MEANINGS ABOUT THE CHILD EMBODIED WITHIN KINDERGARTEN TEACHERS' REPORT CARD SLOGANS

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to identify the slogans used by kindergarten teachers when reporting student progress to parents. The meaning of these slogans was defined in terms of the teachers' assumptions about the child. The major question addressed was:

What meanings about the child are embodied within the social-emotional slogans used by kindergarten teachers on report cards?

A secondary problem arising from the first was:

What are the implications for inservice education and for reporting to parents?

Social-emotional slogans were identified and interpreted through analysis of fifty report cards collected from twenty-five kindergarten teachers within one large metro school district. Assumptions about the child clustered under three headings: personal attributes, interpersonal relationships, and work habits, yielding six slogan clusters in total. Six teachers were individually interviewed to clarify and refine the researcher's initial meanings. Five additional teachers participated in the final validation of the slogans and meanings.

Implications were drawn for inservice education from the teachers' interview experience; and for reporting to parents from the teachers' reflective comments on reporting.
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To the memory of my mother,
MARJORIE CONSTANCE HINDS
My first and lasting teacher.
CHAPTER I

PROBLEM

Group affiliation influences one's point of view. Everyday interactions and communications within a group shape and reinforce one's shared beliefs, assumptions and thoughts on matters of common interest. Group members resultantly act in harmony, and unless a problem or disruption arises in their routines, their point of view continues without question.

More specifically, language used by group members moulds this common frame of reference. Beliefs about work, assumptions about society, education and children, and ideas about any number of topics are all embedded within daily language. Instrumentally used to convey feelings and thoughts, language is taken-for-granted by a group, and is rarely examined by them. By example, kindergarten teachers may share a view of the child through language used in reporting student progress to parents.

The purpose of this study was to identify the slogans used by kindergarten teachers when reporting student progress to parents. The meaning of these slogans was defined in terms of the teachers' assumptions about the child. Therefore, the major question addressed was:

What meanings about the child are embodied within the social-emotional slogans used by kindergarten teachers on report cards?
A secondary problem arising from the first was:

What are the implications for inservice education and for reporting to parents?

Because a group perspective on the child was the focus of this research, selected report card language used by a sample of teachers was analyzed for the group's meaning of the 'typical' child rather than the unique individual.

This problem is important for two reasons. Slogans are commonly used by kindergarten teachers when referring to children on report cards. These slogans remain unexamined, even though they embody assumptions about children that stand in need of being identified and interpreted. Further, such a study is important in British Columbia in the current period of change with the introduction of a revised provincial kindergarten curriculum. Insights gained from this study could contribute to inservice education that helps teachers examine their use of slogans.

The following terms are important in this study:

1). SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL SLOGANS: Phrases used to typify the personal and interpersonal attributes of children.

2). MEANINGS: Assumptions about kindergarten children.

For purposes of clarity, the feminine pronoun is used consistently throughout the text of this manuscript.
CHAPTER II
SLOGANS AND THE GROUP

Language is the vehicle of expression, but the words let the life world shine through them.

Assumptions and beliefs about children, schooling, knowledge and knowing lie deeply embedded within the routines and language of teaching, and normally remain unarticulated; yet this level of meaning bears considerable influence on teachers' on-going experiences. As a member of her early childhood group, the kindergarten teacher internalizes assumptions held in common with colleagues, rarely investigated in the course of routine events.

Monica Morris, in her book An Excursion into Creative Sociology, claims: "What people say, the way they say it, and the setting in which they say it provide important clues toward discovering how what is said by people is shaped by, and shapes, their social worlds. The social world is a practical accomplishment of those who act within it; language, both verbal and written, plays a major part in this accomplishment."² This chapter investigates how a particular aspect of language, slogans, used by kindergarten teachers embody meaning about the child. It draws substantially from the work of Alfred Schutz, and from contemporary writers such as Morris in the sociology of language.
SLOGANS ARE SHARED BY A GROUP

Language brings inner thoughts, ideas and images into a public form and understanding, and allows for debate and reflection. Similarly, the external world is mediated in part to human consciousness through linguistic symbols and grammatical rules. Language provides for communication and community. It is used by a group to define their views and organize their experiences of the objective and the inner private world. Berger and Luckmann, in an essay on language and knowledge in everyday life, comment on these 'semantic fields or zones of meaning' of various occupations. Built up through interactions among members of the occupation, these semantic fields selectively store experiences for later use and order present experience. What results is a common stock of knowledge available to all heirs of that occupational community. So it is for teachers who share a frame of reference, a 'stock of knowledge', handed down by past teachers and developed in personal experience.

Ready-made solutions to daily problems are provided by this stock of knowledge. According to Schutz, the everyday world can be experienced in no other way than as an ordered, typical one:

This 'stock' is made up of typifications of the commonsense world...beings and objects are from the outset perceived typically and within a horizon of familiarity. What is new and different is recognized as unusual because it arises against the background of the ordinary...the very texture of commonsense life includes these typifications...This 'stockpiling' of typifications is endemic to commonsense life. From childhood on, the individual continues to amass a vast number of 'recipes' which then serve as techniques for understanding or at least controlling aspects of his experience.

Order is brought to the situation through these typifications and recipes that make up one's store of practical knowledge.
More specifically, an element of one’s stock of knowledge refers to 'typifications', ready-made categories that organize thought and action. Objects of experience are understood and handled according to these standardized schemes taken-for-granted by members of the group. Knowledge of any object through typifications is general and abstract, and identifies typical characteristics or attributes. Interactions also proceed in expected and typical patterns. One may hold, for example, a typification for 'university professor' that shapes how one defines any person so-called and how one acts towards her in various situations. The meaning of typification is summed up by Schutz:

The world...is from the outset experienced in...everyday life in the mode of typicality. The unique objects and events given to us in a unique aspect are unique within a horizon of typical familiarity and preacquaintanceship. There are mountains, trees, animals, dogs - in particular Irish setters and among them, my Irish setter, Rover. Now I may look at Rover either as this unique individual, my irreplaceable friend and comrade, or just as a typical example of 'Irish Setter', 'dog', 'mammal', 'animal', 'organism', or 'object of the outer world'.

In Schutz' example, to see Rover in the latter definition, as a "typical example" is to see him in a typification. Similarly, to refer to a child with a typification such as 'socially immature' is to view the child according to general, typical characteristics ascribed by the teacher group. It is not to see the unique dimensions of that child.

Within this study, typifications used in this sense for the child are referred to as slogans. Slogans are standard categories for defining children and ways of acting towards them that are stock - ready-made by the group and taken-for-granted for understanding children typically.

The seminal part that language, such as slogans, plays in the typification process is expanded on by Schutz:
Language used in daily life...is primarily a language of named things and events. Now any name includes a typification and is...a nonessential empirical generalization. We may interpret the prescientific human language as a treasure house of preconstituted types and characteristics, each of them carrying along an open horizon of unexplored typical contents. By naming an experienced object, we are relating it by its typicality to preexperienced things of similar typical structure, and we accept its open horizon referring to future experiences of the same type, which are therefore capable of being given the same name.

It is in the act of naming an object, idea, or event, therefore, that a typification is applied to vivid experience. The object is linguistically designated as some-thing, as one of a similar group of objects with similar traits and familiar qualities. What it is named (i.e what meaning it is perceived to hold) depends upon the stock of knowledge shared by the group and upon the interest placed upon it at the time. In naming, the experience is ordered according to typified categories; in other words it is cognitively placed in relation to something already known within the boundaries of that category. By example, the kindergarten teacher may interpret and order the behaviour of her students according to linguistic typifications (i.e. slogans) held in common with colleagues. Upon seeing a child playing alone for the fourth day in a row, how does she understand that behaviour? First, the behaviour is named with a slogan: is it social immaturity, emotional insecurity, anti-social behaviour, or something else? Is it 'normal' for the child, at that age? In naming, the behaviour is categorized according to the schemes of typical explanation, typifications, that the teacher has handy for making sense of what she has observed. In the naming, the child's highly personal and unique act is typed and dealt with generally as it applies to the meanings for all
like children in kindergarten. The situation observed is defined and ordered by calling attention to certain characteristics over others.

Slogans are used as she talks and thinks about children. Typical slogans may include, 'hard worker', 'good participant', or 'lacks confidence'.

Slogans may serve at least three purposes when used by members of the teaching group. Initially, slogans allow teachers to treat children in typical and anonymous terms. Discussions about Sonja as a 'hard-working and co-operative student' call to mind comments about Sonja's behaviour that fit typical characteristics. Omitted are descriptions about the unique, concrete individuality of Sonja as student. In this way, Sonja is experienced in an abstract, anonymous sense: as one of a classification of typical 'hard-working students'. Slogans standardize the vissicitudes of individuality and create an objective distance between the child observed and the child labelled. The farther one is removed from the face-to-face experience, in fact, the more anonymous and generalized the slogan becomes. On the other hand, these anonymous categories are commonly understood by members of the group to mean 'something' agreed-upon. All have a shared, objective sense of what a 'hard-working student' means. Any number of children can be so defined by the slogan. Berger and Luckmann substantiate this notion:

Language also typifies experiences, allowing me to subsume them under broad categories in terms of which they have meaning not only to myself but also to my fellowmen. As it typifies, it also anonymizes experiences, for the typified experience can, in principle, be duplicated by anyone falling into the category in question. For instance, I have a quarrel with my mother-in-law. This concrete and subjectively unique experience is typified linguistically under the category [slogan] "mother-in-law trouble"... The same typification ... entails anonymity. Not only I but anyone ... can have "mother-in-law trouble".
Secondly, interpreting the world through linguistic typifications frees the actors to get on with the job at hand. Slogans provide ready-made explanations for phenomena; sorting out the phenomena is simplified. Unquestioned by the group, these recipes are sufficient in many instances for making sense of the situation and acting within it. Slogans enable teachers to orient themselves to children and to the classroom with a minimum of effort. Detailed, specific analysis of behaviour and activity is preempted when things can be adequately understood 'for all practical purposes' through typifications. To know a child is 'doing puzzles', or 'displaying self-confidence' is enough in many instances, and the teachers' attention is released to focus on other aspects of her experience. In communication, slogans may enhance the possibility of understanding between members of the linguistic community; these stock phrases approximate shared meaning between the expressor and the interpretor. For one kindergarten teacher to say to another, "the child is beginning to display self-confidence", no further elaboration may be required. Both refer to their stock of knowledge about typified children to find a suitable interpretation for the slogan. Actions and communications proceed in this way, through the application of slogans owned by the group.

Slogans do more than passively organize experience and influence how typified objects and behaviour are dealt with - they determine what action is taken and what characteristics are apprehended. In Schutz's example of Rover, this relationship of typification to action is explained:

If we see a dog, that is, if we recognize an object as being an animal and more precisely as a dog [and so name it], we anticipate a certain behaviour on the part of this dog, a
typical (not individual) way of eating, of running, of playing, of jumping, and so on. Actually we do not see his teeth, but having experienced before what a dog's teeth typically look like, we may expect that the teeth of the dog before us will show the same typical features though with individual modifications.8

The work of Strauss on language and identity corroborates the thesis made by Schutz in his discussion of typification:

This necessity for any group to develop a common or shared terminology leads to an important consideration: the direction of activity depends upon the particular ways that objects are classified.... The naming of an object provides a directive for action, as if the object were forthrightly to announce, "you say I am this, then act in the appropriate way towards me". An act of classification not only directs overt action, but arouses a set of expectations toward the object thus classified.9

In this sense, slogan typifications provide 'recipes for action' that have worked in the past and are expected to hold for the future. Typical behaviours and typical traits are anticipated, and the namer knows what to do typically if action is required. For the 'socially immature child', teachers plan and conduct activities based on what they know is typical practice for dealing with such a child. Any number of possible treatments could fit the typification: provide teacher comfort and assistance; praise the child's independent efforts; find a confident, mature child to buddy with the immature one for a period; and so on. Possible solutions for the practical problem 'socially immature child' would be predicated on the expectation that such a child would behave in a certain fashion - of course only until immaturity passes and a new label can be assigned to her. Slogans, thus, orient teachers to the typical behaviour-patterns, typical motives, and typical attitudes of a child, and offer a basis for subsequent action. To linguistically designate a child as 'this and not that' is to establish a relationship
with the child, and sets a course for future action, one embedded in past practices and pre-given accepted knowledge of similar situations.

As stock phrases, therefore, slogans function in various ways to influence the comprehending, communication and action among group members. To kindergarten teachers, slogans are an unquestioned legacy acquired through the socialization process of teacher training and professional practice. They are used in daily interactions to enable teaching to proceed with minimum disruption. Through slogan-use, children come to be known as generalized, anonymous types unless it is relevant to probe into the individuality of the child in order to solve a problem or to satisfy some interest. The choice of knowing the child individually or typically is the teacher's in each situation.

SLOGANS EMBODY MEANINGS i.e. ASSUMPTIONS

Stock phrases yield a vast 'treasurehouse' of the collected meanings and memories of the group and the personal, biographical meanings of the individual. As symbols, they make it possible to objectify vivid, present experience and make it reclaimable to all who share the language. Personal experience is reconstructed and transmitted. In time, slogans become the public and private storehouse of what has been, is, and perhaps will be, meaningful for the group. C. Wright Mills encapsulates this point of view:

Language, socially built and maintained, embodies implicit exhortations and social evaluations. By acquiring the categories of a language, we acquire the structured 'ways' of a group...Our behavior and perception, our logic and thought, come within the control of a system of language....
A vocabulary is not merely a string of words; inherent within it are societal textures.... Back of a vocabulary lies sets of collective action.\footnote{10}

Slogans express shared or objective meanings, public and legitimized by the collectivity. Typically, these meanings are apprehended in a standard, agreed-upon form, available to anyone within the group and applicable to anyone who fits the designated 'label'. Put differently, slogans evoke assumptions that are socially approved; they are taken to mean something standard, similar to all. Of course to individuals, slogans also hold a residue of personal, subjective meaning that augments their common interpretation. For the present discussion, however, it is the shared meanings that slogans evoke for the group that are of interest. Teachers draw on a store of meanings, clustered under the slogan-in-use and verified through their experiences. Consequently, the 'socially immature child' slogan embodies shared meanings for the teachers, perhaps: "the child as dependent person requiring teacher attention and assistance" or "the child as classroom member who interrupts and interferes with others during discussions, stories and group work".

Appearing to be common to all and ever-present, slogans and their meanings are most often taken-for-granted and rarely open to reflection. It is unnatural for teachers to articulate these deeply embedded meanings. Schutz explains:

Now to the natural man all his past experiences are present as ordered, as knowledge or as awareness of what to expect, just as the whole external world is present to him as ordered. Ordinarily, and unless he is to solve a special kind of problem, he does not ask questions about this ordered world. The particular patterns of order [i.e. slogans] we are now considering are synthetic meaning - configurations of already encountered lived experiences.\footnote{11}
Passively apprehended, slogans and their concomitant typified meanings are rarely questioned as long as they 'work' in expressing and interpreting experience. Instead the meanings are assumed and exist in a functional capacity to help manage and control daily events, unless as Schutz notes "he is to solve a special kind of problem." Indeed, the typifications are sustained until a problem, a question, or puzzlement disrupts the 'taken-for-grantedness' and reawakens attention to the phenomena. At such a juncture, a crack forms in the umbrella of meanings formerly unnoticed. They are tested out, reflected upon and possibly modified in relation to the 'problematic' situation. For the teacher, slogans that define their assumptions about the child go on implicitly until a problem or 'surprise' occurs demanding a closer look at the individual child. The typification assigned to the child is brought into question, examined, and perhaps enlarged or changed. Imagine, for example, a situation where the 'socially immature child' volunteers to stand up in front of her classmates and teach them her favorite song. Such behaviour is unexpected from the 'immature' whose general characteristics point to dependency, distraction in groups, and egocentrism. The normally unnoticed typification is then questioned in light of new information about the child. For a moment, the 'taken-for-grantedness' is challenged, until the problem is integrated into the routine perspective or until the typification is altered. Indeed, it may mean that initially the child was inappropriately named and typed. Eventually the questioned situation will return to the ebb and flow of the unquestioned.

