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Feminine understandings of power and the culture of the school

Hudson, Martha B., Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1993

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**FEMININE UNDERSTANDINGS OF POWER AND
THE CULTURE OF THE SCHOOL**

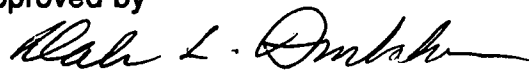
by

Martha B. Hudson

**A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education**

**Greensboro
1993**

Approved by

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Ralph L. Ombak", written over a horizontal line.

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APPROVAL PAGE

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This study explores the concept of a feminine understanding of power and develops a framework for describing and analyzing such an understanding. That framework is organized around three key indicators. Principals with a feminine understanding of power are those who: 1) Value and seek a sense of community in the setting, 2) share power, and 3) attend to relational issues. Further, the study examines key aspects of school culture in settings where the principal exhibits the characteristics associated with a feminine orientation toward power. Since what this study calls a healthy school culture is widely associated with school effectiveness or goodness, however measured, it is important to consider the relationship between the principal's orientation toward power and the culture of the school.

Case study methodology based on the work of Lincoln and Guba (1981, 1985, 1989), Stake (1982, 1991), Lightfoot (1983, 1986), and others was used to collect and interpret the data and to represent the findings. Participants were four elementary school principals and two secondary school principals who used language on an initial questionnaire consistent with a feminine understanding of power. Interviews, shadowing, observations, and focus groups were used to gather information about the principals' behaviors and attitudes and the cultures of the schools which they led. Field notes were made and compiled following shadowing experiences and observations. With permission, all interviews and focus groups were audio-taped and transcribed.

Portraits were completed for each of the six schools. In each, the principal's orientation toward power was analyzed in terms of her/his emphasis on community, sharing of power, and attention to relationships. In addition, the degree and source of that orientation were considered. The cultures of the six schools were analyzed in terms of the extent of involvement, sensitivity to context, attention to relationships, and selected cultural norms.

Findings, shared as personal understandings, supported the viability of the proposed framework for a feminine understanding of power. The study found that these principals fit the model developed. A second finding showed a relationship between such a feminine orientation toward power and a healthy school culture. Secondary findings addressed the sense of powerlessness experienced by teachers in schools, the need for a healthy school culture as an antecedent to positive change, and the personal power of the principal in the school setting.

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I am most appreciative of the six principals who openly shared their personal and professional experiences and their schools with me during the course of the study. I am also grateful to each of those school communities, the staff and the parents, that made me welcome and helped me to understand how their schools worked.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Introduction

In support of the qualitative case study, Robert Stake (1991) argues that case studies can provide the personal experience that leads to improved practice. Through case studies, the evaluator can assist practitioners in reaching naturalistic generalizations, new understandings that result when readers recognize similarities to cases of interest to them.

I had that experience of naturalistic generalization several years ago when I first read Sara Lawrence Lightfoot's *The Good High School* (1983). Having studied and portrayed six schools where "goodness" prevails, Lightfoot observes that it is what is feminine in the school's leaders that is the common link in the type of culture that prevails in the schools, schools where people treat one another with respect, share in a commonly created vision and are liberated from the traditional constraints of bureaucratic institutions.

The naturalistic generalization, the new understanding for me was the idea that what is feminine in school leadership can make a difference in the culture of the school, the way in which people live together in the setting.

The pursuit of that idea is the purpose of this dissertation. In recent years, there has been some exploration in the literature of what is feminine in leadership. Some of this deals simply with perceptions. For instance, Heller

(1982) found that positive images associated with female leaders were that they were more humane, open, friendly, egalitarian, efficient, and organized. Other deals with broad generalizations, as in Fullan's (1991) finding that when women principals are considered as a group, on the average they are more likely to possess characteristics associated with effective leadership and effective schooling. Other deals with particular characteristics or behaviors. Tibbets (1986) concludes that women use a democratic leadership style more and an autocratic style less than men. Shakeshaft (1989) finds that women are more collegial and use a participatory style more. Her suggestion (Shakeshaft, 1987) that in schools headed by women, relationships with people are central to all actions is consistent with Gilligan's (1985) suggestion that women's thinking is grounded in context and is characterized by care for self and others. Loden (1985) suggests that the feminine leader prefers an operating style that is cooperative and an organizational structure that is team oriented. Helgesen (1990) sees the difference in terms of the values that women bring with them to the leadership position, values that include attention to process, a concern for context, an appreciation for diversity, and a preference for cooperative actions that build community.

Most of this literature, however, deals rather superficially with behaviors, actions, and attitudes that are associated with the feminine in leaders, both male and female. Yet, simultaneously, there has been some exploration of what might underlie these overt differences. Charol Shakeshaft (1987), while she talks mostly about overt differences, does suggest that there may be an

underlying difference in understandings about power. She suggests, for instance, that the masculine view is to see power as finite, while the feminine is to believe that power expands as it is shared. School leaders operating from the feminine view, then, might be more comfortable with informal networking than with a top-down compliance system.

Further enlightenment is found in the work of women like Carol Gilligan and Mary Belenky, et al. who suggest that women may have very different systems of reasoning, and of knowing that provide the very foundations of their thinking and their acting in the world. Gilligan (1985), for instance, argues that the elaborate system for categorizing moral reasoning developed by Kohlberg simply does not fit women. She proposes an alternative system for women, much more contextual than Kohlberg's and based more on caring than on justice. Lyons (1983), working with Gilligan, suggests that those operating within a morality of responsibility and care more commonly define themselves in terms of connections and relatedness to others. While definitions of self do not necessarily divide along gender lines, Lyons suggests that more women than men define themselves in terms of their relationships and connections to others.

In Women's Ways of Knowing (1986), Mary Belenky and her co-authors argue that women have different ways of knowing, of developing self, voice, and mind. They offer a vision of power that is truly an alternative to the traditional vision of the control of human and natural resources through position power, expertise or personal charisma. Belenky, et al. offer two metaphors for power. The traditional, masculine metaphor is that of the pyramid, where power resides

in the person at the top and is filtered down and delegated to those beneath, layer by layer. At the bottom, there is virtually none left and there is, therefore, little connection between those at the bottom and those at the top. The alternative, feminine metaphor is that of a web, where all persons who reside on the web are interconnected. Because of this, everyone has some degree of power, because his/her actions reverberate and affect others.

This study, therefore, is based on the view that what is feminine in school leaders is grounded in this alternative vision of power and that school leaders who hold and act on that vision foster school cultures that are more inclusive, more caring and more open than the typical, hierarchical school. Such cultures are more likely to make schools productive and satisfying work environments, places with what Goodlad (1984) calls self-renewing capability that is necessary for effective schools. To explore that view in the context of particular school settings is the purpose of this study.

To conduct the study, it was critical to identify school leaders with a feminine understanding of power who were willing to participate in the study. Review of the literature on the feminine aspects of power and leadership indicates that there are three key areas which help identify leaders operating from a feminine perspective. Such leaders value and seek a sense of community in the setting, share power, and attend to relational issues. Specific indicators were identified for each of these areas which suggest how they would translate into attitudes and behaviors. It was expected that those values would also be reflected in the culture of the selected school.

The subjects of the study were selected by identifying a group of finalists for the Wachovia Principal of the Year award and asking them to complete a brief, open-ended survey. Survey questions related to the leader's style relative to the building of community, the sharing of power and attention to relationships. From these surveys, six administrators were selected and asked to participate in a brief follow-up interview. This interview was held to confirm the presence of a feminine orientation and to seek permission to conduct the study in the school. From these interviews, the subjects were selected based on the clear presence of a feminine orientation and a willingness to participate in the study.

The study is a naturalistic inquiry with the primary data gathering techniques being observations, formal and informal interviews and focus groups. With respect to the administrators, connections between her/his understanding of power and actions in the setting were explored. The same techniques were used to study the culture of the school, and any connections between the administrator's power orientation and related behaviors and the school culture were explored.

The study is presented in a case study format which is generally considered to be the most appropriate method of portraying the results of a naturalistic inquiry. This approach provides the reader with the sort of thick description that makes vicarious experience of the setting more likely and enhances the possibility that others can and will experience naturalistic generalization as they apply the study to settings with which they are familiar. The case study format also provides a different dimension on the study of

school administration, a dimension that is needed to further understanding. Wolcott (1973), for instance, laments the fact that most dissertations on educational administration involve surveys, "usually by mailed questionnaire, of ten, a hundred, or a thousand administrators, subsequently tallied up and treated with some high-powered statistical interpretation which substitutes one type of significance for another" (p. xii). For many years, there has been an over dependence on this approach as the sole basis for many educational studies. The case study format, on the other hand, offers a different perspective and the opportunity for significance based on personal meaning.

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to draw any firm conclusions about the relationship between a feminine understanding of power on the part of the school leader and the culture of the school. The purpose is to share six case studies, to describe them in a way that facilitates the reader's interpretation, but to leave the reader to draw her/his own generalizations and personal understandings. Returning to Stake, it is up to the reader to provide the reference population, that is, the comparison groups. Out of that will come naturalistic generalization and new understandings about how one aspect of the feminine voice, power, can be seen and heard and felt in schools. Such understanding should lead to improved practice.

