems that Adventism has within it a drive for excellence, yet when young people respond to that drive, they are frequently disillusioned with their perception of the image of the Church as a result.

Interviews, discussions and observations in the course of the day to day lives and experiences of students at this school over more than
ten years, indicate that these claims apply here also. Teachers, ministers and administrators have commented that SDA students generally do not appear to possess a coherent knowledge base on which to found an Adventist belief system: that is, 'they don't know the doctrines of the Church'. Data attests to the open contestation and flouting of Adventist lifestyle by many students with respect to recreation, amusements, dress, health and sexual morality. Some of this data will be reported in more detail at a later point. Discussions with Year 12 students show that patterns of vocational choice have changed suggesting that employment within the Church is perceived as being of relatively low status. The ministry as a vocation is unattractive to students on leaving school. During the period of this study, no students from Maranatha entered theology training after their HSC. Over recent years, few students have chosen to enter the workforce of the Church in any other capacity if they have been able to gain entry into other institutions and careers. One Year 12 boy who was the son of a teacher defended his, and his peers' attitudes, by criticising what he perceived to be the lack of consideration and indifference on the part of the organisation towards its personnel. In response to such general concerns, the Local Conference negotiated the appointment of a 'Bible specialist' to teach religion in place of other teachers who doubled as religious instructors together with their secular subject field in a manner traditional to the Church. This decision was encouraged further by the stated success of the introduction of Bible specialists a short time before in an Adventist school in Sydney. However in this school, the move was not without some opposition from the school administration. Prior to the appointment, a number of philosophical and practical objections were raised. First, it was argued that the notion of a
specialist Bible teacher reinforced both the compartmentalisation of
time and the distinction between secular and religious knowledge.
It was asserted that, as such, the move was contradictory to the
organisation's philosophical goals and the traditional practice of
attempting to foster integration and holism. Second, it would be
impossible for a Bible specialist to teach all his classes at the
beginning of the day. This has been a ritual of many years' standing,
on the assumption that it attributes a sense of priority to religion as
an orienting and integrating factor in daily life. In the past,
early Bible classes have been feasible because of them being shared
between a large number of teachers thus allowing the simultaneous
convening of classes. However, with one specialist taking a large
proportion of the classes this was no longer possible. But the school
administration's criticism of the innovation was overruled and a
Bible specialist, who had previously been a church pastor, was
appointed.

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT

Dynamics of Instability

An official report released in 1982 by the Education Department
of the Australasian Division of the Church expressed concern over the
frequent withdrawal of teachers from employment in its schools. The
report claimed that few Adventist teachers continue in their teaching
career for a lifetime. For one reason or another they abandon the
profession. The analysis contained in the report stated that the
average length of service of teachers in the region lies between 7 and
10 years. The situation does not appear to have changed significantly
to the present time. This rate of teacher attrition together with the frequent movement of personnel to fill the gaps is perceived by the educational administrators of the Church to contribute to an undesirable state of instability in the organisation.

Without question, Adventist teachers stand in the cross-fire of a plethora of competing cultural interests, expectations and demands in a climate of significant change. However the most direct pressure appears to come from the Church's educational administration beyond the school. On occasions such as school inspections, curriculum meetings, workshops and retreats, administrative personnel persistently insist on 'accountability', not only to the Church constituency but also to future employers, to the government, and to the general public. These thoughts were expressed repeatedly by one of the visiting administrators during a staff meeting held at the end of a school inspection in 1984, implying that teachers should demonstrate greater commitment than previously. The frustration felt by many of the teachers who were already working under stress was expressed afterwards by one of the senior teachers:

Commitment! If R— F— had used the word 'commitment' once more, I would have screamed. How can I possibly give more than I'm giving now?

Many teachers feel that they are frequently made the scapegoats for corporate failure to achieve institutional goals. For instance, at a retreat for both ministers and teachers in January, 1987, a senior minister-administrator lay part of the blame for the general lack of commitment in the Church at large on the quality of teaching in the schools, particularly in Bible classes. He suggested that 'we have lost sight of our unique identity because we have shied away from the study of prophecy'. He claimed that the identity gained from
interpretation of biblical prophecy was the reason behind the vitality of the 'the pioneers'. Pointing to teachers, he stated that it was their responsibility to maintain that focus, predicting that 'when we get back to an emphasis on prophecy, we will rekindle the enthusiasm of the pioneers'.

During 1986 a committee was convened to revise and update the official educational philosophy statement. With this renewed interest, administrators made another inspectorial visit to the school, focusing their attention on the philosophy statements that individual teachers are required to write at the beginning of their teaching programmes. Following the inspection, one of them commented that although the documents were carefully prepared, he perceived two faults:

There is a dearth of programmes that reflect an Adventist philosophy of education. They are really only quotes from elsewhere and do not really appreciate the distinctiveness of Adventist education, and as such, cannot hope to transmit Adventist values. Also, there is a lack of explicit attempts to translate Christian principles into teaching approaches and the presentation of the material.

However teachers are critical of what they perceive to be lack of guidance and support. This criticism was borne out at a CASE meeting towards the end of 1986, attended by the researcher and a number of other teachers from Maranatha. During the meeting a senior division administrator commented that as yet, he had seen no examples of programmes in Australia that contained an adequate philosophy reflecting 'the integration of faith, learning and practice'. When asked by one of the teachers if he could provide an example of such a curriculum as a model, he responded:

Don't ask the division personnel. That's not their job. They are too busy doing the work of administration.
Comments of this nature have reinforced the growing perception of remoteness and ineptitude in curriculum issues on the part of many administrators. One teacher commented:

It seems that some of the people involved in curriculum development in the past are the ones who are remote from the classroom. They have moved into an office where they create an edifice of useless information. The ones who maybe should be writing them are in classrooms but they haven’t got the time.

The teachers’ lack of confidence in administrators’ expertise in curriculum design, support and management in general is epitomised in one teacher’s comment:

What would they know about my subject, and how conversant are they with the conditions facing high school teachers today? A lot of them haven’t even taught in an Australian high school before, and if they have, it hasn’t been for a number of years. As far as their knowledge of me is concerned, in all my years of teaching, only one of the present administrators has ever seen me actually teaching in the classroom, so how fair and accurate is their judgement of me and my strengths and weaknesses?

The ‘bureaucracy-practitioner’ interface has therefore reached a crisis point characterised by alienation and tension in which teachers tend to view administrators in terms of an ‘us and them’ relationship. Continued interaction has tended to aggravate the situation. This became particularly evident during a CASE meeting in 1985 when the Bible curriculum was the primary focus. On this occasion the prescribed curriculum materials came under severe criticism from a large proportion of the participants on the grounds of perceived inappropriateness, both in content and approach, and a request was made for a review of the materials and the consideration of alternatives. However the proposal was resisted by the presiding administrator. Later in the day he reinforced the official position by
stating that teachers would be expected to continue using the prescribed materials and that he had been instructed to visit schools to ensure that this was being done. The researcher was present at a CASE meeting the following year when the same administrator involved in the earlier incident was again asked why the Division was 'so inflexible'. In reply, he claimed that pressure was being applied from the General Conference in America insisting that the official materials were to be used. The situation is an example of 'teacher de-skilling' in the realm of curriculum decision-making on the part of teachers, and 're-skilling' them to function as technicians of prescribed strategies.

Recent years have also seen instances which reflect the intensification of technical rationality in administration and its implications for the reinforcement of a 'division of labour' relating to the stratification of some subjects and knowledge. This trend appears to be linked with the decline in morale of some teachers who have perceived the devaluation of their expertise and contribution to an 'educative' process. A specific case in point is a 'formula' implemented by upper administration more than a decade ago to determine a teacher's work-load. The formula incorporates a variable scale which ascribes numerical values to the teaching of each curriculum subject, or to a range of administrative responsibilities within the school. Academic, HSC examination subjects are perceived as 'heavier' and more demanding than the practical fine-arts subjects and are awarded a 'weighted' value in the teacher's favour, while practical subjects are regarded as less demanding and are ascribed a lesser value. One teacher commented:

We are all working to our capacity. The formula doesn't give a true measure of the real effort we are putting in. If J—G—
wants to use the formula we can’t stop him, but don’t tell us the result. It’s too depressing.

The recent restructuring of upper level administration means that some senior administrators who previously visited schools have now ceased to do so. At the 1986 inspection, it was announced that such personnel would in future be occupied with other ‘administrative’ matters. Contact was to be made via personnel at lower levels. Thus rationalisation has served to increase the distance between schools from centralised decision-makers.

*Teacher Perceptions of Personnel Management*

Two significant factors appear to be associated with the low morale of teachers: first, the sense of ‘impersonality’ that they feel characterises a significant proportion of personnel management, and second, a corresponding sense of ‘powerlessness’ in controlling their personal lives and careers.

Interviews and observations suggest that the majority of teachers perceive the work of the Central Staffing Committee as operating in an ‘ad hoc’ manner ‘from crisis to crisis’ in an endeavour to maintain staffing throughout the region. Teacher perception of the impact this process has upon their lives, and the reservations they hold about its efficiency, is reflected in the way they describe it using cultural jargon and clichés, for example, ‘the Shaking Time’ and ‘the Great Advent Movement’, ‘a cattle market’, or ‘a “Band-Aid” policy’. Teachers perceive many of the problems encountered by the Central Staffing Committee to be attributable to lack of consistent planning, the situation being further exacerbated by rapid turnover, transfer, or a ‘brain-drain’ as some senior teachers resign. The attrition is
commonly associated with disaffection resulting from personal problems resulting from break-downs in communications and relationships with administrative personnel, particularly beyond the school. As one teacher commented:

One gets the feeling that the only thing that matters is 'the work'. When it's all said and done, we have not learned to treat people as people.

There is no clearly defined 'promotion' system or predictable line of career progression. In fact, observation suggests that the concept of promotion is frowned upon by administrators on the grounds that ministers and teachers are 'servants', regardless of position, and they should all be committed to a classless organisation. This view also provides for the legitimation for the relatively small increments in salary paid to personnel in administrative positions. The researcher was present at a teachers' retreat when a question was submitted by a teacher of this school seeking clarification on what lines of progression were open to teachers who might seek promotion, and what criteria were used to select personnel to fill promotions and administrative positions. It was a 'loaded' question in as much as the questioner had perceived some inconsistencies in this area during the previous year and was endeavouring to provoke comment in an open forum. The response from the relatively young minister-administrator acting as chairperson was instantaneous and emphatic: 'We do not believe in "promotion" in the Lord's work'. He then proceeded to denigrate personal career aspirations as 'self-seeking', restating the oft-quoted assertion that 'the Lord works through committees to place men and women in positions of importance and responsibility according to His will'. A private comment was made, 'That's all right for him. He obviously got on because he knew the right people.' The fact
remains that teachers do regard appointment to administrative positions as 'promotion', whether formally recognised or not. Furthermore, many of them believe that denial of the concept of promotion is often an excuse for inconsistencies of what one teacher described as a 'buddy system'.

For some years teachers have sought an opportunity to take a more active interest and exercise personal prerogatives with respect to their career location and direction. To this end, many have asked for known, imminent vacancies to be advertised among teachers to provide opportunities for them to seek either career advancement or to pursue a special interest in a particular field in education. In 1986, information was circulated verbally that some positions would be advertised for application, however this does not yet appear to have occurred. The traditional passive 'servant ethic' tends to stand in uneasy tension with a view in which individuals retain some autonomy over their career choices. Similarly, a structure for career progression together with avenues for individuals to apply for positions exposes the administrators to potential problems which limit their control. The action of teachers who may have a legitimate claim, yet who are not considered desirable appointees, poses the risk of challenge and appeal. For this reason, the control of personnel can be maintained if the establishment of procedures for job applications is left to languish through procrastination.

Some teachers believe that the traditional claim that 'the Lord works through committees' is frequently a convenient excuse for some of the perceived inconsistencies that occur. Incidents that have been observed by some teachers or that have involved them personally constitute critical incidents that have stimulated the raising of questions regarding the operation of the committee. One teacher
retorted, 'The Lord gets the blame for a lot of human error!' Apparent career regression has not been uncommon. During the course of this study, six teachers serving on the staff of this school had served previously as school administrators elsewhere within Adventist education. One had served as an education director at the union level in a Pacific region commonly described by Adventists as 'the mission field', three had served as principals in senior boarding schools in either Australia or the Pacific, while the other two had been principals in senior day schools in Australia. One of the above had also served as a Departmental Head in a tertiary college of teacher-education in a Pacific country. As one said, 'You can be cock-of-the-walk today but a feather duster tomorrow'. One problem is the disparity between career positions held in the mission field. In a time of declining interest, the organisation is finding increasing difficulty finding personnel willing to serve in these locations. Many of those who do accept such appointments feel that the positions of responsibility give them opportunities to gain wide experience otherwise inaccessible to many teachers in Australia. For example, some of the teachers at this school, while employed by the Church, have also served on national curriculum writing teams, or as consultants for the implementation of curricula in national schools. Others have collaborated with educators from other agencies on 'boards of studies', negotiating and overseeing teacher education in the South Pacific and Papua-New Guinea. However on returning to Australia, many of these individuals find themselves appointed to staffs as assistant teachers, their experience and expertise apparently being untapped and ignored. During the study this disparity was pointed out to a senior administrator by one teacher. However the inference with respect to
relative status was clear when the excuse was offered, 'Yes, but that was the mission field'.

A great deal of frustration in relation to career exists among female teachers. In this respect, the inertia in addressing and transforming sexist conservatism notable in many religious organisations is also true here. The complaints made by women teachers are well founded. This is reflected by the fact that in the Australian SDA Church in the later 1980's, no women have held senior administrative, executive roles, with the exception of health and hospital administration. Similarly, there are no female principals or deputy principals in any Australian SDA school except for some small, one or two-teacher primary schools. Married women teachers tend to follow their husbands when they are appointed or transferred. On some occasions, they must move with no guarantee of employment for themselves in the new location. Although some women acknowledge a logistics problem with respect to the appointment or transfer of married personnel when both husband and wife are teachers, some women perceive themselves as 'second-class citizens', and ask why married women cannot be sometimes appointed to positions in their own right. In reflecting on prevailing attitudes towards women, many 'wonder whether the Lord is a chauvinist'.

Because of the perceived lack of career incentives for teachers and the tendency for them to stereotype all administrators in a poor light, most young teachers claim they have no aspirations towards administration. They commonly see the outcome of such career progression in terms of 'extra headaches that you don't get paid for'. Data from interviews suggests that many teachers believe that the pay doesn't correspond to expertise or responsibilities, particularly when society generally tends to associate expertise with financial reward.
At annual appointments time, teachers share stories of colleagues in other Adventist schools who have 'got out of school administration because of the hassles' and have either resigned or returned to the classroom. The result appears to be that the status of the role of administration in Adventist education in general is tending to decline and this is accompanied by a degree of anti-authoritarianism. Many teachers have made the comment that they are not interested in administration because 'it isn't worth the hassles'. However despite the declining prestige of school administrators, some teachers approaching or reaching mid-career feel that they 'have not made it' professionally.

V. DISCUSSION

This section portrays an attempt to impose and maintain control over educational personnel and curricula through a systematic management structure. It describes a technology grounded in hierarchical accountability and a form of bureaucratic control that vests primary administrative power in the hands of the clergy of the Church, over and beyond the educational administrators appointed at each level. Consequently, it focuses on a centralised, rigidified structure in which valid educational interests are in tension with managerial concerns that are informed by a 'cult of efficiency'.

Such structures appear to be typical of sectarian organisations. However in this case, control appears to have intensified in recent years in response to a growing sense of crisis arising from a perceived decline in the effectiveness of schools in reproducing SDA identity and commitment to the Church's traditions among its youth. The mandate of the Education Department of the Church is to stem this
tide and to recapture what is believed to be the earlier cultural reality of the organisation, thus ensuring its perpetuity. Official reaction to the perceived problems of the Church may be seen as an attempt to foster either consensus and differentiation, depending on the nature of the specific threats. However the administration's concept of 'efficiency' appears to rest on positivistic assumptions about education that reduce knowledge to an object and ignore subjective experience. Thus the pristine 'pioneer spirit' of the organisation becomes quantifiable, de-contextualised and de-politicised, and its recapture apparently attainable through the right mix of ingredients. When the school fails to achieve this, teachers must be to blame and the way is open for the adoption of more rigid control strategies. The particular forms of control and power relations that mediate their lives and work become legitimate through a sense of perceived necessity.

Systematic school inspections, and more recently the introduction of an 'accreditation' ritual, constitute an explicit, centralised control structure designed to maintain accountability and foster consensus, particularly in curriculum areas associated with distinctive aspects of SDA tradition and ideology. However in practice, the high status of public examination performance and the focus on the visible pedagogy suggests the presence of two competing codes.

Control over aspects of knowledge is attempted through restrictions on discussion, negotiation and reconstruction of the religious education curriculum by teachers themselves. This effectively denies them the opportunity to be actively involved in decision-making, while the insistence on the mandatory use of prescribed materials constitutes a form of deskilling and reskilling
in which 'educators' are transformed to mere technicians. Teachers thus occupy a contradictory location. A further control is implicit in the introduction of 'Bible specialists'.

However once again, this has a contradictory element in as much as the innovation implies a redefinition of curriculum which moves away from the integration of Bible into the curriculum as a whole to its separation out into a collection type activity. In other aspects of practice also, the potential for teacher agency is constrained, mediated and dissipated by fragmentation, partitioning, specialisation and routinisation of activities. However these practices which are, themselves, the outworkings of technocratic rationality, also produce a number of unintended consequences. For instance, the stratification of knowledge resulting from a collection code is reinforced by modes of management such as 'work-load formulae'. Such modes of management promote a form of 'division of labour' that operates to dehumanise teachers by treating them as a 'means' to an end. Not only does this de-value the work of some teachers, but the relative status attributed to subjects also produces a form of 'class structure' among both teachers and students which is inimical to community.

In a number of important respects, the modes of management appear to produce a disabling effect on teachers. The organisation is reified and virtually anthropomorphised at the expense of individual employees whose interests are, at times, totally eclipsed. Superficially, the absence of a clearly defined career structure gives the impression that its inherent flexibility and openness allows the adoption of any options that might arise. However the question remains, In whose interests? In actuality, through the work of the Central Staffing Committee and the current system of appointments, transfers and promotions, the organisation retains ultimate control over the lives
and careers of teachers. Individual teachers, particularly women, are denied opportunities to exercise prerogatives to negotiate their own career direction and development. Furthermore, the social violence which some individuals suffer, may be exacerbated by mystifications, distorted communication, and an ideology grounded in a servant ethic. Judging by the official report cited concerning teacher attrition, the organisation has faced a legitimacy crisis in recent years indicated by the detachment and alienation of practitioners from administrators. The report is symptomatic of the fact that managerialism is eroding teacher morale and destroying community rather than fostering consensus and commitment.

A notable feature of these forms of control is the ritualisation of the institutional dominance of the clergy, particularly in the person of the President, and his power to exercise ultimate political, hegemonic control over staffing and the personal lives of teachers, albeit at some distance. It is to the relationships between teachers and the clergy and the implications these have for reproduction that the chapter now turns.

VI. THE 'DISABLING PATTERN' BETWEEN MINISTERS AND TEACHERS

The relationships that exist between Adventist teachers and the clergy of the Church are significant because both groups are officially recognised as 'ministers' of the Church, each group bearing distinct but equally important responsibilities. This recognition would appear legitimate in the context of SDA culture in view of: (a) the explicit spiritual intentions and the holistic underpinnings of SDA educational philosophy, (b) the requirement that all Adventist teachers be capable of conducting religious instruction as part of the
school curriculum and daily programme, and (c) that all Adventist teachers be members of the Church, 'in good and regular standing'. Both groups bear distinct but equally important responsibilities in the life of the Church. The data reported in this section attempts to show that although both groups officially share status as 'ministers', the equivalence is an illusion. As indicated in the first section of this chapter, the presidents exercise primary control over the work of schools. But in addition, the dominant ideology tends to supports the pre-eminence of the clergy as a group. The result is a covert sense of mutual resentment, with political implications, that underlies relationships between the groups.

*Relationships Between Teachers and the Clergy*

For most of the time, teachers and ministers operate independently in their own specific spheres of work — teachers in the schools and ministers in their parishes. However, occasionally a minister may visit the school for some special purpose such as speaking at the weekly assembly or 'Week of Prayer' series, or to provide tuition in a specially arranged 'baptismal class' for students who are members of their particular congregation and who wish to prepare for baptism and thus formally become a Seventh-day Adventist.

Teachers and ministers tend to stereotype and criticise one another as groups rather than considering the individuals. There are occasions in Adventist life when teachers and ministers are thrown together, and it is at such times that the tension manifests itself in enthusiastic discussion within each group at the informal level. A particular situation that fosters ill-feeling is that which centres on the organisation and conduct of the traditional Adventist
'camp-meeting' or 'camp', as it is commonly called, together with the 'workers' retreat'. The camp-meeting is an annual convention conducted in the interests of SDA's living within the region of the 'local conference'. For some time this has been convened in the far north of the state, extending over the first week of one of the mid-year school vacations. Those attending the camp live in tents or caravans, with religious meetings and other activities being conducted for the various age groups throughout the day and evening in large marquees. All conference employees are required to attend and share in the wide range of responsibilities involved with the camp programme. For some years, on the weekend immediately before the camp, on the same location, 'the conference' (as the employing body is termed by all employees) has convened an annual 'retreat' for its teachers, ministers, literature-evangelists and administrative personnel from the conference office, together with their respective wives or husbands. This is intended to provide 'spiritual enrichment' and to foster a sense of 'cohesiveness and belonging' to a 'unified body of workers'. Each retreat features a guest speaker – sometimes a noted minister, sometimes a member of the teaching profession. However, despite the intention of fostering unity, commitment and positive morale, these events appear to be largely counterproductive for teachers.

Because this work occupies a number of weeks prior to the school vacation to complete, responsibility for the erection of tents and the preparation of the facilities for these events always falls to the clergy alone. Although most of the ministers accept the impracticality of teachers being involved in this preparation work, many feel that 'teachers get it easy'. Teachers are expected to assist in the initial stages of the dismantling of the facilities at the end of camp which
is a much quicker process. However many ministers object to the
majority of teachers who manage to 'slip away' to retrieve whatever
remains of the vacation for their private interests.

The most common work for teachers at the camp is leading out or
assisting in the programmes for the children and adolescents - work
which teachers feel is little different from their regular duties
during the school year, thus giving them little chance to 'unwind'. It
is on such occasions that teachers hear reports of criticism from some
ministers, claiming that teachers do not 'pull their weight'. An
informant who is a minister commented to this researcher that at a
ministerial convention some weeks prior to the 1985 camp, teachers
were openly criticised by his colleagues during one of the sessions,
and the perceived unwillingness of many teachers to share
responsibilities was discussed. This information also became known to
a number of teachers from this school, who saw a direct link between
the reports and a strong directive from the conference in the form of
a circular to employees, re-emphasising that it was mandatory for all
teachers both to attend the retreat and to assist with the forthcoming
camp programme. This sparked a typically angry response. For example,
one teacher retorted:

Let's face it, the camp can't really function without the
input and expertise of teachers. Most of us know that, and we
just put our feelings aside and do our bit because somebody
has to do it. I would still go and make my contribution. But
the thing that gets my back up is that all teachers are put
in the one basket, and the individual is not given any choice
in the matter. I'm forced to go whether I like it or not.
Most of it is only because some of the ministers complain and
put the pressure on anyway.

One teacher at Maranatha High School had previously served as a
minister. Because of his sensitivity to both sides of the problem, he
served as a valuable key-informant with respect to this tension. He commented:

The tension between the teachers and ministers is interesting to me because, I guess, I can see it from both sides of the issue. I remember quite clearly as a pastor thinking some very mean thoughts about some teachers at some camp-meetings. I felt they were just slackers, and I wasn't impressed. I understand what ministers usually have in mind. All through the year, in fact, you hear similar comments. But now that I've been teaching a while, I understand the other side of the issue. I used to experience a great deal of strain and pressure in the pastoral ministry, but now, in teaching, I've realised that there are tremendous pressures that teachers experience that ministers don't know anything about. And the opposite is true. Our contributions are quite different even though we are working together. The pressures are different and we don't really appreciate that.

Although a superficial consideration of such comments suggests the problem is simply rooted in misunderstanding, lack of appreciation and petty rivalry, the informant's comments changed the focus to a deeper and more significant source of tension.

Having been a minister, I also know that some ministers look down on teachers thinking that their job is not as important, and maybe when the teachers speak out against the ministers, it's their way of trying to draw attention to themselves, saying, "Yes, you fellows, we are important!"

Researcher:

Do you think this might be part of a 'status-game' of some kind?

Teacher:

Yes, I think so. In the Church too, from all points of view, pastors are ranked above teachers. Take titles for example. Pastors are called "Pastor", but teachers have no title other than "Mr", "Mrs" or "Miss". That says something, it really does. And for a teacher who has had just as much education, or more, and just as much experience, it has to have some effect when the two professions are related. I've thought quite a lot about it. In most people's minds, pastors are at the top of the pile and everybody comes below that. Teachers
may be pretty high up there, but they aren’t in the same position as pastors in terms of importance and authority.

Researcher:

What do you suggest is the reason for this?

Teacher:

It seems to me that the general understanding is that pastors are called of God, and that lends a great deal of authority to the position. But teachers aren’t, necessarily. I mean, they just decide that they are going to be teachers. Actually, I think we’ve got a long way to go on that. To be truly biblical, they are equal. The pastor is exercising some gifts from the Holy Spirit, so is the teacher, and they are equal in terms of importance. The pastor is going to function in roles different from the teacher—in public leadership, for example, and maybe that’s why a lot of people think of the pastor as being up-front in church when everybody’s present. The teacher is in a position of leadership but in a less obvious way, stuck away in the corner with the kids. But really they are equally important.

And yet, while the assertion of equality of importance in the ministry of the Church is commonly felt by its teachers, they also insist that the distinctiveness of the nature of the work of each group should be understood and appreciated by the other group. However there are indications to suggest that many ministers and administrators are becoming increasingly sensitive to the problem. At the 1985 retreat, for example, noticeable self-consciousness existed, and some attempt made to offset the distance when the combined group was being addressed. On every occasion, without exception and almost apologetically, the terms of address were ‘teachers, literature evangelists and ministers’, always in that order. From the number of comments made by many of the teachers, this was exceptional. As one commented:
We are so used to 'ministers and teachers' or 'workers and teachers', that it was so obvious.

The term 'worker' is part of SDA jargon, referring generally to all paid employees of the Church. However, its usage in this form, whether intentional or not, is regarded by sensitive teachers as a slur on them and their colleagues. On this occasion, the revised form of address was perceived to be an innocuous attempt to offset the reality of the disparate status of the groups and the inequalities played out in everyday situations. It also highlights a preoccupation among teachers and a sensitivity to imagined subtle cues to significant issues. But more widespread annoyance was observed in response to the major feature of the retreat programme which consisted of a series of addresses by a public evangelist from the USA who 'focused exclusively on his own particular work and interests and whose presentation offered little to edify teachers in their particular profession'. It was difficult to ascertain whether the resulting resentment stemmed from the fact that 'a minister' had been delegated to speak to the total group, or whether it was the sentiments that he expressed. For instance, in addressing one's work, he insisted that 'time is a talent to be used efficiently, and for which we must all ultimately give an account to God'. However he stressed that 'overwork is a sin' and is a reflection of 'poor organisation of priorities' on the part of the individual. He added that 'when we get our priorities straight, the frustration will go out of our lives'. Teachers, many of whom had just experienced 'a hectic term', felt that he was articulating the endemic ministerial lack of understanding of the complexity and difficulty, and even the nature, of their job. One disgruntled teacher commented:
Retreat was a total disaster. You can’t bring in a whole heap of teachers who don’t want to be here anyway, and hit them with that.

Another added:

He made it sound like there’s something wrong with my will and self-control. He makes it sound like we have control over everything that crowds in on our time, and we should be able to do something about it. He just tried to make us feel faulty and guilty.

Despite the attempts to offset the relative domination by ministerial interests, the organisers exposed themselves to further criticism concerning their choice of personnel to lead out in some of the activities of the retreat. One teacher observed:

It’s supposed to be a minister and teachers’ retreat. Even when it came to Sabbath School (i.e. a meeting regularly convened on the Sabbath involving groups discussing a prepared Bible topic) the whole sixteen people who led out in the lesson discussions were ministers. Not a single teacher among them! We are supposed to be competent to teach kids Bible in the classroom. Aren’t we good enough to function anywhere else?

One of the teachers present is known to have voiced his protest to a conference official responsible for the organisation of the retreat but the remainder appear to have ‘suffered in silence’. On one hand some say, ‘What is the use complaining? It’s not going to change anything. Nobody ever takes any notice’, while on the other hand, many are reluctant to comment openly for fear of earning the reputation of being ‘stirrers’, which might ultimately ‘go against them’. Consequently the situation and tension continues relatively unchanged and unresolved from year to year.

Some teachers are also critical of ministers’ unwillingness to share in the pastoral care of the young people when it involves
confrontation and sanctions for unacceptable or illegal behaviour. The following vignette typifies the tendency.

A local minister of the Church approached the principal and deputy principal of Maranatha expressing concern over the fact that a group of youth from the town, some of whom were students of this school, were known to be involved in the regular use of drugs. The minister suggested that he and the school administration needed to 'get together to deal with the problem'. In response, the minister was asked to name the individuals concerned. However the request met with adamant refusal on the grounds that the young people concerned had become aware of his knowledge of their identities and activities, and if approached by the school would assume that he had 'betrayed them'. He justified his silence by arguing that it would damage his relationship with them and would encourage their alienation from the church community. He wanted 'to keep open the channels of communication'. In response, it was suggested to him that this was hardly 'working together'. However he continued his defense:

Our roles are different. Your role is more that of the policeman, bringing the kids to some form of justice. They understand that is your role. But ours is a pastoral, redemptive role, providing counsel, guidance and support, and we can't afford to see that image broken down, otherwise we will lose them. Our roles are very different.

Lengthy discussion ended in stalemate. The matter was not raised again, and the drug problem was never dealt with as a joint operation. Instead it fostered further strong resentment on the part of a number of teachers who became aware of the incident. It is the commonly held view of teachers that many ministers who, for fear of losing popularity or fostering opposition, refrain from confronting the church constituency over issues relating to the increasing rejection
of traditional behavioural standards of SDA lifestyle. Staffroom talk often highlights instances to support this phenomenon, particularly in standards of 'dress and adornment'. Traditionally Adventists have refrained from wearing heavy jewellery and facial cosmetics in the name of 'Christian modesty'. Although this principle has been explicitly affirmed by the Church (Church Manual, 1963:202) and is reaffirmed in the educational policy (Education Leaflet, No. 51, Item 4.l) there has been a marked change in such practices in recent years, and heavy cosmetics and jewellery once frowned upon in SDA culture are being worn by increasing numbers of women in the Church. Similarly, although the wearing of jewellery by SDA males has not previously been an issue, the wearing of chains and bracelets, for example, is becoming increasingly observable. The problem comes for teachers who are expected to resist this change and enforce these standards in the context of school uniform requirements, particularly if their own personal views have also undergone a degree of change. Some students feel the school is unfair to deny them something which they feel is now condoned by the Church, albeit by default. Teachers feel angry because they feel that most ministers are purposely closing their eyes to the issue, while the burden of policing it is once again left to them.