In summary, kindergarten teachers share a common set of meanings,
embodied within linguistic typifications - slogans - and used routinely to explain and interpret their daily experiences. In conducting their 'business-as-usual', the meanings are sustained, authenticated, and crystallized, yielding the appearance of a stable classroom and school world. Only when problems surface is this meaning system examined and questioned.

For those who do not belong to the intimate, face-to-face community of kindergarten teachers, however, meanings may not be necessarily shared in the same way. Such outsiders are not privy to the on-going talk and interaction that bring substance and common understanding to behaviours observed and slogans used. Language has meaning for someone, and slogans, in this instance, have a full embodied meaning for the teachers involved. Slogans about children imply characteristics, known and implicitly grasped by the teacher insiders. To parents, on the other hand, as non-members of the teaching group, slogans may be imbued with different meanings - particular and perhaps, contradictory. Slogan meaning for parents arises from their biographical experience with a child, unique and individual; or from a typification for 5 year olds gleaned from books or observations of children in the community. Consequently, a discrepancy may exist between the meanings teachers share for slogans and those grasped by parents.

Report card communication generally proceeds through the use of stock expressions about children. When meanings between teachers and parents may not overlap, the nature of what is being communicated may be brought into question. Admittedly, some form of standard language is necessary or little to no chance of mutual understanding is possible.
Slogan typifications represent a potential field of linguistic commonality, and yet Schutz points beyond this capability of typifications and raises the concern for vague communication:

Typification is indeed that form of abstraction which leads to the more or less standardized, yet more or less vague, conceptualization of common-sense thinking and to the necessary ambiguity of the terms of the ordinary vernacular.12

When communication is undertaken via slogans, meanings are standardized leading to approximate understanding by both parties. Application of slogans can coincidently lead to fuzzy, vague messages as the common-sense typifications of sender and receiver may not converge sufficiently. In this way, parents and teachers may see different meanings about the child in report card slogans.

Probing into the social-emotional slogans kindergarten teachers use on report cards illuminates their meanings about the child. When viewed collectively, this array of meanings point to the group's view of the typical child; implications for parental understanding, as outsiders, are reciprocally revealed. In a succinct, short, clear statement the report card portrays publically the teachers' assumptions about children. As it is possible to make an infinite number of comments about children, the report card forces the kindergarten teacher to be selective, to include what may be the most valued, significant information, to exclude the irrelevant and unworthy. In preparing a report card the teacher condenses her meaning about the 'typical' child deeply embedded within her common-sense thinking and acting.
FOOTNOTES


6 Ibid, p. 285. (Emphasis added)

7 Berger and Luckmann, op cit., p. 39. (Emphasis added)

8 Schutz, op cit., p. 282.


12 Schutz, op cit., p. 323.
CHAPTER III

METHOD

As the intent of this research was to understand selected slogans used by kindergarten teachers from their point of view, no a priori hypotheses were tested. Analysis of report card documents, and interviews with teachers were the means of data collection. The social-emotional (S/E) slogan sample, defined as phrases used to typify the personal and interpersonal attributes of children, was selective and focussed - a particular public language intended for a specific audience, and to promote parent teacher communication about an individual child.

SAMPLE

From the kindergarten teacher population (n=47) of one large metro school district (District 41, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada) a random sample (n=25) was chosen under supervision of the district research staff person. This sample included novice and experienced teachers, and represented approximately 60% of the elementary schools with kindergarten classes (n=40). Permission to proceed with the study and a commitment to participate was obtained from the Burnaby School Board and from the selected teachers and their principals.

Report cards written on two children by each of the twenty-five teachers after the most recent reporting period (March/April, 1981) were selected randomly (n=50) under the supervision of the school principals
during June 1981. During this reporting period none of the teachers knew about the study or that they might be selected as part of the sample. The randomly-selected report cards from schools were placed in a sealed envelope, and taken to Schou Education Centre where district staff copied them, deleted confidential information from the copies, and returned the originals to the school. Anonymity was maintained for both the teacher and student through coding, and no teacher or student names were released to the researcher; a coded master list of names was kept by the primary assisting teacher. Teachers understood that they might be requested to continue into the clarification and validation phases of the study, at which time permission to approach the teachers was sought from the district research staff person.

REPORT CARD ANALYSIS

The study investigated S/E slogans on three types of report cards represented by the sample: an open-ended anectodal card (n=4), a checklist card (n=14), and a parent-teacher interview card (n=32) (APPENDIX A). First, the form and language were analyzed for meanings (i.e. assumptions) about the child inherent in the blank report card types. With exception of the anecdotal type (open structure, blank lines only) both the checklist and parent-teacher interview types provided the teachers with ready-made S/E slogans. The checklist type also included levels of attainment: good, satisfactory and needs improvement. These
pre-given categories served to selectively focus the teachers' comments and embodied meanings about the child. Analysis began with these ready-made S/E slogans.

Secondly, within each type, the S/E slogans used by the teachers were identified and clustered under three headings: (1) personal attributes, (2) interpersonal relationships, and (3) work habits; corresponding meanings for each slogan were determined from the context and content of the teachers' comments. For example, on 'parent-teacher interview' reports, all S/E slogans were identified and listed, and possible meanings concerning the child were tallied on matrices (APPENDIX B, TWO SAMPLE MATRICES, PARENT-TEACHER INTERVIEW TYPE). In total, there were nine matrices because of the three headings for each of the three report card types.

Thirdly, once the slogans and their meanings were identified within each of the three types of report cards, these slogan/meanings were combined across report card types, and were ordered from most to least usage. This combining allowed for refinement (i.e. elimination of duplicates or similar vocabulary or meaning; shifting of negative phrasing to positive phrasing; emphasis on clear, specific terminology; and clustering around frequent commonly-used slogans). Six slogan clusters were thus identified, and corresponding meanings were ordered from most to least usage on six matrices (APPENDIX C, MATRICES A-F). For example, under the heading 'personal attributes', two slogan clusters were identified (MATRIX B, GOOD CHEERFUL ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL, WORK, SELF, OTHERS; and MATRIX D, SELF-CONFIDENT IN NEW SITUATIONS).
INTERVIEWS

From each of the three report card types, two teachers were randomly selected (n=6) to clarify the researcher's interpretation of the slogan clusters. The district research staff person gave permission to continue with this phase of the study, and provided the names of the teachers to be interviewed.

Prior to the interviews, the interview schedule (APPENDIX D) and procedure were piloted for refinement. Two kindergarten teachers selected from outside the sample group participated in a 60 minute taped interview. Each pilot teacher reviewed and commented on three of the six slogan clusters (i.e. MATRICES A,B,C: and MATRICES D,E,F). Each group of three contained one slogan/meaning cluster from each of the three headings: personal attributes, interpersonal relationships, and work habits. On the basis of the pilot, the initial six matrices (APPENDIX C) were revised slightly (APPENDIX E): six meanings were modified or added (APPENDIX E: REVISED, MATRIX B(6); MATRIX D(1) and (6); MATRIX E(6); MATRIX F(6)and (9)); and minor word changes were made.

The six teachers were interviewed individually for 60 minutes at a time and place convenient to them. This interview took place during October/November, approximately six months after the reporting period (March/April). Using the revised slogan cluster matrices, three teachers were presented with Matrices A,B,C and three with D,E,F, and a series of questions were asked to check the researcher's interpretation with the teacher's experience. The taped interviews were transcribed, deleting
all names (eg. students, teachers, principals, schools, etc.). Transcripts were analyzed for possible revised or elaborated meanings about the child.

The teachers were in general agreement with the collection of meanings about the child. While teachers emphasized meanings in varying degrees, they accepted the total collection of meanings for each slogan as a valid interpretation of their report card comments. Some meanings were viewed as more comprehensive, more typical, whereas others were seen as possible for some children in some situations. As it was the collective view of the typical child that was sought, the total cluster of meanings were treated as a unit for purposes of analysis.

Where disagreement appeared, it was evidenced in two forms: (1) disagreement with the language used, or (2) disagreement with the meaning about the child. Word changes were made to produce the final Matrices (APPENDIX F and CHAPTER IV, TABLES I - VI): TABLE II (MATRIX B)(2), deleted 'without resistance or conflict i.e. peacefully'; TABLE III (MATRIX A)(1), changed 'compliant' to 'respectful'; TABLE V (MATRIX C) (5), changed 'industrious' to 'interested'. In addition, it was shown through a two-thirds consensus by the teachers that certain meanings should be eliminated; (APPENDIX E) MATRIX D(4); MATRIX E(4) and (5); MATRIX F (slogan) and (9). Two new meanings were added; (APPENDIX F) TABLE I (MATRIX D)(4); TABLE IV (MATRIX E)(2). Meanings were reordered to reflect the teachers' view of their significance.
VALIDATION

Five additional teachers, randomly selected from the remaining 19 of the original group were asked to validate the final clusters of slogans and meanings about the child (APPENDIX F). Each teacher was introduced to the purpose of the study, and was asked to read silently three matrices and then to discuss the following question: Are your assumptions about the child captured in this pattern of phrases and meanings? Reflective comments made by the teachers were anecdotally recorded after each interview. All five teachers agreed with the meanings about the child.
CHAPTER IV

SHARED MEANINGS ABOUT THE KINDERGARTEN CHILD

The task of this study was to identify and interpret the meanings about the child embedded within the social-emotional slogans used by kindergarten teachers on report cards. Assumptions about the child clustered under three headings: personal attributes, interpersonal relationships, and work habits, each having two slogan clusters associated with it. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the meanings about the child interpreted from the S/E slogans (FIGURE 1).

In Part I, the personal and interpersonal attributes of the child are discussed under the three headings 'self-confident in new situations (accepts criticism)', and 'good, cheerful attitude towards school, work, self, others' (PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES); 'gets along well with her classmates, teacher' and 'good participation in games, songs, stories and play' (INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS); 'a hard-working, co-operative and dependable student' and 'works independently and uses own initiative' (WORK HABITS). In addition, the composite picture of the child arising from the report card slogans and meanings is presented (Part II). Selected quotations from the teacher interviews are used as illustrations that reflect the experience reported by the teachers and add credence to the researcher's interpretations.
PART I: THE CHILD AS SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL BEING

1.0 PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES
1.1 Self-confident in new situations (accepts criticism)
1.2 Good, cheerful attitude towards school, work, self, and others

2.0 INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS
2.1 Gets along well with her classmates, teacher
2.2 Good participation in games, songs, and stories; and play

3.0 WORK HABITS
3.1 A hard-working, co-operative, and dependable student
3.2 Works independently and uses own initiative

PART II: THE COMPOSITE IMAGE OF THE CHILD

4.1 As the teachers stated it
4.2 The researcher's interpretation: two metaphors

FIGURE 1
MEANINGS ABOUT THE CHILD EMBEDDED WITHIN SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL SLOGANS
PART I: THE CHILD AS SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL BEING.

1.0 PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES

Meanings about the child as individual, as a person with a sense of self, were evidenced in the teachers' slogans. Central to this view was the emotional well-being of the child, characterized by personal attributes of good self-concept and self-control. With an 'I like myself' attitude, the child was viewed as able to be positive and constructive in play, work and with other children or adults. This perspective was captured in two slogan/meaning clusters: 'self-confident in new situations (accepts criticism)' and 'good, cheerful attitude towards school, work, self, others'.

1.1 Self-Confident In New Situations (Accepts Criticism)

Autonomous and self-supporting behaviours were prime indicators of the self-confident child. Typically, the child was seen as in control, easy-going, verbal, and willing to try new activities without fear (TABLE I). Such confidence meant a mature, reasonable approach towards criticism and potentially upsetting situations. Secure within herself, the child was viewed as emotionally independent, generally needing no one - not even the teacher - for support. One teacher summed up this assumption about the child best:

. To me someone who is self-confident is able to work on their own, to do things by themselves without anybody else saying
SELF-CONFIDENT IN NEW SITUATIONS (ACCEPTS CRITICISM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS: assumptions about the child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* 6. is an emotionally secure individual willing to attempt new experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. is an individual with a strong EGO, secure and self-directed in most activities (and willing to seek challenges)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is an individual able to use feedback constructively and reasonably to improve performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a group member able to verbally assert herself with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is an individual capable of curbing her emotions and disciplining her behaviour to fit socially-acceptable patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is an individual who is becoming more secure and outgoing in group situations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>DOMINANT PHRASE</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For all Tables and Matrices (Appendix F) the meanings are ordered according to the teachers' significance.

APPENDIX F

FINAL Slogan/meaning Clusters
FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I-VI)
"you did a good job!" or without saying "Hey, look at me!" or without going and holding the teacher's hand to go somewhere. It's something they have within themselves. They feel they are a good person and they are able to do it by themselves.

Motivation to learn came from within, from a desire to please herself rather than others. The child inherent in this view had taken a major step towards personal independence, having begun the social weaning process by breaking away from constant adult care. This emotionally stable child was described by the teachers as they talked about the meanings:

. For myself in the classroom, it's completely how the child acts in all sorts of different situations. Whether he/she becomes upset by it - well here we are into emotions I know - or whether they are interested in it, will try it....

. For example, you can have a child who's self-confident in new situations in their own right. They aren't concerned about you or what you think of them or whether you're going to give praise to them. It's maybe not important for that child. Now that's not a common child, but there are kids who are like that.

. Cause a child who is self-confident in new situations doesn't need that teacher. They're not dependent on the teacher. They've got the natural confidence themselves. They don't need the teacher's encouragement...they don't need the teacher saying "you're really good at that. Keep going." They know they are. They feel they are. So they can do it without that...Those who don't have the self-confidence are dependent on the teacher. Sometimes they may look like they have a lot of confidence, but they're watching the teacher all the time.

. I also have found kids that "No! it didn't matter what you thought" and in their own right they're confident. THE END! Not for any other reason than that's them as a person. Not to please you, not looking for your praise, not dependent on it. In their own right. They just are.

. Some children are fully confident in your room. But the minute they walk outside your room they don't have it. But the ones who are mature are usually confident outside your room as well. They're mature enough to transfer it themselves.
One phrase, 'gaining more confidence', embodied a view of the child who has not yet reached a state of full self-confidence. This child was assumed to be becoming more confident, displaying some self-confidence in some classroom situations. This child maintained a dependent relationship with the teacher sometimes; required help from external motivators such as praise and rewards; and was timid in unfamiliar situations. The child may appear confident but was described as drawing that strength from the consistent nurturing and praise of the teacher. It was assumed that with time and assistance, the child would be completely confident.

I wouldn't classify a child who's gaining self-confidence as somebody who is independent and able to do things on their own. They're more able to now than they were the last report, but they still, chances are they still need help.

I'd say 'so-and-so' still occasionally requires adult support or intervention in relationships with other children. So the parents get the idea that the child is not fully able to carry on, but needs a little smile here and there, or a pat, or a "this is great" 'so-and-so', or whatever.