Problem Statement

Anyone who has read even newspapers and popular magazines over the last decade knows that the "experts" think schools are in trouble. In 1983, A

Nation at Risk called national attention to the "rising tide of mediocrity" in public education and warned the public that the failure of our public schools had placed the nation "at risk." Shortly thereafter, the Carnegie Report, A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century (1985) called for school reforms designed to transform the teaching profession into an attractive and rewarding career. The next year, the nation's governors announced their new reform agenda in Time for Results (1986). These and other national reports published by commissions of academics, educators, and politicians have cited evidence of the rapid decline of public education and called for major changes like restructuring schools and revamping the teaching profession.

These reports often include recommendations for change with little regard for the reality that social institutions, like schools, have been created over time and are, by nature, conservative and unlikely to change except slowly and at the fringes. Dalin (1978), for instance, points out some key barriers to change in social systems. There are value barriers that grow out of the different values held by individuals and groups that lead to very different perspectives on change. There are power barriers related to the redistribution of power that often accompanies change. There are practical barriers, problems with the idea or process of change that create practical problems for groups or individuals. Finally, there are psychological barriers that occur when individuals resist change even when their values are not challenged, their power not disrupted and no practical problems exist. Even when change does occur on the fringes, such as in pilot projects, research and development efforts, a school, or in

committees or task forces, that change may be difficult or impossible to disseminate or implement in the larger system context. As Dalin says, "the system is designed for maintenance" (p. 34) and innovations run into control mechanisms like existing laws and regulations in addition to the barriers listed above.

Another problem has been the tendency to ignore or de-emphasize the important relationship between culture and change. McNeil (1985), for instance criticizes the reform movement because it does not take into account the individualistic aspects of schooling, such as collective school culture. He sees the reform movement as top down with directives issued from the highest authority (usually legislatures or state agencies) to be implemented by those with the least authority in the bureaucracy, the teachers. Such top down reform not only does not work. It has negative results on teaching and learning because such reforms "cause both teachers and students to further disengage from the teaching and learning process" (p. 185). Goodlad (1975) emphasizes the importance of culture and maintains that it is critical to see the school as a total entity. Everything that is a part of the school culture influences what children learn. It also influences teacher behavior. To illustrate this, he proposes a model with the culture of the school influencing directly pupil outcomes and also influencing teacher behavior which, in turn, also affects student outcomes. This model is contrary to the more common belief that it is instructional interventions that influence pupil outcomes. Goodlad (1984) maintains that we must move away from notions of top down change and

recognize that improvements are more likely when those connected to the school, especially the principal and teachers, become responsive to problems and needs and develop the mechanisms for effecting continuous self improvement. This results in a cultural attitude, a sense that "the way we do things around here" is to be in a state of readiness to respond to problems. These examples serve to illustrate how calls for reform, especially of a top down nature, have failed to recognize critical elements of the change process and have given insufficient recognition to the importance of school culture in that process.

Yet there are good schools, places where good things happen for all members of the school community--students, parents, and staff. Such schools are characterized by healthy cultures. The word "healthy " is used here to describe those settings where a good, positive culture is clearly evident in the day to day processes and procedures observed in the setting. It refers to schools in which the culture is characterized by the nurturance of relationships and community, attention to process, shared decision making, real communication, inclusiveness, and cooperation. Sergiovanni (1984) makes the point that in excellent schools there exists a strong culture and clear sense of purpose "which defines the general thrust and nature of life for their inhabitants" (p. 13). Purkey and Smith (1982) suggest that it is the school culture, the "structure, process, and climate of values and norms that channel staff and students in the direction of successful teaching and learning" (p. 68). Sarason (1982) observes that how power is used and the processes utilized in the

setting are very much a part of the school culture and cannot be ignored if positive change is to occur. As Saphier and King (1985) say, "good seeds will not grow in weak cultures" (p. 67). They also point out that, "Cultures are built through the everyday business of school life. It is the way business is handled that both forms and reflects the culture" (p. 72). There is an increasing awareness that issues of culture must be attended to if change is to occur. Goodlad (1975) says, for instance, that most school reconstruction must be effected by those who live and work in them each day. It must happen school by school. Fullan (1982) discusses the problem in terms of finding meaning in change. He suggests that, for change to occur, individuals and groups must find meaning concerning what should change as well as how to go about it. This finding of meaning is more likely to happen in a healthy school culture where good communication among adults in the setting is evidenced. In settings where processes for communicating and making decisions are present and where individuals are heard, meaning is more likely to emerge. These processes, and the meaning that emerges in the setting are key aspects of school culture.

There is some literature that suggests a relationship between school leadership and school culture. Saphier and King (1985) say, for instance, that building cultural norms takes good will and commitment from teachers, "since good leadership alone cannot make them strong; but without such leadership, culture cannot begin to grow or be expected to endure" (p. 68). Other authors suggest a possible relationship between feminine aspects of leadership and

healthy school culture. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, for instance, in The Good High School (1983), observes that it is what is feminine in the leadership of the school principals that leads to good schools. She cites characteristics like the high regard for teachers that exists in the good schools, schools whose leaders show the nurturance that accompanies that regard. In these schools, attention to process leads to a genuine sharing of power. Teachers are really listened to and given opportunities to participate in decision making. There is an emphasis on relationship and a sensitivity to cultural forms. Charol Shakeshaft (1987) also offers an illuminating conception of the female world in schools. She suggests that in schools headed by women, relationships with others are central to all actions. In such schools, building community is an essential part of the leader's style. As she says, "women exhibit a more democratic, participatory style that encourages inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in schools" (p. 4). The communication and decision making styles of these women tend to stress cooperation and help facilitate the translation of educational visions into action.

There is evidence to suggest, then, that a healthy school culture might be the foundation of a good school, a pre-requisite for the kinds of changes called for by the reformers. It also seems that there might be a relationship between good leadership and a healthy culture. Yet, with the exception of Lightfoot and Shakeshaft, little has been written about what it is about school leadership that makes for a healthy school culture.

Part of the answer lies in the nature of power. Shakeshaft, for instance, points out that female school leaders see power differently. Contrary to the

masculine perception of power as finite, she claims that females tend to believe that power expands as it is shared. Belenky, et al. (1986) suggest that the hierarchical metaphor of power does not fit the way women see the world. In the hierarchical model, power resides at the top of the pyramid and the person there relates to others primarily through bonds of agreement like contracts and laws. The authors propose an alternative, feminine metaphor, that of the web. On the web, relationships are important, because the actions of one influence everyone else. Communication is essential and everyone shares a bit of the power. Such a metaphor elicits visions of schools with healthy cultures, schools characterized by the nurturance of relationships and community, attention to process, shared decision making, real communication, inclusiveness, and cooperation.

In spite of these alternative visions, most of the literature on power has been written by men and based on research done by and about men. In that sense, power is like leadership which, as Friesen (1983) points out, has historically been considered a masculine domain. There are two reasons for this: the overwhelmingly large number of men in these positions and the fact that, prior to 1970, most research on leadership dealt with male populations. DeWine (1985), for example, in building on the earlier work of French and Raven (1959), groups power into three categories: control of limited resources, control of information and the perception of power by an "other." More current work emphasizes the relationship of the person who exerts power and the recipient of that behavior in the context of an organization. Kotter (1979), for

instance, says that "acquiring power means acquiring potential influence--that is, the potential for getting others to do what you want or for preventing them from forcing you to do something" (p. 25). Most of this literature fits nicely into the pyramid metaphor. Power is generally the control of human and natural resources by those who find themselves at the top by virtue of their position authority, their expertise or, sometimes, their personal charisma. Mintzberg (1973) offers support for the notion of hierarchy as a male model. In his study of executive men, he found that in their position at the top of hierarchical pyramid, these men had extraordinary access to information from within and outside the organization. This information constituted their chief source of power and they were reluctant to share that source of power.

The pyramid metaphor and the traditional assumptions about power fit most school organizations. Organization charts flow from the Board of Education to the superintendent, to the associates, to the assistants and on and on down until they get to schools where the flow goes from principal to assistant principal to department chairs and, finally, at the bottom, to teachers.

Previous references were cited to indicate that change at system levels faces many barriers and is difficult to implement. However, at the school level, change can and does happen because, in spite of all the "doom and gloom" in the national reports, reports of good schools also exist. As only one of many examples, the March, 1985 issue of Educational Leadership was devoted to the theme "Excellence School by School." Federal departments, states, professional organizations and others routinely recognize and celebrate

individual examples of good schools. At the school level, culture can be nurtured and built. For culture to grow and endure, good leadership is required.

In conclusion, limited work by a very few authors suggests that, in good schools with healthy cultures, there may be a relationship between that goodness and feminine assumptions about power. School leaders, both men and women, who operate from such assumptions, may be natural nurturers of goodness. Yet little research exists that examines the relationship between feminine understandings of power and school culture. It appears, however, that a sense of community, shared power, and caring and supportive relationships are important to good, positive school cultures and that good, positive cultures are related to school goodness, to effectiveness however defined. Because there is a chance of improving our schools through such exploration, further study is justified.

Conceptual Base

The purpose of this dissertation is to characterize school culture when the principal operates from a feminine understanding of power. The idea of a feminine understanding of power is derived from the small, but significant, body of literature which suggests that administrators who use feminine styles of leadership differ from more traditional leaders in their understanding of and orientation toward power. There is a considerable body of literature which considers the various elements of school culture and suggests connections between certain of those elements and goodness or effectiveness, however

defined. Many of the cultural features considered critical to goodness seem to resonate with the characteristics associated with a feminine understanding of power. Because of that, this study is designed to explore and describe school cultures in schools where the principal has, to some degree, a feminine orientation toward power.