Ministerial Domination of Teachers’ Lives and Careers

SDA teachers are consciously aware of many of the implications of ministerial domination of their occupational conditions and many, to some extent at least, perceive the magnitude of the impact upon their lives and careers. However scarcely any are optimistic of breaking 'the nexus between ministers and teachers', or as one teacher aptly
described it, 'cutting the Gordian knot'. The sentiments commonly shared by teachers were summarised in the following statement:

While ever our financial and social status and our working conditions are governed directly in relation to what ministers receive, we are nothing more than second-rate employees, subservient to them and their whims and fancies. It denies us the integrity due to competent and responsible professionals.

Researcher:

Could you expand on what you are referring to?

Teacher:

Well, the fact that the salaries of all workers in the Church, not only teachers, are stated as a percentage of what an ordained pastor gets. Why should their wage be the benchmark for everyone else whose work is quite different? And why should they receive some of the financial perks that we don't get. It's just another way of saying who is most important.

Examination of published working policies indicate that the observation is valid. In some cases in recent years the rigid tie that once existed has been relaxed, for example, for financial allowances for some items of teaching equipment. However, generally speaking, the disparity between ministers and teachers, and thus, between the Church and the school, is reflected and maintained in differential pay-scales which are indexed in relation to the wage of an ordained minister. One teacher described it as 'the insult of the difference'.

Teachers appear to be preoccupied with the sense of domination. On a number of occasions when innovations, policies and school practice were being discussed by teacher groups, the researcher noted a theme being articulated repeatedly - 'But what will the ministers say?' On such occasions, teachers have cited instances from their past
experience that reflect the power of ministers to control teachers' working conditions. Although these instances often originate in other SDA schools in which they have served, teachers carry the memory with them and it strongly colours their assessment of current conditions. For example, two teachers at Maranatha who had previous taught together at an SDA boarding school reminded one another bitterly of how, one year, they had been obliged to remain on duty at that school during half of their mid-year vacations carrying out menial maintenance work, the reason being that the local conference ministers had collectively objected to the holidays teachers were getting that ministers didn't get. These ministers had instigated a board action that denied teachers in that school full vacation leave.

Organisational structures also mediate the acquisition of status by teachers by controlling 'ordination' and its perceived privileges. A respondent cited earlier made reference to the fact that ordained ministers are ascribed the title, 'Pastor'. In the past this title has commanded great respect among Adventists. Apart from appointments to specific roles in the organisation, it is the highest formal status that can be conferred on any of its members. It has been mainly reserved for members of the clergy after a probationary period. However, it has been a practice in the past for some teachers who were principals of major institutions such as boarding schools and colleges to be nominated for ordination. However during 1985 it became known to teachers that this practice would not longer continue. Ordination was to be reserved for those engaged strictly in the ministry of 'soul winning'. One teacher retorted:

Isn't our work 'ministry' any more? I thought the saving of the souls of our kids is what we are really on about in Adventist education.
However most of the teachers observed discussing the change perceived political implications behind it.

Despite the obstacles inherent in the nexus that exists between these groups, many teachers express genuine concern and a wish for a resolution to the problem through open discussion and cooperation. For example, when teachers were being canvassed for suggestions for topics to be included in the 1987 Retreat agenda, one teacher submitted the suggestion:

How can we foster more cooperation between the ministers and the teachers. We are tired of the animosity that exists. It is annoying and stands in the way to real progress.

Another was more pessimistic:

It is a self-perpetuating system. We will never be fully accepted and never be set free. We’re not stagnant, we’re moving backwards. Instead of learning from our mistakes, we’re repeating them. For some reason we’re scared to open it up for discussion.

However while observations indicate that there is, at times, a tendency towards militancy at the ‘grass roots’, the hegemony of the situation remains intact. The reason seems to be grounded in one teacher’s reflection:

We don’t want to think like unionists, even though we need to get our case together. We would never resort to industrial action, because that would somehow degrade the Lord’s work to nothing different to a secular organisation. I feel guilty even contemplating it!

It is more than passing interest to this study that, although some teachers 'fall by the wayside' and relinquish their employment, a larger number choose to remain to 'grin and bear it'.
VII. DISCUSSION

The last section has examined the dynamics in the relationships that exist between the clergy of the Church and its teachers. In the view of both the administration and the constituency, both groups bear distinct but equally important responsibilities. However, the data suggests that this attributed status is superficial. Although many of the teachers appear to enjoy a degree of cordial interaction with some of the clergy, this cordiality has distinct limits. Underlying the relationships between the two groups is a covert sense of mutual resentment. Although this resentment tends to surface in the context of discussions on the perceived relative conditions of employment, remuneration, holidays and the nature of their respective roles and works demands, the chapter suggests that the problem has deeper political implications reflected in the ability of the ministry to maintain control over financial rewards and material fringe benefits, social titles and status, hiring and firing of school personnel, and imposes restraint and control over action within the SDA school which is a major institution in the life of the Church and one in which most ministers have little experience and expertise. The section also portrays teachers in a contradictory location by virtue of the institutional controls over their action, despite their expertise and familiarity with the demands of students and teaching.

However, it is significant to note that, in this case, the exercise of institutional power is both physical and intellectual and moral, following closely after Gramsci's notion of hegemony (1971). In this case, the relative consent and acquiescence that produces apparent stability owes its strength to the deep cultural/religious mores that originate in the organisation's history and the power
assumed by its ecclesiastical leaders from the beginning. Because it has been an integral part of the culture into which its members have been socialised in the past, the apparent legitimacy has been taken for granted and has remained relatively uncontested. In the case of the Adventist school, a state of hegemony or 'lived dominance' has been maintained in which teachers have consented to the perpetuation of a bureaucratic control structure that has oppressed their action, both personally and professionally. The situation represents a form of ideological domination which resembles Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence. That is, it recognises the use of 'power which manages to impose meanings and impose them as legitimate, by masking the relations of power which are the basis of its force' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:4).

However while critical reflection results in the clear identification of coercive power structures, participant-observation suggests that this is by no means the result of cold, calculating conspiracy on the part of the clergy. Collectively, the clergy do share a sincere and honest concern for what they perceive to be the best interests of the organisation. But their perceptions are informed by a different reality from that of teachers.

While much appears to be taken for granted and complied with in the Adventist community, there are distinct indications in the 1980's of growing awareness and militancy among teachers aimed at assisting their equality and dignity. But the ideological strength of a blend of cultural assumptions and personal anxieties obstruct that awareness. The traditional status of the clergy, the fear of repercussions and a sense of 'guilt' that accompanies the desire to oppose it undermine any prospects for liberation. Thus the hegemonic relations appear to be endorsed, maintained and reinforced by silence and inaction.
But while open, successful contestation of control appears to have been relatively minimal, the status and power of the ministry has, nevertheless, declined in recent years from other apparent causes. As Connell argues, 'control is never total' (1977:207).
CHAPTER 7

TEACHERS’ VIEWS OF SDA MISSION

I. INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters have examined the message systems of Adventist education from an official perspective as projected through philosophy statements, published documentation and administrative structures. Analysis of this material shows it to be relatively consistent with a sectarian religious view of knowledge, the principles of transmission and the way these mechanisms mediate social relationships both within the group and between wider society.

However a significant factor determining whether the aims and intentions of the organisation are attainable is the degree to which views of the teachers themselves align with the official agendas and/or the extent to which the organisation can control these teachers. The critical view of human agency adopted in this thesis allows for the potential penetration and contestation of aspects of cultural production perceived to be contradictory. Such contestation is a potentially transformative force. As was argued in Chapter 2, there is a direct relationship between the world-view, the classroom ideals and the structured decisions of the individual teacher (Scheinfeld and Messerschmidt, 1979). That is, teachers are creators and mediators of culture, both consciously and unconsciously. This chapter attempts to define the basic teaching paradigms that inform the curricular decisions, the pedagogical actions and evaluation
strategies of the teachers at this school, and in so doing, makes a comparison with the formal message systems of the school discussed earlier. The chapter then reflects on the implications with respect to potential cultural continuity or transformation.

II. PERCEPTIONS OF A 'TEACHING MINISTRY'

It is part of the long-established daily ritual for teachers in Adventist schools to commence each day with 'staff worship'. At A.H.S. this takes the form of a brief devotional talk on a topic chosen by one of the teachers who is rostered to this task for a week. This talk is then followed by a prayer offered either by the speaker or another teacher. These prayers are not liturgical, formally prescribed prayers, but rather are of a spontaneous nature which usually echo the sentiments of the talks that precede them. Frequently the thoughts expressed during the discourse stimulate discussion, sometimes disagreement and argument if the subject matter is of a provocative and contentious nature. Teachers agree that a spirit of 'openness' has come to prevail during this daily appointment in recent years. These occasions are characterised by a high degree of self-consciousness and introspection that reflect individual teacher's perceptions of what constitutes the work and expectations of Adventist teachers. During the study, these expressions tended to cluster into significant themes that appear to dominate the consciousness of many teachers and determine their practice to such an extent that they are suggestive of an apparently shared basic teaching paradigm. To the visitor they provide an over-arching impression of what it means to be an SDA teacher, that is, their perceptions of the teacher's role, and their assumptions about knowledge, the learner, learning and pedagogy.
Adventist teachers express strong convictions of vocation and commitment to a distinct role of 'ministry' that is consistent with an evangelical Christian servant-ethic. The language and metaphors of Harry Beaumont's prayer reflect a self-abnegatory response of personal role and mission on one hand, complemented by a needs-based view of the individual student on the other. He prayed:

... We thank you that we have all been called to this important task, and that we have been able to respond and devote our lives to your service in ministering to the needs of these students. We are not working for monetary gains, but for you. May we gain satisfaction from seeing your work being done.

Adventist teachers place great emphasis and faith in a 'transmission-by-example' model of teaching which they believe underpins all pedagogical practice. Thus as Jim Naylor insisted in one of his worship talks, one of the main tasks of Christian teachers is 'to reflect Christ to the young people in all facets of life and activity, and that means knowing Christ ourselves'. Later he prayed:

... Help the students to recognise us not merely as academic specialists but spiritual leaders, and in seeing us, may they catch a glimpse of you. Help us to find opportunities throughout this day to present spiritual values, not only in our Bible classes, but in our Maths or Science, in our conversations round the school, in whatever we do for you. Even when we cannot speak directly, may our lives have an impact for good upon our students because they sense something positive and worth having for themselves, so that our ministry for you today will be successful.

Such comments are a reflection of what Adventist educators describe as 'the hidden curriculum'. (Not to be confused with the use of the term in critical literature, although sharing similar basic connotations of indirect learning). Integral with this concept is the notion of a positive, consistent, holistic 'role modelling' of life-style and values. This perspective appears to be a firmly entrenched theme in
the consciousness of the majority of Adventist teachers who regard it as an indispensably factor in successful transmission. During the last decade this concept has been re-emphasised in the adoption and proliferation of the term, 'integration of faith, learning and practice'. Anne Strong expressed it this way:

... Help us, by our example, to make what we have attractive to these young people. May they see us doing what they hear us saying. May it convince them that we have something that is of value, that they will follow it and gain eternal life.

In a similar vein, Robert Conway’s prayer highlights apparent sensitivity and pastoral concern commonly expressed which reflect assumptions about an ideal relationship between the teacher and pupil:

... Lord, we know that many of these kids are experiencing problems of many different kinds and do not know which way to turn. Help us to be sensitive to the needs of our students, and may we always be supportive of them.

At this school, teachers commonly professed a sense of responsibility for their students beyond the bounds normally expected by the general public. These teachers appear to take this responsibility for granted as an intrinsic part of their vocation. In the words of Joan Duckworth:

... These children are our responsibility. We are like parents to them. Lord, they come from many and varied backgrounds, many from broken homes where they do not get the support they need. May we provide the help they need and guide them to make the right decisions.

Such expressions imply particular assumptions about the learner and his/her relationship to an unproblematic process of reproduction founded on educational experiences structured by teachers. Virtually all Adventist teachers believe that adolescence is a period of critical decision-making. Teachers’ prayers on behalf of their
students clearly imply a belief in the involvement of all in a spiritual and moral conflict in which 'the world' poses a threat, competing for their attention. However it appears that integral with the sense of vocation is the belief that the Christian teacher can be a catalyst, promoting rational choices, in this case, informed by a Christian ethic. As Tom Southwell expressed it:

... These kids are here to make decisions. We are aware of the fine line we tread as we try to direct the students in a world which is competing for their loyalties, particularly through the media environment and a sick society. Help us to get our priorities straight and help the students to likewise order their lives to bring glory to you.

Occasionally, the prayer of a teacher verbalises explicit sectarian concern for the continuity of the Church which, it is assumed, is dependent on the success of their 'ministry'. Sheila Unwin expressed it:

... Help us to train these students 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord'. We know that if time lasts, these young people will be the leaders and the Church of tomorrow.

Teachers' Perspectives of Education

In the past, claims of 'distinctiveness' in Adventist education have appeared to assume the presentation of an SDA world-view as articulated in the Church's doctrinal statement. Part of this statement contains a view of the nature of man which informs the holistic philosophy upon which Adventist schools are purported to be modelled. One would expect that in a professedly self-conscious ministry such as this, the rhetoric of this form of prayer would reflect something of that 'distinctiveness'. On the surface, these prayers give the impression that the teachers comprise an epistemic
community subscribing to a commonly shared basic teaching paradigm that reflects an entrenched culture founded on a unique body of language, metaphors and myth. Participants demonstrate a form of self-consciousness that tends strongly towards a metatheory founded on functionalist assumptions about the teacher's role, knowledge, learning, the learner, teacher/pupil relationships and processes of transmission. Socialisation appears to be regarded predominantly by teachers in terms of unproblematic transmission. The impression gained at this point is that the 'teacher culture' appears to be consistent with the expectations of the organisation as examined in earlier chapters. However closer examination of many teachers' prayers indicates a decline in the explicit SDA cultural 'distinctiveness' as indicated by their rhetoric. Much of the jargon and many cliches that previously reflected cultural imagery have significantly declined.

Continuing participant observation in this social arena shows that the apparent consensus and stability is superficial, tenuous, and in some instances, illusory. Data reveals instances that are symptomatic of disagreement, disaffection and substructural tension between some institutional views and the personal views of some teachers. The following data is selected from teacher interviews or statements made by teachers in interviews or in statements and conversations of some teachers in the course of day-to-day social interaction, probing the themes emerging from the data cited above to throw light on their assumptions relating to curricula, pedagogy, evaluation and institutional management.

In an interview, a senior teacher, Bruce James, was asked to explain what it means for him to be a teacher in an Adventist school. In his own estimation, Bruce regarded himself as 'conservative' and he
responded in terms consistent with a conservative fundamentalist ethic:

I see myself in a dual role—first, to prepare my students for a Christian life which means a life of service to God and our fellow man on earth, and second, to give them an understanding of the motivation for Christianity and why we appreciate and respond to God in the way we do, and what are our hopes, aspirations and our total perspective of our relationship to God and man and the world in which we live. I think it is essential that we fulfil this role. If we are not prepared to meet these expectations, then why are we here?

Researcher:

I've often heard you and others refer to the 'distinctiveness' of Adventist education. In what ways do you perceive it as different from other forms of education?

Teacher:

Well first, because we believe that a purely secular education is inadequate. We have an educational philosophy that requires a balanced curriculum which provides for the harmonious development of the whole person. Second, because we believe that the school should support and reinforce the beliefs, practices and lifestyle that are presented in the home and church. Evangelism should start at home with the children of our own church families. We believe in the ultimate restoration of man through the acceptance of Christ, as being the true aim of education and salvation. And finally, because we believe that we have a special purpose, calling and doctrine, and because we recognise that the Lord is coming soon, we want to transmit that commitment to the next generation so they can also share in that work. All of these reasons are Bible-based, and this fact justifies and provides impetus for the establishment of a whole system of education in which the teachings of the Bible take a prime place. This satisfies the philosophical demand for a reason why we teach Bible in our schools.

However only a few teachers are able to articulate their perspectives as lucidly as Bruce James. Nevertheless, the majority subscribe theoretically to a notion of a holistic, integrated curriculum. However many are quick to acknowledge problems and frustration in the attempt. Jim Naylor's view is typical of many of his colleagues.
I would like to think that I am doing more than just dealing with my subject area and teaching kids secular knowledge. Unfortunately, that's what I seem to be concentrating on mostly but I'd like to think that I'm influencing, affecting kids' lives in Christian ideals. Lifting them, moulding them to some extent. I wish I could do more than that but I feel I'm not very successful in achieving it.

When asked the reason for the lack of 'success', he responded:

The classroom is a 'pressure cooker' in which I'm expected to produce kids who will do well in external examinations. We give priority to that rather than to the kind of student coming out as far as values and character are concerned. We love to idealise and put our fancy philosophies at the beginning of our teaching programmes and talk about the all-round development that we feel the community demands. It's nice to aim for that, but really, the thing they are interested in first up is that the school shall do well academically. And when it doesn't, the waves of criticism come, even though the kids may be doing all the right things in terms of values and morals and are active in the Church. But if they haven't performed well academically, they're not successful!

Recent years have seen increasing expressions of concern that, rather than representing an integrated, holistic approach to education, is 'just a state curriculum with Bible tacked on'. One teacher commented, 'It's time we thought of a totally Adventist curriculum that is free of the shackles of external examinations'. Similar expressions were noted on a number of occasions during the study, but on each occasion, a member of the group remarked, 'Yes, but what would be the reaction of the parents and kids who really only want a good HSC to get them a good career?'

During the last year of the study during an inspection, a visiting administrator was critical of the lack of specific statements on personal teaching programmes that indicated how the teacher intended to transmit Adventist values in the context of that subject. The criticism elicited a number of responses relating to the teachers' view of ideal pedagogical relationships. Anne Strong commented:
The view that has been emphasised and impressed upon us over the last ten years is that we are the caretakers of Adventist culture and we have to consciously weave it into every last thing we do. But in my opinion, what really gets across is what is 'between the lines'. We are Christians, practising Christians in our lifestyle within our culture, within the culture of the school, so that in our teaching of science or maths or whatever we do, we don't make some strained effort to try to splice in something in a mechanical, artificial way. Rather we exude an enthusiasm from what we are and what we believe in instead of just trying to tack it on. I think we become role models for the kids because of the kind of people we are.

On a later occasion this notion of integration was being discussed with one of Anne's colleagues who explained:

I accept in principle the idea of integration in the curriculum, but I think it's a bit unrealistic to expect an explicit Christian perspective in a maths curriculum for example. It comes across too strained and artificial. I feel that it is incorporated in my teaching style and technique more than anything else. I hope to present a whole picture in terms of Christianity as the core of my reasons for being and doing and in the way I interact. It's a very subtle thing that comes through in my my reasoning and dealing with them, my explanations even when I discipline them.

The notion of spiritual and moral 'responsibility' for one's students appears to be an integral part of many Adventist teachers' perceptions of education. This understanding appears to be similar to a functionalist view of socialisation, except that the emphasis is not on the coercive domination of individual will but rather the fostering of 'self-control'. Harry Beaumont invoked Ellen White in in his comment on the concept of 'discipline'. He explained:

I think discipline is a necessary part of being a Christian. I think Ellen White's idea of positive discipline that leads to self-control or 'self-government', as she puts it, is pretty close to the mark. And in a Christian school we need to teach our young people to have self-control. And quite often that has to be in the context of rules and regulations to set boundaries within which they can operate. Unfortunately many kids see Christianity as all 'love and
liberty', a 'do what you like' thing, and others get all bound up with the idea of rules and regulations, but they have to realise that they are an indispensible part of the response to a Christian way of life.

Not only do these teachers assert the importance of providing a distinct model and facilitating personal 'character development'. Many of them also share a high level of confidence in its potential success. As one said:

I'm very optimistic... In my personal relationships with the students I think I'm achieving some real progress. It's not that I'm feeling optimistic of my own abilities, but in the fact that God can use me as a tool. I know I make mistakes, but I think that God is using me, and I am guided by His Spirit to behave and act in the ways I do.

The preoccupation with the notion of 'modelling' is so intense that teachers were asked to comment on the amount of importance they placed on it with respect to the transmission of Christian values and life-style. John Field, a senior teacher insisted:

There is no question that you are very much part of a model and a very front line personality as far as students go. I've had kids say to me how much they value the positive attitudes and example of some teachers and they tend to measure them very clearly. I think they also recognise that we are human beings and there will be a few little fireballs and blow-ups here and there, but most kids can handle that if they believe that you as a teacher, and the school, care about them.

III. DISCUSSION

Data obtained from these teachers does not necessarily reflect the rigor and analytical sophistication of a formal educational theory with respect to curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. Nevertheless they do appear to espouse a 'metatheoretical' perspective which they believe informs, both consciously and tacitly, their structured decisions and practice. It is possible to extrapolate from these
perspectives, assumptions held by them relative to the message systems of the school.

At least theoretically, Adventists teachers appear to espouse unanimously the notion of an 'integrated' curriculum. However this differs from Bernstein's concept of classification in the context of boundaries between discrete subjects. In this case, 'integration' has connotations of transcendency by which teachers of secular subjects seek to incorporate a 'spiritual dimension', attempting to foster a rapprochement between learning, faith and practice. Through what is essentially a knowledge-based and, to a large extent subject-based curriculum, that caters for the 'needs' of the individual in his or her personal 'character-building'. This perspective has implications for ideal pedagogical relationships. While the learner's 'development' is envisioned, this development tends to be overshadowed by normative constraints of the teacher's 'model' and the evaluative criteria that it inevitably invokes; a relationship in which the pupil is a relatively passive individual. Teachers are conscious of some of the impact of the competing demands of a discrete secular curriculum upon which a public examination system is founded. But although expressing concern and uneasiness at the implications of this 'theory/practice dilemma', they appear to exercise 'strategic compliance' and tend to accept it pragmatically as a 'fact of life'.

But while pragmatism tends to predominate in the case of the secular curriculum, and teachers' personal perspectives tend to be relatively undeveloped and uncritical, the same may not be said with respect to the formal religious education curriculum, or 'Bible', as it is commonly termed. Relative complacency and acceptance of the perceived constraints give way to more developed, and sometimes radical personal perspectives.
Teachers' Views of Religious Education

Even though 'Bible' is one of the less popular subjects for a large number of students, there is no question in the minds of Adventist teachers regarding the importance of religious education. As one mid-career teacher explained:

All that we do in Bible should be related to their salvation, their eternal destiny, in as efficient a way as possible. The kids are only at school for a few years, and if we are dealing with materials that could be put aside so that we could spend more time on things which are going to help them understand real values and real mission in life and so on, we should be doing it. It comes down to how efficiently we are ministering to them in terms of their destiny, and one suspects that we spend a lot of time on topics which, in terms of Bible periods and how they are used, is not really using our time to its fullest advantage.

But while most teachers agree that 'it is more than just another subject', views vary with respect to the curriculum structure and content, pedagogical styles and relationships between teacher and learner, and the evaluation of student learning. For example, John Field was critical of the closed nature of the curriculum, the denial of opportunity for human creativity and the implications for control.

The tightly prescribed Bible curriculum doesn't allow you any room to move, that is, it doesn't allow you to be a true professional and use your expertise to make a judgement. I believe Ellen White was right when she talked about humans having power akin to the Creator, power to think and to do. And she also says that students should not be mere reflectors of other men's thoughts and ideas. I believe that the teacher is a true professional 'at the cutting edge', but he doesn't always have the reins. He's the one who best perceives the climate and can respond to the challenges. I believe that the average teacher who cares about his kids and has their future very much at heart is in a far better position to assess those kids' needs - to determine what's going to make those kids come round, what's going to affect them, what's going to help them - far better than some distant bureaucrat who, despite the best intentions, has decreed that you do such and such, but with no effectiveness. Surely the area of Bible needs looking at. After all, it is, in a sense, the most important thing you are going to teach
in terms of eternity. There is no argument when we are talking about the HSC and surely it's a lot more important than that.

In a private conversation, Joe Grey took these sentiments one step further as he expressed strong convictions about a perceived lack of relevance for students in parts of the prescribed Bible curriculum. In Joe's mind, as is true of a number of his colleagues, the question is not with the Scriptures themselves as a primary source but rather with the imposition of institutional control over some of the perspectives, interpretations and content of the curriculum itself. This issue appears to have become an increasing concern for an appreciable number of Bible teachers. As Joe stated:

I've often thought that it may be worth having a conflict because there is so much at stake. I've found in my teaching that very often the most effective messages you get across, the most effective study, the most involvement you have person to person with your class-members occur when you are actually looking at the great issues of life which affect them personally, and which they see coming out of their study of ordinary people in the Bible, and even Christ himself - the emotions and feelings of these people as they get involved with one another. And I think any discussion in high school where you are relating simply to doctrinal matters, is getting away very much from the realities of life. Life is very fragile for the teenager, and I think anything that smacks of plain study of doctrinal issues which are not relevant to the 'nuts and bolts' of everyday life is going to turn them off. I find it very worrying and very sad to think that kids are 'sitting on their hands' and 'sitting on their minds' in Bible class. If we are forced to teach things just because of the curriculum when we believe it is precluding a more effective ministry, then I think we ought to have another look at it.

The teachers at Maranatha are among the first to recognise the resistance of many students to religious instruction. For instance, in one staff worship, Athol Morris reflected on the Church's traditional approach to evangelism and suggested that the perceived disinterest and alienation of many of the young people may be related
to the 'declarative, evangelistic style that has tended to dominate in
the past'. Citing comments from a non-Adventist author, he suggested
that a 'life-skills evangelism' approach might be more effective to
meet 'the needs' of the students. The appeal for 'relevance' appears
to be a quest for more openness and a concern to personalise and
democratise this area of the curriculum to the extent that students
become agents of their own learning, actively involved in the shaping
of their life-worlds rather than remaining mere passive recipients of
impersonal, exclusively given knowledge. Another teacher observed a
contrast between the opening-up of some of the state curricula in some
subject areas, particularly in the junior school, with the continued
tightness in the Bible curriculum.

Anne Benson disapproves of the heavy normative focus of the
traditional Bible curriculum that tends to assume the status of
'absolute truth'. She commented:

To me, in Bible, we seem to set a curriculum that consists of
criteria for kids to measure up to. I prefer to start by
trying to evaluate the needs of the individual kids and then
devising a programme to meet both individual and group needs.

Researcher:

What resources would you draw upon?

Teacher:

I like to use the Bible itself, but not in an overt preaching
and moralising fashion, but rather exploring it with the
class to see what they might get out of it. I share a view
with some others that Bible should be approached just like
any other subject rather than preach religion at them. I
think that turns them off. Another thing about the set
syllabus - so much of it is conjecture and opinion, and a lot
of it doesn't have biblical support anyway, yet we are
expected to teach that as a proven fact.
Although a group's history is a valued component of its culture, and its re-enactment and ritualisation a fundamental process in the attempt to create and perpetuate a cultural identity, the large portion of 'denominational history' in the Bible curriculum is perceived to lack relevance to both students and a number of teachers. As Jim Austin commented:

Things have changed. The kids today don't want to know a lot of denominational history, about who was the first President of the General Conference or who was the first colporteur (i.e. a religious book seller). There is a great slab of church history in the Year 10 syllabus that kids just grind on. It sure doesn't turn them on. We are another generation down the line and there are new issues that kids see as relevant.

Similarly, the relevance of Ellen White's writings is a sensitive issue, particularly since the intensive debate precipitated by Walter Rea (see Ch. 4). However most teachers do not appear to be hostile to her, but rather to the way her writings are used. Teachers tend to see her serving a pastoral function with many of the principles and standards she advocated appropriate only in a historic/cultural context. As one teacher commented:

I think the use of Ellen White's writings in the Bible curriculum are overdone. They are structured into the material in a very dogmatic way that seems to get the students' backs up. I'm not against her personally. I think she must have been a great person and a good leader who even got into trouble with some of the administrators herself when she trod on their corns. But I'm not happy with the unbalanced use made of them. We can use this material as a resource, but we should use it creatively, to stimulate discussion. She said herself not to put her writings above the Bible.

Another teacher commented:

I see her writings as a valuable source, but she is not the only source.
Even so, the declining use made of White raises important questions as to why. The answer appears to have political implications. As John Brady explained:

Over the years people have used Ellen White to bang others over the head with a lot of do's and don'ts in a very negative way. It has made us very behaviour-oriented in a way that loses the true spirit of Christianity. I'm not against Christian principles but they should be something that grows out a person's spiritual experience. Not just a moral checklist. That's putting the cart before the horse and it doesn't make you a better person. Look at the Jews. They had stricter standards than we've got and look what they did.

The sentiments expressed by John and shared by others may also be symptomatic of a covert attempt by teachers to dissociate themselves from conservative institutional authority that is partially legitimated and buttressed by citations from White.

Teachers also share concern over the issue of evaluating student 'progress' in religious education. Teachers worry about the validity and educative value of their assessment. Athol Morris commented:

We create a problem for ourselves when we treat Bible in the same way as other subjects. We examine it, evaluate it, score it and put it on a report. But what is it really measuring? Is it a reflection of the quality of their character and how much the subject is making a positive contribution to their personal development or is it just a reflection of how well they have given back pat answers that they may not even believe in? Does it measure how much they have appreciated it or how much it has helped them personally? You can throw information at them and test it later but what does that prove?

Another teacher added:

I worry about when I mark an essay in a Bible test that is not up to standard. I'm not marking the right things. It can be discouraging to a kid who probably can't express himself very well but whose attitude deserves a top rating. After a while that kid can be turned off Bible because his English is weak. Another thing. I feel uncomfortable acting like a judge in an area where character and attitude is the most important thing and pretty difficult to really assess, and we presume
to cement our opinion of them into a mark or grade on a results sheet.

Because of the perceived problems associated with the formal presentation of Bible, some teachers are pleased that they are not scheduled to teach it as part of their teaching allocation. Nevertheless, these teachers do assert the importance of spiritual interaction with their students in an informal, integrated way. Scott Manners remarked:

When you make Bible just like other subjects you have to construct a curriculum and teach it just like everything else. The structuring kills its because the kids get the feeling that it’s a formal confrontation and they rebel against it or switch off. I’m glad I don’t have to teach Bible as a formal subject for that reason. But I do believe in spending time when something incidental comes that has some spiritual importance or when I’ve discovered something myself that I want to share with them. It’s spontaneous then and I believe the kids can come to see it as relevant to everyday life.