If I wrote on a report card, 'gaining more confidence', to me that would be one of those children who I would be feeling, felt insecure in the group, didn't feel confident to speak out, um, felt uneasy about the other children in the group, um, that I sensed felt uneasy about being in the classroom, insecure about being in the classroom, not knowing really what to do....

I would describe it on a report card by saying "appears reluctant to speak in group situations, has difficulty deciding what center to choose; you know, appears to often not enjoy the movement-kind of activities and will withdraw from the group situation physically and watch the other children, appears to observe the other children".

By differentiating (through their report card language) the child as being or becoming self-confident, the teachers were explicating a shared assumption about children. It was the notion of the child as an
emotional, physical, and intellectual organism who was growing towards a mature stage of development. Assuming such development to be 'natural' or common to all children, the teachers saw a child at various stages along the path to BEING an adult or BEING at the ultimate level of functioning for that age. This was a fundamental assumption underpinning the teachers' report card comments. In this example, the natural or characteristic way for a developing 'self-confident' child to be was dependent, insecure, reserved and perhaps quiet. Through growth and learning at school, the child would move out of that stage to the self-confident one. The kindergarten teacher played a major part in the child's evolution. This idea was expressed by one teacher.

I see a lot of them as that they really need your personal 'okay', and your personal standby. And in fact, I work really hard at not giving it, which I find really hard to do. "Is this good? Well how do you feel about it? But do you like it? Well, do you like it?" So I, to see that as a direct correlation with self-confidence, I don't necessarily see that, because I see that as characteristic of practically all five year olds. I see that as a characteristic of all of them. They are all like that for me. They all need that - your approval, and it's okay with you, and whatever the teacher says is right....

I find that a really hard role to get out of. Like they really lock you into that.

1.2 Good Cheerful Attitude Towards School, Work, Self, Others

The child captured within this array of slogans and meanings was first a child who felt good about herself. In other words, she had a positive self-image; enjoyed personal strengths and was able to accept any flaws with understanding. Centred within this inner security, the child was freed to participate fully in school activities. Adaptation to
the unfamiliar kindergarten environment was done smoothly without excessive need for teacher assistance.

When I think of good attitude in association with school, I think most about that. Someone who's just happy within himself and wants to be there and is enthusiastic about all the activities and can hardly wait to come.

Accepting the rules and routines of the classroom as necessary restrictions, this child seized most opportunities presented as a chance to learn and to experience things. Joy, enthusiasm, or in the least, a willingness to try, characterized her approach to the activities offered. Such a spirited attitude was also present in relationships with other children; friendship was valued and being with others brought enjoyment (TABLE II). 'Happy' at school typified the personal nature of the kindergarten child portrayed in this slogan cluster.

Well, yeh, I would just say a willingness to try things, and, um, an acceptance of the situation, but maybe with some questions about it, "Why do we do this at such-and-such a time?" but not say a resentful questioning...um, just a general willingness, and um, you know, a positive attitude towards friendship.

I would say it's someone who enjoys school and was happy to learn and self-motivated, good self-concept and they accepted themselves with their shortcomings too as being a great person. Someone that was kind to others...things like that.

This just covers everything. The stock phrase 'enthusiastic, eager attitude towards school' that covers an awful lot...The only thing that I could possibly tie it in with I think there I suppose is the word 'ENJOY', whether or not they appear to like what they're doing.

Yeh, I agree with that. Um. It's someone who has adapted to the school situation and accordingly their attitude is a co-operative one.

While examining the assumptions about the child in this cluster, some teachers identified the nature of the kindergarten program as an influence on the children's attitude. By design, the program was
GOOD, CHEERFUL ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL, WORK, SELF, OTHERS

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

1. is a "HAPPY" individual with an agreeable manner and positive outlook in most situations
   - 14

6. is a well-adjusted personality who gets excited and curious about learning
   - 3

3. is a classroom member who cheerfully yields to the rules and expectations of her classroom (and her teacher)
   - 5

2. is an individual who willingly approaches each assignment
   - 3 2 3 1 9

4. is a social being who feels good about helping others
   - 6

5. is a classroom member who does what she is told with enjoyment
   - 3 2 6

TABLE II MATRIX B

APPENDIX F
FINAL Slogan/Meaning Clusters
FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I-VI)
organized to stimulate the interests of the five year old child. To foster a positive attitude towards school tasks was seen as a major goal for kindergarten. Therefore, a large segment of the child's time at school was spent in self-selected activities organized around 'centres'. Although the range and degree of choice varied from teacher to teacher, the child was normally able to do something that pleased her. In such a child-centred environment, a good attitude towards school seemed a natural consequence for the child. Most often, she could do whatever she wished to choose.

It was chiefly in the group activities, teacher-selected and directed, that differences in attitude among children appeared. Resistance and conflict were viewed as possible in such situations where the teacher's will met the child's. Attitude, therefore, was dependent upon the situation - the amount of imposed structure versus the amount of free choice inherent within it. Overall, the child's task during the kindergarten year was to adapt to the social conditions of school (and particularly a classroom) with a favourable attitude. By example, two teachers' comments exemplified this central relationship between the kindergarten program-as-designed and the child's attitude:

- It's an adaptive thing for them, I mean, they have to adapt. They're not used to being thrown in with a group of children under a certain set of circumstances, or rules, or expectations and so they've had to adapt to it in some respect and whether or not they've done it well is something that you could evaluate, I think.

- I think I would say, um, you know, 'with eagerness' or 'enjoys tackling a task' say or something like that, um...Yeh, because of the amount of choice in K. I think that most kids who have their choice are really eager about pursuing their choice, and you know, resistance or conflict doesn't have anything to do with it, unless they're being forced into, uh, a job or a task by the teacher.
Yeh, as far as the choice goes, say in centres, I find that very little, unless, um, you know, 'so-and-so' isn't getting along with 'so-and-so', but as far as initiating, you know, a task with their choice, I don't think that really comes into it. In some group situations, that definitely happens.

2.0 INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Juxtaposed with the image of the child as individual was the equally important view of the child as one of a group - a social being. This 'sense of self among others' was defined in terms of her ability and willingness to co-exist with other children in an acceptable and enjoyable manner. Living up to the social expectations for appropriate group behaviour, this child was considerate, congenial and helpful in her relationships with others and was generally well-liked in return. Not only had the typical child captured in this section learned the skills that allowed her to mix well with her classmates, but her interactions were also characterized by joy, effort, and a commitment to doing her part for the group. Specific aspects of this social, active child were detailed in two slogan/meaning clusters: 'gets along well with her classmates, teacher' and 'good participation in games, songs, stories; and play'.

2.1 Gets Along Well With Her Classmates, Teacher

Within the society of the classroom, the child included in this cluster belonged to her classroom group as a co-operative, constructive member (TABLE III). A necessary condition of being at school where there
GETS ALONG WELL WITH HER
- CLASSMATES
- TEACHER

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is a social being whose interactions with others are congenial, polite, and respectful</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is a group member willing to give others equal opportunity and equal resources to participate</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is a group member who shares and considers others</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is a social being who adjusts her behavior to suit the rules/norms of her primary group (the class)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a class member who neither hits others nor harms their things</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III MATRIX A

APPENDIX F
FINAL Slogan/Meaning Clusters
FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I - VI)
were many children and pooled resources was learning to 'get along' as one of the many. With qualities that transcended a personality type, this child was considerate and helpful in her interactions. Whether boisterous and extroverted, or quiet and reserved, she displayed a sense of other-directedness, an understanding that the feelings and needs of others do matter. Two teachers particularly mentioned the exclusion of personality traits when describing the child in this cluster.

Well, I think of one little boy in particular, who, he had a great deal of respect for people and their property but you'd never describe him as a compliant person. It was just in most things it had to be his way and yet, he would never - the way he got things to be his way would never harm anyone else or interfere with them, physically -. He would appreciate their opinions and the fact that they might disagree with what he's doing but he would still want it to be his way.

I think of personality-wise. I think they have - maybe they have the type of personality that is very, very outgoing, almost to the point of boisterous, where they spend - or are so attention-seeking that you are spending a lot of time working out ways of handling their behaviour so that you're not reinforcing their negative behaviour and other children in the classroom yet, really like them, and like their personality and the teacher really likes them too.

This child had learned the essential social skills of sharing and taking turns with her peers; and rarely would she intentionally interfere with another, either emotionally or physically. With the teacher as guide the child had successfully adjusted her behaviour to suit the rules and norms of the classroom. Her achievement in 'getting along' brought acceptance and friendship from her peers. Put simply, this child was a nice person to be with, respectful and kind no matter what the situation.

When I think of 'getting along with others' with their classmates and with the teacher, it seems to involve something to do with their self-concept, too, so I'm trying to see if that's fit into any of these. But then I suppose if they are social and congenial it would be included in that.
If I described a child as being 'helpful to others' that would mean to me that they're doing their part in clean-up, say, or, uh, when someone does a puzzle, they don't say "Oh! you did it wrong" or, um, they're just more ready to assume their responsibilities or they're more easy to get along with as far as their work is concerned.

Um, um, especially when it says 'friendly, co-operative, and well-liked'. I think children who harm others or their things are not extremely well-liked by the others in the class. I think that's one of the things that maybe bugs kindergarten children the most - is someone who will sit there and poke them or hit them. So that fits, it seems.

...maybe it's just the type of classes I've had but I've found the children are almost always eager to do that anyway - interested in what the others have to say and letting them have a chance to say and do things.

Discussions of assumptions held within this slogan and its variations began to illuminate the teachers' commitment to teaching the child important social skills in kindergarten. Consistent with their belief in the natural development of children, the teachers took successful group membership as unnaturally or initially alien behaviour for the child. As such, the skills that would equip the child for ultimate performance in any social situation had to be learned. In kindergarten, positive (i.e. socially acceptable and adult-approved) attitudes and behaviours required to fully integrate a growing human being into the rituals of her culture, were consciously developed in the novice. Learning these skills was considered as work for the child, work that in time becomes enjoyable and taken-for-granted. Teachers' interactions were directed at enhancing the young one's independence and social finesse as a group member. The emphasis on sharing and helping others in this cluster exemplified this premise. One teacher's comments best articulated the collective point of view.
I think they learn how to share and some children are just more easy-going but I don't think sharing comes all that naturally.

Yeh, I think sometimes children do get, you know, after a while they think it's fun to share and then it's not a chore, but I don't think they would revolve around sharing.

'Serving others'. I don't know. I just can't see - like I know that children go through changes and, um, you know, what was once a task or what was once a real drag to them, you know, isn't that way after awhile, but I don't think that they are really purposefully serving others, you know, at that age level.

I can see that for some kids, um, you know, I think some kids are more selfish in their behaviour and after a little while in kindergarten they learn that, Hey, you know, this isn't gonna carry too much weight here, so I better play along a little bit. And then, you know, maybe at first it's playing along, but gradually they might acquire those behaviours and it might become part of their behaviour without thinking about it. Like at first it does take some persuasion with some children and then after, I think it does become more generalized.

Because, although it may not be so natural, at least they're trying and they realize that there are some norms in the classroom and so they do have to get along.

2.2 Good Participation In Games, Songs, And Stories; And Play

A high degree of correspondence existed between the meanings about the child captured within this cluster and those associated with 'gets along well' with others. Both pictured the child as an active agent in a social context, doing things with other children while considering their human needs. Knowing the child as a 'good participant' went further than this to emphasize the child's willingness to voluntarily get involved in classroom activities (TABLE IV). As a spirited, interested person, the child was seen as giving her best and doing her part for the good of the
GOOD PARTICIPATION IN GAMES, SONGS, AND STORIES; AND PLAY

**MEANINGS:** assumptions about the child

| MEANINGS                                                                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | TOT
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---
| 1. is an individual willing to contribute her responsible share towards the "group's" activities | 8 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 21 |
| 2. is a social being willing to try group activities with her classmates (i.e. at her level) | 4 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 18 |
| 3. is a social being who successfully adopts the rules and appropriate social patterns of her classroom | 10 | | | | | 2 | 12 |

**DOMINANT PHRASE**

| DOMINANT PHRASE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | TOT
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---
| takes an active part in class discussions | | | | | | | |
| participates eagerly and enthusiastically | | | | | | | |
| understands and follows classroom rules, routines, instructions, and expectations | | | | | | | |
| contributes interestingly and constructively during discussions | | | | | | | |
| helpful with clean-up | | | | | | | |
| very co-operative, well balanced | | | | | | | |
| happy at school | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | | | | | | | |
group. While showing this responsibility to the group as a whole, the child was consistently viewed as happy and enjoying herself. Good participation could not be coerced; it was self-initiated and self-controlled by the participant. Happy, voluntary participation was featured as essential by two teachers.

'Good participation' implies enjoyment and children can't enjoy on command, or enjoy because you want them to.

Because, to me a child who isn't happy isn't going to take part in things and enjoy taking part in things. They might, but it's grudgingly. They're not openly taking part and they're not doing their share. And they're not getting along with the other children. If they're not happy, they're either bothering the others or they're going off by themselves. And they're not doing their part, and they're not...Happy is a part of 'good participation' because they're not just standing there singing the song. They are participating in singing the song and to do that they have to be enjoying doing what they're doing. And to enjoy it, they're happy.

Similarly, the degree and type of shared involvement was dependent upon the individuality of the child. Some were classified as more or less able than others to fully participate with understanding rather than obedience. This attitude again typified the teachers' endorsement of the stages of social/emotional development through which the children were assumed to pass. Individualism prevailed, as well, in the overall interpretation of 'good participation', characterized by individual contributions made with and along-side others, but not with others towards a mutually-determined goal or end. 'Doing your part' was revered, but the part offered was self-determined and self-measured as to its merit and efficacy. It appeared that the group would accept any or all contributions as worthy as long as they promoted the spirited development of the activity. Giving herself to a task enthusiastically was the central quality of the 'good participant'.
I'm not trying to tell parents that they are good at following rules or that they obey or do what I say...I would be trying to tell them that during games, songs, stories and play, their children are involved in what we're doing, and actively involved in what we're doing. That's what I would be trying to communicate to them.

To me 'good participation in games, songs and stories' means that when I'm doing games or songs or stories, they are participating in them, at a level that is appropriate for them. So as far as I'm concerned, a level that is appropriate for 'X'is the fact that when we're marching with instruments, he's got an instrument and he's marching and he won't say a word during group discussion, but when we get the instruments, he's marching; when I'm reading a story, he's listening; when we're playing Punchinella, he's willing to take his turn...For him, to me, that's 'good participation in games, songs and stories'. It's not good participation during group discussions. You know! He's not willing to express himself. He's not willing to speak alone in the group, but in the games, songs and stories...So for him, I would give him that. It is good participation and he isn't any of those things.

What is the definition of a 'responsible share'? Because for me that is such an individual thing. What I would consider a fair contribution from one, I might not consider the same from another. Do you know what I mean? like there wouldn't be one meaning for me in that. But for me there's not one here it is...this is a responsible share. That would really vary for me, from child to child.