The study of power is a complex one that is constantly evolving. Much contemporary writing on the subject, however, can be traced back to the work of French and Raven (1959). In their work, they suggest that there are five bases of power which seem to be especially common and important. These five areas are: reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power, and expert power. Much of what has been written since either modifies these categories or adds further dimensions to the model. Hagestad (1984), for instance, maintains that there are four bases of power: material resources, symbolic and affective resources, position and norms, and knowledge and abilities. DeWine (1985) suggests that French and Raven's five types can be grouped into three categories: control of limited resources, control of information, and the perception of power by an "other." The language of these later works is indicative of the more current interest in the control of resources, both human and material, and information. Another more current twist on the power issue is increased emphasis on the relationship between the person exerting the power and the recipient of those behaviors in the context of the organization. Kotter (1979), for instance, says that "acquiring power means acquiring potential influence--that is, the potential for getting others to do what

you want or for preventing them from forcing you to do something" (p. 25).

Another interesting point is that power has been typically studied in men and in male-dominated organizations.

When women write about power, the definition changes somewhat. In Social Power and Influence of Women (1984), for instance, context becomes important and relationships are included along with resources and actions. Consider for instance, the difference in the definition offered by Stamm and Ryff (1984) in the introduction to this collection of essays. They define power as, "the ability of an individual to influence or exert control over resources, actions, or social relationships which are valued by the community in which she/he participates (p. 3). The importance of context is reiterated by others who emphasize how the norms of the organization and group expectations influence how those in leadership positions use power. This may be especially important to women. Denmark (1977), for instance, suggests that we might expect that women would be less likely than men to be authoritarian, to use authoritative power since their power is limited by group expectations.

There is little in the literature on power to suggest that there might be a different definition of power, a different set of assumptions about power on the part of women and men who express the feminine in themselves. Shakeshaft, Belenky, et al., and Helgesen are among the very few authors who suggest that power may be perceived and used differently by women. Shakeshaft (1989), for instance, suggests that women are less committed to hierarchy and are more willing to submerge displays of personal power in an effort to get others to

participate in the decision making process. She maintains that women tend to use power to empower others. In another paper, Shakeshaft (1987), suggests that because women operate on a different definition of power, they tend to stress cooperation and collaboration while men tend to stress autonomy and individuality.

Belenky and her co-authors (1986), offer two guiding metaphors which illustrate two very different perceptions of power. The first, associated with the feminine, is the web. On the web, the self is connected to others. "In the complexity of the web, no one position dominates over the rest. Each person, no matter how small--has some potential for power; each is always subject to the actions of others" (p. 178). The other, masculine metaphor is that of the pyramid or mountain. On the pyramid, the self is autonomous and relates to others only through such bonds of agreements as contracts and laws. "On the metaphorical mountain the few at the top dominate the many at the bottom" (p. 179). Such metaphors capture in a striking way the possibility that men and women may operate from different perceptions of power.

Helgesen (1990) also uses the metaphor of the hierarchy and the web. She talks about power in each model in terms of the "head" and the "heart." In a hierarchy, the figurehead is on top and derives authority from being in that position, in that role. The "head" has the power to set organizational vision and represent it to the world. In the web, the figurehead is the heart rather than the head. The "heart" does not need the layers and ranks below to reinforce its status. Instead, its authority comes from the connection to people, not the

distance from those below (p. 55). This use of the "heart" metaphor resonates with Gilligan's (1985) work which suggests that women's thinking is grounded in context and is characterized by caring for self and others. It also resonates powerfully with suggested differences in a feminine orientation toward power.

The idea of a different, feminine orientation toward power also finds support in the literature on feminine leadership characteristics. While this literature suffers from the same problems with bias and inattention that characterize the early literature on power, there is enough on differences in leadership characteristics to suggest that differences in perceptions of power exist. Hughey and Gelman (1986), for instance, suggest that what they call the female model of leadership may be superior to other models. Those qualities once perceived as feminine weaknesses--sympathy, sensitivity, the lack of a killer instinct--may be advantages when it comes to getting the best out of people. In another example, Tibbets (1986), concludes that women use a democratic style more and an autocratic style less than men and that this is one of the things that makes women elementary principals better than men. Shakeshaft (1989), maintains that women tend to choose a participatory style that enhances their power base. Another author struggling to give voice to feminine leadership is Lightfoot (1983). In her study of six good schools, her conclusion is that it is what is feminine in the leadership of the principals, all of whom are men, that leads to good schools. Among these feminine leadership qualities are characteristics like the high regard for teachers that exists in the good schools, attention to process, a genuine sharing of power, an emphasis

on relationship, and a sensitivity to cultural norms. Holderness (1989) also suggests what might be termed a feminine leadership style in what she calls the "enabling" leader. Such a person is interested in process as well as goals, listens, values participation in decision making, and becomes emotionally involved. The idea of feminine leadership is nicely summarized by Shakeshaft (1987), who suggests that in schools headed by women, relationships with others are central to all actions. The leaders spend more time with people, communicate more, care more about individual differences, are more concerned with teachers and marginal students, and motivate more. In such schools, building community is an essential part of the leader's style. Such a style emphasizes inclusiveness and cooperation. These characteristics associated with a feminine leadership style are consistent with and support the existence of a different, feminine orientation toward power.

The literature dealing with feminine assumptions about power and the manifestation of those assumptions in leadership behaviors suggests that feminine leaders work differently. As a result, the places where such persons work are often perceived differently by the people who work there. Belenky et al. (1986), for instance, speak of the collaborative, egalitarian spirit that characterized their working together. In addition to those works already cited which speak to the differences in schools headed by women, Greenberg (1985) says that the female school world is more cooperative than competitive. The workplace of Holderness's (1989) enabling leader, is characterized by affiliation and relationships with followers that convey the message that "we are doing

this, suffering this, hoping for this together" (p. 77-78). According to Loden (1985), the workplace of a feminine leader is characterized by cooperation, team structures, high performance standards, and a problem solving style that relies on emotional as well as rational data. Helgesen (1990) suggests that, as women and their values enter the workplace, an impact is felt on the particular setting and, by extension, on the culture as a whole. Those different values suggest a shift toward an emphasis on process, a belief that work and people are not means, but ends in themselves.

One of the characteristics attributed to leaders with a feminine understanding of power is the valuing of and commitment to community. This is certainly an important aspect of school culture. Barth (1990), for instance, says that healthy institutions are characterized by relatedness with other people and gratification from others and from the work itself. He finds this in schools where cooperative and collegial relationships exist. Barth observes that the setting being "right" improves the chance of good schooling.

Attention to relationships has also been cited as a feminine characteristic. Barth (1990) and Goodlad (1984) both suggest that the relationship between principal and teacher is a key factor in the quality of school life. This relationship, according to Barth, models what all relationships in the school will be like. Pelc (1987) also supports the importance of the affective characteristics typically associated with the feminine. She suggests that such characteristics are the foundation of effective leadership, effective schools, and educated children.

The literature is clear that too little attention is given to school culture as a critical ingredient of school goodness. Barth (1990), for instance, suggests that far too little attention has been given to the important relationships among the adults in the school in all that has been written on school reform. Sarason (1982) attributes the failures of federal attempts to reform schools to "an inadequate, unclear, parochial conception of what the culture of the school was and has become" (p. 89). His point is that change in a given school will not happen in the absence of attention to the school's culture. In the introduction to Tye and Novotney's (1975) book, Goodlad supports such a relationship. He says that, "In effect, the needed reconstruction of schooling must begin with the adults in the school and the social systems they constitute, not with pedagogy, materials, and pupil achievement" (p. xii).

It is clear, then, that attention to culture is a prerequisite for change and that a good, positive, healthy school culture is necessary for goodness to exist. It is interesting, then, to note how many of the characteristics associated with such culture resonate with characteristics associated with feminine leadership styles and a feminine understanding of power. Goodlad (1984), for instance, notes that the degree of staff cohesiveness and the nature of the problem solving and decision making climates in schools are highly related to teacher satisfaction, which is, in turn, related to effectiveness. Rossman et al. (1988) says that what sets a good school apart from mediocre schools is its ethos, or the common ideas of what is and what ought to be that exist within the school organization. He goes on to suggest that culture and effectiveness are related.

In fact, for him, "culture defines effectiveness" (p. 122). Sergiovanni and Elliott (1975) also support the connection between culture and quality. Certain cultural aspects, which they call the "climate of living" in the school have a critical effect on the climate of learning and growing in the school. It is not only in schools, that a connection between culture and goodness exists. Deal and Kennedy (1982), for instance, maintain that business culture has a major effect on success. They suggest that, if a business wants to be successful, it is important to "remember that people make businesses work. And we need to relearn old lessons about how culture ties people together and gives meaning and purpose to their day-to-day lives" (p. 5).

In summary, then, there is support in the literature for development of a model of a feminine understanding of power. There is also ample evidence that cultural characteristics impact on goodness and effectiveness in the school setting. Given this, it is both interesting and worthwhile to consider what cultural characteristics exist in schools where the leader is operating from a feminine understanding of power.