III. CULTURAL REPRODUCTION VERSUS CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

Symptoms of Change

Recent years have seen marked cultural change from sectarianism towards denominationalism in the ranks of Adventist teachers. But whereas some appear to welcome it as progress and 'growing-up', a diminishing number see it as the subtle erosion of the foundations and boundaries which have set Adventism apart as a 'remnant' from mainstream religion. As one mid-career teacher lamented:

There is a spirit of incipient ecumenism. A lot of teachers are beginning to forget what's so special about being an Adventist.
These sentiments were also substantiated by participant-observations during the three years spent on-site at Avondale. One significant indication of the change in teachers' reality was the subject matter chosen by many of the teachers who conduct staff worship. In years past it was a common practice in Australian Adventist schools to read quotations from Adventist education literature, particularly that of Ellen White. Older teachers recall the past practice of reading a section each staff worship from such works as 'Education', 'Counsels to Parents, Teachers and Students', 'Fundamentals of Christian Education' or 'The Adventist Home'—all authored by White. However, during the course of this study the researcher noted the diminishing usage of White's literature and an increase in 'borrowing' from literature originating from other Christian faiths and authors. Thus it would appear that the charismatic strength of White's personality has suffered markedly, possibly as an outcome, in part at least, of the vigorous dialogue that followed Walter Rea's criticism during the early 1980's (see Chapter 4). While open discussion by teachers on the continuing relevance of White is infrequent, some attitudinal change is symptomatic. For example, a worship presentation that made positive assertions with respect to the 'function of prayer in the life of the Christian' was challenged publicly by one senior teacher who insisted that a number of views that appear to have become 'folk-assumptions' on the part of many Adventists were presumptuous and untenable. The incident provoked protracted and sometimes emotive discussion over the following days, indicated by the intense private conversations observed around the school campus and in some instances reported to the researcher. However, despite such instances of explicit questioning and challenge to fundamentalist views, a strong ethos of 'spirituality' was observable among teachers. For example,
a report of the serious medical condition of the school caretaker’s wife following a motor accident was motivation for a spontaneous pause during lunch in the staff room to offer prayer for her recovery. Similarly, it was not uncommon to observe a pair of teachers sharing personal insights into some portion of Scripture that had appealed to them in their private reading. Spontaneous reports by teachers were also frequently noted at the conclusion of staff worship, in which they shared some information or experience that expressed encouragement or concern for the spiritual well-being of individuals within the school community. However, beneath this activity, some teachers felt uncomfortable with the change that has taken place and the disparity that they perceived between the expectations of the various parties that comprise the school community. Joe Grey’s observation was typical of the uneasiness:

We talk of our sense of mission, our sense of gospel communication, our sense of outwardly looking, involved in all kinds of community service to a lot of people—but we aren’t. We don’t really fit into what we think we are. I have to ask myself, am I being the sort of person they figure I should be, so that they can relate to, and see in me something worth copying? I often wonder whether we have expectations of the young people in our church that are unrealistic, given our performance as adults. I think that is my biggest worry.

From the interview data and participant-observations, cultural change is undeniable. Nevertheless, the change has not necessarily tended towards the rejection of religious values but rather a refinement of the plausibility structures supporting them. Nor has it resulted in the repudiation of the principle tenets of Seventh-day Adventism. Rather it has taken the form of raising questions concerning the degree and form of authority and control which the organisation has maintained over knowledge and behaviour. The result
is a group of 'intellectuals' within Adventism who seek to maintain a world-view that is open to reflection and personal critique independent of institutional mediation. As Anne Strong described the group:

In my opinion, most of the staff are committed Adventists. I don't mean dogmatic or necessarily right down the line as far as some church standards are concerned, but realistic and fairly open-minded and tolerant of other people's points of view. A few are pretty conservative but others seem to hold a flexible open view rather than a cut and dried absolute view like we have tended to do in the past.

Anne's assessment was substantiated by the researcher's observations over the period of the study. A large portion of the church constituency have become shy of the connotations of the word 'doctrine'. Similarly, many teachers avoid the term possibly because it has come to be associated with debate and tension of the doctrinal crises of the late 1970's and early 1980's and the reaffirmation of organisational norms for conformity and control. One teacher perceived the trend as 'cold, uncomfortable formalism which repels rather than attracts'. He added:

To me, real Christianity is centred on a personal relationship with Christ. Not a set of dogmas. And that should make a difference to our relationships with one another.

In a similar vein, the concept of a 'remnant' church holding absolute 'truth' has lost popularity among many SDA's, particularly teachers, in recent years. Some feel uneasy at the ambivalent state of trying to be 'in the world but not of the world'. As one stated:

The idea of a remnant worries me a bit because it can come to a stage of exclusivism and isolationism. I think it does a lot to keep us separate from the people we are supposed to be reaching. I suppose it's only natural that people who have different interpretations of the Bible will tend to group
together like we have and hold pretty strong views. But I firmly believe there are some other Christians who don’t share the same standards as we do.

Another teacher in the discussion added:

When you stop and think how some of our doctrines have changed since we started, it’s a bit arrogant to claim to have absolute truth. Even Mrs White changed her views on some things. I’m reasonably happy with the major doctrines we hold, but on some of the finer points I’d like to see some more frank, open dialogue. We have to be intellectually honest and not just resort to a 'proof-text' mentality.

Such comments are indicative of a growing belief that the Church has been too isolated and introverted to the extent that it has found difficulty in interacting meaningfully with a society from which it has endeavoured to keep distant. Although espousing certain beliefs and values which inevitably mark them as different from others in society, many SDA’s, including a number of teachers at this school, believe that an overemphasis of the remnant concept has served to isolate the Church in the past. Among some teachers this attitude has been replaced by a view that rejects the exclusiveness that they believe is implicit in a remnant ideology. As one such teacher expressed it:

What we often fail to acknowledge is that we are just like lots of other people. We often run away with idea that we are a special group that is beyond the kinds of problems other groups face. But we are people just like them making the same sort of mistakes. We tend to think and act as though the organisation is the most important thing and we forget we are dealing with people. We must be honest enough to admit that we have made some mistakes. We are not different from other people in many ways and we’ve got to be prepared to face up to reality and look in the mirror at ourselves, warts and all.

Another teacher summed it up:
There has been a big change in the last few years mainly because people in the Church have started to ask questions about things we used to take for granted and they're starting to form opinions of their own.

But some of these teachers express concern that others are taking an extreme liberal position associated with a cynicism that tends towards intellectual closure. One senior teacher shared observations with the researcher regarding the manner in which other teachers introduced non-SDA material in staff worship. He commented:

Many of the people who take worship have made a special point of telling us that their material is from outside the Church. There has been a conscious effort to say that someone outside has got something to tell us.

Researcher:

Why do you think they do it?

Teacher:

I think it's because some of them have doubts and embarrassment about some aspects of our doctrinal position. The academic hype of the last fifteen years has caused many to see how 'liberal' they could go. Like a reaction against it. Today, if you present a conservative view, I think people tend to feel they will be judged as simplistic, unthinking, conservative, closed-minded CB's (i.e. 'Concerned Brethren' - a group of defensive conservatives who aggressively resist liberalism in the Church). We have tended to associate narrowness and simplistic pragmatism with conservatism. On the other hand, I see a problem where to be seen as an academic and a thinking person you have to be liberal to the extent that you 'throw out the baby with the bath water'. I think that either extreme is unfortunate. I think we have to be prepared to re-examine and rebuild where necessary, but not just to throw out everything just on principle.

In the estimation of some teachers, the situation takes on proportions of a crisis concerning legitimate authority between conservative 'traditionalists' and more open, flexible 'intellectuals'. One teacher
predicts the crisis will lead to open contestation, institutional resistance and conflict producing polarisation. He conjectured:

I think there's going to be a big 'bang' soon because there is a lot of tension at the moment between conservatives defending the traditional culture and many liberals who have reacted against that. The bang will come because we haven't been flexible enough to allow for give and take on both sides to update and reconstruct the Church. We have been concerned with 'hit lists' and purification instead of holding open, frank dialogue.

However others believe that while the official organisational morphology appears to reflect the maintenence of the status quo, significant change is already taking place 'at the grass roots'.

The decline in sectarian consciousness in many teachers is also reflected in changing perceptions of 'mission'. Traditional expectations of the church viewed the teaching ministry as a life-long vocation in response to 'a call from the Lord'. This view appears also to have been espoused by the majority of teachers until recently. Although a large proportion of the teachers attribute their career choice to 'Divine leading' in some perceived form, many are coming to believe that this call is not necessarily binding for a whole lifetime. In years past the possibility of a later career change did not figure significantly in Adventist teachers' thinking and future planning. One tended to 'have faith in the Lord's leading'. However in recent years a growing number of teachers have considered the nature of their call and vocation. As Eric Roberts explained:

I don't doubt for a moment that I received a distinct call to teach. However I believe that it is possible for individuals to reach a point in their personal development where they can be just as useful, or more useful in some other vocation. I think there are phases of development that people can go through. As well as that, even if I stay in teaching in the future, I think I can serve God effectively in other schools outside the Adventist system. Or I can be an effective witness as a business man or an accountant. Even though I
think faith is important, I don't think God expects us to go around with closed minds. We were given brains to use to make rational decisions.

Although many younger teachers view teaching as 'a phase' in their lives which can serve as a 'stepping-stone' to another career, the notion of a future career change is by no means limited to this group. Some older teachers also speak of the possibility, and in many instances the motivation appears to be related to critical incidents, for example, in their relationships with students or the administration of the church's education department.

Part of the distinctiveness of Adventism from its beginnings has been a life-style characterised by pietistic moral and behavioural 'standards'. These standards fall into two categories - first, those moral principles embodied within the Decalogue (the biblical commandments) and second, standards of dress, personal adornment and social behaviour. Virtually without exception, teachers at this school declare, demonstrate and maintain without question the principles in the former category which they believe to be 'God given'. However in relation to the second category, all teachers at the school agree that there has been a significant change in the behavioural patterns among the church constituency generally, and that it has tended to have an impact upon the form and conduct of Adventist education. In reflecting on this change, many teachers believe that the behavioural standards that continue to define the pietistic lifestyle are in need of revision because the value structure that informed them was a reflection of the socially constructed reality emerging from a different historical/cultural milieu and may no longer be considered valid. This issue is the centre of frequent informal staffroom discussion. In an interview, John Field the opinion that:
Most churches and organisations tend to have attitudes and pillars of conservatism or whatever which don’t always stand up to close scrutiny and you have difficulty making young people swallow them. It’s very difficult to prove to them that it’s wrong to wear jewellery for example. Or that it’s wrong to go to the movies when we watch worse things on our TV’s. This is where young people really come into conflict when we talk in terms of absolute morality in some of these things and all they see are inconsistencies. It is my worry that we have alienated many young people over such things as entertainment, dress and particular music. In these areas the standards are very culturally oriented. They are very fashion oriented. The very nature of them changes rapidly and judgements are based on things like prejudice and personal preference. Take (the use of) guitars in church, for example. A few years ago they were regarded by many as ‘the devil’s instrument’ but now they’re more acceptable. You get into strife when you try to impute moral value to some things when in fact there is no moral issue at all.

The increasing incidence of students attempting to wear jewellery and make-up motivated frequent discussion among staff. After one such discussion at the end of staff worship, Joan Duckworth insisted:

It’s pointless trying to justify no earrings and chains and make-up on the grounds that Christians don’t wear these things. You can’t defend it. It’s inconsistent. There are lots of jolly good people, probably better than some of us in lots of ways that wear jewellery and make-up and it doesn’t affect them. The only grounds I’m prepared to make a kid stop wearing them is because it’s not uniform.

One of Joan’s colleagues added a comment which not only highlighted the proportions of the dilemma facing teachers in view of official expectations of them, but also alluded to the perceived reluctance of the clergy at the local church level to become involved in confrontation with their constituencies. She added:

Why should the school be left with the responsibility of enforcing dress standards anyway? I don’t see the ministers doing it. They don’t because they can’t. They just put it into the ‘too hard basket’.
Some teachers are concerned with the effect of what they perceive to be 'an unrealistic preoccupation with standards that are counter-productive'. Tom Southwell suggested:

We've got hung up in the past on terms like 'dance' and so we wipe the lot and the kids miss out on some valuable activities that are perfectly harmless. I'm not talking about 'disco' and 'rock', but I think creative dance and some of the cultural dances would be good for them. We've also shied away from drama because of hang-ups about the theatre. I think you can go overboard like you can with anything else, but I think the kids should have more opportunities for dramatic expression.

An English teacher expressed similar concerns with respect to controls over the selection of books for the library and the study of literature.

I no longer bother to make a request for particular books for the library or for class texts because it is such a hassle to have them pass through the moral screen. I think we can be tunnel-visioned and get hung up on trivia. For example, we can rule out a whole book because of a few swear words. I know of some parents who have objected to some of our literature novels for the same reason when they are really tame compared to some of stuff those same families are allowed to watch on the TV. It's inconsistent. Sometimes we major on minors and evaluate things from a negative perspective instead of just skipping over the questionable parts and looking at them for their positive qualities - what they are, not what they aren't. But sometimes we 'can't see the wood for the trees'.

**Contradictory Location of Teachers**

The location of Adventist teachers within the social structure of the group creates frustration and difficulty for them. On one hand they appreciate the organisational desire for consensus in significant areas of cultural reality. But on the other hand, they perceive that with cultural change and increasing pluralism within the group, differences in individual world-views produce contrasting, competing
realities. They perceive the administrative demands as conservative, closed and inflexible while at the same time they stand *vis a vis* a clientele whose practice, in the majority of cases, indicates the development of a more liberal, open perspective. Teachers believe that, as 'professionals', they possess the rationality and ability to make responsive decisions 'where the action is'. However, they see this action as being constrained by organisational structures that maintain a form of hegemonic control and limit its extent. The remainder of the chapter begins to look at the dilemma facing the teachers and the nature of their response to both administrative and client demands. John Field defined the dilemma in the following terms:

> We're expected to develop the kids' ability to think, and at the same time we've been charged with the responsibility of maintaining the *status quo* so the church can survive. That means we are expected to be conservative and stifle any thinking that goes against traditional standards. It's difficult to do both.

Bill Andrews contrasted the remoteness of the administrative hierarchy with the immediate proximity of the teacher in the classroom. He commented:

> I believe that the teacher who is very caring about his kids and has their future at heart is in a far better position as a professional to determine what is going to help the kids than some remote person who has decreed that you do such and such, even with the best of intentions.

The reason why teachers are reluctant to be actively open, at least 'up-front', became apparent in an interview with one teacher who believed there should be sweeping changes in the Bible curriculum. The researcher asked her why she continued to present the curriculum as it was if she felt so strongly about it. She answered with no hesitation:
Because you have to. I suppose you have to be prepared to do what the organisation says if you want a job. I think there are teachers in lots of our schools who like to reflect and speculate without tying things down. They like to hold a more open view. But they are anxious that they will be misunderstood so they just shut up from saying their piece or gloss over certain things for fear of their jobs. And that's a shame because people should be allowed to think and reason and decide for themselves.

As a result, the organisation has been able to maintain hegemonic authority and control over the action of teachers. However, hegemony is not necessarily monolithic. Although their social location appears to limit their decision-making with respect to official knowledge, they occupy a contradictory location in the sense that they do wield a degree of power over what takes place behind the doors of their classrooms and in their private interaction with students and other teachers. In a later chapter, the effect of this informal power will be addressed.

*Perspectives of Parental and Student Expectations*

Adventist teachers are conscious of the expectations of the parents and students alike and appear to be conscientious and responsible in the decisions they make. However they believe that there is a limit to their expected effectiveness because of the increasing cultural pluralism that is evident among the SDA constituency. As one teacher expressed it:

Parents are paying good money to have a clean school for the protection of their kids, so it's expected of us and it's our responsibility, and we have to make sure that their confidence in us is not undermined. The trouble is, some parents expect the school to do things they haven't been able to do themselves. But let's face it, the primary influence is the home. The school is only a supplement to the home influence and not the main force in developing a child's character. But even when we do try, it's hard because you've got some
parents who want you to teach their kids that it is wrong to wear jewellery for example and then you've got some other parents who see no harm in it whatsoever and get offended if you talk against it.

Another teacher supported her comment, describing how she believed the diverse, competing realities of the parents are projected through their children at school:

A lot of parents nowadays don't have the same standards as when I first started teaching and taught things like healthful living and vegetarianism and the dangers of caffeine. None of the children ever disagreed with you, and if one or two of them were perhaps eating meat, they kept very quiet, whereas now in a class when you talk about the advantages of a vegetarian diet or the disadvantages of drinking coffee, you really have to fight for your position and you have to very cleverly handle your class because the rebels have become very vocal and influence the others. So there is a lot of skill needed in discussing the standards of the Church because there is so much peer pressure.

The social location of the teachers within the sub-culture thus appears to be critical. They appear to stand between the demands of the official administrative levels of the institutional hierarchy and the laity which is demonstrating increasing pluralism and secularism. But while some distance appears to separate the two groups, the problem is compounded by a degree of pluralism among teachers themselves. As one senior teacher observed:

As far as standards go, we are expected to have very conservative standards. But there's a problem with, say, movie-going. The church still maintains theoretically that we don't go to the movies and yet ninety percent of them do, and if teachers really lived up to the standards, they wouldn't go either. I mean, I don't go because that was my generation, but I know a lot of teachers coming out of college that have been brought up to go to the movies. That's part of everyday life, so they're going to have pressures perhaps when they go out and start talking about the movies because there will be some parents who object, as they have already. So you've got different expectations from parents regarding standards. Some parents want you to teach certain standards to their children that they have failed in.
The problem is exacerbated by some non-SDA parents, many of whom appear to regard the school in the same category as some of the exclusive private schools of the capital cities and consequently tend to hold high expectations of it. The careers teacher explained:

I’ve talked to a lot of (the parents) over the years, and while most of them value the better control and conservative values compared to public schools, a number of them have made no secret of the fact that the main reason for being here is because this school has a better record of higher passes in the HSC. They aren’t the slightest bit embarrassed about it, and they are willing to have their children participate in the religious programme of the school just so they can have an opportunity to have a better academic education.

But some SDA parents, while also valuing the perceived social and secular educational benefits, are critical of the nature of the religious education programme. For instance, this researcher was witness to a confrontation between the principal and an angry parent whose child had committed a misdemeanour and faced discipline. The parent claimed that his child was simply reacting to the oppressive control and discipline which he equated with 'religion'. He claimed:

These kids are getting too much religion. It’s turning them off it instead of encouraging them.

In the face of parent ambivalence and challenge to traditional Adventist values, this teacher response is no surprise:

How do we ‘market’ Christian education and get parents involved when it’s so difficult to get a consensus because the community is so fragmented.

Inconsistencies in Teachers' Perspectives

While it appears reasonable to conclude that there is strong agreement on many issues among teachers at this school sufficient to
demonstrate a basic teaching paradigm, attitudes vary markedly with respect to dialogue within the organisation concerning the Church's educational philosophy and significant substructural tension is evident. For example, recent years have seen a renewed interest in the 'philosophy' of Adventist education and the perceived need to 'update' it into more sophisticated form and language. To this end, a small committee of administrators and teachers met in Sydney, Australia during 1986 to undertake the revision. One of the few teacher representatives on this committee was the deputy principal of the nearby SDA primary school. At the draft stage, she visited this school during one of the staff worships and solicited responses to the document (see Appendix C) to assist in its refinement. The response from a large number of teachers was strongly negative and cynical. One teacher made the derogatory comment, 'Is that what philosophy looks like?', while another punned that it was 'a heavy document from administrative heavies'. Yet another commented that it was too long and 'perhaps we could replace it with a motto, or send it to the "Reader's Digest" and get them to condense it'. The principal defended the work of the committee and the document suggesting that Adventist teachers in the past had misunderstood and misused the term 'philosophy'. They have really been statements of aims and objectives. He insisted that 'it is vital to the success of Adventist education to have clear, specific objectives with a distinctive philosophy', and he reiterated the argument offered to this researcher during interviews and cited earlier in this chapter, an argument he also restated to staff on a number of other occasions. He added:

Each one of us needs to examine his or her personal position. We should have a clear-cut statement of our world-view, and out of it should grow a structure and thrust.
There was some support for this position by a small number of teachers, but this tended to be stifled by the criticism expressed by others. One supporter suggested that because of its importance, it could be an appropriate and potentially worthwhile topic at the following teachers' retreat. However this met with restrained but audible dissent on the part of some teachers. On leaving the staffroom, it was noted that two teachers 'filed' their copies in the wastepaper bin. Another teacher in his mid-career retorted to the researcher:

I'm fed up to the back teeth with all this talk about philosophy. We've been doing it for years and getting nowhere. We need to work at the practical level. You don't need philosophies to guide you in your teaching. If you are enjoying a true Christian experience, then what you teach will be a natural outgrowth of that.

Another teacher, also a senior in mid career, returned from a curriculum workshop expressing annoyance that the administrator-convenor had insisted on spending a significant portion of time on the philosophical preamble to the new material. He commented:

We aren't interested in philosophies and airy, fairy ideas. We want to get down to the nitty, gritty at the grass roots where the action really is. We need to produce stuff that we can actually use in the classroom rather than wasting our time on useless waffle.

However this expression contrasted strongly with the comment later in the day from a younger teacher. He expressed concern at what he perceived to be the short-sighted attitude of his colleagues, and added:

I now realise that my philosophy makes me what I am and justifies what I do. Without that philosophy I don't know where I am or what to do.
Yet another reflected and commented:

Attitudes are caught, not taught. What is a teacher anyway? Is he just an expert, does he just present dogma, or is he a facilitator? I don't believe it is unreasonable to insist that our beliefs do affect our practice. You've got to have an aim.

The incident caused deep concern to one senior teacher who later discussed at length what he perceived to be the implications of the dominant attitude. During the conversation he remarked:

We have lost our focus and our purpose which was to carry the last message to the world. How close are we to our goals? Or are we just a shabby imitation of a government school? Humanists have got their act together. We ought to as well. By ignoring the philosophical implications, we are impeding our own progress. We ought to be made to write it down so that at least we have to think about it and eventually the penny might drop.

However those making positive assertions of the perceived need for an articulated philosophy were in the minority, and an undercurrent of 'antiphilosophy' reverbrations continued for the remainder of the year, occasionally surfacing during a staff worship or similar situation. For instance, one young teacher introduced his staff worship presentation by announcing, 'As far as I am concerned, philosophy is an obscure term that doesn't help much in making me a better teacher', and stated that he preferred to speak on 'concern and caring, and living a practical Christian life'.

Such expressions seem to be symptomatic of a situation in which many teachers apparently perceive no continuity between theory and practice. Communication between administration and practitioners appears to have become distorted to the extent that any attempt by administration, whether for honourable motives or otherwise, tends to be viewed by many teachers with a measure of cynicism and suspicion. This 'endemic cynicism' also appears to be symptomatic of symbolic
resistance to the traditional conservative image of the organisation and its official activity. A typical incident which demonstrated this phenomenon occurred in a discussion after one staff worship when, in the course of his comments, the principal asked if any of the staff had read a particular article on the topic in the current issue of 'Adventist Education' distributed the previous day. The researcher noted only two teachers who acknowledged in the affirmative, while approximately three-quarters of the staff responded with cynical smirks and disdainful expressions.

The principal, Allan Bradshaw, frequently expressed concern to the researcher about such cynicism on the part of some staff members to philosophical reflection on the school's *raison d'etre*. He emphasised what he believed to be the importance of knowing these principles in his comment:

> We must have clear, distinct, specific objectives with a distinctive philosophy if we are going to survive amongst all the competing demands and pressures that we are exposed to. There are many subtle influences that are threatening our existence as Christian educators, and we have to know what we are aiming to achieve. Some other private schools have already lost, or are on the verge of losing their identity and distinctive purpose. We can only remain distinct if we know what are our goals and objectives and the reason for our existence. If we don't, we'll be swallowed up.

Allan often spoke of what he termed a 'me too' philosophy which he believed pervaded teacher attitudes and practice in Adventist schools. That is, he believes that Adventist teachers frequently start the planning of their subjects for teaching by simply adopting state curricula and omitting what they perceive is not in harmony with Adventist principles. From this perspective, the total curriculum is predominantly a secular curriculum with 'Bible tacked on'. To Allan, this is 'back to front'. In his view, subject planning should begin...
with a 'philosophy' which constitutes an organising framework by which to select curriculum content. However in his estimation, few Adventist teachers are conversant with SDA educational philosophy or how to apply it to curriculum planning. Allan explained:

I've had staff say to me, "You seem to have your act together as far as philosophy goes. But where do you start?" We have teachers of many years experience who have no clear conception of what it's all about. I can appreciate that because earlier in my career I had absorbed all the platitudes and wrote them into my (teaching) programme. I taught for years but could not verbalise clearly what it was all about. It took a stint of further study in the USA with George Knight and Stan Chase to really appreciate it. They helped me to clarify in philosophical terms what Adventist education is all about.

In Allan's view, this current lack of philosophical clarity and appreciation of goals constitutes a major obstacle to the potential success of Adventist education. He commented further:

What distresses me is that I see so few of our educators, particularly in the South Pacific Division, who understand the real philosophical objectives of Christian education. And that vagueness of what Adventist education is all about, what we are here for, where we are going and what our purpose is, is the thing that is inhibiting us and preventing our real momentum. Although I am supremely optimistic that we will survive, at the moment I feel frustrated at the present lack of forward movement. We are just marking time, in fact in many areas I feel we are losing ground simply because we do not clearly know where we are going.

V. DISCUSSION

The rhetoric and metaphors of the spontaneous prayers of teachers during the daily staff worship ritual reflect a cosmology that closely aligns with that surveyed early in Chapter 5. That is, the ideology that teachers articulate in that particular context represents a philosophical perspective whose metaphysical, epistemological and axiological underpinnings are consistent with, and characteristic of,
the Adventist Christian tradition. Consequently, the teachers generally present themselves as sharing a view which accepts the authenticity of the bible as a primary source of given knowledge. For these reasons they do appear to have constituted an epistemic community. It is consistent with an ideology of this nature that socialisation tends to be viewed predominantly as transmission. Certainly this is the sectarian organisational view for which transmission is fundamental to continuity.

However patterns of change reflected in the private interview data that follow, suggest that there are limits to the extent to which the personal ideologies of many teachers parallel the traditional epistemology of the organisation. That is, while they openly accept scriptural sources as valid knowledge, an appreciable portion of the teachers has come to hold the view that other aspects of the organisation's cultural knowledge which forms the basis of belief and practice (viz. doctrine, dogma, myth, folklore and normative and ethical codes) do not necessarily constitute absolute, objective 'truth'. There is a growing tendency for some of this body of knowledge to be viewed in relativistic terms as a sociocultural product and therefore subject to change, reinterpretation and, in some instances, demystification and refinement. For this reason, perceptions of the first 'message system' are undergoing change for many teachers, at least as far as 'religious knowledge' is concerned. There are indications of significant resistance from some quarters to traditionally strong classification and framing of the religious curriculum and a move towards the incorporation of some personal, subjective, existential experience and rationality as a valid component of cultural knowledge. Some teachers believe this to be more
consistent with educational objectives proposed by White than has been the case in institutional practice.

In consequence, there is a noticeable tendency towards a less visible pedagogy which views learning as a process as well as a product. That is, there is a move away from didacticism and student passivity towards a teacher-student relationship in which teachers perceive themselves more as facilitators and resources than authorities in religion. These teachers espouse a theory of transmission based on integrated modelling and social collaboration rather than on mechanical imposition. For some teachers, consensus appears to be of secondary importance to personal meaning and relevance. A claim is argued for the development of intellectual skills, communication and the relating of knowledge to the personal concerns of students. Thus there appears to be a weakening of some aspects of ritual. Rituals of a sacramental nature located in the broad Christian tradition still appear to retain status. However there is a tendency for the waning of interest in consensus rituals that are calculated to reaffirm sectarian historicity and organisational identity. Similarly, there is evidence of some contestation of authority that attempts to maintain control and limit discourse despite perceived contradictions which raise doubts concerning the legitimacy and status of aspects of taken-for-granted knowledge.

There is evidence of some resistance to evaluation structures which have previously established norms of compliance, commitment and ethical behaviour. Changing views show a preference for more open, diffused and relativised criteria in some aspects of cultural practice rather than attempting to apply notions of morality to amoral issues and establish absolute criteria where many consider them inappropriate.
The data suggests that sectarian boundaries have been significantly weakened. Increasing use of published material from outside the organisation is symptomatic of a belief that this organisation is not the sole repository of 'truth'. These sentiments are endorsed by interview data and participant observation which show some resistance to the notion of exclusiveness. This was associated with a marked reduction of commitment to Adventist education solely and indefinitely. Pluralism, secularisation and patterns of rapid growth appear to have eroded the earlier cultural consensus in the Church constituency generally. These are also reflected in the perceptions of many teachers. For them, it would appear that age, succeeding generations and tertiary education, both pre-service and continuing, and both Adventist and public, are significant determinants in the transformation of the sectarian culture towards denominationalism. However the change is not necessarily universal within the Church or among its teachers and there are distinct conservative subgroups or individuals that attempt to resist the transformation. The resulting tension is contradictory to the ideal ethos sought by the sectarian community particularly in the Church as a whole. But attempts by the organisation's religious leaders to reconstruct consensus and a sense of community appear to be unsuccessful. Instead, their efforts foster the polarisation of 'conservatives' and 'liberals'. This polarisation is seen to be further intensified by the more open, intellectual tendency of Adventist colleges of advanced education that, in turn, are producing each succeeding generation of the Church's teachers. In the latter half of the study's duration there appears to be a wider acceptance of pluralistic personal perspectives although some senior, more conservative teachers do express concern. But earlier in the study it
does appear to have been a factor in occasional instances of interpersonal tension and fragmentation among some teachers. One of these instances will be examined further in a later chapter.

Some tension is created by the contradictory location of teachers within the social structure of the organisation. They see difficulties filling the role of caretakers of a culture in which they perceive a number of contradictions and anachronisms while at the same time endeavouring to facilitate the holistic development of their students. But despite their closeness to the situation, some teachers feel that they are limited in the extent to which they are able to exercise their professional intellectual judgement towards refinement or reconstruction of the moral order. They perceive ultimate control firmly dominated by a clergy-administration that is perceived to be remote from the day-to-day life in the school. While some teachers hold strong views on this perceived anomaly, they are reluctant to openly contest authority for fear of personal repercussions. This reticence therefore serves to perpetuate a form of hegemonic control.

On the other hand, when provision has been made for democratic participation in reflective discussion in such instances as the philosophy revision and curriculum workshops, an endemic cynicism seems to cloud the view of many teachers and they reject the kinds of opportunities they claim to be seeking.

To some extent, this cynicism appears to have grown out of the distancing of theory and practice. 'Theory' and 'philosophy' appear to have been equated with idealistic official action that is remote from action located within the school. 'Theory' and 'practice' virtually constitute metaphors for 'administrators' and 'teachers', each group being relatively remote from one another in the institutional hierarchy. Further, some contestation of authority appears to be more
symbolic than rational, where opportunities are taken to resist arbitrarily 'on principle'. Thus there appears to be a link between the dynamics of recent and current administrative control and administration-teacher communication, and how this relates to the perceived alienation of many teachers.
CHAPTER 8

CONTESTATION OF KNOWLEDGE,
CULTURE AND AUTHORITY AT MARANATHA

I. INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter, the transmission of SDA culture was shown to be problematic to teachers because of: (1) conflict between revealed and examined knowledge, (2) tension between the autocracy originating in the clerical administration and the participatory pedagogy of teachers, and (3) a contest of status between the two 'ministries' of the Church. The thesis takes the position that the students, too, are active agents rather than the passive individuals that populate a functionalist perspective. As such, they possess the capacity to attribute meaning to the structures of transmission and control embedded in the organisational reality with which they are confronted. That is, they evaluate what they perceive to be the message systems of the school. Further, they hold the potential to resist and contest those structures which they consider to be unjust or inconsistent, or which represent a competing reality. Consequently, both teachers and students have the potential to mediate culture and knowledge in the school. The thesis argues that such mediation is more than the sum of two distinct and discrete parts, but is the outcome of an on-going dialectical relationship in which the parties negotiate meaning and reality. The focus of this chapter is an examination of the political nature of the cultural negotiations between pupils and teachers, the characteristic forms of contestation, and what forms of evaluation on
either side actually characterise those negotiations. Further, it
deavour to demonstrate the complexity of the culture of schools,
and the impact of other cultures located in society beyond.

II. STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF 'EDUCATION'

To gain initial entry to student perceptions at the beginning of
the study, and to provide a starting point and orientation for
on-going observation and discussion, all students were asked to
respond in writing to a number of simple open-ended questions (see
Appendix E) relating to their views of: (1) the function of SDA
school, (2) the role and mission of SDA teachers, and (3) student-
teacher relationships. The questions relating to these perceptions
were kept intentionally simple, the purpose being The 283 responses
were considered in three groups: seniors - Yrs 11 and 12 comprising 59
students; middle school - Yrs 9 and 10 with 105 students; and juniors
- Yrs 7 and 8, 119 students.