In the examination of the complex of meanings correlated with this slogan and its variations, the teachers' perspective on rules and routines was illustrated. Meaning (3) on the final Table IV and meanings (3),(4), and (5) on the interview forms (APPENDIX E, MATRIX E) brought into question the relationship between classroom rules and the child qualities assigned to good participation. Was a child judged to be a participant in good stead when she learned to obey the teacher and follow the rules at work in the classroom/school? Did the attributes of compliance and conformity typify a child assessed as a 'good participant'? This assumption was met with resistance and disagreement by the teachers. The association was not made between their
understandings for active, eager participation and the notion of knuckling under to teacher and the rules. Instead, teacher authority, rules, and expected norms of behaviour were seen as necessary and unavoidable conditions that facilitated living together in social groups, like a school class. They assisted in obtaining the order and predictability essential to co-operative participation among individuals. As one aspect of 'good participation' in groups, the normal child internalized these social rules, lived by them, and accepted them as part of being in kindergarten. This accommodation freed her to make the most out of each situation for herself and the group as a whole. In other words, learning to take turns, to put up ones hand, to wait in a line, and/or to share were viewed as important social behaviours that allowed the other school tasks to proceed. For the uninitiated they became a vital part of their school program and for all, an assumed, but taken-for-granted part of acceptable participation. For certain, the rules and threat of punishment did not motivate good participation. This was indeed a separate issue for the teachers, a fact of society.

I would say that for efficient running of a classroom we all need to have rules, routines and so on but they should be as few as possible and as reasonable as possible and that's just the efficient way of handling things and the less we dwell on these things the better...Handle things as they come up.

If we could all go through the door at once, it would be so much nicer because then no one would have to be first, last; no one would have to feel someone has stepped in front of them. But we can't - because the doorway isn't big enough. So therefore we have this system of the first person goes through and then the next...

To work...well in a classroom doing these various things, you have to adopt the rules - things like taking your turn, putting your hand up, and sharing - that's part of it. To be able to do it right, you have to know those are the rules and we follow them.
If they don't obey the rules and don't listen to their teacher then they aren't participating properly and if they're not participating properly in that group, then they're not going to be as successful in that group. And that will affect their success in school.

Alluded to in the previous discussion (2.1), the personality type of the child was considered to have little bearing on her designation as a 'good participant in games, songs, and stories; and play'. Shy, quiet children as well as out-going, talkative children were included within the assumptions inherent in this cluster. Typical meanings appeared to categorize children within behavioural/social groupings rather than personal/psychological ones. Personality types were interpreted as too restrictive by the teachers, thereby eliminating children who legitimately belonged within the composite of meanings. Such was the case when 'good participants' were initially defined as 'extroverted, talkative and confident' (APPENDIX E, MATRIX E(2)).

- because I don't think that you need to be extroverted, talkative, and confident to participate well in games, songs, and stories. Sure there is kids like that who would fit, but there are also kids who are not like that who I would still write 'good participation' or 'participates well' in songs, stories, and games, who is not that kind of person.

- They don't have to be extroverted, because I have children that join in if you're talking about something. They'll put in their share. But they're not necessarily really out-going children. They can be quite quiet but they'll take their turn, put up their hands - They're enjoying themselves but they're not really out-going types.

- Talkative kids are sometimes not good participants because they don't let the other kids have their share of the time. So to be a good participant you've got to have that little bit of control to do your part but let the others have their part...they don't let anyone else have a chance.
3.0 WORK HABITS

This final, discrete grouping of slogans and meanings, called work habits, illuminated the teacher's view of the child as participant in schoolwork. The child's 'sense of self in relation to work' was consciously fostered by the teachers through a planned kindergarten program designed to teach the child how to work on her own effectively and how to look after herself and her things. Success in developing these favourable work habits was seen as inextricably linked to learning at school and a good self-image. The assumptions about the child embedded within this central purpose (and related report card language) incorporated an aggregate of performative attitudes such as interest, effort, responsibility, and dependability; values such as wise use of time and materials, and productivity; and skills such as listening, concentrating, and following directions. In essence, the child was consciously taught the meaning of student, the role of good worker.

Ultimately, the child was seen as an independent decision-maker able to select and complete a task to a satisfactory personal standard. The degree of autonomy reached was correlated to her stage of development and the permissiveness of the teacher-structured kindergarten program. Most significantly, however, the child inherent in this perspective was seen as actively involved in doing something useful. To be idle, directionless, and dream-like was cause for teacher concern.

.I like to see them always doing something but sometimes, like thinking, if they're just sitting and thinking about something, then that's not doing something to me. As long as they're not just - it bothers me to see someone who's just kind of - you can tell that they're not thinking about anything. They're just sort of floating. I don't like that at all.
Sharing this common understanding, the teachers agreed with the meanings found for the two slogan clusters: 'a hard-working, co-operative, and dependable student' and 'works independently and uses own initiative.'

3.1 A Hard-Working, Co-operative, And Dependable Student

The core values and attributes that encompass being a 'good' student and worker are captured within the meanings of this cluster. At the centre of this view was the kindergarten child learning how to apply herself to a task and how to work on it until satisfactorily finished (TABLE V). The quality of child effort (i.e. the work style) was initially seen as more significant than the quality of the final result (i.e. the work product). The willingness to attempt a job was highly prized in the child; a favourable attitude towards work was perceived as more important than ability. As the child's skills improved she was expected to get on with most kindergarten tasks with minimal additional teacher assistance. Dependability, reliability and self-responsibility were typical characteristics ascribed to such a child.

Responsibility, while valued in the child, was defined in terms or responsibility to her own things, work or mess. Generally, the teachers' view included little attention to the child's responsibility to the group/classroom as a whole. One teacher articulated her meaning for self-responsibility this way.

'I don't think too many children are really all that responsible when it comes down to working with a group or with a team. You know, some children will just do their part but
A HARD-WORKING, CO-OPERATIVE AND DEPENDABLE STUDENT

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

1. is a productive worker committed to a finished job
   - Dominant Phrase: Uses time wisely, profitably
   - Total: 10

2. is a manager of limited and valuable time, motivated to turn time into something useful
   - Listens attentively (to directions)
   - Total: 9

3. is a disciplined person who willingly pays attention to others
   - Total: 9

4. is a classroom member who can be depended on to follow through on each task with little or no assistance
   - Adequate attention span
   - Total: 9

5. is an interested group member who reliably undertakes each requested task
   - Total: 6

6. is a dependent person who needs knowledgeable adults (and peers) (i.e. their help and attention)
   - Total: 3

TABLE V MATRIX C
they won't put a lot of effort into it. They won't think of the other children so much, you know.

If I was using the term 'responsible' I would use it in regards to, um, say their personal belongings or say a little girl chose the house centre and she's playing with the other children but when they do their clean-up, I'd say, like, she's responsible for what she did at the house centre. I don't think there's too much interaction as, Oh gee!

Underpinning this perspective on the child was the teachers' notion of time as a valuable but limited resource. It was assumed that a busy, involved child was making best use of her time at school; a meandering, idle child was wasting time. Productive use of time was linked to specific skills that equipped the child to learn more from the time invested at school. One category of skill was described above as work habits: attention span, concentration, sticking with a task and tidying up after oneself. The second category was described as listening skills: following directions, asking questions, sitting still, and putting up one's hand. Both sets of skills were viewed as essential to learning at school; they headed up the teachers' taught curriculum. As the child was thus 'learning how to learn' she was reciprocally acquiring good worker behaviour of a specific style. To graduate a kindergarten student who enjoyed work and could capably complete a task efficiently and independently was the understood goal shared by the teachers.

Being able to complete something before going on to something else is important. Most children I think have to learn to do that...There are so many stimulating things to do that they have to realize that they've got to complete one task before going on to another. Quite a few of them need to learn that.

I wouldn't think of how they used their materials. Whether they were good about using them wisely or not or whether they were just out to complete it any which way they could.
They'll ask for teacher help if they're really stuck but they'll do it on their own, too. At least, their responsibility in trying to take on a task on their own, without a lot of teacher help.

(researcher) What are the things coming out there that are important for a child to learn?

...managing their time; to learn to work, to actually work at something - to actually give of yourself to something - and to be a part of a group and be able to produce something worthwhile with a group...sort of an attitude towards work; they enjoy it, they want to do it.

Glimpses of the teachers' notion of learning as it relates to the kindergarten program and the child surfaced in this cluster. The question of what is best for kindergarten children to learn was answered in part by their strong commitment to teaching work skills and listening skills. Know-how in these two areas was seen as invaluable to the child for 'learning' at school. In other words, the content of the curriculum was open to child interests, while the processes of learning (working) were consciously and uniformly taught. In addition, the child was defined as an active, purposeful learner rather than a passive, dependent one. This did not mean that all children were able to direct and complete the required educational tasks without help, but instead that that was the expected standard of performance. Children who were 'not yet able' required more time to mature emotionally and more interim adult support. It was tacitly understood that at a place called school the child's natural development met up with cultural expectations. The teachers accepted their role as primary arbitor of the necessitated child change. These facets of learning were best reflected in the comments of two teachers, particularly as they distinguished between meanings (3) and (6) (APPENDIX E, MATRIX C).
It seems to me that the child has acquired more maturity and, um, likes to learn and realizes, you know, at least some value of learning. Whereas another child may have the ability but they, and they may learn in, um, lots of ways, but it may be more casual and they might not understand the importance of learning or the value to them of learning, you know...well, the one little boy that I'm thinking of, he's got lots on the ball but he's a very dependent child right now and more than anything, he just needs to hang on to you, you know. And um, he's not as willing to learn as another child even though he can do it and he will do it if you give him some directions or you, you're there with him but he doesn't take too much initiative to do it.

I was thinking about the kindergarten child and these are much easier to evaluate after you've had the child for quite some time. It's very difficult to - these are learned. They're not something that the child comes to school with I feel - some children do, but not as many would come to school with these skills. They are something that you are definitely teaching and they are, I feel, a learned response.

3.2 Works Independently And Uses Own Initiative

The child portrayed in this composite of meanings had reached a state of liberated independence. Her daily kindergarten activities were undertaken with self-initiative and self-responsibility. Typically, her actions were exemplified by freedom to determine her school program and freedom from peer dependency. Her interests were diverse; her skills allowed flexibility and variety. Most significantly, this child was able to make decisions, to take care of her own needs, and to live by the consequences of her actions (TABLE VI). It was as though with independence came preliminary adulthood - a self-directed five year old.

Within this typical image of the independent, initiating child, nuances of meaning surfaced. 'Independence' embodied various qualities depending upon the type of kindergarten program and the child's stage of development. Teacher preference was given to one meaning over another.
1. is a decision-maker able to self-select a balanced school program (from assigned tasks)
2. is an individual able to start and finish her OWN, SELF-DESIGNED projects without adult help
3. is a self-sufficient member of her classroom community
4. is an eager individual, curious about new school tasks/activities
5. is a classroom member who handles all materials and equipment maturely and puts things away after use
6. is an individual who is increasingly able to work with less direction from the teacher
7. is a group member able to work alone, in isolation
8. is an individual able to start and finish ASSIGNED work without teacher supervision
9. is an individual, increasingly able to work with less direction from the teacher

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DOMINANT PHRASE

developing independence

more initiative and independence in choosing variety of activities

attends to her personal needs without help

shows a variety of interests and skills

takes good care of personal and school property
((1), (2) or (8)). The child's field of choices were curtailed or extended in direct relationship to the teacher's classroom organization and pattern of routines, whether open or closed. Some placed less emphasis on the limits of the classroom structure and more on the child's stage of development when distinguishing between the possible meanings for independence. Along a continuum of autonomous behaviours, meaning (8) was viewed at the low end, meaning (1) towards the centre, and meaning (2) at the high end, depicting the ultimate level of independent performance. Whatever the influencing factor, stage of development or setting, all teachers agreed that within this view, the child was able to work without constant teacher assistance and to maturely take care of property. This quality was highly prized in a student. It was expressed in detail by the interviewed teachers.

What I mean when I say that, is that from a selection of tasks throughout a school week, he/she can select a balanced amount of activity and enjoy different centres without the teacher having to say you haven't done the pasting table this week or whatever at the end of the week...and possibly sometimes self-designed projects. But there aren't many of those I find in my kindergarten program. I find that mostly I'm setting and they're choosing within.

You know, independence to me means that children can make decisions for themselves. They are able to choose things that are meaningful to them and maybe that isn't balanced, but it's meaningful to them...The child who's independent and has initiative, when they're finished at the News Centre can go and choose and find something else to do. They're not at me, "What do I do now?" or they aren't at me saying, "Is this good? Is this right?" That independent child often doesn't need that. He just looks after his own needs in the classroom.

The one who does her own is more independent even than the ones who follow what you say to do. Like you might have an art project. It takes some independence to be able to go and complete that art project after the teacher's shown the class and then that day or another day, go and be able to do it on their own without asking help. It's something different when
they have to think up their own and carry through on it. So it's figuring something out, your own goal and then following through.

I would take it both ways. I think I would have it more that they're able to do the assigned tasks on their own without asking for help. And they could go and find something that they wanted to do, figure out how to do it, and do it.

You reach a stage where you can do what you're told to do on your own and you get to a stage where you can think for yourself what you want to do and how to do it on your own.

Included within the assumptions of the independent, initiating child was the quality of 'aloneness', working apart from the other children, in isolation; meaning (7). While a major thrust of the kindergarten year focussed on assisting the child with social skills in order that she may become a contributing group member, this aspect of independence appeared to mitigate against social integration. Although it was seen by the teachers as a necessary possibility for an autonomous person, not a certainty in every situation, it raised again the question of what is being learned by children in an environment where individualism and independence are sacred. What kind of social awareness and skill is adopted when self-direction is revered? The support for 'alone' behaviour was encapsulated in two teacher statements.

In fact, it's important to me. It's important to me that, um, that independent child feels good enough about what they've decided to pursue that they're going to do it never mind what S is doing or Y, or whoever...meeting their own needs.

Yes, not that they always work alone but - an independent child can go and do something without depending on any other child to be there to keep them company, to help them in any way. They're not dependent on other children to do things.
PART II: THE COMPOSITE IMAGE OF THE CHILD

Your philosophy is no better than your metaphors and your philosophy of teaching is no better than your image of man.

The second major interview question asked the teachers to synthesize their image of the child embodied within the composite S/E slogans and meanings. Presenting a holistic view was difficult and challenging - an attitude articulated openly by one teacher, "That's a hard question for me. It's so complex. So important." Discussion of the teachers' stated view of the child forms the first section of Part II. A second level of analysis follows with the researcher's interpretation of two root metaphors deeply embedded within the teachers' language and meanings.

4.1 AS THE TEACHERS STATED IT

. I see this happy little person dancing in...
. They're just a bundle of enthusiasm for everything and I think they are naturally hard-working, they are naturally most of these good things when they come.
. I see this naked little being. This naked, warm, loving, sensitive, incredibly vulnerable being in my room at five.

To the teachers, optimism and vitality coupled with the defenselessness of being young and inexperienced, characterized the child. First a creature of nature, she was a feeling, growing and active human being. It was natural therefore to speak of the child in developmental terms: 'at that stage', 'take the child from where she is
at', 'steps in her development', and 'don't try to push her too quickly ahead'. It was assumed that children developed towards maturity at their own pace and in their own style. There was unanimous agreement among the teachers that learning which respected this natural development was normal and exciting for the five year old.

. I love their joy for learning, their eagerness, their keenness, their openness, their curiosity, their thirst for knowledge.

. And, uh, five year olds I feel are very open to learning.

. I would say that most five year olds are eager and I think they're interested in learning.

. I think that they all start out being enthusiastic. And they - every one of them wants to learn.