Purpose and Research Question

There is a small, but significant body of literature which supports the idea that administrators who use feminine styles of leadership differ from more traditional leaders on the dimension of power. The purpose of this dissertation is to characterize school culture when the administrator operates from a feminine understanding of power.

The primary research question is, therefore, "What are the characteristics of school culture when the administrator has a feminine understanding of power?"

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study of a feminine understanding of power and associated characteristics of school culture is two-fold. First, I have argued that there is reason to suspect a relationship between administrative behaviors that grow out of a feminine understanding of power and a good, positive school culture. The literature supports what those of us who spend our lives in schools know--that schools "feel" different, that what we "feel" is the culture and that this culture is important to the functioning of the school.

In the midst of the overwhelming interest in the past decade in school effectiveness, there has been something of a resurgence of interest in school culture. Rossman et al. (1988) cite the popularity of *In Search of Excellence* as an example of that renewed interest. They point out that, aside from its popularity, "the concept of culture sensitizes and draws attention to certain aspects of the organizational process that have been neglected--notably the subjective, the symbolic, the tacit, and the normative" (p. 5). Rossman et al. further argue that culture is essential to effective school functioning, however effectiveness is defined. In fact, they suggest that it is partly the inability to define effectiveness empirically or logically and the wide range of criteria that have been advocated that leads back to the importance of culture. They point

out that these efforts to define effectiveness are significant, from a cultural perspective, "because they highlight how definitions of effectiveness flow from norms, beliefs, and values concerning the way things ought to be. This connection suggests a different and even more fundamental relationship between culture and effectiveness than previously considered in the literature: culture defines effectiveness" (p. 134). Arguments like this certainly reiterate the importance of school culture. As Saphier and King (1985) say, "good seeds will not grow in weak cultures" (p. 67). Because a healthy culture is critical to goodness in schools, further study of what makes a culture healthy is desperately needed.

It has been argued elsewhere that a healthy school culture may be related to and facilitated by actions and attitudes that grow out of a feminine understanding and use of power. At this point, this possibility is only conjecture, because so little is known about feminine understandings of power. Shakeshaft's work on women in educational administration and, more generally, Gilligan's work on women's reasoning and the work of Belenky et al. on women's ways of knowing point to some very basic, underlying differences in the way women, and men who recognize the feminine in themselves, perceive power. Those differences are far from fully explored, yet they hint at understandings that might foster cultures characterized by the nurturance of relationships and community, where attention to process leads to shared decision making, where people are really listened to and where inclusiveness and cooperation are the norm rather than exclusiveness and competition.

A better understanding of feminine assumptions about power is important in its own right. Its importance intensifies when one considers the possibility of a relationship between those assumptions and the culture of the school, because of the relationship between culture and effectiveness.

Second, this study is important simply because the feminine voice needs to be heard. It has been too long silenced in history and, particularly, in schools. As Clifford (1975) points out, "The American nation was established by men who held a mechanistic, Newtonian political philosophy. They believed that the universe is a perfectly contrived machine, that human institutions need only be brought into harmonious agreement with its inexorable laws" (p. 25). Today's schools, she argues, exist far from that ideal, yet those schools still offer "a curriculum of history and government courses and instruction in civics and public affairs that emphasizes a formal, legalistic, constitutional, and benevolent view of power and politics that most scholars find grossly inadequate" (p. 26). A further reason for schools being so "out of step" is the preponderance of women in teaching; below the college level, over 70% of teachers are women. Those women, however, remain underrepresented in school administration and in school governance, so the feminine voice is largely ignored in school organization and operation.

The picture of schools that Clifford (1975) draws is a powerful portrait of a stereotypical masculine milieu. Schools are built in a hierarchical fashion on a system that assumes some inexorable, universal laws. They teach, and model, governance that is built on formal, legalistic foundations. This picture recalls to

mind the metaphor of the pyramid that Belenky et al. offer as a model of the masculine perspective. There is no room in either vision for the contextual considerations Gilligan maintains are important to women. There is no place for sharing and caring through personal relationships in a system where laws and regulations dictate relationships or non-relationships. Control, not release, is emphasized in such a milieu.

Simply, then, because it is so little heard, so largely ignored, the feminine voice deserves to be heard. This study, in its effort to identify and explore the presence of a feminine understanding of power in a school setting, seeks to make that voice public. In that sense alone, the study has heuristic value and will, hopefully, encourage more exploration of the feminine voice, both within institutions and individuals.

But there is more. There is a probable relationship between feminine understandings of power and the creation of a healthy school culture which, in turn, is a critical ingredient in goodness in schools. What might this mean to schools who select and hire principals and to the universities who train them? Do we need to do something different with regard to recognizing what it is that makes schools good? Do we need to recognize and celebrate rather than discourage and repress those inherently feminine characteristics that could lead to many more of these good schools? It is my hope that readers of this study will see the familiar and will apply it, through naturalistic generalization, so that further inquiry will be inspired and answers to such questions sought.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The review of the literature relevant to this study will include two primary areas, writings on power and writings on school culture. In the treatment of power, the review will begin with general work and narrow to focus on the newly emerging writings that suggest an alternative, feminine understanding of power. A section on feminine leadership, especially in schools, will be included to support the existence of a feminine understanding of power. This section will review the limited research that has been done on women in administration, with an emphasis on how behaviors manifested in the school setting may grow out of fundamental understandings of power.

In the treatment of school culture, the review will begin with works that suggest a relationship between what is feminine and the culture of the school. General works on school culture will also be reviewed, with an emphasis on those characteristics that are associated with good, positive school culture.

The Concept of Power

The study of power is a complex one, and questions about how issues of power impact women and affect the administration of our public schools add further complexities. The asking of such questions must, by necessity, begin

with an understanding of what has been written about power in general. The cornerstone work is probably that of French and Raven who, as early as 1959, maintained that the study of power was the study of the relationship between the behavior of the person who exerts power and the reactions of the recipient of this behavior. French and Raven (1959) acknowledge that there are many different kinds of power, but they suggest that there are five bases of power which seem to be especially common and important. The first is reward power, which is based on a person's perception that another can reward. An example of this is the use of a piece work rate in a factory as an incentive to increase production. The second is coercive power, which is based on a person's perception that another can punish. In the same factory, an example would be the ability of a person to fire a worker if s/he falls below a given level of production. The third basis is legitimate power, which is based on the perception that another has a legitimate right to prescribe behavior. That perception comes from internalized values such as cultural values or the acceptance of the social structure, not sanctions. Examples include the elected official's power to make laws, the judge's power to levy fines, the priest's power to prescribe religious beliefs and the army sergeant's power to give limited orders. The fourth basis is called referent power, which is based on a person's identification with another, either a feeling of oneness or a desire for such association. This identification exists independent of reward or punishment. Examples include persons or groups with prestige which causes others to want to be associated or identified with them. The fifth category is expert power,

which is based on the perception that a person has special knowledge or expertise. Examples include seeking an attorney's advice on legal matters or accepting a native's directions when in a strange locale.

Much of what has been written since 1959 is based on this work of French and Raven and either modifies the categories or adds further dimensions to the model. For example, Hagestad (1984) maintains that there are four bases of power. These are identified as material resources, symbolic and affective resources, position and norms and knowledge and abilities. According to the author, symbolic and affective resources are based on dependency, emotional investment, identification or modeling, what French and Raven (1959) call referent power. Likewise, material resources are related to reward power, position and norms are similar to legitimate power and knowledge and abilities is the same as expert power.

The language of this later work is indicative of the more current interest in the control of resources and information. DeWine (1985), for instance, points out that French and Raven's (1959) five types can be grouped into three categories. The first is control of limited resources, which would include reward and coercive power. The second, control of information, would include expert power and the third, the perception of power by an "other," would include legitimate and referent power. An example of this connection between power and the control of resources and information as it pertains to schools is offered by Lortie (1975). He suggests that principals are traditionally viewed as having their real power limited by the superintendent, School Board, policy, and other

such limitations from "above." Lortie maintains, however, that the principal does have power at the school level to make decisions that vitally effect teacher's working conditions. He cites as examples of that power the principal's authority to 1) assign teachers to classes and students to teachers, 2) act as the ultimate authority on student discipline, 3) serve as the source for parent redress, 4) allocate materials, space, and equipment, and 5) work out time schedules. Most of these are associated with the control of human and material resources and information.

Another more current twist on the power issue is increased emphasis on the relationship between the person who exerts the power and the recepient of that behavior in the context of an organization. Kotter (1979), for instance, says that "acquiring power means acquiring potential influence--that is, the potential for getting others to do what you want or for preventing them from forcing you to do something" (p. 25). He goes on to say that the most obvious way in which managers develop such potential is by gaining direct control over tangible resources such as budgets, employees, buildings and equipment. To Kotter (1979), other, less important, ways are the control of information and information channels and through relationships. Under "through relationships," he lumps several different French and Raven categories, including developing credibility, getting others to feel obligated, building a reputation as an expert, getting others to identify with the person or ideas and creating perceived dependence in others.