It was not surprising that a large number of students stated that
they expected the school 'to educate' them (43, 69, 65 responses
respectively). But many went on to qualify these statement with one or
more additional comments reflecting what purposes they believed
'education' should serve. For some, (18, 11, 10), education means
'success at school', implying success in examinations and assessment
procedures that make up the school's evaluation structure. This
was particularly borne out in the senior school where one-third of the
students explicitly mentioned 'success in the HSC'. Closely related
to this expectation was the mention of adequate 'preparation for a
job/employment/career' (4, 18, 10). A significant number, particularly
in the middle school, also indicated that they expected education to
contribute to 'personal development' (12, 29, 10), and 'social development' (9, 13, 8) in such a way as to enhance the quality of life as they perceive it and to ensure economic and social success and survival. Additional comments suggested that 'interest', 'enjoyment' and 'practicality' in a congenial, supportive school environment permitting 'freedom of choice and expression' rank highly. Despite the school's intention to maintain a high religious and moral profile, not a large number made specific reference to it in their stated ideals. Of those who did, (11, 14, 8), it was described as 'Christian education', 'spiritual', or a 'Christian environment' with 'Christian teachers'. Because only 2 students overall made specific reference to Adventism, a number of questions were raised for subsequent investigation: is the use of the term 'Christian' assumed to be synonymous with the 'SDA' cultural form?; does the students' lack of specific mention of religious/moral values nevertheless indicate that they are taken for granted as an integral part of the 'quality of life'?; or alternatively, is the lack of specific mention indicative of secularisation, the effects of modernity and a declining sense of relevance of some aspects of the traditional religious culture?

Certainly students demand relationships in which teachers demonstrate 'concern and support for the individual', 'friendliness', 'fairness' and 'a sense of humour' as 'Christian examples'. They also expect 'high standards of efficiency', 'diligence' and 'conscientiousness' to ensure academic success, particularly 'in the HSC'. Students see efficiency as both the ability to impart 'knowledge to pass exams' and a measure of behavioural control in the classroom to facilitate that process, particularly in senior classes. Students claimed to value teachers who can 'control the class from mucking up' when such behaviour is perceived to militate directly against academic success.
In responding to what they 'like' about the teachers, students made it clear that they discriminate between 'good' and 'bad' teachers and do not see all of them at this school as satisfying the criteria they set. In the survey, the highest ranking teachers were those whom students regarded as demonstrating what they perceived to be 'concern' and 'support' for students, and a willingness 'to go out of their way to help students both in and away from the school'. The question arises, Do students still think highly of teachers who may themselves act from perceived concern and support but who insist on courses of action different from those which students prefer?

Student responses made it clear that, while they appreciate moderate levels of control and order in the school to 'make sure the job gets done', they resent 'over-strict', 'insensitive', 'overbearing disciplinarians' whom they see as a threat to their autonomy. Such teachers, whom some students judged as being 'too old' and 'too conservative', were categorised as 'narrow-minded', 'obsessed with trivial matters and ignoring more important issues', being 'dogmatic' and 'not willing to consider the opinion of others'. At the time of the survey, students felt that some of the teachers represented a 'dictatorship' for which 'irrelevant rules' were 'more important than education'. Students saw this group as 'detention-happy', demonstrating a tendency to 'look for bad things rather than the good'. Seniors also resented being 'treated like juniors' and 'like things instead of real people', while many students disapproved the alleged practice of 'victimisation', 'favouritism' and 'inconsistency'.

Although it is not claimed that these survey responses necessarily constitute an exhaustive portrayal of student perceptions of schooling at that time, they do provide some reasonably reliable preliminary insights into what students expect with respect to the function of the
SDA school, the role and mission of SDA teachers, and the preferred student-teacher relationships. In the first place, the school appeared to stand principally as a preparatory institution to facilitate vocational/career security and social 'success' via the sieve of the public examination. Within this institutional structure, teachers appeared to fill, in the main, a utilitarian service role that facilitates the attainment of these aspirations. Of particular interest is the apparent lack of a strongly defined perception among students of a 'spiritual focus' and a transcendent dimension in education. In most cases where reference was made to the notion of 'Christian', it appears to be synonymous with humanitarianism rather than commitment to an ideology, to the extent that students may evaluate teachers in terms of how much they appear to enable or hinder success as they perceive it. Furthermore, the data suggests that students do not willingly submit to strong institutional control, particularly if they perceive it as irrelevant, inconsistent and unjust.

These insights served to inform participant observation in the period following the survey. Both the researcher's experience as a teacher in the classroom and his incidental observations of the experience of others indicate a relatively bland acceptance of and ambivalence towards the secular academic curriculum on the part of most students. As was suggested in the survey discussed above, students want to be 'educated' towards 'success', and success is measured in terms of attainments in examinations and assessment procedures that grow out the discrete subject offerings. For this reason, the secular curriculum appears to be regarded as a *rite de passage* and 'capital' enabling the acquisition of success and security. However this appears to pose a problem for students. For
although the survey responses suggest that students like to 'enjoy' the learning experience, expressions of boredom and listlessness as students sit passively absorbing the largely didactic presentations of the teachers do not appear to correspond with these expectations. Yet, for the most part, they appear to tolerate such experience and trade-off enjoyment for a 'bigger prize' ultimately. For a large number of students, indications of resistance to the secular curriculum are minimal. These appear to be associated with perceived ambiguity or risk of 'failure' when students 'do not understand' curriculum content or feel they 'cannot cope with the quantity or pressure of assignments'. Some classroom behaviour problems involving these students also appear to be a reaction to perceived 'teacher incompetence', which, once again, is viewed as an obstacle to student achievement.

But some resistance in the context of the secular curriculum occurs in the case of low-achieving students, particularly in the more academic subject fields. In these instances, students demonstrated their feelings with distracting behaviour directed towards their peers, usually with humorous focus, and calculated to subvert the formal class session. On other occasions it involved interpersonal exchanges between student and teacher. Such students were often observed standing 'banished' outside the classroom. Many of the low achievers, particularly in the junior and middle school, tended to offset their perceived 'disadvantage' by selecting subject options in the fine and applied arts category.

The question arises, however, What stimulated students to respond in the survey to speak against 'dogmatism', 'irrelevance', 'narrow-mindedness', and the alleged unwillingness on the part of teachers to allow students to have their own 'point of view'?
Observation over the entire period suggests that it occurs predominantly outside the secular curriculum. For the most part, students appear to accept with little questioning the content, presentation and management of the secular programme of the school. That is, the students tolerate message systems that reflect: (1) a curriculum that is, predominantly, a collection code of discrete fields of theoretical, given, textbook-based knowledge, (2) a largely didactic pedagogy centring on competent teacher-specialists, and (3) a collaborative striving by teachers and students for success in meeting formal examination criteria as a perceived passport to vocational, economic and social security.

However the situation is quite different with respect to religious education and other aspects of the total curriculum in which an attempt is made to transmit and evaluate the reproduction of SDA cultural knowledge and mores. In these circumstances student responses show a marked contrast in attitudes towards knowledge, learning, teacher-student relationships, the role of the teacher, evaluation and control. The data that follows highlights these contrasts.

As indicated in Chapter 7, Adventist teachers in the past have unanimously asserted the high status of religious instruction in the curriculum, not only in the formal daily lessons, but also in incidental teaching in other subject areas whenever teachers consider it relevant and appropriate. Until recently, most teachers have expressed reasonably high levels of satisfaction and enjoyment in teaching Bible in addition to their regular secular subjects. Their comments suggest that the experience has enabled them to develop 'closeness and rapport' with their students. However during the last decade particularly, data indicates that changes have taken place in the attitudes of students towards Bible classes.
In 1986, the researcher was allocated a Year 11 Bible class. This provided him with an opportunity to discuss the problem at some length with these students. Early in the year they agreed to respond in writing to a series of questions: (1) What is the problem with Bible from the students' point of view? (2) Do you share this view personally? and (3) What do you think should happen in the time allocated to Bible?

One student emphasised the feelings of boredom and irrelevance that many students shared towards religious instruction.

It's all repetition. We've had things like Israel in the wilderness and the story of Joseph and so on, over and over ever since primary school. These things aren't relevant to us living in the twentieth century. Why don't we deal with things that are.

Similarly, they no longer value the historical roots of SDA culture. Another stated:

We're sick of studying the history of the Adventist Church and Ellen White. Who wants to know about that stuff anyway?

One student summed it up:

We want to talk about relevant things of today, not what happened 2000 years ago. Things have changed since E.G. White or Noah's time.

Data showed frequent reference to the notion of 'relevance', which, in its simplest terms, appeared to allude to perceptions of practicality in relation to vocational success and social survival. One wrote:

We want something that will help us with the problems that teenagers are facing today. I don't find what we are getting very encouraging.
Two students expanded on what constituted relevance in their estimation. One commented:

Some examples of relevant topics would be employment, the nuclear issue, self-esteem, getting along with your parents, boyfriend-girlfriend relationships, just to mention a few.

The other listed:

... problems facing Christian youth, i.e. temperance, drugs, alcohol, sex, rock and roll, abortion, etc.

In recent years, the Bible curriculum has come to be closely associated with the official textbooks. In secular subjects, the use of textbooks is taken for granted and poses no significant problems, but in Bible, it stimulates a different reaction.

Using the textbooks makes it just like other every other subject. It becomes dry and uninteresting and all you hope to do is get out as quickly as possible. Not enough variation. Not enough involvement.

A similar contrast exists with attitudes towards examinations. In the secular curriculum, examinations are 'a fact of life' and 'a necessary evil'. But in the religious curriculum, students commonly ask why examinations should be set. One wrote:

I don't like memorising verses. They're usually only used for exams or tests and then forgotten anyway so what's the use?

Others perceive such rote learning in the traditional Bible class as a form of indoctrination and managerialism towards sectarian institutional ends rather than allowing for personal evaluation and opinion. One student wrote:

Maybe some people feel as if religion is being forced down their neck and they rebel when confronted with Bible. It
should be based on the idea of Christianity, not the SDA principles and doctrines.

For many students, this is not a necessarily a rejection of religious experience and reality per se but rather a rejection of what they perceive to be a form of exclusivism. For instance, some expressed an interest in ‘the comparative study of some other religions’, the implication being a desire to examine and evaluate intellectually SDA culture against other realities. One felt that it:

Should be a chance for people to ask questions they want to know but don’t get a chance to ask.

Contrasted views of knowledge also imply contrasted pedagogies with respect to the teacher’s role and student-teacher relationships. Although students generally accept teachers as experts of secular knowledge in the secular curriculum and assume a passive-learner role, they are resistant to what they perceive as ‘dogmatism’ on the part of teachers in the case of the religious curriculum. The widely held anti-didactic attitudes were represented in one student’s response:

In Bible the teacher stands up front and talks about irrelevant things that we are not interested in. Teachers impose their ideas and decide whether students are right or wrong and are unwilling to listen to the students’ point of view.

Appeals for ‘openness’ and ‘discussion’ were common among student data. One asserted:

It should be a period where we freely express our views. Everyone in the class should be involved e.g. in class discussion where everyone has an opinion and has a chance to explain. The history of the Bible doesn’t greatly interest me... I think we should discuss certain topics from a Christian point of view. That would be interesting.
Some senior students reflected on the anomaly that they perceived between the Church's repeated allusions to 'the youth' as 'the Church of tomorrow' and their present lack of involvement in resolving the issues which are currently confronting it. For this reason, some students argued:

More time should be given to discussion and arguing important issues of our Church and our contribution to it. We should be looking at the relevance of today's issues because the future of the Church is in our hands and we should be playing a major role in the Church already.

Another asserted:

It is important because tomorrow we will be running the Church.

A dominant theme in the student responses is their perceptions of institutional control embodied within the religious curriculum that denies open inquiry, pluralism and freedom of choice. Further discussions with this group showed that many felt overshadowed and controlled in all aspects of their lives by the Church. Opportunity was also provided for similar discussions and written comments by Year 12 students. One of them wrote:

It seems to me that the Church holds views which are incompatible with our generation. And of course the Church is made up mostly by adults who run everything. They see fit to place restrictions on our every movement, and when we were little kids we accepted that. But now we can see clearer.

These students felt that the Church had set up a rigid structure intended to guide their moral decision-making, particularly with respect to aspects of entertainment, dress and behaviour, but they were not satisfied about some of the values upon which that structure was based. They felt that some aspects needed to be 'brought up to
date'. In addition, they felt that, in the past, they had lived in a restricted society, their decisions had been made for them and they had been inclined to respond mechanistically in ways that were expected of them and that would 'keep them out of trouble'. Decisions tended to be in terms of a clearly defined 'right' and 'wrong'. Now that they were older and expected to 'act their age', they found it difficult to resolve moral dilemmas.

But despite the strong criticism and lack of popularity of formal religious education, students generally agreed that 'it is the right thing' to have Bible class, and they did not wish to have them terminated. But in the senior years, most felt that they didn't need to be taught the doctrines of the Church as the majority had 'been through baptismal class' and they considered they have 'a reasonable understanding' of what the Church believes in. Now, they believe, it is important to think about their problems and the future. The Church itself would argue that the doctrines are intended to answer such needs, but students do not share this perception. Senior students felt Bible should be 'less structured and free of examinations and assignments', and 'more open to divergent thinking in a non-threatening environment' in which they could freely express their ideas. In addition, other senior students compared Bible with their other subjects claiming that felt that it was an unfair imposition upon them to allocate four periods a week to the subject when other 'one-unit' subjects rate three periods per unit. They appear to view Bible as 'just another subject' that should be governed by the same rules. They do not appear to perceive the significance, distinctiveness and primacy of Bible in the total curriculum as envisaged by the organisation.
III. CONTRASTED COSMOLOGIES AND COMPETING REALITIES

As indicated in the preceding data, the struggle for 'relevance' stands out in the rhetoric of student resistance. The frequency of its usage gives the impression that it has virtually become a cliche. While some explanations have been offered concerning the meaning of relevance from the perspective of the students, further insights became accessible to the researcher through a particular event sequence in the latter stage of the study. Prior to the annual Week of Prayer, the guest speaker, a young minister, paid a preliminary visit to the school. During staff worship, he explained to the staff that he wished to conduct a survey to gauge student interests. His intention was to use these responses as a guide in planning his series of addresses a few weeks later. The survey (see Appendix F) consisted of nineteen random statements or questions which represented a broad, representative spectrum of Adventist cultural knowledge. The minister explained that these items represented one of three categories of knowledge or experience - didache (doctrinal teachings), kerygma (spiritual experience) or koinonia (social relationships and work). Items were worded informally to gain maximum engagement of the students. The purpose of the survey was explained to the students beforehand, however the underlying rationale and structure was not divulged to them. Some days later, the speaker reported the numerical ranking of interests as shown on the sample survey form in Appendix E. The resulting pattern clearly shows a predominant interest in social relationships, success at school and employment, while a strong disinterest is reflected in items that allude to doctrines and fundamental teachings. On the other hand, students do apparently perceive relevance in some of the more 'practical' aspects of
religious life such as 'faith', 'temptation' and Christian lifestyle, as represented by items 4, 7 and 10. But one conclusion appears certain; many students do not value or hold a traditional SDA sectarian world view. Consequently, this poses a significant obstacle to harmonious, reproductive cultural discourse in the Church.

Teachers sense the impact of the competing student realities on their attempts to foster the construction of an Adventist world-view. Traditional conservative values are being resisted or rejected by many. A senior teacher observed:

There are those that see my presentations as boring, irrelevant, not meaningful to them, and others who see it as directly opposed to their interests. Such things as Adventist lifestyle which I try to promote they tend to mock as irrelevant, out-of-date, old fashioned, unnecessary and archly conservative. Lifestyle is one of the most important changes I see in the areas of music, entertainment, attitudes towards work, attitudes towards responsibility, attitudes towards choice of literature. Things I suggest to them as better alternatives they describe as boring. The traditional pattern of Adventist values has largely been rejected by the younger generation. They seem to have reached a mentality where if I can't see it, feel it or touch it, it doesn't exist. To me it's a prevailing attitude of modern materialism. The ability to accept something by revelation is a problem in our Church.

For many, the possibility and value of a transcendent 'reality' is seen to be mythical and 'irrelevant'. The Bible specialist reported:

Yesterday in Year 12 we were studying the existence of God. One of the kids asked, What is the relevance of that? I tried to point out the implications for our view of life and the world. I tried to point out that they would face questions in the future where they might be glad they had thought about it. So it is relevant even if they don't think so for the present. It seems to be associated with a mentality that is preoccupied with excitement here and now with little consideration for the future. They don't seem to have any time for the idea of 'hope' linked with the 'Second Advent' and the expectation of a life beyond this existence. Their mentality seems to be grounded only in the present. An awareness of the future is important to Adventists but there's so much more talk about the present that the future and personal accountability is forgotten.
Another senior teacher defined the dominant adolescent culture in the school as subscribing to a 'throw away' society on one hand and a perception in which problems 'should be able to be solved in the space of one "soapie" episode'.

The majority of teachers perceive that a strongly entrenched pop-media culture pervades the student culture indicating the substantial impact of secularisation and modernity. Despite exhortation by the Church and school aimed at strengthening boundaries and minimising secularisation, the predominant adolescent 'idols' tend to be popular musicians, while 'rock groups' and 'heavy metal' are preferred to 'straight music' by many students. This observation is confirmed by data supplied by students in the open-ended survey reported earlier. It is these personalities that many students indicated they would like to meet if given the opportunity. In the survey, only 60 out of 283 students (i.e. 21 out of 119 juniors; 23 out of 105 middle; 16 out of 59 seniors) indicated a preference for conservative personalities and/or those with some religious affiliation. The incidence of 'pin-up' photographs and slogans observed inside student locker doors, on bags and the covers of school folders or written on hands and arms also tends to confirm this observation. In addition, the researcher was able to read many English essays which showed the strong influence of the media in their content, vocabulary and rhetoric. This was particularly apparent also in observations focusing on the creative drama written and performed by students in which the structure and character of the plays reflected a blend of 'soap opera', and media advertising steeped in class-consciousness and social stereotyping. Student responses during class discussions indicate a strong preference for the commercial
media. In fact, very few students appear to make use of the national media. An English teacher also commented:

I have asked the kids in my classes what are their favourite TV shows or radio programmes in an attempt to gauge where their interests lie, and it came through resoundingly, 'A-Team' which is purely a lot of inane violence. And pop music. 2NX and 2KY, they are the stations they listen to because it's constant rock and roll or the disco beat. That is the level they respond at. That's the level they identify with. Michael Jackson, Duran Duran, Boy George - these are the things they talk about. I have a number in my Year 8 English class at the moment doing a project on a topic of their own choice. There are half a dozen of them doing it on one of these pop idols. Amazingly some of these kids come from families where you would not expect to see them.

In view of their attitudes towards the Church and traditional Adventist culture, the student perception of the teachers and the function of the school is significant. An opportunity to pursue this issue arose during a period break as students were gathering for General Studies (i.e. a Social Science subject in the HSC syllabus). While waiting for the period to commence, students were making disparaging remarks about the 'Week of Prayer' series of meetings currently being conducted by a visiting minister. The discussion escalated into a generalised demeaning of the majority of ministers and the Church. The researcher gained entry to the discussion, asking whether teachers were included in their generalisations. This is a significant question in view of the 'ministry' role purportedly held by teachers within the structure of the organisation. The students responded without hesitation, stating that they did not see teachers as ministers. One student commented:

They may teach Bible, but to us they are teachers of maths and science and history. Not ministers. That's where their skill is, and that's the way we see them.
Apparently some students have difficulty in perceiving teachers in a holistic, as opposed to a specialist, role. Some suggested that, in their view, teachers of these other subjects are not qualified and lacked the expertise to teach Bible as well as secular subjects.

However the implications are more substantial than mere teacher expertise and qualifications, but extend to perceptions of the school generally. Later in the study, another teacher joined the researcher in frequent dialogue with students, particularly in his Yr 11 Bible class, seeking to understand their perceptions of the school and their relationship to it. After an extended discussion with his class he reported:

It came out that most of the kids do not associate religion and the school. Most associate religion with the Church and they don’t see the school system as an extension of the Church but more as a place where you receive something called education, even though the school is owned and operated by the Church. Religion and the school in that sense are not tied together.

Researcher:

Do they see the Adventist school as distinctive in any sense?

Teacher:

Sure. I asked them what made the school specially distinctive, and they said, Obviously Bible classes and assemblies. I asked them if that was what they saw as 'religion' and they said they supposed so. They also saw the school distinctive in the sense that they saw the teachers as showing concern and a caring attitude towards their students. When I asked them if it would still be a distinctive school if we took out Bible, they agreed it would because of the caring attitude of the teachers. That is more important to them than Bible classes. They don’t value Bible classes, but they do value teacher concern.
IV. STUDENT CONTESTATION OF KNOWLEDGE, CULTURE AND AUTHORITY

The previous section provides an account of the students' perspectives of the message systems of school in relation to the larger parent culture, the Church itself. That account highlights contrasted views held by many students of the message systems, of the religious mission of the teachers, and of the structures of authority and control. Those views inform the political response of the students. This section focusses on series of event sequences and associated data that complement earlier data and portray students actively contesting and attempt to transform the message systems, thus redefining the teachers' role.

Data clearly indicates that in the senior school, the majority of Year 11 and 12 students have continued their education for the express purpose of gaining a Higher School Certificate which they regard as an indispensable passport to employment, a career and material security. The all-consuming goal is the attainment of the highest possible aggregate of marks in a highly competitive public examination. For most of these students the academic, psychological and emotional demands during these two years appear to place a substantial burden upon them, particularly for those students who have not enjoyed high academic success in the past but who have, nevertheless, remained at school.

Because of the theoretic primacy of religious instruction in SDA educational philosophy, all students are still obliged to attend daily Bible classes and sit examinations during the regular examination sessions throughout the year. Successful grades are mandatory for a student to receive an SDA Education Department Certificate at the end of Year 12. But to many students, the Adventist certificate is of no
'commercial' value. The HSC is of significantly greater importance to them and is unaffected by their performance in Bible. Consequently, Bible has come to assume relatively low status in the eyes of senior students. Because of this, there is a tendency for minimum student effort and low marks, which, in turn, aggravates negativism towards the subject. The school policy requiring satisfactory performance in Bible appears to bear little weight to many of these students and they tend to depend on the apparent reluctance of the teachers to 'fail' them. In one year of the study, for example, one of the school captains appeared to be unconcerned when his Bible examination performance was the poorest in his class, despite his apparent academic potential in general. According to the established criteria, this student should have been awarded a failing grade. However he was conceded a pass.

During the course of this study, teachers of senior Bible classes often complained of students deliberately absenting themselves without approval to complete work from a previous class, sometimes with the encouragement of that teacher. On other occasions also, when homework and assignments accumulated from other subjects, students would frequently and persistently attempt to secret themselves in the library during Bible to complete the work. A similar situation was also noted in the case of some Year 11 students involved in the production of the school magazine, 'Horizon'. These students were frequently challenged for 'taking liberties' by choosing the Bible period as 'the most convenient time' to take candid photographs around the school. The researcher asked them why they did not choose some other time. Their reply was, 'It's only Bible!' When made to return to class, some of them consistently challenged the Bible teacher's
authority by attempting to work on other subject matter during Bible class and openly resisting his/her attempts to curtail such activity.

Although the primary intention of SDA schools is the transmission of SDA culture to the children of its members, the administrative policy of the Church provides for the enrolment of a proportion of children of non-SDA parents. In this way, the school is also viewed ideally as an 'evangelistic' agency. At this school, from fifteen to twenty percent of students fall into this category. But while this proportion of students is assumed not to pose a threat to the school's intended function, data suggests that a relatively small number of such students do figure largely in action that mediates and differentiates classroom knowledge, cultural mores and customary practices. The following vignettes portray such activity.

During the study, the son of a minister of an evangelical Christian denomination was enrolled in the senior school. The Bible curriculum at that level includes the study of the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation and the Church's interpretation of the prophecies contained within them. The enrolment of this student took place shortly after the doctrinal debate involving Desmond Ford (see Ch. 4). Some of the topics in the school curriculum were also issues that were central to Ford's critique. It became apparent that the student's father was conversant with the issues which had been reported in detail in 'Christianity Today', and the information contained in the journal's critique was passed on to his son. The teacher of the class reported that the student overtly objected in class on a number of occasions, stating that the school had no right to present doctrinal opinions concerning unresolved issues. This opposition stimulated similar contestation on the part of a number of less-informed but equally vocal SDA students who actively joined
forces to challenge the teacher's authority. For these students, circumventing the official programme appears to have provided more personal interest and satisfaction than either demonstrating any loyalty to the parent culture or remaining silently non-committal. The unrelenting coordinated 'power' of the pupils in this episode resulted in significant modification of the subject matter. Another factor which appears to have buttressed the effectiveness of the initiating student's contestation was the support of his parents. While the father was influential as a source of specific information to the boy's action in class, the mother appears to have exerted more diffused but effective reinforcement to the power of the action of all the students involved. It was reported that she was openly critical of a number of aspects of Adventist health principles and lifestyle and evidence suggests that other students were influenced indirectly via the boy's social interaction with his peers. The personality of the boy was such that he gained positive acceptance by students. This was reflected by the fact that he was elected a school prefect by his peers in his final year.

In a later year of the study, another teacher encountered classroom resistance with another senior group while teaching the same course. On this occasion a non-SDA girl interrupted the teacher by stating loudly that what he was saying was 'a heap of garbage'. The teacher attempted to defend his position, however the student maintained her resistance. Sensing a 'stalemate', the teacher informed the student that he would discuss the incident privately later in the day. Without an 'audience', the student was less aggressive but would not discuss either the content of the issue or the public antagonism that had been generated. In the days that followed, she was successful in attracting a significant measure of sympathy from her peers in the
form of escalating disruptive behaviour in class. As the perceived cause of the problem, the girl was dealt an ultimatum. This fact was also communicated to her father shortly afterwards during a parent-teacher night at the school. However the parent took his daughter's part, insisting that the school had been 'unreasonable'. As a result, the girl withdrew from the school of her own volition. Without their 'leader', the SDA girls who had previously encouraged her, reacted by passive withdrawal from class activity, sitting sullenly in a group at the back of the room. The teacher reported that although he was able to continue with the course, a group of the students 'switched off' for the remainder of the year. In actuality, the students had gained a measure of success in subverting the official curriculum.

Although these two episodes represent specific event sequences selected from the data over three years, resistance from many SDA students in both senior and junior classes was often reported or observed. For the most part, this resistance tended to relate to the Church's perspective of lifestyle and practices rather than pure doctrinal issues. In fact, even after thirteen years in Church school and socialisation in Adventist families and Church activities, the majority of SDA students appear to be relatively ignorant of doctrinal details. Resistance tends rather to focus on what students feel they are being deprived of culturally. In this sense it is constitutes contestation of authority rather than direct knowledge. Nevertheless, there are occasions when even junior students raise questions based on perceptions of aspects of specific cultural knowledge relating to doctrine. For example, a Year 7 SDA boy often raised questions in Bible class about Ellen White's status and authority in the contemporary Church. Teachers of the same student in Years 8 and 9
also reported the recurrence of contestation. It is of interest that, once again, there appeared to be a significant link with the overt doctrinal dissent on the part of his father outside the school.

The impact of organisational conflict on some students, and, in turn, upon the school, was reflected in the comment of another student to the principal:

Tell us when the Church has got its act together and we might start taking some notice.

Observation suggests that the students see the school as the closest point of contact with the Church and the most accessible route to making any impact upon its culture. For this reason, contestation of knowledge, authority and control incorporated in the culture of the Church, is most discernible at the school level. But although the students appear to be perceptive, their views are not always well informed. While they may be 'knowledgeable' actors, their knowledge is not always well-informed or reliable, and in many cases appears to be a reflection of the contestation on the part of their parents. Probing of even the senior students showed a marked ignorance of the issues surrounding the cultural politics at play in the Church. Similarly, students claiming that they have been 'bashed over the head with Ellen White' raises the question, Is it entirely their own view or their own experience? In the aftermath of the debate arising from Walter Rea's challenge, there has been an observed tendency for teachers to either avoid citing White, or to use her writings minimally and with discretion. (The way in which teachers are implicated in this phenomenon will be discussed further in Chapter 9). During the last five or six years of the students' lives, which covers the high school experience of most of them, much of the debate the has been carried on
among the constituency of the Church at the informal level outside the school, suggesting that some student perceptions of the curriculum are determined by outside influence of significant-others rather than through personal experience in the school. An insight into this phenomenon was provided during and incident in which the principal and the researcher interviewed a student and his mother concerning the boy's uncooperative behaviour and negative attitudes. After some evasive comments, the parent volunteered that her son was reacting to the alleged administrative mistreatment of a local minister who had resigned his position, and that the boy had stated his intention of leaving the Church when he became of age. After further questioning, the parent admitted that her son's opinions had most likely been informed by the boy's father who had recently become alienated from the Church and had openly expressed strong critical attitudes to his family.

Not all contestation is in the form of dialogue and argumentation. In the junior and middle school particularly, resistance in Bible class is often displayed in the form of nonspecific intransigent behaviour calculated to intimidate and distract the teacher or force him/her to lose control of the class, and sometimes, his/her patience. Reports were given of instances where students boasted of having caused the teacher to lose his/her temper, or, in student jargon, 'ripped the teacher off'. For the first year after the introduction of a specialist Bible teacher (see Chapter 7), the incidence of intimidatory behaviour towards the teacher was high in the classes he taught. In one sense, this might be viewed as a strategy that pupils employ to avoid having to sit through what they perceive to be a 'boring' or 'irrelevant' exercise. In another sense, it might be seen as political power-play. The successful deposing of the teacher and
the strong element of humour shared by many of the students adds mockery to the teacher's demise, and, by association, to the institution the teacher is endeavouring to represent. Their action may be viewed as constituting both an acknowledgement of the conflict between the authoritarian and intellectual modes of meaning, and a rejection of the values and authority of the school and the Church.

During the first half of the study, wide student resistance was commonly observed in weekly assemblies with a religious emphasis, and during special convocations such as the annual Week of Prayer. The pedagogical relationship on such occasions was predominantly didactic, speaker-centred, and generally expounding fundamental religious values and lifestyle. In the attempt to provide variety, guest speakers were commonly invited to address the students. The large number of students and the congested conditions provided cover for a range of behaviours that registered either boredom or resistance. Senior students were frequently observed in covert reading or studying for tests scheduled for later that day. 'Survival' for younger students meant 'having a rage' in the form of kicking under seats, intimidating other students, whispered mocking of the speaker as a source of humour, giggling, etc. Speakers who were older, more conservative ministers usually provoked the most restlessness, particularly if they were inclined to use traditional cliches and metaphors. Students were especially resistant to 'preaching and sermonising'. On frequent occasions, immediate restlessness was noted among the students when a speaker moved from a narrative which may have held their interest onto a homiletic phase of his presentation in which he attempted to apply the 'spiritual lesson'. Similarly, students sensed when a speaker was about to make an 'appeal' for a public response to his 'message'. This reaction was often accompanied by an undercurrent of murmured dissent. A similar
negative student response was also noted in assemblies with respect to the Adventist practice of congregational singing as part of their religious convocations. The willingness of students to participate in singing in the first half of the study declined so significantly that the inclusion of music and singing became increasingly spasmodic and infrequent.