Another pivotal notion of the child was her uniqueness among others. The sacredness of the individual permeated the teachers' imagery. Children were seen to have individual needs and individual potential to be recognized and actively fostered. Some teachers believed children were capable of directing their own learning based on their sense of what was needed next. That they came to school with so much already mastered was evidence of their abilities. All agreed that developmentally, they were very egocentric and demanding, unaware that others existed beyond their 'I' universe. This powerful metaphor of the child as unique person was central to their composite view.

. They all have their uniqueness about them and I think it's really - that's the key right there, they're all unique and it's really kind of dangerous to compare....

. I find it hard because (pause) I do see them, and it's really important to me to see them as individuals, although I certainly do see some common threads in many of them. Ugh. Very egocentric. I, I, I, I, I. Extremely demanding.

. And I have a very strong feeling that they are able to many times take care of their own needs in the classroom.
I think a lot of children probably depending on their home experience, have such different attitudes. Like one child might go to this activity and spend two seconds on it. Then he'll go to something else and you know, there's a lot of that flitting around. And some child might work at one activity for twenty minutes straight through.

I think if anything, the picture you have of them is that they come with so much that they already have and so much potential to be - every one of them - to be really great and I really believe that, you know....

Sharply in focus, these two dominant assumptions about the child - as capable of continued natural development, as unique and individualistic - affected the teachers' organization of kindergarten experiences. Inextricably interwoven with their image of a blossoming living creature was their belief that the first activities at school should spiral around the special talents, interests and needs of the five year old. The classroom environment was designed to cater to the varied potential and abilities of the diverse child population. In this view, 'the child', not curriculum content or externally-set program needs was the organizing principle, the raison d'être of kindergarten. Theirs was a shared commitment to fostering positive growth, human fulfillment to the maximum benefit of each child. The school was seen in this light to be in service to children. Reverence to the child's inherent potential was stated by most teachers.

It's really important to let them go on their own, but I don't mean that - 'cause I know that you have to structure and channel in such a way that they can.

I do agree with the one where you take the child from where he is at and hopefully don't skip too many steps and in his development let him go through all the stages and don't try to push him too quickly ahead. Um, yet again if the child's already there, providing him with different tasks, activities, whatever in order for them to progress, too....
You have to provide the activities and the atmosphere so that they will best be able to learn in whichever way is appropriate for them and so that involves a lot of preparation of different kinds of activities because you've got so many different states that a five year old may come to school with. He may be really very well-adjusted, etc., etc., whichever kind of terms you wish to use, you may have a child that's got the mental age of a nine year old there and then you may have those who come to school with the mental age of a three year old. So accordingly, your kindergarten program for a five year old has to be varied.

Consistent with the 'natural' theme penetrating the teachers' perspective, it appeared as if the child was comparable to a seed; containing within a blueprint to take her to maturity, requiring only favourable conditions in which to grow. Foshay (1980) comments: "The idea that children grow and develop like flowers is deeply embedded in today's kindergarten."²

The teachers' picture of the whole child would remain incomplete if it stopped at seeing the child only as a creature of nature. Complementary to it, was an equally powerful view of the child as social/cultural being. The naturally egocentric, self-involved child met her first formal social situation among peers (outside the family and occasional preschool) when she stepped into kindergarten. With this transition, the onus was placed on the child to adapt to the 'new' set of norms, rules and expectations operating in the classroom and school. Teachers saw the child learning unfamiliar social/work skills such as sharing common property, taking turns, listening, cleaning up and good work habits. None of this was natural; yet such behaviours were valued and actively promoted. In order to assist the child with this abrupt and accelerated entry into the school society, the teachers refocussed their
image. In addition to the natural child, they included the child as a social creature, as having or not having the prerequisite behaviours inherent in getting along within her community. Three teachers stated this notion best.

- It's an adaptive thing for them, I mean, they have to adapt. They're not used to being thrown in with a group of children under a certain set of circumstances, or rules, or expectations and so they've had to adapt to it in some respect....

- It's difficult for them, I think, at five years old, to understand anybody else's world and listen to each other. Really into self and what's important to them. And the I, I, I. And I work really hard at developing them as a unit and as a group.

- But as far as, um, the team member thing or the group member, I think that is a learned and acquired kind of habit. I don't think it comes too naturally at that stage.

It takes quite a long time for a lot of children to acquire the proper behaviour for say, making and keeping friends.

But I'd say a lot of them don't realize that it's an expected thing in school that whatever task you choose you do complete to some degree, you know. They learn that after awhile.

Coincidentally, learning acceptable group behaviours did not erase the teachers' belief in fostering skills for independence and self-direction. One teacher, whose whole focus rested heavily with the individuality of kids, succinctly summarized this point of view.

- And I find them coming in September, um, you know, just at you all of the time. And I work very hard in that first couple of months to make sure that they are independent of me, that they are learning to make their own decisions, that they do understand that's their problem and what are they going to do about it?

Um, I find there is a need to learn how to solve problems. What do you do when two people are fighting? How can they handle that themselves?
It would be fallacious to suggest that the teachers clearly articulated an either/or preference for one focus, either natural or socio-cultural child, over the other. The two, instead, co-existed in an integrated manner within the teachers' general frame of reference. Both images shaped their sense of purpose and their daily interactions with kids. Their composite view might better be expressed as a commitment to facilitating the child's easy adjustment into the cultural/social demands of school while preserving her natural enthusiasm and unique endowments. Emphasis between teachers varied in terms of how they defined 'successful adaptation' or 'good adjustment' to school, and how they viewed the ultimate project before them as teachers of young school children. This first section closes with captions of the teachers' varying, individualistic missions for kindergarten. Satisfaction with their efforts to serve children were expressed as:

(i) **A close bonding between home and school**

And I would see a child who likes to come to school, who talks about school at home - remembers what he/she is doing, will talk to other family members or people in the group at home. There will be a carry-over, both at school and at home, from one type of activity to another - drawing out inferences, and conclusions about these areas. And a feeling within the child that he/she is an important person...their opinions matter. And that he/she has the confidence to go through a school day and accept such changes in routine they may happen or other unforeseen circumstances with a certain amount of aplomb.

(ii) **Ready for formal grade 1 learning**

To me, that sort of child would be a very well-adjusted, happy child who's ready to go on after kindergarten, ready to go on into grade one and settle into their routine without problems. Ready to sit down and learn - interested in learning.
(iii) **Positive attitude toward school learning**

And what you're trying to do of course with a five year old is make sure that he has the positive side of school, like he's learning and his attitude is one which is definitely an agreeable one for learning.

(iv) **I love myself and I love school**

I cringe at what I see and what I hear going on often in other grades. The reason I decided to come back and teach kindergarten was hopefully I could give them a year when they felt good about themselves and at least knew what they were capable of doing and could feel 'I love school and I love to come and I'm okay as a person.' And I'm ABLE. I can do!

4.2 **The Researcher's Interpretation: Two Metaphors**

Repeatedly emphasized in the teachers' discussion of the child was their metaphor of the **child as natural organism**—as living, throbbing, changing human being. Manifestations of this image were evidenced in their commitment to developmental progress, uniqueness, staged learning, and self-evolution. Acknowledging this metaphor, it is the purpose of this section to penetrate more deeply into the image of the child as social/cultural being. Up to this point it has been treated in terms of social skills and work habits. Probing into the image of a socialized child, two discrete root metaphors emerge: the child as citizen and the child as worker. Neither was articulated as such by the teachers, but closer examination of their slogans and meanings yields evidence that aspects of each metaphor are captured within the substratum of their language.

This level of interpretation is founded upon two principles. First, language embodies layers of meaning historically built up through accumulated use and unnoticed in normal reflection. Words used by the
teachers are influenced by this latent meaning. Secondly, metaphors initially used to figuratively represent an idea, can in time, become accepted as part of conventional speech and thus remain below daily awareness. When this happens, the speakers take the metaphor literally as truth and it becomes the world seen. "Metaphor suppresses some details, emphasizes others - in short, organizes our view of [child]."³

Probing this deeper level of meaning through metaphoric filters focusses on certain features of the child that would otherwise go unnoticed; allows connections where before none stood. The following metaphors spring from the substratum of the teachers' own S/E slogans and discussions.

Child As Citizen

Embedded with the slogans defining the child's personal attributes and interpersonal relationships (TABLES I, II, III, and IV) was the metaphor: child as citizen. Citizenship was never explicitly talked about by the teachers, but through daily activities the child's meaning for citizen was learned. A child in this image was one who accepted the prevailing social order (her school and classroom) and adapted to its expectations. There was no suggestion that the rules and patterns governing life in that society needed changing. Rebels and revolutionaries did not make good citizens; conflict was to be avoided and discouraged.

Good citizenship had other hallmarks. To be valued as a citizen in good standing meant: doing your part along with the whole class,
co-operating, sharing and taking turns. Good citizens were supportive and considerate, fair and helpful - an active, happy, contributing member of the group.

Within this metaphor, the child's society was mainly fellow children of equal age and equal status. Teachers represented a higher authority with the power and right to lead, to discipline and to control. Most social learning occurred with the teacher as outsider, ready to intervene or guide but rarely to participate as a true equal. There were different standards for teacher and student. The child learned to respect others and to respect the power of authority.

Rules were meant to be followed by the child citizen. To the teacher, they were merely necessary prerequisites to classroom living. In some cases, some rules were set mutually, with teacher and children having equal voice. Other rules were unchallengeable, almost sacred: safety rules and those preventing harm to other people and property fell into this category. Once made, the rules and regulations formed a silent moral code defining acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

Along with responsibilities, the child had rights. Foremost were her rights as an individual: to an education that respected her unique potential; to free choice from among an array of stimulating classroom activities; and to learning conditions that allowed her to work without interference. In return, the child was expected to participate to the best of her ability; to take care of her own mess and things; and to get along amicably with her peers, respecting their rights.

In the image of citizen captured within the teachers' S/E slogans, the emphasis remained on individual or parallel action towards
independent ends. The meaning of citizen interdependence or mutualistic action toward common ends was not actively fostered in the kindergarten classroom. The activities and teacher interactions shaped a co-operative individual on a path toward personal self-fulfillment. The kindergarten was like a community of individuals sharing a common environment.

Child As Worker

The metaphor representing the child as worker was deeply embedded within the teachers' slogans and comments on work habits (TABLES V and VI). Word captions taken from the two slogan clusters under this heading typified this image: 'hard working, dependable, responsible, productive, manager of time, disciplined, decision maker'. Taken together they reflected a work ethic that was actively promoted in the classroom - the child's first formal workplace.

Work was not slavish, routine drudgery for the child. It took many forms and was based on their interests. Most of all, work could be fun, challenging, and creative! To be known as work in kindergarten, the child was generally engaged in a specific task that led to a tangible finished product. Some types of play were work as were creative art projects. In discussions and story-time the child was busy at oral and listening work where the outcome benefitted both herself and others.

As the work environment, the classroom provided a range of choice among jobs and assignments. All were designed to stimulate the child into productive activity, for it was believed through action the child learned. Within limits, she could decide when, how, and what to work on
at any particular time. Some classrooms expected the child to select a balanced program over the course of a week; others allowed free choice based solely on her self-determined interests and needs.

Most highly valued in the kindergarten worker was a positive attitude toward new experiences, a willingness to do something to the best of her ability. Effort was a prized attribute. Idleness and negativism were discouraged. Once busy on a task, the child was encouraged to work to an adequate standard of completion - adequate in terms of her ability and the level of difficulty of the job. Therefore, two maxims acted as guides to the kindergarten child. First, choose something to do with your time, and give it your best. Second, finish what you have started.

While the child was learning how to work constructively, she was internalizing a work style that could carry her through school life and possibly into future employment. Skills essential to the successful application of this work style were openly fostered by teachers. Such skills included how to: listen, minimize distractions, follow directions, sit still, clean up after yourself, problem-solve, and make choices. A well-equipped kindergarten child had acquired a set of work habits that freed her to approach any school job in a routine, at-ease style.

In time, the child worker was guided to become a 'self-sufficient member of her classroom community' (TABLE VI(3)). At this level of performance she was able to work independently, to make decisions about her school program (her work), and to take care of herself and belongings. Self-responsibility and resourcefulness were key traits.
Most significantly, this child no longer needed a master or boss, symbolized by the teacher, to tell her what to do and how to do it. She was able to get on with the business at hand without distraction, unease, or dependency. Ability to 'work without adult help, without teacher supervision, with less direction from the teacher, alone' (TABLE VI,(2), (8),(6) and (7)) was viewed as the epitome of good worker behaviour.

So essential were these worker traits for learning at school, the teachers gave them top instructional priority. Without them, a child was poorly prepared for the formal academic emphasis that lay ahead in grade one. Listening, sitting still, and concentrating on a task were viewed as synonymous to good learning style. Knowledge at school (beyond kindergarten) most frequently came through teacher talk and child practice at seatwork. By focussing on this worker metaphor, it was possible to see the fit between working and schooling; and working and learning in a particular way. The child was being readied to fit into the prevailing pattern of the school system. The child 'unseen' could in return be victimized by the omissions of this metaphor.
FOOTNOTES


A vision of the typical kindergarten child represented in the teachers' own report card slogans was interpreted and discussed in Chapter IV. Commonsense assumptions about the child shared by one group of teachers were illuminated through slogan cluster analysis, performed both discretely and compositely. Further reflection with the teachers on the interview experience itself provided insights into reporting to parents.

This chapter summarizes conclusions and implications based on both the teachers' view of the child and their view of reporting. First, conclusions on the teachers' meanings about the child embodied within report card language are discussed with specific emphasis on implications for inservice education. Secondly, implications of the teachers' perceptions of reporting are examined.

TEACHERS' MEANINGS ABOUT THE KINDERGARTEN CHILD

A report card is a public document, a statement of what is held educationally and socially valuable by members of the school community. Language used by teachers on report cards is selected from the universe of possible language to convey meaning about student performance - meaning based on socially-valued attitudes and attributes, and school knowledge. By choosing to comment on particular aspects of the child's
social/emotional development, the kindergarten teachers portrayed selective meanings about the child, those most valued in school.

It was no accident, therefore, that the child's self-confidence, positive, happy attitude, social skills, and work habits were singled out for comment by the teachers. These caption their taken-for-granted assumptions about what is important in a person, a citizen, and a worker who is preparing to take her place in school life and eventually adult life. The teachers were inducting the children, perhaps unknowingly, into a social structure that they accepted as given - the norms, rules and code of school as an institution. Their language embodied the traditions and customs of that point of view. Daily it was legitimized and perpetuated through the communications and interactions carried on in the normal course of events. The teachers were busy reconstructing the accepted social reality; busy actively maintaining the school's status quo.¹

Committed to giving the child the best possible start, the kindergarten teachers acted as agents in the child's socialization into the prevailing myths and certitudes of the school setting. Apple and King in a similar study, described kindergarten as "a critical moment in the process by which students become competent in the rules, norms, values and dispositions 'necessary' to function within institutional life as it now exists."² This induction process manifested itself in two ways for the teachers: meanings about the child as student and parallel meanings about the child's kindergarten curriculum.
To begin with the latter, the kindergarten curriculum was organized to cater to the child's substantive interests while teaching the attitudes and skills defined as essential to getting along successfully at school (i.e. to fitting into the system). Important school knowledge included: how to mix with others fairly and co-operatively and how to work at a task in order to complete it on one's own. Within these two dimensions, special modes of behaviour were 'taught': for example, how to sit still and listen; how to clean up after oneself; how to share and take turns. The curriculum did not mean certain 'facts' to be learned as much as certain attitudes and behaviours to be acquired, i.e. to make a happy adjustment to the classroom as it existed. One teacher summed up the social adaption process thusly: "...maybe at first it's playing along, but gradually they might acquire those behaviours and it might become part of their behaviour without thinking about it...like at first it does take some persuasion with some children and then after, I think it does become more generalized. Because, although it may not be natural, at least they're trying and they realize that there are some norms in the classroom so they do have to get along." A critical factor in reaching the curriculum goals was the child's willingness to participate eagerly and enthusiastically in activities. Resistance or passiveness by the child thwarted the teachers' attempts at socialization. It was desireable that the child adjust happily and move on into grade one outfitted for formal school work.