That power is more than an individual attribute is supported by Wheatley (1981), who maintains that power is a "capacity that is structured into a job by virtue of the job's activities and location within the larger system" (p. 264). Power, she says, results from the connections within the system that allow one to perform well. McCall (1978) also emphasizes the systemic nature of power. Like many of the other writers, he talks about sources of power as position, control of resources and timing. However, he adds another dimension, the "right action" or use of power. He claims that an understanding of power involves a look at both possession and the ability to use it, that a definition of power must include possession and skills. The power a person possesses cannot be separated from the power s/he actually uses. Power, therefore, is both relational and systemic. It involves a social network of people and an organization or system. According to McCall (1978), the marshalling of resources to get something done is "intimately interwoven in the social network" (p. 5).

A significantly different model of power has been proposed by McClelland (1975). As in his earlier work with the need for achievement, McClelland uses the technique of having subjects tell imaginative stories based on pictures. In the rating system, power is defined as a thought about someone "having impact." Concern about having impact can be shown in three ways: by strong action, by action that produces emotion in others or by a concern for reputation. McClelland (1975) has found that thoughts of these kinds increase in stories that follow various kinds of power arousal.

McClelland's (1975) studies are based primarily on American men, though he has done some cross-cultural checks. Based on these studies, he has looked at manifestations of power in behavior and has come up with four stages which are based on whether the source of the power and the object of the power are self or other. The stage that is typically treated in the literature about management and administration is what McClelland (1975) calls Stage 4, where the object of power is to influence others. In this stage, a "person sees himself as an instrument of a higher authority which moves him to try to influence or serve others" (p. 20). The other three stages are not typically treated in the management literature. For instance, in Stage 1, the object and the source of the power are the self. Here are the mystics; McClelland (1975) talks about people like Ram Dass and Black Elk who personify an entirely different notion of power. Without expanding on these other stages, it is worth noting that the literature is limited to a particular definition of power as applied in particular kinds of settings.

Another point worth noting is that power has been typically studied in men and in male-dominated organizations. It is like leadership, which as Friesen (1983) points out, has historically been considered a masculine domain. There are two reasons for this: the overwhelmingly large number of men in these positions and the fact that, prior to 1970, most research on leadership dealt with male populations. As a result, training programs taught women to change their personality traits, to adopt a masculine sex-role in order to lead effectively. The one exception to this, according to Friesen (1983), is

expert power, the power that grows out of expertise or the possession of the resources and skills needed in the attainment of the group's goals. Expertise, she says, seems to transcend gender and confers leader status on men and women. In other areas, it is still very much an issue. Wheatley (1981), for instance, points out that because organizational systems favor men, men much more often get positions that carry with them position power. An example of the attitude Friesen describes is offered by Cussler (1958) who speaks to the issue of two choices for women: either to act like a man or to be liked by men. In her study, she found fewer examples of bossy, aggressive women executives and more examples of women who worked successfully with men. Their success was attributed to their playing supportive, often invisible roles with male colleagues. They had learned to act in advisory rather than direction-giving capacities. Cussler notes that older executives seemed, especially, to have learned these lessons. As he states, "While the top executives have apparently learned their lessons of adjustment well, the junior executive is not so ready to take the rear seat in the bus" (p. 68).

It is interesting that when women write about power, as in Social Power and Influence of Women, the definition changes somewhat. In this collection of essays by women researchers, context becomes important and relationships are included along with resources and actions. The editors note that power is an element in all social relationships and activities and define it as "the ability of an individual to influence or exert control over resources, actions, or social relationships which are valued by the community in which she/he participates"

(p. 3). According to the editors, Stamm and Ryff (1984), there are two forms of power, positional and personal. Positional power is frequently referred to as authority and refers to situations where power is formally assigned to the role. Personal power, on the other hand, is unassigned power. It is based on the recognition and acceptance of an individual's right to make decisions about a particular aspect of social life. According to these writers, it is important to differentiate because of the ways in which all societies restrict women's power, especially positional power. According to them, some of their research seems to indicate that women tend to exert influence and control over valued resources, actions and relationships more frequently through the individual decisions they make during daily routines and interactions than through formally recognized positions of authority. They conclude that women's power tends to be situationally oriented and is frequently exercised outside of traditional authority structures.

There is little in the literature that deals specifically with women and power within traditional authority structures. However, the issue of power may be seen as related to studies of leadership style. Here, as Friesen (1983) points out, there is conflicting research trying to link gender to leadership style. What differences there are may be linked to sex-role identity rather than gender. Schmuck (1984) agrees, pointing out that sex, as a biological factor, does not account for differences in the behavior of administrators. Male and female administrators do not behave differently in any significant degree. However, she also points out the substantial body of research that says that different

attributions are given to male and female leaders. She says that, "For instance, people expect males to act decisively and expect females to consult with others before coming to a decision" (p. 43). These different expectations help explain how males and females come to experience the same position differently. Women lack legitimacy, and perhaps the power associated with it, simply because they are women.

While actual behaviors may not be different, perceptions may be. Wakefield (1984), for instance, sent questionnaires to about two hundred middle and top level managers in businesses. She found that women perceived that they had less personal power in the organization than men. Women reported that they had low-to-moderate power while men reported that they had moderate-to-high power. In spite of these reported differences, Wakefield (1984) found that the men and women employed very similar power communication styles. She suggests that this finding may be related to other research that indicates that male administrators tend to overestimate their own worth to the organization while women tend to underestimate theirs.

The norms of the organization and group expectations also play roles in determining how women in leadership positions use power. Denmark (1977), for instance, cites one study that found that men exhibited and found approval from followers for more authoritarian behavior than did women. This was found to be especially true when leaders used power to induce individuals to conform to group norms. From this, Denmark suggests that we might expect that women would be less likely than men to be authoritarian, to use authoritative power

since their power is limited by group expectations. Women might be more likely, then, to focus on human relations skills. The problem with such an assumption is that it does not take organizational expectations into account. As Denmark (1977) points out, "training and skill in sensitivity and human relations won't help a leader's performance if she works in an organization that utilizes and reinforces authoritarian principles" (p. 104). The goals of the organization largely determine who is hired and what kind of leadership style they use.

The power of such organizational expectations is revealed in the work of Lester and Chu (1981). Consider, for instance, the phallogentric assumptions inherent in what they offer as the stereotypical reasons why women are not suited for administrative roles. The reasons they give as typical are that women are less objective, less independent, less logical, less assertive, less ambitious and less competent than men. They lack the appropriate education and credentials. They do not aspire to administrative jobs. Finally, they are not as committed to work as to the wife and mother role and are seen as working only to provide a second income. In the face of such stereotypes, Lester and Chu (1981) studied a small group of women administrators and found that, as women become more career oriented, they become more masculine. Their conclusion is that masculinity, which they associate with such traits as aggressiveness and self-reliance, is more valued than femininity in our achievement oriented society and is the stronger determinant of career development.

Even those who lament the phallocentric nature of the world of work often offer phallocentric solutions to the problems. Thomas (1986), for instance, decries the limits that are placed on women in the form of social expectations, parental guidance, school practices and self aspirations. But his solution is for women to "act like men." As remedies for getting more women into administration, he suggests the following:

- 1) "Women must liberate themselves...be aggressive in establishing equity in the education profession.
- 2) Free access to all areas of learning must be provided to women students...
- 3) Women must compete with men in political strategies to promote women to top positions" (p. 92).

There is no sense that the world women work in needs to change. Instead, it is women who simply need to get aggressive, compete, act "like men" to move up the career ladder. There is no recognition that the learning Thomas (1986) wants women to have access to is, in itself, a male milieu.

Chusmir (1985) also speaks of the impact of the organization. He recognizes that the early research in motivation excluded the study of women. He points out that, in spite of that, most motivation theory is taught based on those studies of men and that organizations design their work environments and incentives based on those studies. He wonders if this body of existing knowledge also applies to women, given their different environmental backgrounds. To his credit, he also recognizes the difficulties women face in

getting managerial jobs and in having to overcome sex-role conflicts and self-doubts caused by their environmental heritage once there. These difficulties, he says, may channel a particular type of woman into these jobs.

Chusmir (1985) points out that to succeed, women feel that they must be better than their male counterparts. Given that, he hypothesized that women who had made it to managerial positions would have a higher drive to achieve. In the study he conducted, he found that to be true. He also found, unexpectedly, that the women he studied also had a higher need for power. He found this to be true whether he used the male-oriented Thematic Apperception Test or a version that had been balanced for sex. Chusmir notes that there are few studies on the need for power in women, but that one study had found that women, in general, had lower needs than men. He suggests, as a way of explaining his findings, that we might expect managers to be higher than the general population since influencing people is one of their main concerns. It may be, he says, that increasing opportunities for women make management an attractive career opportunity for women with a high need for power.

The role that group expectations play in how women administrators use power is illustrated by a study in which Garfinkel (1987) looked at how superintendents choose their administrative teams. He found that female superintendents choose fewer female team members than male superintendents do. In addition, there is a conscious awareness of this on the part of the women. As one female superintendent said,

While I seek to employ the most qualified person for the job, that's extremely idealistic because as a female who has just selected another female to an assistant superintendent position, because of the mentality of people, I have to be careful who I pick for my next team member...Men are very insecure. Let's say if I had all females on my administrative team, my male Board members would want to know what's going on, why do I always pick females...As a woman, I have to be consciously aware of the need to show a balance of males and females...Men don't have to worry about that. No one is upset if there are all males in the administrative ranks (p.14).