On the few occasions observed where the contestation of knowledge occurred outside the Bible class and religious activity, senior students, in particular, insisted in maintaining a dichotomy between secular knowledge and knowledge that they perceived to belong to the category of religion and SDA cultural symbolism. Such an instance occurred during a discussion with Year 11 students during General Studies class (i.e. an HSC social science subject). The topic under discussion was 'racial prejudice and discrimination'. The researcher made casual reference to a relevant comment made by Ellen White in which she wrote vigorously against racism. At the mention of White's name, two students expressed disapproval. When asked the reason for their objection, one girl, the daughter of an employee of the Church, replied:

We're sick to death of Ellen White. It's bad enough having to put up with her shoved down our necks in Bible. But leave her out of General Studies.

Other teachers also reported occasional overt antagonism or general irritation on the part of students in response to attempts to integrate 'spiritual values' into secular subjects. Students tend to show a preference for compartmentalising knowledge into discrete fields.

Contestation of control in the form of stubborn resistance to school uniform requirements appears to have extended implications.
Many of the cases of non-compliance appear to be attempts to contest the control structures of the Church as they are implemented through the school and its consensual rituals. As a means of contesting that authority in the case of uniform rules, students resort to the wearing of jewellery and cosmetics. The tenacious resistance of some students was observed in instances of the same students being sent repeatedly to remove eye shadow, mascara and lipstick, or to have chains, bracelets and rings confiscated. Some students, both boys and girls, were also observed wearing chains intended to be concealed under clothing away from view, but apparently providing them with some secret satisfaction of 'bucking the system'. In some instances, students attempted to subvert the effectiveness of the school's implementation of the prohibition by having their ears pierced and then bringing a doctor's certificate to support the apparent need to wear studs. Some students were also observed taking strategic opportunities to score symbolic victory over school control. For instance, on a number of parent-teacher nights, speech nights and other similar occasions, some students appeared to exploit the 'security' provided by an accompanying parent to demonstrate their autonomy. This they did by heavily adorning themselves, despite prior requests to students and circulars to parents from the principal to desist.

Other aspects of SDA culture were observed to be rejected and contested. Officially, the Church frowns on excessively competitive sport and for this reason has refused to support the participation of school-sponsored teams in outside competitions such as basketball. But despite the school's attitude, students have become heavily involved in the local basketball competition and play in teams generally identified as coming from the 'high school'. 
The school also prohibits the playing of rugby football on the grounds of it being a violent body-contact sport. In its place, 'touch-rugby' is a commonly played and permitted game. However this does not lessen the keen interest in rugby league among students and some of the teachers. The progress and statistics of the Sydney football competition is a consuming interest to students, and a large number of them actively demonstrate their preferences by wearing club colours during the season and become locked in vigorous speculation at virtually any moment. One such instance occurred as a group of Year 11 boys stood to leave a Bible class. Their earlier lethargy was instantaneously transformed by a provocative prognosis by one of the group with respect to Sunday's grand final, and a vigorous argument ensued until they were out of earshot. Students often endeavoured to persuade sport and physical education teachers to allow them to play football. On one occasion, a non-SDA Year 10 student who had spent his entire school life in SDA schools openly berated the researcher when he refused the group permission to play 'proper football' in a physical education period. In front of his peers, the boy proceeded to loudly denounce the school for its 'sissy rules'. This action also motivated some SDA students to rally to his support. The incident is known to have been repeated on other occasions with other teachers. It was also observed that on some wet sports afternoons, games of touch-rugby were sometimes transformed into the 'real thing'.

While a proportion of the student contestation takes place vis a vis the teachers, a good deal also occurs within the student group itself as some students collectively engage in practices outside the school which have been traditionally rejected by the Church. In more general social circumstances, what occurs outside the school may not have a strong direct impact on life in the school itself. However this
is not necessarily the case here. Because of the customary interrelatedness of the Adventist Church, home and school, and the relative smallness of the community, what goes on in the community does tend to influence social interaction within and between each. This fact is also implied in the school policy in which provision is made for serious misdemeanours in the community to be sanctioned at the school level. In this way the school endeavours to maintain visible mores and boundaries on behalf of the Church. It is these cultural values and the overarching controls that enforce them, that many students appear to be resisting. Observations and reports indicate that some students frequent movie theatres in the nearby city on Saturday nights and vacations. Informal 'video parties' are a common weekend pastime. Data indicates that the content of the more favoured movie and video choices tends towards hedonistic values and lifestyles which stand in marked contrast to the conservative values and mores of the traditional Church. On many occasions over four years, the researcher witnessed informal conversations between students in which they discussed what they had seen and what had transpired. Reliable reports also came to hand of senior students sometimes becoming intoxicated during or after weekend parties. One of the key teacher-informants expressed the opinion that some of these students appear to be reacting against what they believe to be deprivation in an Adventist lifestyle.

Much of the contestation reported above flows out of daily social interaction in a spontaneous manner. It is, nevertheless, conscious resistance, but it is not necessarily contrived and premeditated. The data that follows reports instances in which the agency of actors was coordinated in a conscious intended direction.
Instances of Contrived Contestation

In addition to the kind of parental support of student contestation alluded to earlier in the chapter, some parents aid and abet the action of their children in a more overt and calculated manner. For example, one parent who resigned from the ministry of the Church, organised and advertised a 'bush dance' in a public hall. His child, a senior student, attempted to distribute handbills without approval to other students in the school. When contacted by the school administration, the parent defended the action by asserting that he was 'only trying to give the young people of the Church something which the Church was unable to provide'.

Perhaps the most intimidating occurrence of intentional contestation occurred during the first half of the study, during which the staff was subjected to a unrelenting barrage of intransigent behaviour from two Year 12 boys. The acknowledged leader of the two had only recently been accepted for enrolment after being asked to leave another SDA high school for reasons which the staff of this school were never given. Their generally disruptive behaviour, particularly in the library, frequently drew in some of their peers. The behaviour of these students became the subject of frequent protracted but unresolved discussion in staff meetings at which many teachers urged that the boys be suspended. However the school administration was resistant to such action, despite staff pressure. Even reliable reports of drug abuse over weekends failed to motivate the application of sanctions. In addition, the school administration experienced doubt and frustration concerning the veracity of drug usage when a group including these students symbolically ridiculed the deputy principal when they duped him for a time by 'planting' a sachet
of baking powder in his path. During one staff discussion concerning these students, it was reported that one of the boys had privately boasted during a moment of apparent bravado that he was against all schools, but that the school system as a whole was 'too big to tackle'. But he added that the Adventist system was not, and it was his intention to undermine it at every opportunity. The second boy told another teacher that he didn't really want to stay at school, but that his mother insisted on him remaining at school and sitting for his HSC. He admitted that, in actuality, he was really retaliating against her wishes. Finally, after much administrative procrastination, the date for the HSC approached and it was agreed by the staff that it would be 'inhumane' to suspend the students after almost two years and deny them a chance to sit the examination.

Implications of Compliance

Not all students participate in resistant, countercultural behaviour. As has been shown in other studies of pupil resistance (e.g. Willis, 1977), there is a group in this school who comply willingly with the authority of both the school and the Church. In private conversations some of these students expressed disapproval of the reactive behaviour of their peers, particularly during Bible class. On one occasion, for example, a group of Year 9 girls approached the researcher tearfully, asking what could be done to stop the problem. But within the classroom, they remain detached from such action, rarely entering into conflict with their peers.

Similar dynamics were noted in a Year 12 class early in the study. On one occasion the researcher was asked to supervise the Bible class in the absence of the teacher. The opportunity was taken to discuss
 openly the negative student attitudes towards the subject. The invitation to comment was readily accepted by some students who had demonstrated their resistance on earlier occasions. As the discussion continued, three distinct groups appeared to develop - a small group of particularly vocal critics, a large group of ambivalent spectators, and a small group of usually compliant students who, on this occasion, quietly reached for assignment work from other subjects and continued to function oblivious to the enthusiastic demonstration going on around them. Some of the students in the latter group had been already observed on other occasions actively participating in local churches on weekends. However in this instance, they not only declined involvement but overtly dissociated themselves from the culture they perceived it represented. By so doing, these students adopted a form of affiliation or 'attachment' similar to that reported by Connell and his associates (1982). In this study, their action is thought to have contributed to the production of a number of unintended consequences. In the first place, their action militated against the communitarian cohesiveness that is fundamental to sectarianism. Instead, it actively fostered elitism associated with conservatism. Secondly, their withdrawal from overt contestation meant that the predominantly countercultural view was expounded unchallenged before the ambivalent majority. To what extent this view was influential in shaping the perspective of the major group is speculative. There appeared to be little chance though, that the compliant minority was contributing positively to the reproduction of the official culture. The comment of another senior teacher substantiates the observation that the students do not constitute a unified body. He explained:

It isn’t what many people imagine when they think of a private school. It’s a very mixed group. You have students who have come from well-disciplined success-oriented
families, and you have some middle ground, but you also have a large mixture of students who come from the very bottom of the socio-economic scale who have little or no ambitions or aspirations at all. This wide range of aspirations and ambitions is reflected in the cultural diversity of the students here. Unfortunately the lower end seem to predominate with the result that even the good students are sometimes intimidated from doing their best by those on the lower end of the scale. So you have a culture standing out that in many ways is antagonistic to success, to effort, to discipline, both self-discipline and externally imposed.

The data suggests that for some students, outward compliance is not necessarily a true indication of personal commitment to the ideology represented by the school. But it does constitute a form of affiliation that enables students to 'work the system' to achieve their own ends. Data suggests that many students believe that to be seen by the school in a positive light is advantageous on those occasions when they might be assessed subjectively. For example, in an earlier grade, a senior student had withdrawn from the school, and, by her own admission, had rejected the Church. However she later sought re-enrolment in the school to study for the HSC. Her application was accepted on the condition that she re-establish her relationship with the Church, maintain active affiliation with it, and comply with its 'standards' of morals and behaviour. She agreed to these conditions. However as time went on, teachers often reported instances which indicated that she was not abiding by the agreement. Nevertheless, she was given a prominent role one year in the annual 'school service' which is a religious programme presented in two of the district's largest Churches as the main 'Sabbath Service'. The writers of scripts, principal speakers and presenters are always senior students. Some members of one of the congregations protested to the school for allowing this student to represent it, but the school administration defended the student and argued supportively on her behalf. Some time later, it was reported to the staff that the student
had commented to other students that her representation of the school was 'a great joke' as it was only the second time since her re-enrolment that she had 'been inside an Adventist church'. A year and a half later after also completing the HSC examination and leaving school, one of this student's associates commented to the researcher that the many of the students who had also been involved in this particular programme had been consciously insincere but had made their presentation 'tongue in cheek' to maintain appearances to their own perceived advantage.

V. DISCUSSION

This chapter challenges the concept of students as submissive objects socialised by the processes of cultural transmission and reproduction. Instead, they are seen as relatively knowledgeable, self-conscious, creative agents with the capacity to recognise and resist coercive structural forces which they perceive to be threatening their autonomy. In the political activity that ensues, they employ strategies calculated to obstruct, circumvent and transform aspects of the curriculum and SDA culture, the 'mission' of teachers, pedagogical relationships, evaluation structures, and modes of management and control. That is, they contest the message systems of the school, attempting to transform the basic teaching paradigm that has supported these structures in the past.

In this instance, contestation may be seen as a response to perceived authoritarian institutionalism that is engaged in the attempt to promote continuity. Aspects of the religious knowledge curriculum, in particular, are viewed as an attempt to indoctrinate individuals against their wills. Contestation by students appears to be founded on a perception of: a lack of relevance, authenticity and
legitimacy of some cultural knowledge; an ideology and image which has become distorted, pretentious and hypocritical; and an organisation which has become increasingly overstructured, oppressive and impersonal. Although students may not be thoroughly conversant with the finer details, they have shared in the rhetoric of the group in the context of the epistemological debate of the last decade. They have observed, at least remotely, the effects of political interaction, institutional sanctions on individuals and the general unrest and waning sense of community that has accompanied such activity. Some parents also appear to be influential as informants to supplement their children's perceptions of the implications of political action. Although the students claim they do not regard the school as a 'religious' institution, they do see it as complementing the authority of the Church through characteristic structures for social control embedded within the message systems. Consequently, contestation appears to be both a protest and a survival strategy against what students interpret as potential dehumanisation. That response is characterised by resistance, distance and rejection.

The student demand for 'relevance' appears to reflect a 'crisis of legitimacy' for the Church itself, particularly on the part on the adolescent generation. That crisis appears to be constituted by a number of complementary components - an epistemological crisis, a crisis of mission, and a crisis of authority and control informed by contrasted views of the message systems, of the religious role of teachers, and of structures of management. These contrasts are indicative of competing realities which appear to stem from the impact of cultures outside earlier sectarian boundaries. The chapter portrays how students are responding to these conflicts and points to the ways that contestation is occurring.
The appeal for relevance represents an appeal for satisfaction in the search for personal meaning, and the data suggests that students perceive a gulf between the form of religious epistemology that represents the traditional, 'official' cosmology, and day-to-day life in a contemporary world. That is, they claim to perceive a gap between religious 'theory' and 'practice'. The 'ritual' component of the message systems fails to 'speak meaning' to them as intended. Instead, it is read in terms of indoctrination and coercion. However, superficial impressions suggesting that all students engaging in contestation are totally anti-religious have not been substantiated in this instance. A large proportion of the students appear to reflect a degree of altruism that suggests they seek a social environment founded on a synthesis of the Christian and humanist traditions. In so doing, students introduce an epistemology which allows for a degree of subjective, socially constructed, existential knowledge, which, in turn, may pose some dilemmas to an epistemology traditionally founded on exclusively objective 'revealed knowledge'. From this new perspective, it appears that authentic personal meaning for these students is a product of individual heuristic perception and interpretation of Scripture complemented by personal existential experience. It is of significance also this view stands contrary to contemporary institutional perspectives of knowledge, it does show some consistency with a number of instances in White's writings, some of which have been cited earlier (see Chapter 5).

Although some students profess to reject elements of the culture in which they have been socialised, the cultural roots are deep for many. On the other hand, the reality and world-view of the majority of the students stands in tension with that of many of the older members of the Church, particularly some of the senior teachers. However it
appears that the reality of the students is often largely determined by that of their parents. The data shows that the parents may serve as informants to mediate and reinforce student agency. Furthermore, it appears quite clear that there is contestation at the community level itself and many students emulate that activity in the setting of the school. It can be argued that students are, therefore, significantly influential agents of potential change of traditional Adventist schooling. Further, students bring to the milieu of the school the influence of their parents and their own secularisation affected by outside human relationships and the iconography of modernity as created in the mass media, the pop-culture and the 'macho' sports-culture. All these may be viewed as pressures of one form of modernity. But complementing it is another form that sees all social interaction as a politicised form of activity and opens everything to question. Thus the philosophical underpinnings of the image of a religion-centred culture are markedly different from the traditional sectarian perspective. Conservatism, cultural absolutism and socially controlled enculturation are replaced by an open, liberal philosophy that insists on personal freedom to choose and is tolerant of pluralism. Sectarianism gives way to a liberal denominationalism that for some, approaches secularism.

But what students perceive to be 'freedom' won through their agency may also be illusory and contradictory in some respects. In their enthusiasm to contest traditional values, many students appear to opt towards extreme subjectivism approaching anti-intellectualism which ignores the possibility of a complementary relationship between 'revealed' knowledge and experience. Just as was noted in Chapter 7 with respect to teachers, students also show a pragmatic tendency to reject everything official, and in doing so, risk rejecting elements
of the group's culture that may still be authentic in terms of their potential to foster the betterment of life. But because it is associated with the traditional conservative organisation and its authority, it is rejected on principle. It is of particular interest that the demand for relevance is largely limited to religious instruction. On one hand students are quick to contest that form of knowledge which is ostensibly intended to meet all the dimensions of practical living. Instead they criticise the 'dogmatism', 'didacticism' and 'indoctrination' associated with the religious curriculum and culture, and reject what they perceive to be theoretical, remote, mechanistic knowledge and 'meaningless' ritual. But on the other hand, they pragmatically tolerate the secular curriculum which tends to remain unquestioned because it appears to provide them with the immediate and practical needs for social and economic survival. With respect to the secular curriculum, they are largely compliant and are prepared to limit the intensity of their scrutiny in aspects of the secular curriculum which might otherwise benefit from profitable critique. They unwittingly accept a hegemonic and sometimes an irrelevant, impractical curriculum, and they 'worship' technocracy because its prizes constitute 'capital'. That is, they are prepared to endorse the cognitive style, values and relationships of modernity and materialism. Once again it is possible to recognise the potential for them secularisation of the traditional sectarian reality and accelerate cultural change as its boundaries are progressively eroded.

This discussion has focused on the agency of students calculated to change the message systems, to redefine the teacher's role and to promote cultural renewal. As in other studies of resistance (Willis, 1977), this study also portrays the significant influence of a
countercultural group which attempts to subvert the official agenda of the school. This study also shows, like Connell and his associates (1982), that students develop forms of affiliation with the school that reflect relationships between their personal realities and the cultural tradition. In this case, the 'withdrawal' of the conservative student group from contentious interaction leaves the arena open for the 'resisting' faction to make its impact on ambivalent parties, giving the impression that its ideology characterises the group as a whole, or at least is dominant. The study also shows that one form of 'compliance' as a form of affiliation, and the ensuing withdrawal by such students from active resistance may, in actuality, prove counterproductive to the group's goals by creating a stratified micro-society. Consequently a unified, cohesive school community appears problematic. But it is also presents an illusion with respect to another form of 'compliance'. The contradictions and lack of authenticity that some students criticise in the parent religious organisation are no more hypocritical than the pretence of their own 'compliance' exercised simply to appear in a good light, thus enabling them to 'work the system'.

But the success of strategies and the forms of affiliation that underlie political action may also be dependent on the response of the teachers who are the closest organisational representatives to the students. The next section first reflects on the dilemmas that teachers face as they perceive and confronting student contestation, and then examines the character and implications of the ensuing teacher negotiations.
CHAPTER 9

NEGOTIATION, COMPROMISE AND TRANSFORMATION

I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with the problems of maintenance and change, tradition and modernity and the ways in which conflict in these contrasted approaches to the world affects the role of teachers in SDA schools. Discussion has focused on the various dilemmas resulting from relationships between teachers and the Church administration, the pupils, some parents and other teachers. This chapter turns to the modes of negotiation and/or adaptation that teachers have adopted in order to cope with, or resolve, these dilemmas, and the forms of affiliation that they have developed in that attempt. It also considers the extent to which the attempt to fight through these issues has been effective in promoting a new definition of the situation which meets the demands of the various groups but maybe forces a different view of what SDA education may be about, developing new relationships between tradition and the trend towards modernity.

II. EMERGENT DILEMMAS CONFRONTING TEACHERS

The teachers’ perceptions of ‘mission’ and ‘role’ as represented in Chapter 7 are founded on functionalist notions of transmission and reproduction. However, student contestation of religious knowledge, SDA culture, the mission and role of SDA teachers, and institutional
authority poses dilemmas for teachers. For the more conservative teachers, it strikes at the heart of the perceived 'distinctiveness' of the traditional SDA world-view and lifestyle. For other teachers who, themselves, eschew what they perceive to be sectarian dogmatism, exclusivism, institutionalism and authoritarianism, a major concern is the impact of modernity on what they believe to be an authentic, integrated world-view in the Biblical, Christian tradition. Despite some contrasted perspectives, virtually all teachers see their role as being 'spiritual', 'moral' leaders and facilitators. The common denominator is the belief in the 'modelling' of one's 'faith', reinforced by a 'ministry' of supportive nurturance and sensitivity. From this perspective, conscious concern for the 'needs' of the individual students is ideally reflected in the kinds of interpersonal relationships that teachers attempt to foster, both inside and outside the classroom. It follows that a sense of 'rapport' and 'harmony' is perceived to be an index of successful transmission. But while data reported in the previous chapter indicates that most students at this school perceive and value positive relationships with many of the teachers, their evaluation tends to be founded on attitudes ranging from simple altruism through to pragmatism that facilitates 'this world' success rather than that of 'other world'.

But given the forms of contestation observed, it is no surprise that teachers frequently do not experience positive rapport with students if they attempt to implement the official message systems of the parent organisation, as they are expected to do. Some believe that to do so is to invite interpersonal tension, conflict and alienation. Consequently teachers are faced with a dilemma in which they are torn between alignment with organisational expectations on one hand and compromise with student lives and beliefs on the other. The potential
for some degree of change in the perception of either or both parties is implied.

Comments from teachers indicate a perception of a widening gap between teachers and students, particularly in the case of the more senior teachers. One of them reflected:

The older I get, the less I have in common with them, the more difficult it is for me to understand what makes them tick. It becomes increasingly a challenge to me to try and find ways and means of communicating with them. The communication gap is widening and the things they find interesting and exciting, the things they find boring, are remote from my experience and becoming more so. It's more than a generation gap. It's a culture gap between me and them and I find it increasingly difficult to cope with.

These teachers sense the impact of the competing student realities on their attempts to foster the construction of an Adventist worldview. As a result, some have begun to reflect critically on traditional, unproblematic notions of transmission and reproduction. The interviewee continued:

There are some students who see my presentations as boring, irrelevant, not meaningful to them, and others who see it as directly opposed to their interests. Such things as Adventist lifestyle which I try to promote they tend to mock as irrelevant, out-of-date, old fashioned, unnecessary and archly conservative. Lifestyle is one of the most important changes I see in the areas of music, entertainment, attitudes towards work, attitudes towards responsibility, attitudes towards choice of literature. Things I suggest to them as better alternatives they describe as boring.

The interpersonal relationship dilemma is exacerbated by teachers' knowledge of the fact that their traditionally legitimate authority is being challenged, and they are reluctant to assert that authority because of the potential for open conflict. Many teachers see the dilemma in terms of an irreconcilable 'policeman-minister' dichotomy. Some associate defensive, authoritarian teaching with tension and potential disciplinary problems. This has been the case in Bible
classes especially, and more so for senior students. In making reference to the behaviour pattern of one particularly volatile student, a teacher commented:

I want to avoid conflict in my Bible class. It's supposed to be the most important subject and I want to maintain an appropriate atmosphere for thinking about important spiritual values. But it's hard to be authoritarian without causing bad vibes. All I can do in Bible is to leave her quietly doing her own thing. At least she isn't causing a big stir. What worries me is she's still winning, and other kids know it. No doubt they would argue that it's not fair if I challenged them for the same thing.

A similar authority problem arises with respect to the enforcement of school rules. Teachers were generally sensitive to the effect of negative sanctions, particularly in the context of Bible class. For example, students are required to bring all specified materials to all classes. In any subject, the school policy provides for detentions for failure to comply. A common infringement, which some teachers suspect as a form of 'bucking the system' is the failure to bring their actual Bibles to class. But the implications of authoritative sanctions in religious instruction worry many teachers. As one lamented:

I feel bad about giving detentions for not bringing your Bible materials to class. It's reasonable to lean on a kid for not bringing his maths textbook, but his Bible - I'm not so sure. It worries me that you have to bully kids in a subject that is supposed to be the top and create a bad environment.

The dilemmas examined so far in this chapter relate strongly to interpersonal relationships and control. Nevertheless, implications for what counts as knowledge, and the contrast between secular knowledge and religious knowledge form an integral part of the problem. Stated in another way, there is tension between the official, manifest, integrated philosophy and goals of the Church's educational ministry on one hand, and the secular state examination system on the
other. Data of Chapter 8 clearly shows a predominance of student and parent interest in the latter. Teachers are aware of the extent to which government specification and requirement and an external examination dictate action and foster an emphasis which militates against the reproduction of SDA culture. In this context, they have been aware too of the illusory nature of the philosophy statements that head up their subject outlines, and the disparity between stated goals and the actual structures and modes of management implemented to meet external demands. At times they express concern for the students who suffer 'the system'. For example, the tension of this dilemma is reflected in comments made by teachers during and after a staff meeting at which the examination results and HSC prospects were being discussed. The question was raised about a low academic achiever who had attempted Year 11 against the advice of the school and had subsequently failed, and what other opportunities could be offered to the student in view of her determination to remain at school and the problem that exists in the absence of an alternative programme to the HSC in the senior school. One teacher commented:

I reckon we've got it all wrong. If we are trying to educate kids only to get a good pass in the HSC then OK, don't let her come back. But surely the education we offer means more than that. Surely the experience of being here, even though she isn't achieving well, is valuable experience in its own right. She won't be a nuisance, so surely we should allow her to stay if she chooses to.

Another teacher added:

What about the effects of her frustration on the others in her class. Her low morale will spread to them before long so that her presence will inhibit progress.

Outside later, a third teacher remarked to the researcher:
It's all very well to talk about letting these kids stay, imagining that the experience will be good for them. My daughter, for example, thinks that if she stays at school and works hard, she'll succeed. But it doesn't work. The longer she stays, the worse it gets for her.

These dilemmas relate to contrasted views about knowledge (i.e. what counts as knowledge, and how it should be organised and transmitted) and control (i.e. access to knowledge, processes of control and the ideology that justifies the system). Problems arise from the difference between what teachers define as ideal knowledge and the knowledge that is either prescribed by the Church or authorities of the State on one hand, and what is demanded by the students and their parents on the other. In essence, the dilemmas are located in the tension between a number of fundamental alternatives: between religious and secular knowledge; between tradition and modernity; between a pastoral and an academic role; between a passive, didactic and a democratic, participative teaching-learning environment, and between control and autonomy.

III. NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE AS A STRATEGIC RESPONSE

One teacher described student resistance as 'negativism towards what we are trying to do for them'. He commented further:

One of the hardest things to cope with is the negativism that seems to come across. As a teacher you have to try and generate some positive attitudes towards what you are teaching them.

Data suggests that under the prevailing circumstances at this school, negotiation is a distinctly recognisable phenomenon, with potentially profound implications for compromise and change. Interviews indicate that the majority teachers are not only willing to negotiate aspects of interaction, but are also aware of an increase
in the extent to which they permit that negotiation. A senior teacher commented:

I concede that I do negotiate more with students now than I used to. I have had to adopt a much more democratic stance and give the students a lot more leeway than I was accustomed to in my early years of teaching. Once upon a time, whatever I said, that was it, and I didn't allow any student to challenge me or question me in any way. Because the climate of our society has drifted, parents and teachers no longer adopt an authoritarian role towards the young people. There is this great move towards a much more democratic approach and respecting the rights of the individual, and to some extent I think it has been a good move. On the other hand it has encouraged a lot of students to challenge everything. If I think a student is doing it just for the sake of challenging me, I give him no quarter at all, but if he has a legitimate reason, I try to listen and then make my judgements.

It appears true that in their negotiations, many of the teachers do frequently demonstrate genuine concern for students' interests, trying to avoid an authoritarian role, and attempting to democratise classroom relations to some extent. But other instances suggested that some of this action is strongly motivated by a desire to defuse tension between students and teachers, thereby enhancing teacher survival. As a result, a disparity is frequently created between the professed philosophy of individual teachers and their pragmatic activity. It appears that some teachers believe that the pragmatism that underlies some forms of comprise is justified if it is perceived as a means of ensuring success in the long term. As one said:

I must admit that when I think of kids like Allan and Colin and their persistence in trying to buck the system, I tend to compromise. What's the use having to push them and hound them everyday and getting your own stomach in a knot. I reckon it's probably better to keep them on-side by not applying the letter of the law and making them keep on rebelling. At least I might eventually get through to them that way.

In other instances, teachers engage in negotiation and enter into compromising 'contracts' with students when they, themselves, contest
aspects of the official message systems with which they do not agree. The following data reports instances of this range of negotiation and compromise.

Compromise in Religious Education

Considering the data reported thus far, it is not surprising that most radical changes to the curriculum appear to have occurred in religious education. Some of this change may be attributed to collaboration between teachers both within and between SDA schools, and to in-service teacher discussions at CASE seminars, etc. The primary focus of this effort has been the gathering and sharing of ‘curriculum resources’ in response to the perceived ‘urgency’ to provide a wider range of content more readily acceptable to students. This activity has had the ‘approval’ of the organisation. But a more significant degree of change has occurred at the unofficial, informal ‘back-stage’ level of interaction involving aspects of curriculum content, pedagogy and evaluation, and appears to indicate the development of a different teaching paradigm. Data suggests that direct implications of this activity have been an attempt by students to by-pass the prescribed curriculum materials, and by teachers to ‘back-off’ from student contestation. Administrators have been aware of this activity, and it was this awareness that, to a large extent, motivated and justified the introduction of Bible specialists cited in Chapter 6. It is doubtful, however, that administrators have been aware of the full extent of the alternatives which teachers have implemented.

The tendency away from the prescribed curriculum materials is reflected in a comment by one teacher as he explained his own approach
to the teaching of Bible and his attempt to develop the sense of 'relevance' which he perceived the students were demanding:

I teach the set syllabus a couple of days a week because I have to. Other days I do my own thing. And the kids are much more interested in that. I use the themes, but bring in stories and adapt to people today. I try to relate it by comparing and contrasting what happened then with what is happening now. I try to help them to see relevance in applying them to the problems people are facing today.

'Alternative materials' sometimes means the viewing of video recordings on a wide range of topics. Movie dramatisations of biblical narratives, particularly approaching Easter and Christmas, have commonly been in use. In recent years, the government-sponsored media has transmitted a series on comparative religions and some teachers have incorporated this material into their own programmes. Sometimes documentaries on a religious topic or theme have been used. On other occasions, movies have been selected and viewed on the basis of the moral, humanitarian themes that they portray. Other dramas have been selected for their portrayal and resolution of moral dilemmas. Over this range of selections, virtually none has been of SDA origin or production and, consequently, has not necessarily presented a 'distinctive' Adventist perspective.

An informal practice which has developed in Bible classes, particularly in the middle and lower forms, is the reading of an 'appropriate' book as a serial story. In some cases, one period each week may be devoted to this purpose. Again, these have tended to be narratives and biographies whose characters confront religious and/or moral dilemmas. It is of interest that both this form of activity and the viewing of videos has been generally acceptable to students despite the fact that they have still been in a passive, receptive relationship to an information source which they claimed to eschew.
Demands for 'discussion' and 'participation' are no longer voiced in these circumstances.

However teachers have attempted to provide more pedagogical variety and informality at times. Occasional debates have attracted much student interest, particularly when addressing more provocative issues, while role-plays for class viewing or for presentation in a school assembly have been popular diversions. This has become even more popular and 'time-consuming' if students have been allowed to video-record their productions. For the lower years, some teachers have given students opportunity to prepare posters or construct models with some ostensible religious significance. On a few occasions throughout the course of the study, evidence of contradictory pragmatism became explicitly evident usually when the teacher was under situational stress caused by student unrest. For instance, on walking past a classroom of restless students supposedly listening to a serial story, the researcher heard the teacher threaten the class with 'a lesson from your Bible textbooks' as an alternative. The teacher asked, 'Do you want that?' followed by a unanimous 'No-o-o!' from the students. On other occasions when teachers feel under the pressure of their volume of work, some do use the materials despite student distaste. A teacher commented to the researcher:

There is one good thing about the Bible books. At least it makes preparation easy if you are a bit pushed. The kids don't like it, but it sure lightens the preparation load.