Through participation in kindergarten, the child gradually learned the meaning of student. As she adopted certain expected behaviours, the
role of student emerged. A student listened to her teacher, sat still, looked after her own things, solved problems, made decisions, and kept busy. Teachers reported on her achievement in these areas and planned activities to foster their development. A 'good' student could work independently on self-chosen tasks and demanded little special attention from her teacher.

Competing with this view of the child as socio-cultural being - as student - was the equally important image of the child as unique individual. Steeped in their early childhood history, the teachers supported the specialness of each child. The interests and needs of the child were endorsed over the interests of an externally-imposed curriculum of pre-determined content and structure. Through the medium of the child's favourite experiences, the social/emotional curriculum embodying social skills and work habits proceeded. Individuality was preserved by allowing the child to select certain tasks over others; to work at her own pace and level. Self-confidence and self-direction were seen as personal necessities for surviving in the school setting.

A fundamental tension loomed between the teachers' meanings about the naturally happy, unique child and her meanings about the child at school, as student. Their quest to help the child adapt positively (become socialized) into the norms of school and their quest to contribute to the child's on-going natural development stood in suspension with one another. Whose needs does the teacher choose to serve: the system's, or the child's? How does she best negotiate the
personal meanings of the world brought to school by the child and the
dominant social meaning of the schooling institution? For the child, can
invention and creation, hallmarks of a self-fulfilled individual,
co-exist with conformity and standardization, hallmarks of institutional
life? And what of the subordination of collective living to the primacy
of individuality? Does rigid adherence to social rules and norms breed
truly liberated human beings who find meaning and purpose in what they do?

Faced with the dilemma of reconciling the humanly personal needs of
her students with the pressures of the system, the teacher appeared to be
suspended in the tensions between schooling and personal meaning, school
knowledge and personal knowledge. Some felt the anxiety of the dilemma:
human freedom up against 'fixed' social reality. One teacher had
recognized the problem: "To be honest with you, my vengeance on the
system is teaching kindergarten. It's my vengeance on the system because
I cringe at what I see and what I hear going on often in other grades.
The reason I decided to come back and teach kindergarten, was hopefully I
could give them a year when they felt good about themselves and at least
knew what they were capable of doing and could feel 'I love school and I
love to come and I'm okay as a person', and 'I'm ABLE. I can do. I'm
okay'." Another teacher was left with a question: "Why does it sound
like we're trying to fit the child into the system? I always thought I
was doing the opposite, fitting the system to the child."

Caught in their 'daily routines the teachers authenticated the
dominant point of view, transmitting to the child the cultural meanings
most appropriate for life in that society. Yet the promise of social change and transformation was evidenced in the tension some expressed as anger or confusion over their purpose in teaching kindergarten. By examining meanings embedded within their own taken-for-granted language on report cards, these teachers began to more fully understand the sense of their daily school lives with children. For an interval, a state of wide-awareness was experienced that appeared to open them to critical, new questions and deliberations.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR INSERVICE**

If teachers do not bracket their own basic assumptions..., they do more than transmit unquestioned attitudes, norms and beliefs. They unknowingly may end up endorsing forms of cognitive and dispositional development that strengthen rather than challenge existing forms of institutional oppression. Commonly accepted definitions about work, play, achievement, intelligence, mastery, failure, and learning are socially constructed categories that carry with them the weight of specific interests and norms. To ignore this important notion is to relinquish the possibility for students and teachers alike to shape reality in an image other than the one that is socially prescribed and institutionally legitimated.

Assumptions that normally might have gone unnoticed were brought into question, made problematic in order to be tested and interpreted. Familiar slogans were found embedded with multiple meanings and images about the child. By isolating the taken-for-granted slogans used as linguistic tools in reporting to parents, teachers' shared meanings became visible. All were able to see their view of the child in the slogans and meanings identified.
The kindergarten teachers' experience in interpreting their meanings is captured in comments recorded during the interviews. Examination of their experience raises suggestions for inservice. 'Inservice', for this purpose, is defined as 'planned experiences that assist teachers in gaining critical understanding of their commonsense meanings (i.e. assumptions, beliefs, values) that guide daily practice.' Three examples of such inservice activity follow. Each is illustrated with selected quotations validating the teachers' experience.

(i) The Interview Experience: An Inservice Activity

When clarifying and validating the researcher's interpretations of the slogan/meaning clusters, the teachers were engaged in thoughtful reflection on their own experience. Participation in this atypical task freed them to pause and consider past experience, to test their stored meanings against the slogans. Dialogue with the researcher helped clarify interpretations that did not make sense to them. Examples were often provided in order to justify their meanings about the child. The talk that was shared between teacher and researcher was grounded in a tangible, concrete function (i.e. reporting to parents) that had purpose for the teachers. Through reflection and talk, slogan typifications and meanings were affirmed or changed for the participants. Searching for her meaning of 'eager learner' (MATRIX F(4)), one teacher illustrated this 'out-loud' reflective process:

> It implies more cerebral use of - rather than a mere enjoyment of whatever it is and then forget it, on to something else,
but the use or reuse or use in a different way of that skill. Learner to me implies a re-using. So that if a child is interested in a science experiment and never speaks about it again, and never uses that in another activity, in another context, then I wouldn't call that child an eager learner. I'd call that child a child who enjoys whatever you did. But learner implies re-using.

(pause) For 'eager to learn', what I mean is a child who can take something out of one context into another or use a skill somewhere that he has learned in another project.

Another questioned the researcher about the use of a particular phrase to describe the child's 'sharing' behaviour (APPENDIX E, MATRIX A(3)):

Yeh, your last phrase in there 'and serving others'; what do you mean? It just sounded to me like a following phrase, not a child who is sort of standing up for their own individuality so much...I don't know if I would go so far as putting that down as an assumption.

Consequently, inservice programs which would provide teachers with time to reflect on their accumulated experience and compare it to that of other teachers who share their interests could help them find deeper meaning behind common words and actions. Talk about the phenomena under examination appeared essential in getting at personal and shared meanings. In this case, slogans on report cards were studied. Similarly, other types of everyday language or typical classroom practices such as discussions, sand play, or reading exercises could provide a starting point to reflective dialogue. Meaning embedded within each of these continues unnoticed unless teachers are invited to bracket them, make them problematic for critical reflection. Professional group meetings might offer a vehicle for just such an inservice approach to begin.
(ii) A Study Of The Strange And Unfamiliar

By participating in this research, teachers engaged in an activity that placed familiar, almost cliche phrases used by them in reporting, in the realm of the unfamiliar. To make something 'strange and unfamiliar' means: to make the implicit, explicit; to break through the commonsense world of everyday teaching life. Therefore, thinking about the meanings about the child embedded within slogans was a 'new', 'strange' experience for the teachers. Seeing their own language in this startling context seemed to awaken new possibilities. As a result, a renewed attention was given to the slogans and meanings. The routine, typical outlook was for a short time placed in disequilibrium, requiring thought and discussion to realign. Just as the whole experience generated conversation among the teachers, the researcher's meanings that did not fit (or fit poorly) with the teachers' interpretations, generated the most extensive and in-depth discussions. Words appeared to jar when they seemed strange and misrepresented the teachers' meanings: for example, 'resistance, conflict, peacefully, laws, bossy' were removed from the meanings after lengthy examination as to why they did not belong. In general, it was the unusual and the unexpected word, meaning, or question that challenged the teachers' ready-made definitions and prompted them to explore further. Examples of this experience are captured in comments made by a variety of teachers:

I find number 3 kind of strange, 'is a group member whose relationships revolve around sharing'. I find very few
kindergarten children whose relationships revolve around sharing.... Yeh, I think sometimes children do get, you know, after awhile they think it's fun to share and then it's not a chore, but I don't think that they would revolve around sharing. 'serving others' I don't know. I just can't see....

'shows respect for people and property' who aren't compliant necessarily though. So, that word, I wonder about that word. But, I think basically, most of the time, with most of the children that would fit.

I noticed one thing on here, 'minimal material waste', that I never even think of that approach.... I was thinking when I read it...oh, like they're not using, you know, like when they cut a little circle out of the middle of a whole sheet of paper, and then, cut a little circle out of the whole sheet.... When they're at the art centre I never say anything about wasting the paper.

Therefore, teachers may benefit from some inservice activity that aims to unsettle their routine ways of making sense of the world. Experiences planned to challenge their ordered views could include elements of strangeness, surprise, conflict or confusion. In the resolution of new questions and problems, alternative points of view might be considered, yielding new, revitalized patterns of interpretation. Inservice, in this form, would reach beyond the utilitarian focus of information-providing and rote implementation of a new material, curriculum, or teaching strategy. Instead, it would provoke the realm of purpose, meaning (i.e. assumptions, beliefs) and values buried within the deep structure of the teachers' school experiences. Experiences of this kind would need to be carefully selected to be relevant and real problems to the teachers concerned, such as an exploration of the routine practices that make up 'the work period' in kindergarten.
(iii) Knowing One's Biography: An Inservice Activity

Challenged to question and validate the meanings about the child caught in their own language, the kindergarten teachers looked back into their personal histories for explanations. Stories about children in the vivid, immediate past of classroom life were offered as reasons why, or why not, meanings were true for them. In other words, meanings were legitimated or modified by everyday, proven experience with children. When discussing the meaning for 'good participation in games, songs, and stories' (MATRIX E) one teacher argued:

To me 'good participation in games, songs and stories' means that when I'm doing games or songs or stories, they are participating in them, at a level that is appropriate for them. So as far as I'm concerned, a level that is appropriate for 'X' is the fact that when we're marching with instruments, he's got an instrument and he's marching and he won't say a word during group discussion, but when we get the instruments, he's marching; when I'm reading a story, he's listening; when we're playing Punchinella, he's willing to take his turn. For him, to me, that's 'good participation in games, songs and stories'.

Thus through reflection on experience, meanings are built up. Similarly, they may be altered if past experience is called forth for reinterpretation or reconstruction when a 'new' question, attitude, or interest is turned towards it. This active reshaping, rethinking of past experience - this transformation of meaning - was best illustrated by one teacher. On several occasions during the interview she drew on significant historical events in her past that had influenced her report card writing. Each one had caused her to refine her meaning of reporting, her meaning of the child as student. As she recounted them in
the interview, her biography was being retold in the light of this new question; meanings embedded with report card slogans. Put another way, her present was a product of her past; in retelling her story the past was made accessible again. Key experiences in her past were retold in the interview and made visible to both herself and the researcher for examination.

. On teacher training

But, I don't know why. I think it's because we could never use 'curbing her emotions' or never say that when I first trained in writing report cards. Always very careful of anything to do with reporting on emotions.

. On her last principal

My last principal would not accept on a report card anything that you hadn't seen. You could rarely make an assumption. He said reporting was on what you saw. Not on what you would have liked to have seen. Not on what you think the child may be able to do. Not what you are hopeful he will be able to do. And so he always wanted reporting in the past tense...then it's defensible.

I thought it over a lot and I looked at reports...I took his point to heart.

. On another teacher's report card

And after I saw that, it was interesting how my own reporting changed because I started to use those phrases in a place where I may have said something negative before I was now saying 'he wasn't able yet to handle things on the playground by himself'. But somehow the 'not yet' gives the parent and the child the feeling that that is something that will happen, because that's a natural progression. It will come next.

In the case of this one teacher, reaching back into her past experience brought her critical awareness as to why 'today' she assumed and behaved towards reporting on young children as she did.
Because teachers' personal histories dramatically affect their current thought and action, inservice that addresses their past bears consideration. Embedded within their biographies are memories and traditions that have been acquired through the trial-and-error process of experience. It would seem that 'new', unproven materials and techniques would be required to prove themselves in light of the teachers' tested recipes and beliefs about teaching and students. Inservice aimed at change, therefore, might benefit from first involving the teachers in an exploration of their current, biographically-embedded approaches. Knowing their personal history could free teachers to share points of similarity and difference with fellow teachers; thereby illuminating common meanings and places where discrepancies exist. To ignore this past could lead to superficial alterations in practice and a return to what worked in the past. Proposed changes (i.e. new curriculum, innovative teaching strategies) must make sense to teachers. It is within their accumulated histories that meaning is stored and made available for reinterpretation and change.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR REPORTING TO PARENTS**

In this study, meanings about children were defined in terms of a specific context, the school, and in relation to a selected teaching function - reporting to parents. In practice, therefore, interpretive discussions about children contained reflective comments on reporting. To the teachers, the style of reporting was chosen to respect their
meanings about the child and beliefs about schooling. One teacher summed it up: "I think how the teacher feels about children; how she handles the reporting process that is the most important thing." This final section of Chapter V summarizes the teachers' perspective on reporting as a communicative function. Commonsense rules (i.e. assumptions) used by the teachers to guide their written reporting practice are also highlighted.

"How difficult it is to express what you really do mean about a specific child. That's been in the forefront of what I've felt all along in looking at all these different phrases and what we really do mean by them." This summative statement was made by one teacher and echoed by her colleagues as they reflected on the slogans and multiple meanings embedded within them. Typically, the slogans had been used to describe the child's social-emotional progress without question as to the varied meanings they may evoke in the teacher(s) and/or parents. Acting as typifications that categorized unique child attributes and behaviours under generalized statements, slogans were used to communicate meaningfully to parents. The teachers' experience in discussing their S/E slogans exposed the multiple, at times divergent, meanings that slogans embody. Unanimously, they remarked on their new insight:

- It does make you realize how many different ways the same thing can be interpreted, by different people. You realize that parents can interpret it totally differently.

- I think different interpretations of a phrase, looking at children in different ways, cause you to tend to get stuck on looking at children in certain ways and those key phrases do really sort of go around in your head, you know.
Well even looking at these, what one teacher means when she says 'enthusiastic, eager attitude towards school' or even what I mean when I write that on a paper, does the parent know what I'm actually saying? That I'm meaning that they're, you know, happy and positive and - because as I read these I thought these explained an awful lot more than just the comments that were up here.

It's incredible to me to read those phrases that are written there, that I would never associate with the meaning of your dominant phrase. That really hit me. Gee, you mean, some teachers write that and mean that. I would never write that and mean that. If you've gotten that many interpretations out of it, if I'm writing it, does some parent think that I mean something that I don't really.

Slogans held different meanings for different people. Individual teachers found that they brought personal understandings to some slogans shared in common with their colleagues. Parents, they realized, as outsiders to their professional association would probably have novel, divergent meanings for the stock phrases that they assumed in daily discourse.

If report cards were meant to communicate, then the teachers believed the slogans required clarification and elaboration for parents. Parents were not familiar with the nuances of meaning kindergarten teachers intended when they wrote 'gets along well with others' or 'works independently'. As the receivers of the communication, parents needed to be considered - their assumptions about children, their meanings for school, and their values. Concern for the audience of the reporting procedure was articulated by the teachers:

And parents found the phrasing really difficult to understand a lot of times. And this is just for English-speaking people, never mind the Chinese-speaking people.
And there are so many different nationalities, groups, immigrant peoples - they're not able and why should they feel they should write a report on their children when they don't understand the language. It makes them feel inadequate which is an attitude you do not want to project.