What Garfinkel (1987) concludes is that, if males choose females, the action is perceived as an effort to create greater equal employment opportunity and would be positively viewed by the public. If females do so, the action is perceived as an attempt to show partiality to female candidates.

Feminine Understandings of Power

One possibility little explored in the literature is that of a different definition of power, a different set of assumptions about power on the part of women and men who express the feminine in themselves. Consider, for instance, two statements on leadership offered by two male educators. One says that, "Leadership is the ability to get things done through other people." The other says that, "A leader's purpose is to use his/her talents to help others identify and use their talents." Obviously, power is perceived very differently by the men making these statements. In the first, typically masculine, power is centered in the leader, the person in control of the goals, the person who uses others to obtain those goals. The second has more of a feminine ring to it as it

incorporates relational issues, has a sense of nurturance, and involves others in the definition as well as the attainment of goals.

Shakeshaft and Belenky et al. are among the very few authors who suggest that power may be perceived and used differently by women. Shakeshaft (1989), for instance, suggests that women are less committed to hierarchy and are more willing to submerge displays of personal power in an effort to get others to participate in the decision-making process. She cites one study which claims that predominate power tactics among female principals are coalition building, cooptation and personality and that women do much more coalition building to accomplish goals than men do. She concludes that power means different things to men and women, citing evidence that women tend to use power to empower others. This sharing, she says, is "based on the notion that power is not finite but rather expands as it is shared" (p. 206). In another paper, Shakeshaft (1987) suggests that because they operate on different definitions, women tend to stress cooperation and collaboration and men tend to stress autonomy and individuality. Even though collaboration is currently in vogue in the literature in education, if not in practice, Shakeshaft (1987) cautions that one problem is that women who take a collaborative approach do so in a system that stresses competitive individualism and personal achievement at the expense of community goals. Because of this, she claims that women often establish themselves first as educational leaders and then introduce participatory styles.

Barth (1980), while not speaking specifically about gender related difference, supports Shakeshaft's idea of an underlying belief that power expands as it is shared. He suggests as a metaphor that every principal has a few "marbles of power" in the bottom drawer, some that come with the position and some that are earned over time. Some principals play these marbles alone, some do not play them at all. Barth's advice is to play all the marbles all the time, one by one's self, some by others, and some shared. As he says, "Sharing the marbles of power, giving everyone an opportunity to make decisions affecting everyone else, promotes faculty interdependence" (p. 190). Such interdependence moves teachers to the realization that "we're all in the same boat together" (p. 190). In a later work, Barth (1990) looks at the research in business and education and concludes that "the greater the participation in decision-making, the greater the productivity, job satisfaction, and organization commitment" (p. 130). He argues that it has become increasingly important for the principal to share leadership and to no longer even aspire to fully understand and control every aspect of the school. Again echoing Shakeshaft's suggestion that power expands as it is shared, he says that, "Leadership is not a zero-sum game in which one person gets some only when another loses some. In fact, the principal gains influence and demonstrates leadership by entrusting some of it to others. Being accorded leadership generates new leadership" (p. 128).

Belenky and her co-authors (1986) offer two guiding metaphors which illustrate two very different perceptions of power. The first, which might be

termed feminine, is the metaphor of the web, which is collaborative. Here the self is seen as connected to others, and tension in one part of the system is felt throughout. As they say, "In the complexity of the web, no one position dominates over the rest. Each person--no matter how small--has some potential for power; each is always subject to the actions of others" (p. 178). The second metaphor, which might be termed masculine, is that of pyramids or mountains. Here the self is seen as autonomous and relates to others only through bonds of agreement such as contracts and laws. Of this vision, the authors say that "On the metaphorical mountain the few at the top dominate the many at the bottom" (p. 179). Such metaphors capture in a striking way the possibility that men and women may operate from different perceptions of power.

Helgesen (1990) also talks about power, which she calls "authority," in the hierarchy and in the web in terms of the difference in "head" and "heart." In a top-down structure, the figurehead is the head and authority derives from being the head, from having the power to set the organizational vision and represent it to the world. In the web, the figurehead is the heart rather than the head. The heart does not need the layers and ranks below to reinforce its status. Its authority comes from the connection to people, not the distance from those below (p. 55). This description resonates powerfully with suggested differences in a feminine orientation toward power.

The notion that feminine leaders differ from more traditional managers on the dimension of power is supported, in the context of the business world, by

Loden (1985). Like Stamm and Ryff (1984), she divides power into two categories, position and personal, and claims that women tend to choose personal power to influence organizational policies and practices and to motivate others. As she says, "Even in situations where they have significant position power, many feminine leaders still prefer to use their task competence and interpersonal competence to influence events and people" (p. 94).

There is some research that supports the possibility that men and women may operate from different assumptions about power, though often such support is only implicit in studies dealing with related issues like work values, motivation and leadership styles. McClelland (1975), however, did attempt to study directly how a high need for power manifests itself in the behaviors of men and women. Interestingly, his findings tended to support old stereotypes.

McClelland points out that, at the most general level, men tend to be assertive in one way or another and emotional. The impression is of "energetic men who charge ahead at a high level of tension" (p. 50). Women, on the other hand, tend to show concern for their bodies. They discipline their bodies more, through practices like yoga, exercise, dieting, drinking more fluids and demonstrating concern for the appearance of their clothes. McClelland (1975) says that, "The male is pictured by sociologists as the aggressive, assertive protector of the family, the female as the resource, the person who produces children, food and emotional support for other members of the family. What these findings suggest is that individuals high in power motivation tend to play out these roles more definitively" (p. 51).

Neuse's (1978) study of work values in men and women has some implicit connections to perceptions of power. In this study of several hundred administrators and professional employees in large public service agencies, Neuse found that there were differences in work values. While there were eight values that were ranked equally high by men and women, only two of these carry any connotations of power. They are the opportunity to advance to positions of greater personal advantage and the chance to look out for the public interest. The values that were ranked significantly higher by women included the chance to be of service to people, the chance to use professional skills in a creative manner and the chance to work with highly qualified and motivated people. In contrast, the work values that were ranked significantly higher by men included the opportunity to meet important people and high prestige in the public eye. When he looked at the relationship between sex and public authority values, Neuse (1978) also found some differences, namely that women scored significantly higher on a scale that measured responsibility to non-hierarchical authority. He concludes that, "Women were more likely than men, in other words, to value public input and participation in administrative processes, rejecting the belief that administrative policy makers could fare well without citizen or clientele participation" (p. 438).

Similar findings about motivation were reported in a study of women who were aspiring to become principals in Oregon. These women were asked what motivated them. The most common answers were the desire for professional growth and challenges (87%) and a projection of themselves as good

administrators (83%). This latter answer may touch on a sense of expert power which, as suggested earlier, may be equally accessible to men and women. Other responses which carry connotations of more conventional definitions of power were further down the list of thirteen motivators. The desire to be influential was seventh at 47%, the desire for prestige was tenth at 25% and the desire to be a role model for others was eleventh at 25%.

Another area of research where differences in men and women are found is that addressing democratically versus autocratically led groups. Friesen's (1983) research on followers attitudes, for instance, indicates a preference for democratic leadership styles over autocratic styles, regardless of the gender of the leader. Kuschell and Newton (1986) also found that subjects were more satisfied in democratically led groups and that the gender of the leader did not significantly affect satisfaction. However, they did find that women subordinates were significantly more dissatisfied than men in autocratically led groups and were more satisfied than men in democratically led groups. While this study is somewhat limited by the fact that it was done with experimental groups of college students working with male and female leaders who played both authoritarian and democratic roles, one finding is particularly interesting. They found that dissatisfaction in autocratically led groups permeates all aspects and includes not only dissatisfaction with the leader, but also dissatisfaction with one's own participation and with the decisions made. This suggests that the impact of group expectations which Denmark (1977) talks about may be

tempered for the female manager who allows female subordinates to participate in the decision-making.

In spite of the complexities associated with the study of power, the potential implications for the administration of schools make it a topic worth pursuing. In his pursuit of further understanding, DeWine (1985), for instance, found that power and influence had different connotations, that power was negative and influence was positive. This is contrary to the general literature on power, which typically maintains that power and influence are interchangeable terms. In his interviews with women principals who had been nominated as "powerful" by their superiors, peers and subordinates, DeWine found a preference for "influence." As he says, "They preferred to guide subordinates to agreement rather than coerce or threaten them" (p. 40). This is clear in the comments of one of the principals interviewed: "Power to me connotes 'power over people;' where I may get them to do what they don't want to do. Where influence is more of a cooperative, reciprocal kind of thing...If you say you have power over a person's life, you also accept the consequences of that. If you say you have influence, then it's a shared responsibility" (p. 40).

In his study, Garfinkel (1987) began with the knowledge that there are differences in perceptions about the process of teamwork. Women, he says, see the process as everybody cooperating to get the job done. Everybody helps and everybody is responsible for the team result. Therefore, team members cover for those who may not do their part. For men, on the other hand, the team is a more structured organization. The functions are prescribed

and players fulfill their own responsibility, thereby contributing their unique part to team goals. This knowledge seems related to differing assumptions about power and resonates with Belenky et al.'s (1986) metaphors of the web and the pyramid. However, in Garfinkel's (1987) study of superintendents, neither men nor women superintendents, as a distinct group, fell in line with the male or female conception of teamwork.