While the data above recognises a pragmatic 'backing-off' by teachers in response to student contestation of the Bible curriculum specifically, it also notes a similar phenomenon in religious aspects of other aspects of the total programme of the school. For example, during an early stage of the study, the 'religious' emphasis in weekly
school assemblies declined in response to manifested student disinterest. Rather than making a religious presentation in the weekly assembly, some teachers who were rostered to speak, presented secular topics relating to personal interests, experiences, travels, hobbies, etc. A number of guest speakers were also invited from the business and community services sector. It was during this time that the customary singing of religious songs came to be omitted from assembly. Another indication of 'backing-off' was the decline in the offering of the usual prayer by the teacher at end of the last period of the day. In discussing this phenomenon, one teacher commented that it seemed to be

a mockery of religion to have to make an abrupt change from non-religious subject matter and suddenly have to drop into an attitude of prayer, especially when all they want to do is rush off outside. It's even worse if you've had a fight with them during the period.

Many of the forms of negotiation cited above appeared to be strategic responses calculated either consciously or tacitly to enhance survival. However some negotiation took place in which teachers consciously reconstructed the official message systems within their own classrooms by partially democratising them. A teacher of a senior Bible class, for instance, replaced a portion of one of the Bible textbooks which he knew to be contentious among the students with a personally-developed unit which he described as 'a kind of situation-ethics'. The selection of content was informed largely through open discussions with the students themselves which yielded responses similar to data reported early in Chapter 8. The 'classes' were relatively open and informal, with the teacher adopting a facilitatory role that he perceived enabled the students to collaborate in exploring and resolving a range of 'moral dilemmas'.
that typically face SDA young people. Students were permitted to ask questions or contribute to the discussion without fear of judgement. To satisfy the organisational requirement for an examination assessment, two alternatives were negotiated between the teacher and students. The first option was a traditional written examination, while the second allowed students to pursue a personal reading/study project of an agreed nature, with the assessment based on a written evaluation report at the end of the term. Students were given the prerogative to make an independent choice between the two options.

Similar curriculum reconstruction took place in another senior class, also for similar reasons to the case above. In the substituted unit, video material was adapted to initiate a critique of Christology. To satisfy the school assessment, students were given a number of questions to research some weeks before the scheduled examinations. These topics were developed from earlier class discussions. Students were able to make a choice from these options, and during the examination period, report on their research. In this case, credit was given for the extent of the study and the quality of their critique rather than for their ability to reproduce 'class notes'.

Compromise and Contradiction in the Secular Curriculum

The constant expectation of academic success in the external examinations appears to foster the development of practices which contradicts the official philosophy or the personal ideologies of teachers, producing unintended consequences. These contradictions constitute a hidden curriculum informed by a competing ideology that undergirds some forms of student contestation.
For example, students entering Yr 11 one year were encouraged to choose subjects for their HSC course on the basis of their ability to score highly rather than on their inherent interest. One teacher was heard to state:

It's a 'numbers game'. I know it isn't right, and we don't like it any more than you do, but that's the rat race that we are all in and you have to play according to the rules if you want to win.

Even in the junior school, the management by teachers of knowledge and learning appears to be overshadowed and constrained by the HSC, despite its relative remoteness in time. For example, despite the disapproval of the school administration, and in the absence of any state imperative, some subject departments stream their students rather than teaching parallel groups of mixed ability. Teachers in one department have defended their action by arguing that the arrangement enables the 'advanced' students to move more quickly though the set syllabus, thereby creating time during Year 10 to offer additional tuition designed to enhance HSC performance in that subject. Under the guise of 'striving for excellence', other teachers were observed attempting to introduce academic performance 'incentives' designed 'to motivate the lazy students' or lesser achievers to 'work harder'. Such innovations included the preparation of progressive results sheets that showed students ranked according to test scores and assignment assessments. Some of these teachers showed the sheets to the respective students, or, in some cases, the sheets were placed on a classroom noticeboard for the scrutiny of all and as the focus of informal peer analysis and discussion. Although the competitive spirit engendered by this practice did appear to motivate the more able students, it was noted that some of the less 'successful' students were embarrassed and humiliated by the public display of
their performance. Contradictions were noted when on other occasions in staff discussions, some of the teachers who engaged in these practices vigorously joined with others in opposing what they perceived to be discriminatory student management practices that fostered elitism. For instance, in the first half of the study, the majority of the staff rejected an attempt by one teacher to have the school promote 'excellence' by initiating an award system to recognise academic achievement in each subject. These awards would have been presented publicly at the annual Speech Night. During this same period, notable student achievements and awards were commonly recognised in school assemblies and published in the local press or in circulars sent to parents. This included winners of state computer, mathematics and science competitions, and winners of public awards in fine and applied arts competitions. This form of 'advertising' has made enrolment in the school attractive to the non-SDA community, despite the compulsory religious curriculum, as a 'guarantee' of enhanced career prospects. In addition, official church periodicals continue to publish reports of HSC passes in the respective SDA high schools each year in a manner that fosters an inter-school competitive spirit. One teacher at this school expressed uneasiness at the contradictory values that he believed were being reflected:

I don't see the same kind of reports telling how many kids have been baptised into the Church as a result of the work of the school.

Critical reflection on the work of many teachers gives the impression that the ostensibly holistic image of education is frequently illusory. Further, although the teachers' verbalise the theoretical importance of 'modelling' Christian values, practice tends to contradict this claim, showing the emphasis to be elsewhere, and,
once again, constituting an unofficial 'hidden curriculum'. In many classrooms there is minimal overt evidence of personal commitment to an SDA Christian world-view in the physical learning environment created by the teacher, as the critical observer might expect. Apart from the Bible specialist's classroom, and two others, there is a notable absence of religious symbolism in the decor of the rooms. In the majority of cases, rooms display posters, charts and the work of students reflecting the particular subject taught there. In addition, some rooms also reflect a variety of other external interests that some teachers apparently share with students. Examples noted during the study included posters and 'pin-ups' promoting motor sports, and on one occasion, pop-music personalities such as Elton John and Marcia Hines.

It is not unusual to observe teachers attempting to foster positive relationships with their students and to minimise the effects of age difference by actively identifying with interests similar to theirs. But once again, this poses a problem for some teachers in the form of conflict between loyalty to the students and institutional policies. Chapter 8 reported the practice by some students of playing in basketball competitions outside the school and using the school's name to identify their teams, without approval, and in spite of traditional Adventist school practice of avoid heavy involvement in competitive sport. But despite the official policy, some teachers have either played in 'school' teams with students or have coached these teams for weekly basketball competition matches against college and public teams. On a number of occasions, these teachers have been heard to announce practice sessions of a particular fixture over the school's public address system, promoting the attendance of student spectators to encourage the 'school' team. Similarly, in spite of the
embargo on rugby football, a young teacher was observed joining in a clandestine game with students after sport in the school playground. Students commented that this was not an isolated occurrence.

Implications of Teacher Withdrawal from Formal Control

In the face of student contestation of control, many teachers were observed withdrawing from actively enforcing formal structures or applying sanctions when applicable. Some commented on what they saw as the counter-productivity of 'over-regimentation' at the hands of an earlier administrator who attempted to 'tighten things up' in a general quest for 'excellence'. During that period, students saw the 'detentions' for breaches of uniform and other infringements of the school rules as oppressive and unreasonable. Administrative persistence only produced tension and further disciplinary problems.

Instances of withdrawal by teachers appear to indicate either their personal disagreement and contestation of control structures, or an attempt to win favour with students by actively dissociating themselves from the official structures through a patronising display of symbolic 'sympathy'. On frequent occasions teachers demonstrated a reluctance to sanction students or to confront them on infringements of the school rules. For example, in weekly assembly, teachers mostly sat in groups behind students but tended to ignore blatant misbehaviour or rule-breaking in their proximity. A particularly notable instance of this occurred during Speech Night during the first half of the study. The students had been informed that uniforms were compulsory. After the programme had commenced, two Year 10 boys were observed entering the auditorium, dressed in singlets and sports-shorts. Although seated in the back row within arm's reach of a young male teacher, they remained unchallenged. As time passed, the
boys began to converse in a distracting manner. When the teacher moved conveniently away from the area, an angry parent took the initiative himself to confront the boys, threatening to remove them from the building.

Similar teacher responses were observed on many other occasions within the school. Teachers were often observed turning the other way when passing a student who was obviously out of uniform. During one staff meeting, the deputy principal asked teachers to be more diligent in checking uniforms at the beginning of the first class. A senior teacher objected that the staff could not be expected to do that, suggesting that there were too many other things to do at the beginning of the lesson. Other teachers added comments, making the excuse that they 'never think of it'. The deputy principal insisted that if teachers refrained from taking such action, students would see the rule as imposed by the principal and deputy alone rather than by staff consensus. The first teacher responded:

Well whether you like it or not, that's the way the kids see it and it will always be that way.

Age Segmentation Among Teachers

Although a degree of sociocultural change was noted among the teachers generally, older teachers at the school tend to demonstrate a closer affinity to a conservative, traditional ideology than do their younger colleagues. Younger teachers readily identify with a more liberal, secularised world view and lifestyle that often reflects a reality similar to that held by many of the students. A number of factors appear to have combined to compound the dilemma faced by young teachers and militate against their smooth, unproblematic socialisation into the traditional SDA teacher role. First, as noted
earlier, the preoccupation with harmonious teacher-student relationships appears to have promoted compromise rather than confrontation. These teachers have appeared reluctant to sacrifice their 'popularity' by supporting the official message systems. But just as significantly, it appears that the recency of their own identity in a changing SDA student culture recognises them as contestees of aspects of traditional culture themselves rather than compliant agents of transmission in an organisational role. As such, many of their responses may be seen to be informed as much by their personal reality as much as they may be pragmatic strategies of 'self-preservation'.

The most observable instances of fraternisation and compromise occurred in the context of pedagogy and management. For many young teachers, the formal, visible, teacher-centred pedagogies that have generally been associated with strongly classified curricula, frequently gave way to invisible, informal teacher-student relationships. Younger teachers commonly demonstrated what their older colleagues described as a 'lay-back style' accompanied by a continuous undercurrent of student talk and noise. In many observed instances in which students 'raged', little academic task engagement was achieved for much of the class period. One of the younger teachers defended his 'relaxed' teaching style, stating that he didn't 'go along with the idea that a class has to be quiet for work to be accomplished'. By contrast, a senior teacher who sometimes taught the same class in the following period expressed disapproval and resentment, complaining that it often took 'the first ten minutes to pluck the kids off the ceiling and get some semblance of order'.

Backstage fraternisation of young teachers with students appeared to successfully woo student loyalties and throw older-generation
conservatism into stark contrast. For instance, a number of younger teachers permitted some students to address them by their first names in the privacy of their classrooms or on the sports ground. Other practices contributed significantly to staff fragmentation. For example, at one point in the study, it was noted that students were frequenting the classroom of a popular young teacher at lunchtime where they collectively criticised aspects of the school programme and other teachers. During a staff meeting in which some alleged student behaviour involving drinking and drugs off-campus was being discussed, this teacher admitted that he knew of the activities of a number of students but refused to divulge any information. On another occasion shortly afterwards, a large group of students became involved in a serious sequence of behaviour involving drinking at an informal class camp one weekend. Although confronted later with substantial evidence of their behaviour, all students maintained their innocence for some days. This occasioned a number of special staff meetings during which the problem was discussed at length. It later became known that the impasse encountered was partially due to the covert reporting of staff discussions to the students by a junior teacher and her encouragement to them to 'admit nothing'.

The differentiation of teachers by students attributing relative popularity, appears, at times, to worry some senior teachers who perceive themselves as being 'cut off'. Some see this as symptomatic of 'failure' in their 'ministry'. Consequently, a number of instances cited earlier in this chapter indicate a tendency on the part of some teachers to compromise in order to gain acceptance by students. It appears that students do take notice and respond positively to these overtures. For instance, on two occasions during the study, in informal 'farewell assemblies' conducted by Yr 12 students at
year-end, some conservative teachers were 'booed' by sections of the student body, while the most liberal teachers, both young and older, were enthusiastically cheered when presentations were being made. One teacher later reflected to the researcher:

What have we really achieved? We've given our lives to these kids, but because some of us are a bit more conservative, we get a slap in the face while the slackest teachers get the loudest cheer.

The Sense of 'Failure' and Teacher Stress

The data suggest that teachers accurately 'read' the indicators of how well they have 'succeeded' according to the criteria of the informal evaluation process implemented by the students. During the study it was noted that in response to varying degrees of perceived 'failure', teachers often tended to resort to a tenacious reassertion of authoritarian control. However, these efforts were frequently met with a constant barrage of equally strong, if not overwhelming, student resistance and opposition that produced withdrawal and backing-down to ensure survival. One teacher described her feeling as one of 'powerlessness'. She continued:

The year often starts out OK but sooner or later I just run out of energy to hassle with the kids. Like today. I wasn't going to wreck my afternoon.

Another defended his reaction:

I admit that I am often reluctant to step in and uphold a school rule like uniforms, for example, when I'm going to be only one that does it. I can't see why I should burn myself out and get off-side with the kids by being the only stickler for the rules.
But it appeared that teachers experienced pangs of 'guilt' for reacting in this way, particularly some who admitted an increased feeling of animosity towards students:

I got so worn down by the end of the term that I began to hate so many of the kids that make my life a misery and frustrate me from achieving what I hope to get out of my teaching. The trouble is, it's often some of the same kids that we have prayed for in worship that day. And it makes you feel guilty when you stop and think about it.

Data suggest that in an attempt to displace the sense of failure and guilt and to find a scapegoat to bear the stigma, some teachers accompanied their withdrawal with habitual denigration of some students. Frequently, the same teachers who prayed in staff worship for an effective relationship with students and a successful ministry, were heard 'letting off steam' in the staffroom by denigrating students to their colleagues. For instance, one relatively young teacher, red-faced with anger from a recent confrontation, burst into the staffroom, asking and answering his own question:

What's the most obnoxious thing you can think of? Year 12 students!

In quieter, reflective moments, some of these same teachers appeared to blame themselves for the perceived disparity between their profession and practice despite the fact that the teacher-student distance appeared to be initiated as an integral part of student contestation. The sense of remorse was so intense that in some instances, teachers began to seriously doubt their vocation and mission.

I often think, what good can come out of this. I'm in it for the wrong reason. Sometimes I've got to admit that I've come to despise many of the kids I'm supposed to be caring about. I'm going to finish up my career wishing I had done something else.
Nevertheless, many who feel this way, remain. The notion of a 'call from God' to teach is so strongly perceived that many see resignation as a rejection of Divine will. As one commented:

There are times when I am tempted to just walk out. But I can't. I believe it was providential that I took up teaching in the first place and I'm a bit scared that it would be a Jonah act if I just turned my back on it now. It's so confusing. I'm not sure what to do.

However for another, the pattern of perceived failure, withdrawal, guilt and diminishing self-esteem became more critical. He lamented:

There's nothing I would like more than to be able to get beside a kid and help him spiritually as well as academically. But what do you do with a class of kids that is cheeky and disrespectful and just out to get you. I just finish up with my stomach in a huge knot. My mind just goes a blank and I can't think. They just keep it up and the only thing I can do is to get heavy in the finish and that upsets me because it's against my nature. I feel guilty afterwards and I often end up hating myself. Even my family life is being affected by it. My relationship with my wife. I've been to the boss twice and told him I want to resign.

This teacher's experience became so intense that it culminated in his hospitalisation for a lengthy period.

Staff Fragmentation, Alienation and the Dissolution of Community

In this case, the students' own informal evaluation structure by which they judged teacher 'effectiveness' were based on criteria that tended to polarise conservatism and liberalism, traditionalism and modernity. The explicit rewards and sanctions that they invoked, functioned as a substantial mediating factor in the level of teacher cohesiveness. 'Popularity' with students as an indice of success induced a competitive element leading, at times, to fragmentation, alienation and declining self-perception and staff morale. For a period towards the middle of the study, this situation was exacerbated
by the effects of the epistemological debate in the Church which also tended to foster some polarisation at the school staff level. The situation was further compounded by problems in interpersonal relationships and strategies adopted by a number of administrators in their attempt to resolve the tension. During this time, the staffroom remained virtually barren at recess and lunchtime. Most teachers preferred to stay in the private territory of their classrooms. A small group of teachers frequented one particular classroom during these breaks to criticise other teachers, the administration and the implementation of school policies generally. At times, the activity showed a link with the current epistemological debate. For example, it was reported to the researcher that one of the group disapproved of the appointment to the staff of one particular teacher. The comment was made, 'We'll have to get rid of him. He believes in Ellen White'. The fragmentation and alienation caused growing anxiety for many of the staff. As the situation reached a critical point of development, two teachers reflected to the researcher:

My first three years here were a dream, but this year it has turned into a nightmare!

The second teacher added:

We've had our ups and downs before, but this time we seem to have hit rock bottom.

On another occasion, a teacher commented on the disparity between profession and practice and the personal implications of the dissolving sense of community:

The other day in staff worship we sang, 'Bind Us Together'. What a farce! We use a whole string of platitudes about our philosophy and our role and our relationships with the kids, and at the same time we are sniping at one another. I feel so lonely at times that I cry inside.
Other teachers also expressed concern for the perceived impact of this ‘hidden curriculum’ on the students:

Students perceive fragmentation amongst the staff. They don’t have to be told, they can see it. Attitudes are caught, not taught. If the teachers don’t reflect cohesiveness how can we expect the kids to show pride in their identity in the Church?

IV. CRISIS AS A CATALYST FOR TRANSFORMATION

The collective experience of striking ‘rock bottom’ mid-way through the study appeared to function as a catalyst that marked a turning point and resolution, at least partially, of aspects of teacher disenchantment and stress. Despite the widespread tendency for pragmatic, contradictory survival responses, which, admittedly, continued to be observed throughout the entire study, teacher discourse began to reflect more rational forms of affiliation in response to the dilemmas that they recognised. It is not the intention of this thesis, nor does its scope permit an intensive examination of this new phase. However the researcher considers it appropriate to cite a selection of instances which indicates that some satisfactory solution to these dilemmas may have at least begun.

The genesis of this changing discourse appears to have coincided with a change in the school administration and some members of staff. The incoming principal, an experienced senior administrator, described himself unashamedly as ‘conservative’. Observations and other teachers’ comments attested to this claim. Following a term of study leave, he had served for one year as a staff member of the school in a temporary capacity, prior to his appointment as the principal. Consequently, he was conversant with the forms of contestation in the school and the serious crisis in staff morale. Although he frequently
expressed concern at the impact of modernity upon teachers as well as students, and frequently differed from them in his ideological position, he held the view that 'confrontation is counterproductive'. Instead, he engaged with staff in more open, collaborative forms of dialogue, particularly in staff worships and staff meetings. Frequently these discussions were provocative and unresolved, but as one teacher commented:

At least we can have a say without it being held against us. And it helps to clear the air.

The door of his office was constantly open when he was not engaged, and observations showed many teachers responding to the implied invitation by making spontaneous visits to discuss a wide range of issues in a non-intimidatory climate. He also made a practice of eating lunch with staff in the staffroom where informal, open discussions relating to current school issues were common. Teachers began to repopulate the staffroom. On one occasion, the researcher provoked a comparison with earlier days when the staffroom was constantly vacant. One young teacher quipped:

We used to hate people! But we don't any more.

Student-teacher relationships also appear to have benefited from an easing of entrenched authoritarian styles of management and control at both the institutional and individual teacher level. Although an explicit control structure of guidelines and expectations remains in place in the form of a school handbook, an attempt has been made by both administrators and teachers to engage with students in collaborative, participative discussion, negotiating solutions to behavioural problems. The goal has been to foster the development of self-government by the student rather than the arbitrary imposition of
institutional norms and sanctions. In one instance, for example, a senior student who had actively contested the school's control structure for an extended period, was intercepted while attempting to leave the school during the day, without approval, to attend the movies. The student commented that in view of his previous 'record', he would probably be 'expelled'. However, the school administration adopted a conciliatory approach in discussing the implications of the action at some length with the student and his parents. In place of traditional negative sanctions, the student was given the opportunity to demonstrate greater self-responsibility during his remaining months at the school. Following the incident, the student wrote spontaneously to the school administration stating:

This is the first time in all my years at Adventist schools that I have seen the gospel in action. I know I was in the wrong but I appreciate the school giving me another chance.

Students have also been extended greater participation in areas of school management by the revitalisation of the 'School Council' made up of student representatives from all classes. Provision has been made for the Council's recommendations to be presented to staff, by student representatives, during a staff meeting. In addition, the school captains and prefects have been delegated greater responsibility in the supervision of student activity, for example, in the playground and assisting in the weekly assembly.

Religion has continued to present a high profile, but appears to have gone through transformation to a less tightly framed, and thus less oppressive, less dogmatic, more informal pedagogy. Students have been included more extensively in the presentation and conduct of weekly assemblies, including the successful return to group singing and musical performance. The students also appeared to endorse the
survey of their own interests cited in Chapter 8 which assisted in the selection of content for a 'Week of Prayer' series by a visiting minister. Similarly, many students have responded positively to what they have perceived as a demonstration of genuine concern in the innovation introduced by a staff member in which teachers have 'prayed' for two specific students each morning during staff worship. Students listed each week have been advised by personal letter prior to each occasion.

These transformations have made their appearance overtly, with official support, during the last years of this study. However other forms affecting religious curricula, pedagogy and evaluation have also continued to develop 'back-stage' without official approval in the relatively private domain of the classroom and, consequently, appear to have contributed to a form of cultural renewal. Some of these alternatives have been followed in the context of the regular Bible class. Other teachers, particularly of junior and middle grades, have integrated informal discussion of religious issues, with apparent acceptance, into some of their classes. Some of these have been the product of teacher contestation and/or student negotiation as cited and discussed earlier this chapter and in Chapter 8. Some of these younger teachers have also extended their relationships with students to social and religious activities beyond the school, in their private homes, the Church or recreational facilities.

At the intraschool level, a degree of transformation has been noted in the context of CASE. As stated earlier in Chapter 7, this innovation was the initiative of teachers themselves as a venture in self-help. Despite the interest of the upper levels of administration and their attendance at the meetings, it was noted on a number of occasions that teachers were able to discuss their own curricular
problems apart from these personnel who became involved in discussing other 'administrative' matters. In the case of one series of meetings, it was noted by these personnel that the convenor, a teacher, had intentionally structured the timetable to prevent administrators from attending curriculum planning sessions. Recent years, have also seen some changes at the upper levels of administration in association with the appointment of new personnel. Many teachers in the field consider a number of these appointees to be au fait with contentious issues and dilemmas, and they look with optimism to some resolution of many of the dilemmas confronting them.

Finally, instances occurring in the larger church community itself indicate the development of an ethos conducive to greater openness and reflexive discourse in some areas. For instance, during the last year of this study, official journals of the Church published a number of scholarly articles relating to significant epistemological and organisational issues. These articles tended to be introduced with provocative titles by their authors. Noteworthy among these were: 'Can the truth grow?', (Rogers, 1987); 'Can the Church tolerate open minds?', (Londis, 1987); 'The Church - voice of God?', (Rice, 1987); 'The deceptive theology of institutionalism', (Rosado, 1987); 'How culture conditions our views of Scripture', (Dybdahl, 1988); and, 'Must we all agree?', (Thompson, 1988). At the same time, editors of these journals printed a wide range of responses from the constituency in their 'correspondence' columns. The result has been an increase in dialogue and vigorous debate.
V. DISCUSSION

This chapter focuses on the implications of the responses of Adventist teachers to the dilemmas which they face as a result of their location between the institution and the students. These dilemmas tend to cluster around conflicting assumptions about what counts as knowledge, how it should be organised and transmitted, and how it should be evaluated and controlled. That is, these dilemmas are centred on the message systems of the school.

Teachers are torn between performing a primary, religious, pastoral role which they espouse, at least theoretically, and a secular, academic role that appears to hold a higher priority in the perceptions of the clientele. Student contestation appears to be informed by secularisation and a press towards modernity. However, there also appears to be an increase in the variant views among teachers themselves based upon a transformed cosmology, to the extent that their own contestation compounds the trend towards change. Thus teachers confront a fundamental dilemma as they attempt to resolve the conflict between their own definition of ideal knowledge, the knowledge that is prescribed either by the Church or State authorities, and the knowledge that is demanded by the students and their parents. Teachers are conscious of the fact that an attempt to maintain cultural continuity through the implementation of the traditional message systems is likely to produce resistance and contestation. This dilemma also has implications for management and control as teachers are torn between what they perceive to be a dichotomy between the role of 'minister' and 'policeman'.

Both teachers and students are seen actively and dialectically engaged in a political struggle for power. Teachers are portrayed
responding to dilemmas that are the result of an active relationship with students that is neither recognised nor acknowledged in earlier deterministic literature on the function of schools in the reproduction of culture. In so doing, it contests simplistic, unidimensional conceptions of the transmission of knowledge as the basis of socialisation. The cultural politics in this instance centre on the negotiation of a basic teaching paradigm founded on a pattern of exchanges. In this chapter, students succeed in subverting the formal agenda which is theoretically fundamental to the continuity of a conservative philosophy of education. Students are seen creating alternative message systems of their own, particularly in the case of the religious curriculum. They frequently appear to hold the trump card, in as much as it is their own evaluation of teachers, and the rewards and sanctions which they devise and apply, that ultimately mediate some of the ways teachers respond. That is, students are frequently successful in 'processing' teachers.

Negotiation or 'bargaining' on the part of teachers may be seen as progressive adaptative responses to the dilemmas confronting them. While some negotiation is founded on rational reflexive critique and seeks to transcend contradictory constraints, other forms are pragmatic and idiosyncratic. The outcome is the creation of a number of forms of affiliation that teachers have with the organisation and with the students. Despite philosophical claims and aspirations of teachers to the contrary, the chapter demonstrates that many of these forms produce unintended consequences that are indicative of another hidden curriculum. One response is an increase in authoritarianism which, if not completely unsuccessful, maintains, at most, superficial control. At the same time, feelings of hostility, resentment and alienation are aroused, not only between students and teachers, but
also between teachers and teachers. A second response is an intense striving for 'academic excellence' moderated by the application of managerial-instrumental modes of management. But although the promise of efficient performance and productivity is pleasing to the clientele, it tends to foster meritocracy and competition. The school is reduced to a knowledge factory founded on principles of mediation and control of the economic industrial sector. Contrary both to the intentions of student contestion of control and the communitarian ideal which is fundamental to sectarian solidarity, it promotes instead, allocation, stratification and exclusion. A third response is fraternisation with students in an attempt to minimise generational and ideological differences which are perceived to militate against influential relationships. To avoid conflict, teachers demonstrate a tendency to compromise towards the modernistic values of the dominant adolescent culture. The trend is further accentuated when some younger teachers already espouse these values as part of their own world-view. It is the tendency to compromise the official message systems that appears to underlie the notion of 'slackness', of which the majority of teachers are conscious. The chapter draws attention to a significant consequence of the contrasted attachments teachers construct. That is, between conservative compliance and 'slackness'. Rather than a cohesive, unified body of agents reproducing sectarian culture, the staff, at times, comprises a fragmented group that reproduces the conservative-liberal fragmentation and tension associated with internal epistemological debate. Compromise is also fundamental to a fourth response - withdrawal. Withdrawal, or 'backing off', is demonstrated in two related forms. In the first instance it is associated with contestation of aspects of the religious curriculum and cultural ritual by students. The second
takes the form of intentional 'blindness' to student contravention of organisational norms, and withdrawal from the application of mechanisms of social control. While some instances of withdrawal by teachers appear to be founded on critical reflection, withdrawal more frequently appears to constitute a pragmatic survival strategy to reduce the stress of contestation and confrontation. Generally, this action tends to take place covertly, that is, 'back-stage'. The resulting compromise frequently shows itself as a disparity between teachers' stated ideals and their practice. Despite the ideological implications of such contradiction and the nature of the hidden curriculum presented, teachers still tend to choose the least stressful alternative when exposed to the pressure of student power. From the data, it appears conclusive that teachers are knowledgeable actors to a large degree and are frequently conscious of their compromising decisions. However they appear to underestimate the strength and extent of pupil power to subvert and redefine the official formal agenda, and the extent to which both teacher and pupil agency is mediated by other social forces.

The chapter also articulates a sociocultural link with the psychological perspective from which the problem of stress is more frequently viewed. Pupils' ability to redefine the traditional SDA teacher role, career and sense of mission impacts upon teachers at the level of personal identity and self esteem thereby inducing stress and crisis for some of them. In contrast with the changing views of pupils, traditional SDA ideology based upon the legitimacy of a central role for the teacher in Christian education is still deeply entrenched in Adventist teacher culture. Although these perceptions appear relatively stronger among older teachers, observations indicate that younger teachers, too, may espouse a similar ideology with
respect to the mission and function of the teacher in the SDA church school, albeit to a lesser extent. The organisational location of the teacher and the legitimate authority that has gone with it, has tended, in the past, to carry a self-perception of status and implicit control. However teachers are aware of the undermining of that status due to the loss of control in the face of pupil contestation. The experience of relative 'powerlessness' results in a sense of personal failure, disillusionment, and in some cases, cynicism. In some instances it also appears to be closely associated with severely debilitating personal health problems associated with emotional stress. Many of the strategies adopted by teachers may be seen as a desperate bid to preserve self image. But these responses present dilemmas of their own in the form of unintended consequences as cited above. Covert withdrawal and the compromising of the official agenda appears to carry with it a sense of guilt for some, as they reflect on their action and perceive a disparity between their stated ideals and their performance, and/ or a failure to perform the role expected by the organisation. Teachers are also seen to withdraw from personal relationships with students to create distance between them as a buffer to their disillusionment. Maslach's (1982) conceptualisation of stress and the notion of a detachment as a response to impending threat also appears to be relevant in this study. The sense of failure and guilt appears to be exacerbated by its cyclic association with active dehumanisation by teachers as they derogate and stereotype students, treating them as objects. Consequently this action is a factor in the fragmentation of relationships between teachers and students, counteracting the development of the communitarian ideal that is fundamental to sectarian organisations, and, none the less, to the Christian tradition itself. In this study, the stress experienced
by a number of teachers appears to be further aggravated by a form of hegemonic ideology with respect to their perceptions of vocation and mission. Although many recognise that this ideology tends to legitimate organisational contradictions and constraints, they are reluctant to resign and choose to remain bound. They 'fear' resignation may constitute the rejection of a 'Divine call'.

This chapter also identifies a link between pupil power and fragmentation at the staff level. Student mediation appears to make the greatest impact on younger teachers whose own world view has undergone transformation, or who themselves contest aspects of the formal agenda. In some instances, it is difficult to differentiate between the true motives for teachers seeking positive student-teacher relationships. Although the manifest concern is the enhancement of ministry, data suggests that for some, the motive may have a more pragmatic, strategic basis. Some appear willing to sacrifice orthodoxy in order to win popularity as a ploy to maintain an otherwise tenuous identity. Thus through age, ideology, and the impact of modernity upon individual teachers, pupil power is seen as potentially able to produce a differential effect that promotes fragmentation. Rather than a cohesive and unified group, the chapter portrays a phase in the recent history of the school culminating in a crisis characterised by declining morale and esprit de corps, animosity and alienation. This historical phenomenon supports Giddens’s (1981) notion of the 'episodic' character of change.

While data suggests that critical, reflexive perception may be obscured at times by the need to survive or by the sheer complexity of the milieu, their action is not totally determined. They live in a dialectical relationship with the organisational structure. Data shows that teachers may reflect philosophically on the implications of their
action and may penetrate and resolve the constraints that inhibit them. The close of the chapter shows that crisis may serve as a catalyst to precipitate the emergence of a more open, more democratic, reflexive, communicative discourse within, and between the various groups that are the organisation. In so doing, it alludes to the potential of 'communicative competence' in school leadership to foster the development of a communitarian ideal. Its members may well have begun to engage in the kind of collaborative reconstruction to find a satisfactory solution to the dilemmas they face.
CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis constitutes an examination of a series of foreshadowed problems relating to: (1) the Seventh-day Adventist Church's attempt to reproduce and maintain traditional SDA culture through the educational programme in its schools, (2) the factors that facilitate or obstruct that attempt, and (3) the implications for teachers of the social dynamics associated with that attempt.