And that's the problem with writing report cards to parents. You can put it down thinking your way, and they interpret it completely opposite, depending on how they want to take it.

I think it's important for us all to take a look at what we're saying and to listen to what the parents have to say...Because I may have a parent say, "Gee, when you said this I thought you meant something else".

Recognizing the challenge of communicating a mutually-understood message, the teachers advocated two reporting techniques: one, the parent-teacher conference, and two, commonsense rules to follow when writing report cards. Each is discussed in sequence in this final section.

The printed word on report cards was viewed as insufficient in school-home communication about a child. To supplement or in some cases, to replace the written report, all teachers conducted parent-teacher interviews (i.e. conferences). "I feel the most accurate way of getting across what you do mean is by having parent-teacher interviews three to four times a year," remarked one teacher. Still another commented: "I'd rather just see parents and talk to them from time-to-time during the year." Accurate meaning and opportunity to talk, clarify, extend recorded comments (i.e. slogans) were offered as two important purposes for meeting with parents to discuss the child's school progress. Face-to-face contact, in addition, allows immediate resolution to possible misunderstandings between parent and teacher; allows the parent to tell their stories about the child they know at home. Such personal
two-way communication creates a bond between the two parties most interested in the child's first year at school. Reflective conversation, or talk, was seen as the primary means by which mystifying slogans could be unpacked and elaborated in relation to particular children. In 'good' reporting, such talk was essential to the teachers for this reason:

1. Maybe some of these statements need a little more qualifying when you put them on a report. Instead of saying 'he works independently' How does he work independently? Does he make up his mind what he wants to do? or is he able to just follow what you tell him to do? Qualify a little more or else see them and explain it.

2. So there's another helpful thing about conferences. You know you could talk about if the parents really understood what you meant by - rather than just assuming that, you know, when you write something down and it goes home there can be misunderstandings about the word you used.

3. Whereas if you're talking to a person, I feel you can illustrate what you mean. It's more specific. Also, if the parent does not understand then you can take them, if they're in the surroundings, the kindergarten room, and illustrate, show, demonstrate - what you mean...it appears to satisfy the parents more as well. As well as you get the parents' point of view. They see a different part of the child than you do.

In reality, however, conferences do not supplant the expectation for written report cards. To minimize the degree of misinterpretation around slogans and cloudy communication to parents, the teachers utilized practical, commonsense rules when writing reports. These are summarized below with illustrative comments made by the teachers. Not meant to be a prescriptive list of guidelines, they merely highlight what was voiced as useful 'rules of thumb' by one group of teachers.
(i) **Use Descriptive Language Over Judgements About Children**

In relation to 'gaining more confidence' I would describe it on a report card by saying 'appears reluctant to speak in group situations; has difficulty deciding what centre to choose; appears to often not enjoy the movement-kind of activities and will withdraw from the group situation physically and watch other children; appears to observe the other children...I would have put that, trying to be descriptive versus the judgment of 'lacking confidence'.

What I've really tried to do, is to leave out the judgment and to be descriptive and to say what I really mean to say. What I really mean to say is 'the child physically withdraws from the group', without adding, 'they're insecure'. I have really tried, like on this last set of report cards, to describe the behaviour and leave the interpretations up to them. Just to accurately describe the behaviour and forget the 'Good at', 'Bad at', and I find it very difficult to do.

Slogans, in this teacher's view, could have the power of a label that through careless and prolonged use was seen as potentially damaging to the child. Detailed description was offered as an alternative to misrepresentation through labelling.

(ii) **Phrase Report Card Comments 'Positively'**

I try very hard not to be negative but to make the comment in a positive way.

Keep it in a positive vein because the child is progressing on an uneven developmental course that's completely normal.... Not a continuum that goes exactly up, but it goes up-and-down and stops.

And that's why my report cards are really positive. And some grade one teachers following might say, "Help! Why does she have to be so positive?" But if you start being really critical and putting down a kindergarten child, there goes their whole concept of themselves before they even get started. And kindergarten is supposed to be a place that is fun, and a place where they get to know the other children, and feel comfortable and a good start!
Avoiding negative language allowed the teachers to portray the child's strengths to the parents and thereby preserved the option for future child growth. A negative comment was seen as an indelible mark on the child's record, one to be prevented from premature labelling.

(iii) Avoid Value-Laden Language

I was just wondering why you used the word 'compliant'. Compliant is a word whose meaning is sort of M-O-U-L-D-I-N-G, (laughter). Do you know what I mean, moulding? And it was slightly jarring when I read it...

On 'assert herself with others': careful, that may be a way of soft pedalling the fact they're bossy and can't take their turn.

...I think I might say 'willing' rather than 'peacefully'. You know, like a child who's willing to try another activity. It's not Gung Ho, eagerness, but, you know, they're willing to give it a try. Peacefully just seems to suggest, you know, sort of a placid acceptance to me.

To the teachers, such emotionally-charged words were to be avoided as they appeared to provoke and to channel communication negatively. Use of such words also cast the teacher's value system up against that of the parents. To use a word like 'compliant' was a much more direct critique of the child than 'agreeable', a word that can be interpreted both positively and negatively. Facilitating communication was as important as being specific to the degree of using narrow, controversial adjectives.

(iv) Communicate In Plain, Jargon-Free Language

I try to use language that I know the parents in the area I teach in would understand.
You know I understand the reason parents don't understand sometimes - I may say "more attention needs to be paid to detail" and the parent will say, "Does that mean he's messy, 'cause he's messy at home." Yes, it means he's messy.

The big word 'behaviour' hasn't been used...it seems to be a nasty no, no, especially if you say, "Your child doesn't know how to behave." "He hits so-and-so." But I'm not afraid of using that if I really feel it's necessary to use it, I use it.

In order that parents as lay persons, would understand the messages on report cards, the teachers attempted to select vocabulary that was straightforward and public. At times, that meant risking direct (value-laden) language such as 'messy' over the professional slogans endorsed by the school environment. Simple, clear terms stripped away the lack of clarity and went directly to the meaning. Parents, some thought, preferred this type of reporting style; it was seen as less threatening or potentially alienating.

Slogans on report cards were used by teachers to 'say something' to parents about children. By participating in this study, teachers saw how the messages sent might vary significantly from those received. Slogans, taken-for-granted by teachers, could evoke alternative interpretations in parents. As stock phrases, slogans store multiple meanings for teachers but also lend themselves to diverse interpretations by non-teachers. To encourage communication between parents and teachers, therefore, slogans stand in need of discussion and elaboration through conferencing and/or careful description and selection through written reporting.
For a brief interval in their collective lives, kindergarten teachers paused long enough to more fully understand their meanings about children. Through bracketing of their own stock phrases (i.e. slogans) on report cards, they played with alternative meanings and crystallized some old and new assumptions about children, and, in fact, reporting to parents. Time and talk were vital ingredients in this experience. Not simply talk of 'maybe's', and 'should be's' but talk of relevant, purposeful things in their lives: kids and communication with parents.

In the process, more questions were raised. What relationship exists between their assumptions about children and daily classroom practices? Do other groups of kindergarten teachers hold similar meanings about children? What meanings about the child are embodied within other types of commonsense school language: staff room talk, journals and newsletters, and professional meetings? As one looks into other grades, do the meanings change or remain the same? What is the students' view of teacher reporting? How do parents interpret slogans used on report cards?

The answers to these questions pose problems for future research. They lie in the study of the everyday commonsense world - the meaning-making of teachers and students.
FOOTNOTES

1 Based on the work of selected critical theorists: M. Apple and N. King, "What Do Schools Teach?" (1977); J. Anyon, "Social Class and School Knowledge" (1981); H. Giroux, "Towards a New Sociology of Curriculum" (December, 1979) and "Critical Theory and Rationality in Citizenship Education" (1980).


BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A
Copies of Blank Report Card Types
Parent-Teacher Interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupil's Name</th>
<th>School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Birthdate</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitude</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- others (rights and property)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- responsibility (playthings, clothing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-Concept</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- dependence upon adults</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- initiative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- self-confidence (accepts criticism, reaction to new situations)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- participation in games, songs, stories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Health</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- energy level, eyesight, speech, hearing, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muscle Development (large &amp; small)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- balancing, hopping, running, coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- eye/hand coordination, handedness, fine muscle manipulation, (crayons, scissors, clothing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- creative use of equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- approach to activities (use of time, completes a task, concentration, organization, imagination, initiative, independence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT (cont)

Concept Development
- making comparisons
- sequencing
- sorting, classifying
- number concepts
- space, direction

Auditory Perception
- rhymes
- beginning sounds
- reproducing sound patterns

Visual Perception
- reproducing patterns
- likenesses, differences
- recognizing symbols

Language Development
- vocabulary
- listening and following directions
- communication of ideas and experiences
- memory and recall
- interpretation

Please tell how your child "reports" about school

Parent's Signature ____________________ Teacher's Signature ________________
APPENDIX A
Copies of Blank Report Card Types
Open-Ended Anecdotal

Pupil's Name _______________________  School _______________________
Date ________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________


### MARCH KINDERGARTEN EVALUATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTITUDE: Towards:</th>
<th>self</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activities:</strong></td>
<td>- uses time wisely</td>
<td>Satisfactory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- can organize</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- completes a task</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- participates and shares</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- listens to directions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### GROSS MUSCLE DEVELOPMENT
- balancing, running, jumping

#### FINE MUSCLE DEVELOPMENT
- use of crayons, scissors
- eye-hand coordination

#### LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT
- speech
- vocabulary

#### AUDITORY PERCEPTION
- hears rhymes
- hears likenesses and differences of sounds, words

#### VISUAL PERCEPTION
- sees likenesses and differences of colours, shapes, pictures, letters of the alphabet
- recognizes own name
- can recognize and name the letters of the alphabet
- can recognize and name the numerals to 12

#### NUMBER CONCEPTS
- understands more than
- less than
- is able to sort by size, shape, colour
- is able to classify groups e.g. clothing, food
- can count objects
- can count by rote
APPENDIX A
Copies of Blank Report Card Types
Checklist

Your Child -
1. has learned to share, co-operate and help others.
2. has developed a cheerful attitude with her playmates.
3. has learned to take correction with a mature approach.
4. uses her own initiative and independence.
5. uses her time profitably.
6. shows respect for others and their belongings.
7. shows a variety of interests and skills.
8. has learned to follow routine well.
9. can follow a sequence of directions carefully.
10. attention span is lengthening.
11. listens attentively.
12. can use scissors efficiently.
13. contributes interestingly and frequently during oral discussions.
14. participates enthusiastically in musical experiences.
15. is learning to recognize and print the alphabet.
16. is learning to print numbers 1 - 10 and understand number concepts.

G Good
S Satisfactory
NI Needs Improvement.
### Slogans: Personal Attributes

**SELF-CONFIDENCE**

**Self-image**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meanings: assumptions about the child</th>
<th>Reaction to new situation</th>
<th>Interacts comfortably with peers</th>
<th>Very sensitive</th>
<th>Gaining more confidence in a more group</th>
<th>Very confident in new situations (i.e., very confident)</th>
<th>Very upset at any change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. as an individual with a strong EGO, secure and self-directed in most activities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. as a cautious, protective individual in her relationships with others</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. as a social being whose interactions with classmates are congenial, pleasant and compliant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. as a fragile individual, vulnerable in her relationships with others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. as a group member able to verbally assert herself with others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. as an individual whose personal strength is counter-dependent on the attention/praise of the teacher</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. as a rational BEING able to control her emotions and think through her problems (as an adult would)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. as an emotionally insecure individual needing the stability of school routine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Slogans: Work Habits

**DEPENDENCE upon adults**

**INITIATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meanings: assumptions about the child</th>
<th>Developing independence (i.e. more independent, works independently)</th>
<th>Takes the initiative in play situations</th>
<th>More initiative in choosing a variety of activities</th>
<th>Uses her time well</th>
<th>Independent in making choices (i.e. in choosing activities)</th>
<th>Makes independent decisions</th>
<th>Likes to be in charge</th>
<th>Quite independent</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Positive self-concept</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. as a learner able to start and finish assigned work without teacher supervision</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. as a group member willing to lead in open, adult-free situations</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. as a decision-maker able to self-select a balanced program</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. as a manager of limited and valuable time, motivated to turn time into a useful product</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. as a conscientious learner, motivated to select her own school work from a limited number of assigned tasks</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. as a group member seeking autonomy, open expression over confinement in a group</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. as a group member able to work alone, in isolation</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. as a self-sufficient, outgoing member of her classroom community</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
GETS ALONG WELL WITH HER  
- CLASSMATES  
- TEACHER

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

1. is a social being who adjusts her behaviour to suit the rules/norms of her primary group (the class)  
   3  2  1  3  9

2. is a class member who neither hits others nor harms their things  
   2  2  3  7

3. is a group member willing to give others equal opportunity and equal resources to participate  
   3  7  10

4. is a group member whose relationships revolve around sharing; and serving others  
   2  5  2  1  10

5. is a social being whose interactions with others are congenial, polite and compliant  
   5  2  6  13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOMINANT SLOGAN</th>
<th>shares, takes turns, co-operates with others</th>
<th>friendly, co-operative, well-liked</th>
<th>helpful to others</th>
<th>co-operates with teacher, adults, peers</th>
<th>shows respect for people</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**GOOD, CHEERFUL ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL, WORK, SELF, OTHERS**

**MEANINGS:** assumptions about the child

| 1. is a "HAPPY" individual with an agreeable manner and positive outlook in all situations |  | 14 |  |  |  |  | 14 |
| 2. is a well-adjusted personality who appreciates all opportunities to learn | 3 |  |  |  |  |  | 3 |
| 3. is an individual who approaches each assignment without resistance or conflict (eg. peacefully) | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 |  |  | 9 |
| 4. is a classroom member who does what she is told without complaining | 3 | 2 |  |  |  |  | 5 |
| 5. is a classroom member who cheerfully yields to the rules and expectations of her classroom (and her teacher) | 5 |  | 3 |  |  |  | 8 |
| 6. is a social being whose personal needs are met in care and service to others |  |  |  |  | 6 |  | 6 |

**APPENDIX C**

**MATRIX 8**

| Slogan/Meaning Clusters | Matrixes A-F |
A HARD-WORKING, CO-OPERATIVE AND DEPENDABLE STUDENT

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>DOMINANT SLOGAN</th>
<th>Completes task, activities</th>
<th>Listens attentively</th>
<th>Adequate attention span</th>
<th>Responsible</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is an industrious group member who reliably undertakes each requested task</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is a manager of limited and valuable time, motivated to turn time into a useful product</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is a productive worker committed to a finished job and minimal material waste</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is a dependent learner who must rely on knowledgeable adults (and peers) in order to progress</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a disciplined learner who willingly pays attention to others in order to progress</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. is a team member who can be depended on to follow through on each task with little or no assistance</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**SELF-CONFIDENT IN NEW SITUATIONS**

(ACCEPTS CRITICISM)

**MEANINGS: assumptions about the child**

1. is an individual with a strong EGO, secure and self-directed in most activities
   - Dominant Slogan: 11
   - Takes suggestions and criticism with a mature approach: \( \frac{1}{2} \)
   - Positive self-concept: 13.5

2. is an emotionally secure individual willing to risk failure in order to learn
   - Gaining more confidence: 1
   - Positive self-concept: 1