Another area which has implications for the administration of schools is that dealing with types of organizations. Denmark (1977) and Friesen (1983) both talk about two types of organizations, static and dynamic. In a static organization, power is located in only a few key positions. The focus is on formalization, centralization, rules and stratification. On the contrary, in a dynamic organization, power is dispersed with an emphasis on shared decision-making. Hierarchy lines of authority are cut across by informal lines of communication. The focus is the introduction of new ideas, programs and perspectives. Friesen (1983) points out that one would expect women to emerge as leaders more often in dynamic organizations since responsiveness and sensitivity to others, which are socially reinforced in women, would be fostered in such an organization.

It seems clear that schools, to be successful, need to be dynamic organizations. Tinsley (1986), speaking of colleges and universities, says that, "We know from experience that the best managed institutions--those most creative, dynamic and responsive to change--are the ones most open to the

advancement of women and minorities. The rigid institutions are the ones that do not use us. They are wasting enormous vision and potential" (p. 13).

There is a ring of truth to such statements, yet there are many still unanswered questions. Much more study about power and women needs to be done to establish whether or not underlying assumptions about power affect how women administer schools, to understand how different understandings might be manifested in the behavior of female administrators and, eventually in outcomes for students. There are a number of related questions that ask, as Schmuck (1981) suggests, what else is going on. She asks, for instance, whether or not women who have survived sexually biased hiring practices are more competent than males. Another question is whether or not women who achieve leadership positions in education are more motivated to acquire and wield power than comparable males. Another is whether or not elementary schools, with their mostly female teachers, have different dynamics with female rather than male principals.

Though there are many questions yet to be fully addressed, there is a sense of new direction in the administration of schools. Gardner (1989), for instance, claims that, in an increasingly complex world, a new kind of leader is needed. He describes these new leaders as having skill in agreement-building, networking, institution-building and exercising non-jurisdictional power. As he says, "The new leaders will find that the power of their institutional position simply will not be decisive. They must know how to exercise the other legitimate forms of power--the power of the media and of public opinion, the

power of ideas, the power that accrues to those who really understand how the system works, and perhaps above all the power available to anyone skilled in the arts of leadership" (p. 94).

Loden's (1985) conclusions about the needs of businesses for new kinds and new uses of power are equally applicable to schools. She says that one of the most significant challenges facing corporate America is that of "winning the hearts and minds of many employees who have become disillusioned and demoralized about organizational life" (p. 97). The same could certainly be said for many school employees. For schools as well as businesses, it seems true that, as Loden (1985) suggests, "the evidence strongly suggests that there is a growing need in organizations for managers who can use their internal resources to motivate and inspire others and who choose not to use their title and their role power to do so" (p. 97). This suggests a clear preference for the use of personal rather than position power if organizations are to be dynamic and accomplish community goals with satisfied employees. What Loden (1985) lobbies for is greater balance among managers in the ways in which they exercise power. This balance can only be achieved when feminine leadership as well as traditional management style is recognized and developed and rewarded within organizations. To achieve this balance, Loden says that organizations need to do three things. First, awareness needs to be developed about how feminine leaders differ from more traditional managers on the dimension of power. Second, organizations need to evaluate the appropriateness of different forms of power, not only in terms of present visibility

and immediate results, but in terms of the long-range impact. Third, organizations must look closely at their executive development and promotion programs and find ways to encourage a wider range of leadership styles among managers. This, of course, would result in the inclusion of more women and a greater recognition of women's strengths and acceptance of their differences as valuable to the life and health of the organization. Schools would be well served to do the same.

Power and Feminine Leadership Qualities

Some of the same problems of bias and inattention that make it difficult to fully understand how women differ from men on the dimension of power apply to differences that exist in leadership qualities. That there is a difference, generally, between women and men has been recognized for decades. In the mid-1950s, for instance, Cussler (1958) studied a number of women executives in middle management. He reports that, "In getting along with people a good administrator recognizes the importance of free-flowing communication from the top down, from the bottom up and sideways" (p. 51). He says that women do better in this regard and adds, "Her human touch is a business asset" (p. 52). Unfortunately, such differences were not treated with sensitivity to gender issues until the late 1970s. Shakeshaft (1981), for instance, read and reviewed all the dissertations written about women in educational administration written between 1973-79. She found that, even though most of these were written by women, they emerged from a framework that was primarily male defined. As

she says, "The research presents men and the male model as the norm and women and the female model as a deviation from the norm" (p. 24). Virtually all of these works attempted to reconstruct reality by trying to fit the female experience into the male mold. This conclusion is shared by Heller (1982), who notes that, in spite of the fact that ideologies of education support the so-called feminine (non-authoritarian and humanistic) styles of leadership, examples of male bias in leadership are still found in educational organizations.

Another example of this problem is offered by Heller (1982) when she discusses her study of men and women in business, education, and social service agencies. Hers was one of the first comparative studies of both genders. In formulating her study, Heller confronted the fact that previously, there had been virtually no female subjects and that the assumption was that the most appropriate model was male. As she perceived the situation, women had two options. They could mold their behavior and style to be more like men or they could reject the traditional model and replace it with a feminine one. The latter choice, however, put women at odds with organizational expectations. She reports that in the late 1970s, some attention was given to women as leaders, but that the stereotypes predominated. Women were perceived at one or the other end of a continuum. At one end was the woman who was too submissive and/or too emotional to be an effective leader. Here woman was seen as mother, pet, sex object, egalitarian. On the other end was the aggressive and domineering woman, the "bitchy" lady boss. Here woman was seen as iron maiden, workaholic, manipulator (p. 3). The existence of such

a continuum omitted successful leaders in the middle ground, those who can manage power, but can also delegate, those who can be decisive, but can also listen to subordinates and be sensitive.

Not surprisingly, Heller found in her own study that such stereotypes still existed. She found that negative images associated with women were that they were too focused on people, emotionally demonstrative, and not assertive. Negative images associated with men were that they were too focused on procedures, remote, inaccessible, and sexist. Authoritarian and aggressive were negative images associated with both women and men. Positive images associated with women were that they were more humane, open, friendly, egalitarian, efficient, and organized. Such images associated with men were that they were relaxed, humorous, able to separate work and social roles, think categorically, and work independently. One problem with Heller's work is that she, like many others associates gender with biological sex. In looking, for instance, at two educational leaders, she found one man who scored high on a scale called "docile," which was noted as unusual for a man. She found this score to be associated with "his special quality that enables him to unlock the potential in those who work for him" (p. 49). He is described as helping others to stretch and grow, humanistic, a fine administrator, a professional, a good listener, appreciative, approachable, respecting his co-workers, non-authoritarian, and egalitarian. These characteristics are treated as unusual in a man. Such would not be the case if the feminine were seen as a part of all persons, regardless of biological sex.

Because such men as this one described by Heller do exist, it is equally unfair to generalize about women, in general, as superior. Hughey and Gelman (1986), for instance, make reference to a female model, not women. They suggest that, not only do women not have to act like men to be successful and effective leaders. They go one step further and suggests that the female model may be superior. Those qualities once perceived as feminine weaknesses--sympathy, sensitivity, the lack of a killer instinct--may be advantages when it comes to getting the best out of people.

The obvious problem with this approach is exemplified by Fullan (1991), who notes that, when women principals are considered "as a group," on the average, studies support that women are more likely to possess characteristics associated with effective leadership and effective schooling. However, there are individual males performing as highly effective school leaders and individual females performing poorly. His point is that those characteristics associated with effective leadership need to be fostered in both women and men. It is important, then, to remember that differences reported as differences between women and men can be seen as differences in gender-related characteristics, not necessarily differences in biological sex.

Tibbetts (1986) reviewed the literature cited earlier in this chapter on autocratic versus democratic leadership styles. She concludes that women use a democratic style more and an autocratic style less than men and that this is one of the things that makes women elementary principals better than men. She suggests that female elementary principals are more likely to involve the

group in decision-making, to allow for individual and group creativity and initiative, to demonstrate respect for individuals and the group and to foster two-way communication between the leader and the group. These things, she concludes, lead to greater teacher satisfaction.

In another study speaking to teacher satisfaction, Charters and Jovick (1981) found that little variance in administrative behavior could be explained by sex. They did find, however, a relationship between the manner associated with female principals and teacher satisfaction. They concluded that the prime reason for different levels of satisfaction was difference in the principals' manner of relating to teachers. "The more prominent and personal involvement of the female principals in the day-to-day affairs of the school was largely responsible for the higher morale of their staffs" (p. 329).

Shakeshaft (1989) maintains that a participatory style seems to enhance the power base of female administrators. Women who are seen as participatory and collegial are also seen as the most powerful actors in the school. Schmuck (1981) makes the same point, saying that female elementary principals appear to have more influence over teachers than males. They have more power in the extent to which they influence school affairs such as grading standards and regulations.

It may be that women who demonstrate these types of participatory behaviors are, in fact, very powerful. Wheatley (1981), basing her thoughts on the work of Kanter and others, concludes that powerful bosses delegate more, allow subordinates more discretion and latitude, engender more cooperation,

are better liked and foster higher morale. On the contrary, bosses with little power are more directive, authoritarian and controlling, supervise too closely, restrict opportunities for subordinates growth and autonomy, use more coercive power, engage in territorial domination and foster lower group morale. These characteristics, often attributed to the stereotypical "bossy" woman are, according to Wheatley (1981), really characteristics of powerlessness.