The study focused on the increasing problems in the smooth, consensual transmission apparently experienced in the past, and the indications of a reproduction crisis in the Church's history.

To address the situation, a theoretical perspective was adopted based on a body of critical social theory which placed emphasis on:

(1) the embodiment of principles of cultural transmission and control in structures of knowledge and social relationships in schools,
(2) the school as an ideological site of struggle for control between knowledgeable participants over knowledge and social relationships,
(3) the internal dynamics of resistance, contestation, negotiation and transformation of culture rather than cultural reproduction, and
(4) the linkages between the cultures represented within the school and the cultures of wider society.
Chapters 4 to 9 of the thesis represent data that address the foreshadowed problems. These chapters are interspersed with iterative theoretical discussions in the context of the data at that particular point. Section II of this chapter attempts to summarise these discussions in a way that integrates the data and highlights the themes of the ethnography.

Section III represents a critical discussion of the themes of the ethnography informed by a dialectic between the data and relevant social theory as represented in the survey of literature in Chapter 2. The specific purpose is the interrogation of the data by the theory. Section IV then turns to an interrogation of the theory in the light of the data.

The concluding section assesses the thesis as a whole in terms of its contribution to theory.

II. SUMMARY OF THE DATA

Chapter 4 attempts to contextualise the study by showing how the historical development of the SDA culture as a distinctive socio-moral order, represents the agency-structure issue. While acknowledging the overarching sectarian character of that culture over the group's history, it draws attention to distinct phases of development, each phase reflecting a dominant motif or 'relation to the world' that is indicative of the social dynamics prevailing within the group at the time. The first section of the chapter draws a contrast between two early phases of the group's history: an early formative period, and a later period marked by the establishment of the Church as a formal institution in 1863. In the former, individuals were drawn together and bound by commonly shared religious interests and perceptions of
nineteenth-century society which supported an on-going, informal and collaborative search for meaning. The latter saw the consequent institutionalisation of a unique paradigm, however not without protracted debate over both knowledge and authority. The data introduces the theme of *cultural politics* as it emphasises the significance of the emergent hierarchical structure in which the clergy assumed key prerogatives for management and control. In this context also, it notes a *transformation* in the ethos of the group.

The second section of Chapter 4 highlights the theme of *cultural reproduction* by focusing on the explicit intentions of Adventism as worked out through the education system of the Church: an institution established to complement the work of the Church by promoting maintenance and corporate continuity through the transmission of cultural knowledge. It cites representative instances of conflict, debate and negotiation over what was to count as legitimate knowledge and how it was to be organised and transmitted, and, ultimately, the establishment of an extensive, world-wide education system based on a sectarian cosmology and epistemology that reflected the philosophy of the charismatic founder of the Church. Teachers as 'ministers' are charged with the responsibility of reproduction and maintenance of the culture through the knowledge considered vital to the socialisation of each succeeding generation. Consistent with these intentions is the systematic attempt by the organisation to maintain the vitality of 'the philosophy of Christian education' among its teachers through recital and ritual, particularly through official publications and regular convocations of personnel. Data reflects the implications of the control of both knowledge and teachers by the clergy-administration. Not only is this seen to place teachers in a contradictory location, but also to control their personal academic
freedom, thus posing a dilemma for teachers if they perceive contradictions of any form.

The final section of Chapter 4 focuses on the theme of resistance and contestation as it centres on the dynamics of phases of cultural conflict and the attempted reconstruction of cultural forms. It documents the contestation of elements of SDA epistemology by a growing group of 'intellectuals' and the tendency for polarisation between this group and the 'administrators'. In this way it begins to examine the argument between 'revealed knowledge' and the notion of 'open intellectual inquiry' which 'Spectrum' represents. The administrative response to such contestation reflects a political battle over the control of knowledge. The religious leaders are seen assuming ultimate responsibility for maintaining boundaries to minimise the intrusion of competing ideologies and attempting to restrict creative intellectual activity that might erode tradition and promote change. Teachers thus find themselves in a contradictory location in relation to the structure of the Church, its programme of education, its developing cosmology, and the debate over the status of knowledge.

The first section of Chapter 5 expands on the theme of reproduction by addressing the ideological foundations of the SDA paradigm with respect to the education programme in the Church's schools. The focus at this point is on the principles of transmission and their embodiment in the structures of social relations. These relations are constituted by the 'message systems' of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, as discussed in Chapter 2. Analysis of the Church's education philosophy shows a strong, conservative fundamentalism that is consistent with the Church's sectarian image. This is reflected in attempts to construct a 'holistic' or integrated form of curriculum
that is permeated by, and attempts to emphasise, religious values. This is supported first, by a pedagogy founded on conservative ritual to foster consensus and a particular differentiation of social relations, and second, by a normative evaluation structure that reflects the ethical values and mores of the Church. The data at this point depict an image in which reproduction and social control co-exist in a symbiotic relationship. Controls over curriculum, knowledge and conditions of employment for teaching personnel indicate an organisational self-consciousness characterised by a similar aggressive resistance to threats of erosion of sectarian boundaries as noted in Chapter 4. This is particularly evident in the examination of how Maranatha High School endeavours to translate this educational policy into practice. Social control is now directed towards students in a form that, in some instances, is reminiscent of a total institution. A number of problems begin to emerge. Despite attempts by the organisation to maintain its defensive autonomy behind its boundaries, requirements of state educational authorities appear to produce ambivalence towards curriculum and evaluation procedures, particularly with respect to the secular curriculum. This highlights the theme of contradiction and the significance this phenomenon has for undermining both the integrity and the potential of the theoretical intentions of the organisation. Instead of an integrated, holistic curriculum, with 'Bible' serving a central, unifying function, data indicates not only a tightly classified and framed 'academic' curriculum that gives status to some groups of subjects above others, but one in which religious instruction tends to be ranked lowest of all. The associated criteria and forms of evaluation tend to foster selection and social allocation rather than authentic education. The section also notes a contradiction that exists between
aspects of institutional control over personal autonomy and principles advocated by the organisation's charismatic leader, Ellen White, with respect to the fostering of creativity and individuality in students.

Chapter 6 shows how a fourth message system, the 'administrative message system', structures and integrates and transforms the other message systems in a particular way, through bureaucratic forms of corporate management. In this context, the chapter locates Maranatha High School within the systemic, world-wide, SDA organisational structure. A highlight of this data is the political relationship between the educational and the clerical sectors of the Church and the institutional control assumed by the latter over the former: a phenomenon alluded to in Chapter 4. The first part of the chapter focuses on the centralised structure and the modes it adopts for the management of curricular knowledge and the maintenance of teacher accountability towards institutional interests. However, once again the problem of contradictory transformation looms large. Despite the overt promotion of 'integration of faith, learning and practice' through seminars and official journals, a contradictory hidden agenda operates in which the interest in public examination performance is maintained under the guise of a 'quest for excellence'. Similarly, the appointment of 'Bible specialists' implies a redefinition of curriculum which moves away from the integration of Bible into the curriculum as a whole to a separation into a collection type activity. This strategy is legitimated by the 'need' to remedy perceived problems in the reproduction of SDA culture among the new generation of the Church's youth: a problem for which teachers are made the scapegoats. The data in this section also report inconsistency in management. Some instances such as the use of 'work-load formulae' reflect a rationality which effectively manipulates and transforms
teachers into technicians. At the same time, data shows a lack of personal control by teachers over their careers. Consequently, relationships between the administration and teachers reflect interpersonal tension and a breakdown in communication that is associated with a decline in morale and high levels of teacher attrition that pose problems for the administration.

The latter section of Chapter 6 continues to develop the notion of clerical control introduced in Chapter 4 and then reiterated earlier this chapter with respect to the power and prerogatives of presidents. This section alludes to a crisis that has developed in the relationships between the clergy and teachers instead of two complementary ministries as imagined. The data portray a milieu characterised by a political struggle for authority, control and prestige. However the dominance of one group over the other appears to be assured and sustained through the maintenance of a bureaucratic structure in which ultimate clerical status and authority appear to be legitimated by a hegemonic ideology.

Chapter 7 turns from the institutional perspective of education to the teachers' view of SDA mission in order to determine the extent to which they align with it. This is significant in view of their apparently key location in the organisation with respect to cultural reproduction. Data suggest that at least the majority of teachers at MHS constitute an epistemic community that expresses commitment to a basic paradigm in which teaching is seen in terms of a religious 'ministry'. However, while the rhetoric of teachers in day-to-day ritual practices indicates the espousal of a Christian cosmology and ontology similar to that articulated by the Church, data from observations and interviews show that marked change has occurred among a new group of educators who have come to hold variant epistemological
and axiological perspectives. The agency that has accompanied this change may be seen in terms of contestation of the message systems, particularly with respect to religious education, so that the end result is two competing codes and two contrasted roles that indicate the problematic nature of reproduction.

Accordingly, this group of teachers see their educational ministry as an intellectual exercise in the holistic evaluation of new ideas and the articulation of new responses to dilemmas that arise if the old answers are inappropriate. As was the case in the last section of Chapter 4, the status of revealed versus examined knowledge is a significant issue. Data indicate contested definitions of the teacher's role in which the promotion of inductive thinking and intellectual development stand against the ritualistic transmission of institutional dogma and historical tradition. These teachers favour an 'invisible' pedagogy based on interactive teacher-student communication rather than on a 'visible', didactic structure that is oriented towards reproduction and social control. Similarly, they question some of the normative criteria of traditional views of evaluation, arguing instead for opportunities that permit greater internal participation and negotiation. The data then indicates a breakdown of communication between a group of teachers on one side and both the clerical and educational administration on the other. As was also noted in Chapter 6, this chapter points to a relationship in which teachers tend to view with skepticism, the competence, sincerity and support of church administrators generally.

Two further issues are noted from the data of Chapter 7. The chapter concludes by revealing a contradictory, self-inhibiting response on the part of teachers themselves. Despite teachers' professed concern for intellectual reflection and critique. There is a
tendency among some towards anti-intellectualism, particularly if the motivation for such critique is initiated by the administration. Finally, resistance is most pronounced with respect to the religious curriculum. However the relative lack of similarly intense scrutiny of the secular curriculum raises a significant question as to why. All in all, the chapter develops the theme of conservation versus modernity. It suggests that while the socialisation of teachers does continue to develop their commitment to the Church, the effects of modernity upon them may also be producing a counterpoint to the traditional forms of institutional authority based on the established message systems. It thus brings together the forces that impinge upon the teachers before they have to cope with more extreme views of the pupils and some of the parents.

In its focus on the teacher-student interface, Chapter 8 shows that the cultural negotiations between the members of these groups are also underpinned by contrasted views of the message systems, religious mission, and authority and control. Students, like many of their parents, appear to have developed a perspective that is informed of modernity, and is thus at odds with the sectarian tradition. Consequently, student contestation seeks to change the message systems, to redefine the teacher's role and to promote cultural transformation. The data shows students to be agents of modernity in the traditional SDA school setting through their contact with 'pop', media-culture. Furthermore, their criteria of evaluation are influenced by a perspective that views everything as a politicised form of activity. This is borne out in the chapter's portrayal of the significant influence of a countercultural group which attempts to subvert the official agenda of the school. However the politics are more complex than a simple bi-partite relationship with each group
subscribing to a homogenous ideology. The forms of affiliation that
students construct are shown to promote a stratified micro-society.
Consequently a unified, cohesive school community appears problematic.

Chapter 8 also adds to the previously introduced notion of
contradiction and ideological inconsistency among the various groups
of participants. The lack of authenticity that some students criticise
in the Church organisation is no more hypocritical than some of their
own activity. It is significant that, like the teachers, student
contestation tends to be limited to the religious curriculum. The
demonstrated tendency to reject tradition per se effectively
eliminates elements which might actually enhance the quality of life
and community.

Transformation as a consequence of cultural politics is further
developed as Chapter 9 focuses on the modes of adaptation or strategic
responses on the part of teachers as they attempt to cope with the
dilemmas emanating from student resistance and contestation. These
dilemmas tend to fall into categories which are consistent with
earlier chapters: that is, they relate to knowledge, culture and
control. These dilemmas are compounded by pressures arising from
parental and organisational expectations, and differential factors
within the teacher group itself. The data show that responses in the
form of withdrawal, increased authoritarianism, or complete acceptance
of modernity are inadequate and the result is failure of one kind or
another. The patterns of exchange that are negotiated between teachers
and students reflect the power of student mediation. The main outcome
is shown to be not only an idiosyncratic, pragmatic compromise that
fails to reproduce the cultural tradition, but also represents a
response which sees the active promotion of the values and mores of
wider society. Among the teachers themselves, phases of fragmentation
and alienation influenced by differences in age, background and training produce a disabling sense of personal stress and failure that exacerbates the declining morale resulting from administration-teacher relationships discussed earlier in Chapter 6.

But despite the relatively pessimistic implications for the continuity of the SDA tradition, the final section of Chapter 9 shows another side of transformation. It shows how the perception of crisis has become a catalyst for reflexive critique leading to agency aimed at cultural reconstruction towards a new view of what SDA education is about. That agency is characterised by negotiation based on the more democratic, participative principles articulated by teachers in Chapter 7. However it is significant that much of this critique and agency begins at the informal, individual level, behind the doors of teachers' classrooms. Nevertheless, data indicates that changes are also occurring at the organisational level suggesting that a progressively satisfactory solution to the dilemmas may be possible.

III. CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF THE THEMES OF THE ETHNOGRAPHY

This section engages in the critical interrogation of data represented by the preceding summary. In so doing, it draws on a theoretical base represented in the first three chapters of the thesis, particularly Chapter 2.

The Social Construction of a Cultural Paradigm

The notion of a dialectical relationship between agency and structure appears to be fundamental to an understanding of the social dynamics of Adventism throughout its history.
From this perspective, any consideration of cultural reproduction should recognise that 'every act of communication to or between human beings...presupposes a signification system as its necessary condition' (Eco, cited in Giddens, 1979:98). In this thesis, such a 'signification system' is represented in the Seventh-day Adventist culture as it is introduced in Chapter 4. This culture is regarded as the outcome of successive episodes of constitutive social production by active human agents in 'time-space' (Giddens, 1979, 1981). Despite Adventism's appearance as a new and distinct sub-culture during the nineteenth century, that genesis was not totally voluntaristic. The 'fundamentally recursive character of social life, and...the mutual dependence of structure and agency' (Giddens, 1979) is discernible in the social dynamics surrounding its emergence. It originated from a specific socio-historical matrix: that is, from a particular 'time-space'. Although the group's activity may not have been strongly constrained initially by social structures within its own milieu, its sectarian culture was still dialectical in the sense that it constituted a radical response, at that moment, to a social world beyond (Wilson, 1982). It could not transform that world, thus it rejected it, and withdrew from it.

Ongoing agency within the group was enabled by a developing discourse based on shared meanings that supported creative symbolic interaction between the members of the group. The outcome was a paradigm or ideology which articulated answers to the search for meaning, both at the individual and group level. Chapter 4 represents a historical, evolutionary account of the social construction of the SDA cultural paradigm that came to inform and shape the subsequent inter-subjective consciousness and discourse. That culture or moral order, may thus be understood as a 'structure of signification'.
(Giddens, 1979) that is not simply an artifactual description, but is inherently 'purposeful' (Sirotnik and Oakes, 1986:11). It is this factor that gives relevance to the notions of both the reproduction of that culture, and the SDA school as a reproductive institution.

In its early phase, life within Adventism appears to have been informal, collaborative, mutually supportive and charismatic-leader influenced, soon resembling Hegel's 'community' or Tonnies' *gemeinschaft* (Tonnies, 1957; Rizvi, 1986). The evolution of this particular social order shows a marked tendency towards an institutional structure. However it never ceases to presented itself as a group of knowledgeable agents (Greenfield, 1980) whose interaction is marked by phases or 'episodes' reflecting distinctive but changing images (Giddens, 1981). These insights focus attention on the political and ideological character of historical SDA discourse and social relations that, although always apparent, became more pronounced and visible as Adventism took on the form of an institutionalised sectarian organisation, particularly from the point of its formalisation in 1863. The emergent organisation represented a sectarian consciousness comprising: (1) a characteristic 'reality'; (2) a 'response to the world'; (3) a 'gnosis', that is, a meaning system that includes its 'koinonia', or community, and its 'eschatology' or sense of historical location and identity, and; an 'apologetic' for the defense of the legitimacy of its ideology (Berger, 1986:381-385). Thus the identity, mission, doctrine, social relationships and *modus-operandi* of the SDA organisation came to constitute a distinctive 'morphology' (Benson, 1977). In terms of Benson's schema, that morphology reflected: (1) a commitment to 'a domain, a technology, and an ideology' that interpreted and justified its activities; (2) a 'legitimate structural arrangement' of social
roles and role sets characterised by 'differentiation, centralization and bureaucratisation'; (3) a 'constitution' or 'bases of participation and involvement'. and; (4) 'organization-environment linkages', that is, 'the patterning or structuring of social relations with organizations and individuals external to the...organization' (Benson, 1977:11).

A conceptualisation such as this highlights the underlying political implications in the institutionalisation of Adventism as it became concerned with the preservation of the status quo. Thus the cultural politics reflect an attempt to reify the culture through the articulation of a doctrinal creed, and to legitimise certain kinds of power relations in which ultimate decision-making and the control of knowledge came to be the assumed prerogative of a few, in this instance, of the clergy administration. In Giddens' terms, the 'structure of signification' reflects the 'naturalisation' of the existing state of affairs, and the creation of 'normative modes of regulation' (1979). The sustaining of cultural power and dominance by clergy-administrators from early beginnings is noted to be dependent on the creation and reproduction of hegemonic relations similar to those conceptualised by Gramsci (1971). These relations are based on moral and intellectual persuasion which results in their establishment as 'common sense' to the group's members.

In the final analysis, the Seventh-day Adventism as sectarian organisation must be recognised as conservative, with continuity and transmission being a priority. In other words, the Church's intentions are bi-focal: to reproduce the cultural tradition and maintaining the status quo. The 'purposeful' character of culture emphasised by Sirotkin and Oakes (1986) stands out clearly.
The Reproduction of SDA Culture

It is significant that Berger and Luckmann (1963) see the sociology of religion as incorporating a sociology of knowledge. In similar vein, the thesis portrays Adventism's growing interest in socialisation based on the reproduction of what constitutes a 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1971). The management of knowledge came to be an issue in this process, particularly once the organisation was formalised.

Although the family, the Church and the school are seen by the organisation in a tripartite relationship, it is the SDA school which stands out most prominently as a 'technology of control' for institutional interests. Although the thesis accounts for early innovation, negotiation and debate over what was to constitute 'christian education', ultimately the educational programme as it now theoretically stands, came to reflect distinct modes of selection, classification, distribution, transmission and evaluation of knowledge considered fundamental to socialisation. But while these are believed to serve the 'needs' of the individual, they also reflect the principles of management in the interests of social control, and thus reproduction (Bernstein, 1975; Bates, 1983a).

The translation of Bernstein's notion of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation 'message systems' into the 'message systems of sectarian organisations' as discussed in Chapter 2 appears to provide an appropriate theoretical perspective from which to understand the way in which the principles of reproduction and control are embodied in organisational structures of SDA education. This perspective is strengthened further by noting the relationships drawn by Habermas between reproductive processes at the cultural, social and individual
level, and their perceived contribution to the maintenance of 'the structural components of the life-world' (1982:279). Accordingly, the SDA tradition or 'life-world' is fundamentally dependent on its epistemology. The rigorously defined dogma and doctrines of the Church are cultural in the sense that they are ostensibly agreed, 'propositional knowledge'. In other words, they constitute a corpus of knowledge that is the argued basis of normative belief and behaviour. It is this knowledge that is explicitly incorporated into the SDA school curriculum with 'the potency...for channeling thought and action' (Popkewitz, 1981:189). Bates' (1983a) questions relating to 'what counts as knowledge' and the ideology that legitimates that selection are relevant. The SDA educational philosophy examined and discussed in Chapter 6 clearly articulates an epistemology characterised by given knowledge from biblical sources. This is not inconsistent for a Christian-religious organisation. It would be difficult to conceive such an organisation without that fundamental tenet. However, Chapter 5 shows that in the articulation and implementation of that philosophy through the message systems of the school, the knowledge base is significantly augmented by a distinctive interpretation and perspective that reflects modes of social control invoked in the pursuit of institutional interests.

Popkewitz's argument also draws attention to the 'potency of the institutional context...for reinforcing and legitimating social values about authority and control'(1981:189). This view is seen to be valid in the case of the 'visible pedagogy' that prevails at Maranatha. Both direct and indirect control is clearly discernible in pedagogical relationships as represented in published documents such as the 'Education Handbook' and the 'School Handbook' cited and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. The predominant pedagogy tends to fall neatly into
Bernstein's notion of 'ritual', either for 'consensus' (to foster identity within, and continuity of the organisation), or for 'differentiation' (to define and reinforce social relationships, status and authority, and the terms of the individual's attachment to the organisation). Esland's comment is illuminating when he argues the concept of 'pedagogy as culture' (1977:9). These characteristics are consistent with the maintenance of the status quo and are seen to affect both teachers and students, inside and outside of the classroom, and in the context of both the religious and secular curricula.

The criteria that theoretically define and evaluate 'success' in SDA education flow out of, and are linked with, the 'curriculum' and the 'pedagogy' message systems affecting all school life and experience. Thus the 'evaluation' message system is explicitly normative and ranks most highly those individuals who display compliance, commitment and ethical behaviour in harmony with a knowledge base that is founded not only on the organisation's official interpretation of Scripture but is also augmented by the writings of White. That perspective is most recently defined in 'The 27 Fundamentals'.

The examination of SDA education's intended reproductive function from the perspective of message systems highlights the issue of epistemology. A close relationship exists between this conservative sectarian organisation and the assumptions that underlie prevailing conceptions of education and knowledge. These tend to be founded on both a positivist epistemology and an unproblematic, functionalistic perspective of socialisation. In view of the Church's fundamental view of the status of the Scriptures as 'revealed' knowledge, it is no surprise that there is a tendency to see all knowledge in objective,
absolute terms as discussed in the survey of theoretical literature in Chapter 2. As a result, the invalidation and exclusion of subjectivity informed by social experience actually reinforces the status quo, and legitimises the modes of control. The entrenched assumptions that underlie the traditional, taken-for-granted concepts of stability and continuity effectively discount the validity of any form of conflict, thus reinforcing hegemony and buttressing the organisation against change (Fay, 1975).

The Transformation of Administrative Modes of Management

Despite the organisation’s resistance to change amongst its members, the data reflects a significant change that has taken place on the part of the organisation’s administration. This change may be understood in terms of a transformation of the basic message systems (Bates, 1983b). Chapter 6 argued that the mechanisms of control are implicit in the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation message systems, a fourth message system – the administration message system – reinforces these controls more explicitly (Bates, 1983a). In view of the ‘recursive character of social life, and... the mutual dependence on agency and structure’ (Giddens, 1979:69), such transformation does not occur in a social vacuum. An appropriate question is, ‘What are the cultural determinants of that transformation?’ (Giroux, 1983a). Benson’s comments are applicable when he suggests that agency occurs in ‘a complex network of relations linking participants to each other and to the social world in a multiplicity of ways’ (1977:12). The answer to the question is therefore also complex and is extends over remaining discussion in this section.
In this thesis, the theory directs attention to specific modes of control over knowledge and the lives of individuals, both teachers and students. The hierarchical, clergy-controlled administration structure of the Church constitutes a 'technology of control'. The management of knowledge is fundamental to this particular organisation's perspective and purposes. However it is the intensification of that management reflected in the 'reification and fetishization of ideas, and commodification of many aspects of educational life such as curriculum "packages", educational credentials , and ultimately the educational life itself' that is an issue for concern (Masemann, 1982:13-14).

The theoretical elaboration of technological, bureaucratic consciousness is valid in this instance as it draws attention first, to the tendency of SDA management 'to conceptualize phenomena in terms of component parts, thus facilitating their redesign into new and more efficient systems', and second, to its hegemonic power to maintain its legitimacy (Bowers, 1985:41). The cognitive style that informs inspection, accreditation, work-management formulae and accountability procedures, represents the 'orderliness, componentiality, arbitrariness, predictability, explicit abstraction, moralized anonymity and passivity' that is perceived to characterise social relations between the administration and teachers (Wake, 1979. See also Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973). Within this regime there appears to be no room for personal autonomy, democracy or pluralistic perspectives, particularly with respect to teachers. On the contrary, administrative practices have the effect of not only constraining agency but also transforming teachers through manipulative processes of deskilling and reskilling (Apple, 1982), particularly in the context of the management of religious instruction. This process appears to be enhanced by interaction strategies in which the lines of
administration-teacher communication become 'systematically distorted' (Habermas, 1979, 1982; Forester, 1980; Watkins, 1986). It would appear that an intense concern for the maintenance of orthodoxy and the continuity of the Church in the face of a perceived decline in spirituality and commitment legitimises the process. But the outcome is a contradiction between educative and managerial concerns at the school level. These dynamics account for the emergence of what, at times, may resemble a 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961). It would appear that, as a sectarian organisation, the Church faces a problem in adopting a technology of control while still maintaining the ethos of its earliest phase of development which more accurately reflected the informality and spontaneity of the New Testament apostolic community (Andersen, 1984). However the perceived need for institutionally perceived 'efficiency' and 'excellence' in a rapidly growing school system appears to legitimise a form of managerialism closely resembling the 'scientistic' rationality that pervades modern industrial society (Habermas, 1971).

When the implications of the emerging social dynamics are viewed against the parent organisation's morphology, a number of contradictions or 'disjunctions' stand out in opposition (Benson, 1977; Giddens, 1979). In this thesis, contradictions relate to two correlated domains: the control of knowledge, and the control of individual agency. First, the claim of 'free moral agency' theoretically espoused by the Church generally, and the school specifically, stands in stark contrast to attempts throughout the organisation's history to establish and impose a fundamental creed to articulate official doctrine and dogma to mediate cultural interaction. A significant, direct relationship exists between this attempt and the message systems of the school, particularly with
respect to the Bible curriculum and the enforcement of cultural norms. Instead of autonomy and democracy implied at the morphological level, coercion suddenly becomes 'natural' and 'legitimate'. However this carries with it an associated problem. The push to reproduce the reality of 'the pioneers' of the Church raise a question for some: 'Which pioneers?'. Second, teachers occupy a contradictory location in the organisation with respect to the production and control of knowledge as a cultural resource (Watkins, 1983). Controls over academic freedom and the refusal by educational administrators to negotiate over contentious curriculum issues defines them as technicians of the dominant social order of the Church rather than as authentic intellectuals. Third, there is a marked contrast between the kind of holistic, integrated curriculum claimed to be philosophically valid, and the tightly classified and framed curriculum that is structured and maintained by official administrative modes of control imposed upon the school.

These contradictory transformations may also be viewed as 'unintended outcomes' in as much as they are inimical to the maintenance of a sense of community and social cohesiveness. In Giddens' terms, contradictions are not only 'disjunctions', but may also 'underlie or stimulate retrograde movements of historical change' (1979:143). It is relevant to note however that while these contradictions may be seen more readily in terms of social production at the micro level, the macro impact of wider society and its power to erode and penetrate the traditional sectarian boundaries is significant. Although at its genesis, the organisation was world rejecting, its curricular decisions with respect to education in its secondary schools reflect the rationality of modernity dominated by an ethos based on materialistic and capitalistic values. This different
image is associated with a form of ambivalence in which the organisation hovers between tradition and modernity.

A significant unintended outcome is the creation of a 'disabling pattern' in the relationships between the administration and teachers, and between teachers and ministers (Pusey, 1976). In the former relationship, the rigid, centralised administrative structure and the modes of management tend to dominate in what Pusey regards as a tripartite relationship between the 'formal' structure (i.e. the distribution of authority within the organisation), its 'technology' (i.e. the cognitive and physical basis of operation), and its 'social system' (i.e. patterns of human interaction). The data shows that instead of promoting uniformity and consensus, it frequently produces withdrawal, ingratiating or aggression. The experience of many SDA teachers might be understood in terms of Habermas's 'distortions of communication' at the 'political-administrative' and 'socio-cultural' levels, thereby producing crises of 'legitimacy' (Habermas, 1975, 1979, 1984; Forester, 1980; Watkins, 1986). Data shows similar crises to be the product of relationships between ministers and teachers. This is significant in view of a 'ministry', that is ostensibly shared by both groups. But in actuality, the relationship reflects a political struggle for prestige, authority and control between two competing interest groups (Benson, 1973). The domination of teachers by the clergy is epitomised by the presidential power base that first mediates the operation of the schools and the lives of teachers, and second, buttresses its power and status by action that legitimises and sustains hegemonic control (Giddens, 1979). Once again the dynamics take the form of a 'vicious circle' that is socially counterproductive, both corporately and individually (Pusey, 1976).
Resistance and Transformation

Despite the hegemonic power of SDA administrative control over the practice of teachers, the thesis shows that the notion of 'total domination' that pervades earlier reproduction theory is 'a myth' (Giroux, 1980). As Clarke and his associates (1981) emphasise, cultural hegemony must not only be won, but must also be reproduced and sustained. The data shows that the Church, and, likewise, the school within it, are not static institutions but are sites of political negotiation and struggle over cultural resources. Organisational constraint tends to motivate resistance. As Giddens argues, 'structure thus is not to be conceptualised as a barrier to action, but as essentially involved in its production' (1979:70). Within this milieu, 'all social actors, no matter how lowly, have some degree of penetration of the social forms which oppress them' (1979:72).

In this study some resistance and contestation stands out as a strategic counter-response to the moral and/or intellectual constraints imposed on participants by the organisation and its institutions. That is, it represents a dialectic between an 'oppositional logic' and a 'logic of domination' (Giroux, 1983a; Bullough, 1984). It involves the agency of both teachers and students, since both groups are subject to institutional control: the teachers, through administrative structures, and students, through the message systems of the school. However the emergent dynamics are more than a simple response between each distinct group and the institution. In one sense, teachers and students appear to have some interests in common. The motivation for this common resistance partly stems from the conscious reflection of knowledgeable agents who perceive the
illegitimacy of institutional control over knowledge and culture. For many teachers, such control is located in the Church administration. But for students, the school, and thus, the teachers, symbolise Church authority, thereby throwing teachers into 'lived antagonistic relations' with students (Giroux, 1981). Data in Chapter 8 reflects the politics of cultural negotiation between students and teachers. In the context of SDA education, that agency represents an attempt to activate the search for alternative social arrangements. That is, it seeks to reconstruct the message systems, and the relationships and forms of control that are implicit in them. At all times, the potential of this dialectical struggle is a transformation of the culture, and thus, the image of the organisation.

For students, contestation tends to be overtly antagonistic like that of Willis's 'lads' (1977). Their action constitutes a 'hidden counter-curriculum' (Riseborough, 1985:212). That is, they tend to 'meet symbolic violence with symbolic violence of their own' (1985:229). It too is recognised by teachers as a 'ritualistic style' that is 'lived out in countless small ways which are special to the school institution' (Willis, 1977:12). Though the data shows this style to pervade much of school life, it is significant to this thesis that resistance is most prevalent in the context of religious instruction and efforts to sustain the values and mores of the official culture.