3. is an individual capable of curbing her emotions and disciplining her behaviour to fit socially-acceptable pattern
   - Shows growth in self-control: 2
   - Positive self-concept: 5

4. is a "good-sport" able to use feedback constructively and reasonably to improve performance
   - Takes suggestions and criticism with a mature approach: 8
   - Positive self-concept: 8

5. is a group member able to verbally assert herself with others
   - Verbal assertiveness: 1.5

6. is an individual whose personal strength is dependent upon the attention/praise of the teacher
   - Positive self-concept: 2

**MATRIX D**

**APPENDIX C**

Slogan/meaning Clusters
Matrices A-F
GOOD PARTICIPATION IN GAMES, SONGS, AND STORIES, AND PLAY

**MEANINGS:** assumptions about the child

1. **is an individual willing to contribute her responsible share towards the "group's" activities (i.e. put the group ahead of herself)**
   - **DOMINANT SLOGAN**
   - **Takes an active part in discussions**
   - **Participates enthusiastically**
   - **Understands and follows classroom rules, routines and instructions**
   - **Contributes interestingly and helpfully during discussions**
   - **Helpful with clean-up**
   - **Happy at school**
   - **TOTAL**
   - **8**
   - **5**
   - **4**
   - **1**
   - **21**

2. **is a social being: extroverted, talkative, confident in groups**
   - **DOMINANT SLOGAN**
   - **Takes an active part in discussions**
   - **Participates enthusiastically**
   - **Understands and follows classroom rules, routines and instructions**
   - **Contributes interestingly and helpfully during discussions**
   - **Helpful with clean-up**
   - **Happy at school**
   - **TOTAL**
   - **4**
   - **6**
   - **3**
   - **3**
   - **18**

3. **is a social being who successfully adopts the "laws" and appropriate social patterns of her classroom**
   - **DOMINANT SLOGAN**
   - **Takes an active part in discussions**
   - **Participates enthusiastically**
   - **Understands and follows classroom rules, routines and instructions**
   - **Contributes interestingly and helpfully during discussions**
   - **Helpful with clean-up**
   - **Happy at school**
   - **TOTAL**
   - **9**
   - **2**
   - **2**
   - **11**

4. **is an individual whose school success depends upon obeying the teacher and following the classroom rules**
   - **DOMINANT SLOGAN**
   - **Takes an active part in discussions**
   - **Participates enthusiastically**
   - **Understands and follows classroom rules, routines and instructions**
   - **Contributes interestingly and helpfully during discussions**
   - **Helpful with clean-up**
   - **Happy at school**
   - **TOTAL**
   - **1**
   - **1**
   - **2**

5. **is an individual complying with classroom practice in order to please her teacher**
   - **DOMINANT SLOGAN**
   - **Takes an active part in discussions**
   - **Participates enthusiastically**
   - **Understands and follows classroom rules, routines and instructions**
   - **Contributes interestingly and helpfully during discussions**
   - **Helpful with clean-up**
   - **Happy at school**
   - **TOTAL**
   - **2**

**MATRIX E**

**APPENDIX C**

Slogan/Meaning Clusters
Matrices A-F
**WORKS INDEPENDENTLY AND USES OWN INITIATIVE**

**MEANINGS: assumptions about the child**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS</th>
<th>Matrix F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is a leader, able to start and finish her OWN, SELF-DESIGNED projects without adult help</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is an individual able to start and finish ASSIGNED work without teacher supervision</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is a decision-maker able to self-select a balanced school program (from assigned tasks)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is a group member able to work alone, in isolation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is an individual seeking autonomy and open expression over conformity to the group</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. is a self-sufficient member of her classroom community</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. is an eager learner, curious about new school tasks/activities</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. is a classroom member who handles all materials and equipment maturely and puts things away after used</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**

| TOTAL | 10 |

**APPENDIX C**

Slogan/meaning Clusters
Matrices A-F
(1). This phrase and its variations appeared frequently on the report cards.

(a) This is how teachers say it.
   This is what I think they mean.
   Look at what I think they mean, and see if I am understanding them.
   How would you change the list?
   Do you agree? What would you add? Take away? Why?
   Do you hold any other meanings?
   Do any other meanings come to mind? Does this cover everything?

Alternative Questions:

(b) Is the meaning you hold for it captured in this list?
   If you wrote this on a report card, is there any other way you would be interpreting the child's behaviour in the classroom?
   Would you have any other meaning in mind?
   Have I found the meanings, the understandings, the images that you have of the typical 5 year old child?
   If you saw or wrote "this" on a report card would these meanings come to mind?
   How would you interpret this phrase?

Weighting:

Are there any meanings listed that are more significant to you than others?
Do you agree with this ordering?

Repeat for all slogan clusters.

(2). In your own words, what view of the child emerges from these things teachers have said about children and all the associated meanings?

What is the composite view? The final view? Total view? of the Kindergarten child?

(3). Final comments, overall impression and reflection on the interview.
GETS ALONG WELL WITH HER
  - CLASSMATES
  - TEACHER

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

1. is a social being whose interactions with others are congenial, polite, and compliant
   - DOMINANT PHRASE: 5
   - shares, takes turns, co-operates with others: 2
   - friendly, co-operative, well-liked: 2
   - helpful to others: 6
   - TOTAL: 13

2. is a group member willing to give others equal opportunity and equal resources to participate
   - shares, takes turns, co-operates with others: 3
   - friendly, co-operative, well-liked: 7
   - TOTAL: 10

3. is a group member whose relationships revolve around sharing; and serving others
   - shares, takes turns, co-operates with others: 2
   - friendly, co-operative, well-liked: 5
   - helpful to others: 5
   - TOTAL: 10

4. is a social being who adjusts her behavior to suit the rules/norms of her primary group (the class)
   - shares, takes turns, co-operates with others: 3
   - friendly, co-operative, well-liked: 2
   - helpful to others: 1
   - TOTAL: 9

5. is a class member who neither hits others nor harms their things
   - shares, takes turns, co-operates with others: 2
   - friendly, co-operative, well-liked: 2
   - helpful to others: 3
   - TOTAL: 7

MATRIX A (REVISED)

APPENDIX E
Revised Slogan/meaning Clusters
Revised Matrices A-F (post pilot)
GOOD, CHEERFUL ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL, WORK, SELF, OTHERS

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

1. is a "HAPPY" individual with an agreeable manner and positive outlook in all situations
   - 14

2. is an individual who approaches each assignment without resistance or conflict (eg. peacefully)
   - 3 2 3 1
   - 9

3. is a classroom member who cheerfully yields to the rules and expectations of her classroom (and her teacher)
   - 5 3
   - 8

4. is a social being whose personal needs are met in care and service to others
   - 6

5. is a classroom member who does what she is told without complaining
   - 3 2
   - 5

6. is a well-adjusted personality who gets excited and curious about learning
   - 3

TOTAL

14

APPENDIX E
Revised Slogan/Meaning Clusters
Revised Matrices A-F (post pilot)
### MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

1. is a productive worker committed to a finished job and minimal material waste
   - **10**

2. is a manager of limited and valuable time, motivated to turn time into something useful
   - **9**

3. is a disciplined person who willingly pays attention to others in order to learn
   - **9**

4. is a team member who can be depended on to follow through on each task with little or no assistance
   - **9**

5. is an industrious group member who reliably undertakes each requested task
   - **6**

6. is a dependent person who needs knowledgeable adults (and peers) in order to learn
   - **3**

---

**MATRIX C (REVISED)**

**APPENDIX E**

Revised Slogan/Meaning Clusters
Revised Matrices A-F (post pilot)
SELF-CONFIDENT IN NEW SITUATIONS (ACCEPTS CRITICISM)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS: assumptions about the child</th>
<th>DOMINANT PHRASE</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is an individual with a strong EGO, secure and self-directed in most activities (and willing to seek challenges)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13½</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is an individual able to use feedback constructively and reasonably to improve performance</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is an individual capable of curbing her emotions and disciplining her behaviour to fit socially-acceptable patterns</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is an individual whose personal strength is dependent upon the attention/praise of the teacher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a group member able to verbally assert herself with others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1½</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. is an emotionally secure individual willing to attempt new experiences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX E

Revised Slogan/Meaning Clusters
Revised Matrices A-F (post pilot)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS: assumptions about the child</th>
<th>DOMINANT PARSE</th>
<th>TAKES AN ACTIVE PART IN CLASS DISCUSSIONS</th>
<th>PARTICIPATES ENTHUSIASTICALLY</th>
<th>UNDERSTANDS AND FOLLOWS CLASSROOM RULES AND INSTRUCTIONS</th>
<th>CONtributes INTERESTINGLY DURING DISCUSSIONS AND HELPFULLY DURING CLEAN-UP</th>
<th>WORK CO-OPERATIVE, WELL BALANCED</th>
<th>HAPPY AT SCHOOL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. an individual willing to contribute her responsible share towards the &quot;group's&quot; activities</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. a social being: extroverted, talkative, confident in groups</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. a social being who successfully adopts the &quot;laws&quot; and appropriate social patterns of her classroom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. an individual whose school success depends upon obeying the teacher and following the classroom rules</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. an individual complying with classroom practice in order to please her teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. a group member who interacts constructively with peers i.e., supportive, enjoys social relationships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WORKS INDEPENDENTLY AND USES OWN INITIATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS: assumptions about the child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is a decision-maker able to self-select from a balanced school program (from assigned tasks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is an individual able to start and finish her OWN, SELF-DESIGNED projects without adult help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is a self-sufficient member of her classroom community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is an eager learner, curious about new school tasks/activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a classroom member who handles all materials and equipment maturely and puts things away after use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. is an individual who is increasingly able to identify goals and work toward them with less direction from the teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. is a group member able to work alone, in isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. is an individual able to start and finish ASSIGNED work without teacher supervision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. is a bossy individual who needs group attention</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**SELF-CONFIDENT IN NEW SITUATIONS (ACCEPTS CRITICISM)**

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>DOMINANT PHRASE</th>
<th>gaining more confidence</th>
<th>shows growth in self-control</th>
<th>takes suggestions and criticism with a mature approach</th>
<th>even-tempered and responsible approach to learning</th>
<th>positive self-concept</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. is an emotionally secure individual willing to attempt new experiences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. is an individual with a strong EGO, secure and self-directed in most activities (and willing to seek challenges)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is an individual able to use feedback constructively and reasonably to improve performance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a group member able to verbally assert herself with others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is an individual capable of curbing her emotions and disciplining her behaviour to fit socially-acceptable patterns</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is an individual who is becoming more secure and outgoing in group situations</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For all Tables and Matrices (Appendix F) the meanings are ordered according to the teachers' significance.

**TABLE I MATRIX D**

APPENDIX F

FINAL Slogan/Meaing Clusters

FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I -VI)
### Good, Cheerful Attitude Towards School, Work, Self, Others

**Meanings:** assumptions about the child

1. is a "Happy" individual with an agreeable manner and positive outlook in most situations
2. is an individual who willingly approaches each assignment
3. is a classroom member who cheerfully yields to the rules and expectations of her classroom and her teacher
4. is a social being who feels good about helping others
5. is a classroom member who does what she is told with enjoyment
6. is a well-adjusted personality who gets excited and curious about learning

**TABLE II MATRIX B**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS: assumptions about the child</th>
<th>DOMINANT PHRASE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is a &quot;Happy&quot; individual with an agreeable manner and positive outlook in most situations</td>
<td>an enthusiastic, eager attitude towards school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is an individual who willingly approaches each assignment</td>
<td>seems to enjoy her work and play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is a classroom member who cheerfully yields to the rules and expectations of her classroom and her teacher</td>
<td>has made a good adjustment to her class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is a social being who feels good about helping others</td>
<td>sensitive to other children and adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a classroom member who does what she is told with enjoyment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. is a well-adjusted personality who gets excited and curious about learning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FINAL Slogans/Meaning Clusters**

**APPENDIX F**

**FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I - VI)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS: assumptions about the child</th>
<th>DOMINANT PHRASE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is a &quot;Happy&quot; individual with an agreeable manner and positive outlook in most situations</td>
<td>an enthusiastic, eager attitude towards school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is an individual who willingly approaches each assignment</td>
<td>seems to enjoy her work and play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is a classroom member who cheerfully yields to the rules and expectations of her classroom and her teacher</td>
<td>has made a good adjustment to her class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is a social being who feels good about helping others</td>
<td>sensitive to other children and adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a classroom member who does what she is told with enjoyment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. is a well-adjusted personality who gets excited and curious about learning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANINGS: assumptions about the child</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. is a social being whose interactions with others are congenial, polite, and respectful</td>
<td>5  2  6  13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is a group member willing to give others equal opportunity and equal resources to participate</td>
<td>3  7  10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is a group member who shares and considers others</td>
<td>2  5  2  1  10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is a social being who adjusts her behavior to suit the rules/norms of her primary group (the class)</td>
<td>3  2  1  3  9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is a class member who neither hits others nor harms their things</td>
<td>2  2  3  7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III MATRIX A

APPENDIX F
FINAL Slogan/meaning Clusters
FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I - VI)
GOOD PARTICIPATION IN GAMES, SONGS, AND STORIES; AND PLAY

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

|                                      | MEANING                                      | 1                | 2                | 3                | 4                | 5                | 6                | 7                | 8                | 9                | 10               | 11               | 12               | 13               | 14               | 15               | 16               | 17               | 18               |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. is an individual willing to contribute her responsible share towards the "group's" activities | 8                                             | 1                | 2                |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  | 10                | 4                 | 6                 | 3                 | 2                 |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| 2. is a social being willing to try group activities with her classmates (i.e. at her level)                      | 4                                             | 6                | 3                |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  | 2                 | 1                 |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| 3. is a social being who successfully adopts the rules and appropriate social patterns of her classroom |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  | 10               |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  | 2                 |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|                                      | 2. is an individual who interacts constructively and happily with peers (i.e. supportive, enjoys social relationships) |

**TABLE IV MATRIX E**

APPENDIX F

FINAL Slogan/meaning Clusters

FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I-VI)
A HARD-WORKING, CO-OPERATIVE AND DEPENDABLE STUDENT

MEANINGS: assumptions about the child

1. is a productive worker committed to a finished job
   |   |   |   |   |   |
2. is a manager of limited and valuable time, motivated to turn time into something useful
   |   |   |   |   |   |
3. is a disciplined person who willingly pays attention to others
   |   |   |   |   |   |
4. is a classroom member who can be depended on to follow through on each task with little or no assistance
   |   |   |   |   |   |
5. is an interested group member who reliably undertakes each requested task
   |   |   |   |   |   |
6. is a dependent person who needs knowledgeable adults (and peers) (i.e. their help and attention)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 10| 9 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 114

TABLE V MATRIX C

APPENDIX F
FINAL Slogan/Meaing Clusters
FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I-VI)
WORKS INDEPENDENTLY AND USES OWN INITIATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANINGS: assumptions about the child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. is a decision-maker able to self-select a balanced school program (from assigned tasks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. is an individual able to start and finish her OWN, SELF-DESIGNED projects without adult help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. is a self-sufficient member of her classroom community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. is an eager individual, curious about new school tasks/activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. is an individual able to start and finish ASSIGNED work without teacher supervision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. is an individual who is increasingly able to work with less direction from the teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. is a group member able to work alone, in isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. is a classroom member who handles all materials and equipment maturely and puts things away</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE VI MATRIX F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX F
FINAL Slogan/meaning Clusters
FINAL Matrices A-F (TABLES I-VI)