However the understanding of the data is assisted by Giroux's argument that not all resistance stems from oppressive relationships. Some 'oppositional behaviour' is the product of 'contradictory discourses and values' (Giroux, 1983a: 286). 'Modernity', as a dominant ideology outside the organisation's boundaries, impinges to a varying degree on the consciousness of students, and contributes
significantly to the dynamics being played out in the school. Chapter 8 shows the impact of the media on the students and its power first, to 'secularise' religious perceptions of reality through its pluralising and relativising forces, and second, to weaken the plausibility structures that have been fundamental to traditional sectarian life (Berger, 1977; Gitlin, 1981). While the majority of teachers continue to show evidence of commitment to the Christian tradition, there is a marked contrast between the ideology of the organisation and their own definitions of authentic epistemology, pedagogy and axiology. The disparity is particularly marked in those aspects which set the organisation apart as 'a sect'. Therefore, while data shows that teacher resistance is, in part, a strategic response to a logic of domination, that resistance is also attenuated by a transformed world view or perspective, particularly among the younger teachers. The data shows that it is this factor that also compounds the problems for some teachers in their relationships with their colleagues. Giroux's comment is also applicable here when he points out that at the core of cultural politics 'is a semiotic reading of the style, rituals, language, and systems of meaning that inform the cultural terrains of subordinate groups' (1983a:284). For teachers, the ensuing dynamics pose critical dilemmas centering on the message systems.

The data of Chapter 9 is particularly important in as much as it portrays the power of students both to critically define and control schooling, and to mediate teachers' identities and careers (Riseborough, 1985; Angus, 1984, 1986). Their power to initiate and mediate the dynamics in the negotiation of exchanges leads to the creation of a new basic teaching paradigm (Willis, 1977). That is, they have the power to subvert and transform the message systems of
the school. Once again, these dynamics add to the overall picture of a struggle in which new 'attachments' are being developed (Connell et al., 1982). These new forms of affiliation are a portent of cultural transformation, and a determinant of a changing image of schooling. Of particular significance is the pragmatic and idiosyncratic character of strategic, adaptive responses such as 'withdrawal', 'fraternisation' or 'compromise' on the part of many of the teachers, particularly in the face of intensive student agency. The emerging culture of the school therefore represents a symbiosis of student and teacher action (Ball and Goodson, 1985; Riseborough, 1985). Nevertheless, it would appear that students wield the greatest power in the dynamics. The changing culture has direct implications for 'mutation' of the organisation as a sect, and the steady trend towards 'denominationalism' (Wilson, 1975).

It is now possible to recognise a link between the strengthening of institutional controls discussed earlier and the socio-cultural change within the Church. Attention has already been drawn to the predisposition of sectarian organisations such as this to adopt bureaucratic modes of management as a typical mode of control (see Chapter 2). However the augmentation of that management with the technocratic rationality that is prevalent in modern society may be viewed as an adaptive response to threatened change and perceived failure reflected in declining religiosity and commitment at the micro level. Students also present themselves collectively as 'a force to be reckoned with'. The institutional answer is a further tightening of control. Two points may be noted: first, student agency constitutes a significant determining force in the transformation of the organisation, and second, through these students as 'agents of modernity', the forces of macro society are able to impinge on an
organisation which is ostensibly partitioned from it. Thus the data shows that the forms of resistance and contestation noted at Maranatha may not lead inevitably to the betterment of life as envisaged. As Giddens (1979) argues, change may constitute 'system degradation'. There is a 'possibility that contradiction can underlie or stimulate retrograde movements of historical change' (1979:143). Theory points to a number of other contradictory transformations arising out of the cultural politics at MHS.

Relations with students, administration and wider society impact upon teachers in a way that promotes contradictory adaptive transformations. As in Sharp and Green's study, 1975), there is frequently a disparity between the stated commitment of teachers to a particular paradigm, and their actual practice. Despite their espousal of an integrated curriculum that emphasises religious values and a less visible pedagogy and evaluation system, they are transformed in a number of contradictory ways. They conform to the demands both macro and micro society in the form of an external examination system. They strive in a 'knowledge factory' to sustain a collection type code that emphasises high status secular knowledge. The outcome is the effective devaluation of religious knowledge, and the promotion of a competitive, meritocratic, stratified micro society. Relations with students frequently constitute a 'vicious circle' (Pusey, 1976) as teachers denigrate and stereotype students and dehumanise those relations through withdrawal. These dynamics both turn back on teachers themselves, producing debilitating stress (Maslach, 1982), and contribute to a trend which militates against a communitarian ideal within the school. In consequence of their relations with the administration, teachers also transform themselves. Despite instances of authentic administrative effort to address problems, data in
Chapter 7 shows that teachers' anti-intellectualism and their inclination to 'resist on principle' constitutes an obstacle to resolution. Like the 'lads' in Willis's (1977) study, teachers, in this instance, 'discount the power of critical thinking as a tool of social transformation' (Giroux, 1983a:284).

Despite their claim to espouse 'relevance', students also contradict themselves when they succumb to macro social forces in their unquestioning acceptance of a state mediated curriculum, in as much as it appears to provide 'cultural capital' to ensure economic and social success. This preoccupation on the part of students and their parents also constitutes significant pressure sufficient to influence the administration to demand 'academic excellence' from the schools. Students, too, create an obstacle to the development of communitarian values by willingly engaging in a spirit of competitiveness and individualism to achieve this 'success'. Though they are ready to criticise the organisation for insincerity, their own readiness to 'work the system' for their own gain is contradictory. Finally, like the teachers, and like Willis's 'lads', they create an obstacle to positive transformation by their tendency to totally reject anything that symbolises institutional knowledge, culture or control. In so doing, they refuse to acknowledge the social value of aspects of the culture which have provided, and may continue to contribute to the betterment of life.

It should not be forgotten that the agency-structure dialectic envisages penetration of oppressive forms by knowledgeable actors (Giddens, 1979:72). The contradictory transformations discussed above constitute oppressive forms just as much as as those created at the formal institutional level. Yet Giddens also argues that obstructive structural barriers play a part in the recursive character of the
ongoing dynamics. In this thesis, the sense of crisis perceived by teachers at Maranatha towards the end of the study is indicative of 'conscientisation' and 'problematising' on the part of participants (Freire, 1970). That is, they have been able to penetrate structural obstacles. However the data suggests that the most effective transformative agency occurs at the informal level, much of it being played out in 'back-stage regions' (Goffman, 1961) rather than in close consultation at the formal, institutional level. In this sense, and in spite of their apparently contradictory location, data suggests that teachers may figure more significantly in the cultural reconstruction in the future.

IV. THE THEORY IN THE LIGHT OF THE DATA

The theoretical significance of the foreshadowed problems called for the adoption of a mode of inquiry based on an alternative theoretical paradigm to adequately address the situation. This alternative was based on a body of theoretical and empirical literature with roots in critical social theory and/or ethnographic research on schools and schooling. The assumptions underlying the approach were presented in Chapter 1 and expanded in Chapter 2. This section interrogates those assumptions and the supporting theory from the perspective of the data gathered in this study.

An important question must be addressed with respect to the relevance of much of this theory to this particular study, in as much theory of this genre associates the school with the reproduction of the relations of the workplace and thus, of material production and capitalism. Consequently the school is regarded as an ideological apparatus of the State, not only favouring a dominant, privileged
social class through the structuring of curricula and social relations, but also legitimising those structures through a 'hidden curriculum' based on intellectual and moral regulation, or hegemony. The question may be rightly asked, What relevance does such theory have to church school education, particularly if the institution reflects a sectarian character that apparently isolates it from wider society?

Popkewitz's comment provides an initial link when he draws attention to the

...institutional character of school, the potency of the institutional context not only for channeling thought and action, but also for reinforcing and legitimating social values about authority and control (Popkewitz, 1981:189).

In the first place, SDA education does have something fundamentally in common in as much as it represents an ideological institution with explicit reproductive intentions. These intentions appear to be founded on a management of knowledge and social relations. The examination of SDA publications both at the centralised administrative and individual school levels gives credence to Bernstein's analysis of

the principles of transmission and their embodiment in structures of social relationships...(A)alysis which (can) be applied to families, pupils and teachers and to their inter-action (Bernstein, 1975:3).

Chapter 2 developed this analysis to encompass the management of knowledge, ritual and evaluation in sectarian education. The analysis of SDA educational philosophy shows that the transmission and management of knowledge is fundamental to the continuity of a social group such as this. Again, the data substantiates the translation of Bernstein's perspective to a significant degree, particularly when it focuses attention on: what counts as knowledge; how it is organised
and transmitted; how access to that knowledge is determined; the processes of control; and the ideology that justifies the system (Bates, 1983a).

Chapter 2 acknowledged criticism of Bernstein and others of his specific genre: that is, they constitute a static, deterministic, imposition on passive individuals who have no capacity for agency and resistance (Apple and Wexler, 1978). However it was argued that the criticism would only remain valid if that theory was taken exclusively. That argument is sustained in this study where in Chapter 5 it proves a valuable analytical perspective to identify the explicit dimensions of the reproductive intentions of SDA schooling and the modes of control that undergird them.

The thesis complements this analysis with a 'relational' interactive analysis that adds 'the flesh and blood of human existence' (Apple and Wexler, 1978:39) by placing individuals as knowledgeable, active agents in a dialectical relationship with humanly instituted structures. The data throughout the thesis both supports, and is supported by, the relationship between agency and structure as theorised by Giddens (1979). 'The work', as Adventist metaphor describes the organisation, equates with Greenfield's notion of organisations: that is, 'people doing and thinking' (1980:27). The entire history of the organisation reflects successive and overlapping episodes of recursive social interaction, construction and reconstruction.

The data supports the concept of culture as an artifact that reflects distinctive shapes of relations, beliefs, values and 'maps of meaning' (Clarke et al., 1981). This study, too, rejects traditional notions of culture as a static structure imposed on individuals, and the data adds integrity to the concept of culture as ongoing
discursive social production and lived experience (Apple, 1982a; Willis, 1977).

The point is clearly made that culture is 'purposeful' (Sirotnik and Oakes, 1986), and the school figures prominently in that effort. There is agreement with Bates' argument that

...educational organisations, above all, are committed to the maintenance, transmission and recreation of culture (Bates, 1982:5-6).

This is further borne out by Adventism's highly orchestrated attempt to reproduce its culture through a bureaucratically managed education programme. The data in Chapter 6 particularly adds credibility to Bates' argument for a fourth message system: an administrative message system that represents a transformation of the basic message systems of Bernstein.

However, despite apparently unproblematic reproduction over earlier generations of Adventists, data in Chapters 4, 7, 8 and 9 is in agreement with the claim by a number of theorists that although a culture may give the appearance of uniformity and cohesiveness, that particular 'whole way of life' may not be equally shared by all the members of the group (Clarke et al., 1981; Bates, 1986b). Although Clarke and his colleagues see inequality in terms of material production, economic wealth and, in consequence, social power, this particular social situation does have something in common with this theory, albeit in a 'translated' form. In this instance, knowledge is a 'commodity' with capital value, and it is the controlling of that knowledge by a clergy-dominated administration that is fundamental to the maintenance of power and prestige by a privileged 'class'. The dynamics played out in epistemological debate described in Chapter 4, and the account in Chapter 6 of institutional controls over knowledge
and teachers' lives and careers both by the clergy and the clergy-controlled administration adds another dimension to Gramsci's (1971) notion of 'hegemony'. This exemplifies Greenfield's assertion that organisations are expressions of relationships of differential power between actors (1983).

The data adds support to the theory of resistance growing out of the work of Apple, Willis, Giroux and others, and with it, the notion of cultural politics in the struggle for control and to change the existing hegemony prevailing in the organisation. As Clarke and his associates argue, that cultural hegemony must be 'won, worked for, reproduced (and) sustained' (1981:57). This particular social situation reflects the complexity of the dynamics as the various groups of 'knowledgeable' actors - teachers, students, parents, administrators, ministers - demonstrate a capacity to either challenge the logic of domination or respond by modifying and reinforcing structures of control over consciousness and human action : that is, over culture. In particular, it emphasises the impact of student power to modify curriculum, pedagogical relationships, and evaluation practices at the micro level. However the thesis takes side with Giroux when he emphasises that some oppositional behaviour stems from different perspectives held by participants rather than from domination (1983c). In this thesis, the notion of modernity and its determining impact upon the consciousness is made credible (Berger, 1977; Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973). In this way, the study substantiates critical theory's interest in the impact of social determinants at the macro level.

The theory that views the transformation of culture as a potential outcome of recursive, political, human action is also upheld. However this data suggests that the Hegelian dialectic that tends to imply the
inevitable resolution of contradiction is utopian. It is shown that dialectical activity does not necessarily lead to praxis and the betterment of life. Rather, the notion of contradiction in both Giddens’ agency-structure dialectic and Benson’s (1977) conceptualisation of organisations is supported. Like Willis, this study also shows that social production may create further obstacles and limitations. But it goes further by showing that all groups of actors may be responsible for contradictory, obstructive transformation. For example: students and teachers, in the form of adaptive responses and forms of affiliation with one another (Woods, 1979; Connell et al., 1982); teachers and other employed personnel in their interpersonal relations (Benson, 1973); and the educational administration of the Church in the tightening of controls through recourse to modes of ‘managerialism’ based on ‘technocratic rationality’ and ‘distorted communication’ between itself and practitioners (Habermas, 1971, 1979, 1982; Forester, 1982; Watkins, 1986). Although Habermas’s crises are rooted in modern industrial society, the crisis in Adventism closely resembles the dimensions of Habermas’s crises of legitimacy and motivation (Habermas, 1975; Forester, 1982; Watkins, 1986). The tendency towards alienation and fragmentation in the data fit Pusey’s (1976) conceptualisation of the impact of bureaucracy on life in educational institutions.

In discussing transformation and contradiction, the thesis agrees that though agents are knowledgeable and able to penetrate oppressive social forms, that knowledge is frequently limited. As conceptualised by research and theory in the critical genre, this study also shows that social forces of macro society inevitably infect the consciousness of individuals and groups, even in sectarian organisations, and in spite of institutional controls that reflect an attempt to maintain
barriers between wider society. By the same token, data in Chapter 9 suggests that the notion of praxis and the concept of a communitarian ideal as articulated by Rizvi (1986), are at least partially attainable through 'conscientizing' and 'problematizing' (Freire, 1970).

**V. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE THESIS TO THE THEORY**

In the context of the preceding discussion, the thesis may be considered to contribute to the theory in a number of ways.

1. It develops the concept of the school as an ideological apparatus for specific cultural intentions, and the way in which those intentions are embodied in consciously created structures based on principles of control over knowledge and action.

2. It translates and develops a social theory that is normally based on the logic of industrial capitalism, and applies that redevelopment to a social situation which ostensibly falls outside that theoretical domain.

3. By addressing the lived experiences of actors themselves, the thesis adds the 'flesh and bones' that critics argue are missing from earlier structural theories of reproduction. It achieves this by sweeping aside notions of unproblematic determinism and passive individuals, and by acknowledging and portraying cultural politics that underlie the struggles for control that characterise life in schools. In this sense, it transcends traditional concepts of reproduction by addressing the dynamics of struggle and transformation rather than focusing on continuity.
(4) It contributes to the theory of resistance by articulating the internal dynamics in a specific school. It provides a meaningful account of the complexity of these dynamics at the micro level in which different groups of actors develop their own cultural forms in the struggle to either sustain or change hegemonic relations. Thus it adds support to the notion of culture as a social construct in time and space, in a constant state of flux, with potential for transformation.

(5) It adds a macro dimension to the analysis which shows the significant determining impact of wider society upon the consciousness and lives of members of a religious sect: that is, it contributes to a theory of modernity. In so doing, it shows both how the logic of capitalism and production penetrates the boundaries constructed by sectarian religious organisations and how it comes to be incorporated in the hidden curriculum of such schools.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SUMMATION OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE IN THE AUSTRALASIAN DIVISION.

(Note: The Australasian Division was renamed The South Pacific Division during the course of the study.

PHILOSOPHY

The Seventh-day Adventist Church recognizes that God, the Creator and Sustainer of the earth and the entire universe is the Source of knowledge and wisdom. In His image God created man perfect. Because of sin, man lost his original estate, and Christian education, by perfecting faith in Christ, helps to restore in man the image of his maker, nurtures intelligent dedication to the work of God on earth, and prepares him for conscientious service to his fellow men.

Seventh-day Adventists believe that a knowledge of God can never be derived by human reason alone, but that God has communicated His nature, purposes, and plans through divine revelation. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by inspiration of God and contain a revelation of His will to men, and as such constitute for the Church the only unerring rule of faith and practice. The Church also accepts the counsel given through special revelation to the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the writings and ministry of Ellen G. White. In this respect Seventh-day Adventists accept her writings as a guiding principle in their philosophy of education.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church operates a school system to ensure that its youth receive an education in harmony with the Church's Christian standards and ideals and at the same time incorporating an appropriate balance between the academic, social, vocational and spiritual needs of the individual. Seventh-day Adventists believe that there is peculiar to the church, a body of knowledge with its values, beliefs, attitudes and habits that must be transmitted to each succeeding generation in order that the church may continue to exist.

The educational programme of the Church gives primary emphasis to character building and to providing a spiritual foundation in the life of its children and youth. Moreover, it makes abundant provision for the acquisition and interpretation of that which is appropriate from the store of secular knowledge and skills.

The Church recognizes that governments maintain efficient and effective public school systems that are designed to produce good citizens and to promote the general well-being of the individual, therefore the Seventh-day Adventist Church generally follows the basic curriculum devised by secular authorities as used in public school systems. Courses of study prepare students for the various state public examinations while textbooks and other instructional materials
are generally those recommended by state authorities. Time allocations to subjects meet or exceed minimum state requirements. The Church further seeks to maintain in its schools a standard of excellence in the academic field through close liaison with local education authorities.

To fulfill the Church's concept of a balanced education a spiritual dimension permeates the secular educational programme in each school. Religious instruction is accorded the same time allocation in the curriculum as other major subjects. In addition, and as appropriate, the political, social, scientific and economic forces which shape contemporary life and culture are viewed from a scriptural standpoint. As with the secular subjects in the school programme, students are required to attend classes in religious instruction and are invited to participate in the various co-curricular religious activities of the school. No student, however, is required to subscribe to a particular point of view or belief as a condition of entry to continued attendance. The school system sponsored and operated under the aegis of the Seventh-day Adventist Church is designed to enable the child to achieve optimal development in the areas touched by life here and now as well as in the life hereafter.

Selected and adapted from Education Leaflet No. 47 Department of Education General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1952.

GENERAL OBJECTIVES:

Arising out of the statement of Educational Philosophy and the concept of a balanced educational programme, the objectives of Seventh-day Adventist education may be summarised as follows:

RELIGIOUS:

The ultimate religious objective of Christian education is to restore in man the image of God. To this end students are encouraged to adopt a mode of life that will demonstrate integrity and loyalty to the spirit of the Ten Commandments which will be demonstrated in such virtues as kindness, unselfishness, patience, longsuffering and charity to all people. Adventist education stresses a deep understanding of the Scriptures and the specific doctrines of the church. Students will be encouraged to develop these personal qualities and leadership characteristics that will fit them for service at various levels of church organisation.

INTELLECTUAL:

The church seeks to provide a liberal but God-centred professional and vocational education with teaching and learning of the highest quality. The religious, political, social, scientific and economic forces which shape contemporary life are viewed from a Scriptural standpoint. Students are encouraged to develop an intellectual excellence demonstrated by the ability to think deeply, act skilfully and vigorously and not to be mere reflectors of other men's thoughts.
**VOCATIONAL:**

Adventist higher education provides the means by which students may prepare for vocational or professional occupations that will make them effective employees of the church or self-supporting leaders in the community. Students are taught to respect the dignity of labour and to demonstrate a sense of responsibility for economic values by engaging voluntarily in manual labour and other occupational activities provided by the school. Students are encouraged to strive for excellence, initiative, self-reliance, resourcefulness and reliability through work experience.

**SOCIAL:**

Students are encouraged to regard all people of whatever nation, race and language as worthy of respect and therefore are taught to manifest Christian attitudes of decency and courtesy in all social relationships. Furthermore, students are encouraged to practise and uphold wholesome social standards and to exercise self-discipline in their conduct.

**CIVIC:**

Seventh-day Adventists believe that civil governments are divinely ordained to rule in civil matters and are entitled to the respect and obedience of all. The basic principle of separation of church and state is recognised. Acts of charity and participation in the public welfare are interpreted as fulfilling the fundamental Christian principle to love thy neighbour as thyself.

**PHYSICAL:**

Seventh-day Adventists believe that deep and keen mental qualities are enhanced by an understanding of the delicate relationship between the mind and body. Thus students are encouraged to practise temperance and moderation in all aspects of life.
APPENDIX B

MARANATHA SDA HIGH SCHOOL

STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND OBJECTIVES

Maranatha High School is the secondary section of the Maranatha SDA Schools' campus. It is a co-educational day school providing a comprehensive programme from Year 7 to Year 12. The Avondale Schools are owned and operated by the Seventh-day Adventist Church to provide education in harmony with the beliefs, values, life-style and commitment of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Seventh-day Adventists believe in the reality of God the Creator, and that man was created perfect in God's image. Man has fallen from his original perfection through sin. The ultimate aim of Christian education is the restoration of the image of God in man through the redemptive power of Jesus Christ.

An understanding of the world and ourselves is only attainable through an acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as the absolute measure of reality and truth. Education is a search for truth and therefore is guided not only by reason, but also by the revealed will of God in the Bible. Man is endowed with intelligent powers of choice but is accountable to God in every aspect of life.

The process of education involves the development of a set of values upon which all decisions depend. Christian education seeks to enhance sensitivity to values that are in harmony with God's will. The development of character and personality based upon a love for God, unselfish concern for others and personal self-respect, is basic to all curricular objectives. The concept that every child is a candidate for eternity and that education is a preparation not only for this life but also for eternity, is implicit in the total curriculum.

The purposes of the educational activities of the school are to provide opportunities for every student to achieve his maximum development intellectually, spiritually, socially and physically.

OBJECTIVES

1. Spiritual - To foster and promote:

   * An acceptance of Jesus Christ as our personal Saviour.
   * A commitment to a consistent Christian lifestyle.
   * A desire to serve God and our fellow man.
   * An appreciation of Christian worship and spiritual fellowship.
   * A desire to identify in fellowship with the Seventh-day Adventist Church and to actively participate in its outreach.
2. **Academic** - To foster and promote:

* A recognition of our responsibility to develop our talents as God-given gifts to be used in service for others.
* A commitment to excellence through diligent effort.
* An appreciation of knowledge and truth in harmony with revelation through God's word.
* The development of powers of discrimination to select the best and shun the spurious.
* The ability to think logically and critically.

3. **Social** - To foster and promote:

* A healthy self-respect based on a knowledge of self-worth in a Christian context.
* The development of self-control and self-discipline
* Tolerance of others and a concern for their welfare
* Acceptance of responsibility for one's own actions.
* Habits of courtesy, decorum and graciousness.

4. **Physical** - To foster and promote:

* A recognition that we have a sacred responsibility to care for our physical and mental health.
* The development of physical capacity by a temperate lifestyle and an abstinence from those habits harmful to health.
* An awareness of the positive benefits of healthful diet, exercise, rest, leisure, recreation and dress in harmony with the standards of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

5. **Vocational** - To foster and promote:

* A commitment to service for our fellowman as the most fulfilling of life's expectations.
* The development of skills that can be used to spread the Gospel of Christ and His soon coming.
* The dignity of labour and a sense of pride in a job well done.
APPENDIX C

PHILOSOPHY AND OBJECTIVES OF ADVENTIST EDUCATION

(Discussion Paper – Final Draft)

PHILOSOPHY

Seventh-day Adventist education is based upon a world view derived from Christian faith. This view begins with an eternal, loving and personal God who has always existed, is all-powerful and is the source of all truth, beauty and Christian values.

God, through Christ the Son, created this world as a part of His perfect universe. Furthermore, He sustains creation by His power and through natural laws He instituted. Although created perfect, this planet has been corrupted by sin resulting in a world out of harmony with the rest of creation. However God has instituted plans to restore this world to its original perfection.

Man was originally created in God’s image: endowed with intellect, emotion and the power of choice, and possessing unity of body and spirit. Sin, however, has not only corrupted man’s environment, but man himself. God’s image has been marred, yet may He be restored through a personal response to the initiative of Jesus Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit. Man’s meaning, therefore, is found not in himself but in his relationship to His Creator.

All truth finds its centre and unity in God. God communicates truth to man in a general way through the natural world and His providential acts and more specifically through Jesus Christ, the Scripture and other inspired writings. Man comprehends truth through faith, observation and reason, but these avenues to understanding require faith and the direction of the Holy Spirit. Since all truth is God’s truth there is no dichotomy between the sacred and the secular, rather, Christian faith pervades all of life and every activity has spiritual significance.

God, through His moral laws, has outlined standards of ethical behaviour based on His character of love. When adopted by man these laws develop a commitment to selfless service and a personal and loving concern for all.

Man’s appreciation of beauty and his innate creativity, although marred by sin, still reflect God’s image. Without the direction of the Holy Spirit these capacities may be used for evil instead of good. Appreciation of beauty and creativity extend to all man’s cultural activities and involve relationships with God, other people and the natural world.
THE PRIMARY GOAL OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST EDUCATION

The goal of the Seventh-day Adventist school is to promote a redemptive relationship between each student and Jesus Christ and facilitate spiritual growth through the provision of an environment in which Christian nurture can take place.

THE OBJECTIVES OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST EDUCATION

The objectives of Seventh-day Adventist education are derived from its underlying philosophy and are directed toward the achievement of the primary goal. The link between the Christian world view and the objectives of the school become evident in the following statements:

Because we believe in a personal God who is central to the reality of the universe and who is the source of all truth and Christian values, students will be encouraged to:

* recognise God as the source of guidance and direction throughout life;

* search for knowledge and truth through the ways God has chosen to communicate to man, namely, general and special revelation;

* demonstrate an internalisation of Christian doctrine, faith and practice; and

* evaluate knowledge, concepts, ideas and standards against those expressed by God.

Because we believe this world, although out of harmony with the rest of God’s universe as a result of sin, will be restored to its original harmony and perfection, students will be encouraged to:

* recognise the need of a personal Saviour, accept the sacrifice of Christ and develop a continuing relationship with Him;

* develop a Christian character and integrity through a conversion experience mediated by the Holy Spirit;

* develop spiritual sensitivity and awareness;

* establish the habit of daily devotions incorporating prayer and Bible study;

* share Jesus Christ as the solution to human problems; and

* strive for academic excellence and find pleasure in learning.

Because we believe man was originally made in God’s image; endowed with intellect, emotion and the power of choice, and possessing unity of body and spirit, students will be encouraged to:

* Recognise the close relationship between body, mind and spirit;

* develop a healthy self-concept founded on the love and acceptance of God, incorporating a biblically based value system;
* accept that the redemptive work of Jesus Christ imbues all men with infinite worth and is, therefore, the basis for healthy interpersonal relationships;

* develop skills and abilities to their fullest extent and search for knowledge and understanding in the basic branches of learning;

* understand the human organism, its functions, its needs and its care;

* establish principles of healthful living for the continuing maintenance of physical, mental and spiritual well being;

* nurture the ability to choose between right and wrong and foster the desire to choose the right at all times;

* establish a healthy balance between work and recreation.

Because we believe that man's appreciation of beauty and his innate creativity are God given, students will be encouraged to:

* appreciate beauty as a portrayal of God's activity in the world;

* improve the capacity to enjoy and create works of artistic value;

* appreciate that creative abilities are a gift from God and, as such, contribute to harmonious personal development;

* understand that human creativity exists to glorify God and bring peace to fellow man;

* develop personal criteria, based on a biblical model, by which beauty may be evaluated and appreciated; and

* accept responsibility for both the character and the consequences of what they have created.

Because we believe God's laws outline standards of ethical behaviour based on His character which, when adopted by man, result in concern for others and selfless service, students will be encouraged to:

* respect people of other religious and philosophical persuasions;

* engage in responsible citizenship as both a moral obligation and a patriotic duty;

* demonstrate qualities such as kindness, empathy, courtesy, patience, humility, tolerance, generosity and helpfulness;

* recognise fair play and exhibit a positive attitude towards justice;
* demonstrate a commitment to Christian mission and engage in acts of service to mankind to alleviate human suffering and frustration;

* participate in and find fulfilment through co-operative group activity; and

* prepare for the responsibility of leadership in the home, church, community and nation.
APPENDIX D

PRELIMINARY TEACHER INTERVIEW AGENDA

1. What do you see to be the expectations of you as an SDA teacher?

2. Do you find the expectations and responsibilities of SDA teachers unrealistic or conflicting? (i.e. on the part of the organisation, parents, students, etc).

3. How optimistic are you of meeting these expectations?

4. What obstacles stand in the way of you achieving your goals?

5. How do you perceive the students you teach - individually? - as a group?

6. How do you try to develop and maintain rapport with your students?

7. Are you aware of any student resistance towards anything you are trying to do in your work as an Adventist teacher? If so, in what particular areas, and what form does it take?

8. What do you do if a student challenges, disobeys, or ignores you?

9. How much negotiation do you permit or are you conscious of?

10. Are you aware of any particular ways that you adopt to cope with the difficulties or confrontations with students?


12. How do you perceive staff cohesiveness and support?

13. How do you perceive the commitment of the staff to SDA educational philosophy?

14. How optimistic are you about the potential success of SDA educational philosophy as it stands at the present time?

15. Are you ever tempted to think you are in the wrong job? Or giving it up? Why?
APPENDIX E

STUDENT SURVEY QUESTIONS

1. What Year are you in at school? ........... 2. Male or Female?.....

3. Is your mother or father SDA? ...........

4. Are you a baptised SDA yourself? ........

5. From your point of view as a student, what do you most expect the school to do for you?

6. What kind of work/employment would you like to take up after leaving school?

7. What do you expect of the teachers at this school?

8. What do you like or dislike about the teachers at this school?

9. What are your favourite T.V. programmes?
10. Name some of your favourite music.

11. Name some people you would really like to meet and talk with, if you had the chance.
APPENDIX F

SURVEY OF STUDENT INTERESTS - 1986 WEEK OF PRAYER

As you read through the list of statements below, indicate how important each one is to you by giving it a score out of 5 (1 = not very important, 5 = very important). Your scores will be used to help choose the topics discussed during our Week of Prayer in June.

**QUESTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Score</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Salvation - being good vs. believing?</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Judgement - is it going to be that bad?</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What do you do when you don't enjoy church?</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How to beat temptation.</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Bible - why we can trust and enjoy it.</td>
<td>(11)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. How to grow up in a home with no mum or no dad.</td>
<td>(19)</td>
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<td>7. What entertainment can a Christian enjoy?</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The Trinity - Father, Son &amp; Spirit - what are they all about?</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How to get better grades at school.</td>
<td>(Equal 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. How can I have more/better faith?</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. The Millennium and other end of the world events.</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. How to get the right boy/girl friend (dating and all that)</td>
<td>(Equal 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Really effective prayers - how to pray.</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Daniel - the four Super Powers and the Mark of the Beast.</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How can I be better prepared for a career/employment</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. What about sex, drugs, rock and all that?</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Making good friends and keeping them.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. The Holy Spirit, angels and spooks.</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Easy ways to share your faith.</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = Interest ranking based on total student scores.