Such powerlessness is not uncommon in the school setting. Lange (1983) points out, for instance, that the educational system, instead of liberating women from the limiting influences of the family, reinforces the sex role stereotypes learned in the home and experienced in the world. Her work and others' suggests that women simply do not fit into the phallogocentric educational system or the phallogocentric world of work. There is still little recognition of the fact that women work differently from men. Part of the problem is certainly one of language. The metaphors that have long been associated with the workplace are, as the French feminists would say, clearly phallogocentric. They were created by a male-dominated culture (or did they create the culture?) by men and for men. The ways in which women work differently are seen, if recognized at all, as negations of the male norm.

There are, however, exceptions as some women struggle with those differences and strive to give them voice. Carol Gilligan (1985), for example, puts a lot of emphasis on context and relational issues in her discussions of women's different voice. She takes the conflict between autonomy and a loyalty to the ideology of love and sacrifice, and presents it as a typical male/female

stereotype. As she says, "The stereotypes suggest a splitting of love and work that relegates the expressive capacities requisite for the former to women while the instrumental abilities necessary for the latter reside in the masculine domain. Yet, looked at from a different perspective, these stereotypes reflect a conception of adulthood that is itself out of balance, favoring the separateness of the individual self over its connection to others and leaning more toward an autonomous life of work than toward the interdependence of love and care" (p. 275). The conception is out of balance because greater value and importance are attributed to autonomous judgment and action than to the interdependence of intimacy and care. This lack of balance has led to the general belief that women's moral development is inferior to men's. What Gilligan (1985) does is to recognize the female experience and give it voice in an alternative to Kohlberg's stages in moral development. In Gilligan's version, the highest level is grounded in context, not outside of it and is characterized by care for both self and others. Rather than accept women's moral reasoning as somehow deficient because it does not fit a male model, Gilligan (1985) creates a model that recognizes, even celebrates, women's ways of thinking about moral dilemmas.

Another example of a woman struggling to give voice to "female" leadership is Sara Lawrence Lightfoot. In her book The Good High School (1983), she explores six schools and attempts to picture what it is that makes the good ones good. Her conclusion, although all the principals are men, is that it is what is feminine in their leadership that leads to good schools. She cites

characteristics like the high regard for teachers that exists in the good schools, schools whose leaders show the nurturance that accompanies that regard. In these schools, attention to process leads to a genuine sharing of power. Teachers are really listened to and given opportunities to participate in decision making. There is an emphasis on relationship and a sensitivity to cultural forms. Finally, there is a sense of liberation in these schools that is virtually non-existent in the schools where the power is held tightly in administrative hands.

The kinds of "feminine" leadership Holderness and Lightfoot describe is nicely summarized by Charol Shakeshaft (1987), who offers an illuminating conception of the female world in schools. She suggests that in schools headed by women, relationships with others are central to all actions. The leaders spend more time with people, communicate more, care more about individual differences, are more concerned with teachers and marginal students and motivate more. In these schools, teaching and learning is the major focus. She attributes this to the fact that women tend to know more about and be more personally involved in the teaching/learning process. In schools headed by women, Shakeshaft (1987) says that building community is an essential part of the leader's style. As she says, "women exhibit a more democratic, participatory style that encourages inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in schools" (p. 4). The communication and decision making styles of these women tend to stress cooperation and help facilitate the translation of educational visions into action.

On this same topic of the female school world, Selma Greenberg (1985) says, "whatever its failures, it is more cooperative than competitive, it is more

experiential than abstract, it takes a broad view of the curriculum and has always addressed the whole child" (p. 4). These examples of leadership behaviors and styles in women, or in men who express something of the feminine in themselves, seem to reinforce the possibilities that men and women work differently, see work from different perspectives, want different things from work and speak about work in a different voice. They also suggest that leaders who exhibit such differences in style are operating from a different, feminine understanding of power.

It is not only in the world of schools that differences have been noted in leadership qualities that might be associated with a different orientation toward power. For instance, Catherine Holderness (1989) in her dissertation, The Table Manners of Leadership, gives voice to a type of feminine leadership. She considers leaders and suggests that there are three kinds, one of which is a new type that resonates with the feminine voice. Holderness calls the two typical types of leaders "controlling" and "empowering." The controlling type is authoritarian and highly directive. His power is positional and he tends to dominate. He is typically defensive and is generally isolated. The second type, the empowering leader, demonstrates great outward strength, is assertive, autonomous and action-oriented. Though he delegates some of his power, he remains in charge and makes sure that followers "stay the course" (p. 77). These two types of leaders fit nicely into the male milieu of work, for they have all the characteristics that are valued there.

In her third type, Holderness (1989) gives voice to what would more typically be associated with the female experience. Though both the leaders she writes of are men, her descriptions are closely associated with accounts of how women work in schools. She calls her new type of leader "enabling" and speaks of him/her as one who is interested in process as well as goals, who listens, who values participation in the decision making process, who becomes emotionally involved. This type of leader, according to Holderness (1989), is affiliative and enters into relationships with followers that convey the message that "we are doing this, suffering this, hoping for this together" (Holderness, pp. 77-78).

Loden (1985) also suggests that there is a feminine leadership model. In her model, the feminine leader prefers an operating style that is cooperative, an organizational structure that emphasizes teams, and a problem solving style that combines the intuitive and the rational. The basic objective is quality output and key characteristics include: lower control, empathetic, collaborative, and high performance standards. In Loden's opinion, such a leadership style differs most from the traditional male model in its reliance on emotional as well as rational data. The feminine leader is able to see the world through two different lenses concurrently and, therefore, respond to situations on both thinking and feeling levels.

Another work offering insight into differences in leadership qualities associated with understandings of power is that of Helgesen (1990). She maintains that increasing numbers of women in business are having an effect

on how business is being done. Her book defines and reaffirms the values that women recognize as the source of their strength. These values include: 1) attention to process instead of the bottom line, 2) willingness to look at how an action will affect others (as opposed to "What's in it for me?"), 3) concern for the wider needs of the community, 4) a disposition to draw on the personal, private sphere of experience in dealing with the public realm, 5) an appreciation of diversity, and 6) an impatience with rituals and symbols of status that divide people who work together and reinforce hierarchies. Helgesen does say that men do not share these values. To the contrary, she says that some share many and some share only a few. She defines them as "female" because "they have been nurtured in the private, domestic sphere to which women have been restricted for so long" (p. xxi). She finds that, as women and their values enter the workplace, the old dichotomies of male/female and public/private begin to dissolve. Helgesen describes how women manage companies and defines their impact on the workplace and, by extension, on the culture as a whole.

In her book, Helgesen (1990), compares the women executives she studied to the men studied earlier by Mintzberg. Among the differences she describes are that women gave time to people who were not scheduled into their day. The reasons they gave for doing so included caring, being involved, helping, and being responsible. Another difference was that women have a broader focus. As she puts it, "they relate decisions to their larger effect upon the role of the family, the American educational system, the environment, even world peace" (p. 25). Another difference was that women scheduled time for

sharing information, making it a deliberate process. Specifically, she says that, "Sharing was also facilitated by their view of themselves as being in the center of things rather than at the top; it's more natural to reach out than to reach down" (p. 27). As a result, women tend to structure companies as networks or grids rather than as hierarchies. All of these differences suggest an emphasis on process, a belief that work and people are not means, but are ends in themselves.

Helgesen (1990) also supports the notion of the web as women's preferred metaphor for structure. In her interviews, she found that women described their roles in organizations in terms of being in the middle of things-- not at the top, but at the center. They saw themselves, not as reaching down, but reaching out. They talked of being connected to those around them. The image of the web was also evident in the management structures devised by these women. According to Helgesen, implicit in this image is women's sense of having concern for the group as a whole. Every point of contact is a connection. The underlying principal is inclusion. She goes on to discuss the values associated with the image of the web, saying that, "as women continue to assume positions of influence in the public sphere, they are countering the values of the hierarchy with those of the web, which affirms relationships, seeks ways to strengthen human bonds, simplifies communications, and gives means an equal value with ends. This image of a web, with the leader at the center reaching out, connected to others resonates with the ways in which Belenky et al. speak of the web and the implications for assumptions about power are

similar. When Helgesen speaks of women's valuing of connectedness, her words resonate with Gilligan and her emphasis on women finding and speaking their voice. Helgesen speaks of the metaphor of vision versus that of voice. She suggests that vision can exist in a solitary individual and does not have to be shared. Voice, on the other hand, implies connectedness because speaking and listening mean interactions with and sharing with others. Voice, for her, is the feminine choice for metaphor. One uses her/his voice to model values and to find ways to instruct, influence, and persuade others to share those values. She goes on to say that, "Thus implicit in the use of voice as an instrument of leadership is the notion that care and empowerment are leadership tasks" (p. 226). The choice of the metaphor of voice rather than vision gives women an advantage as managers. The emphasis on communication defines a style of leadership that reconciles efficiency with human values. Listening, according to Helgesen, may be the prototypical female skill. Women listen more, and their listening is more attentive, intense, and thoughtful. There are other ways in which women's concern with relationships gives them advantages as managers. Women's values of inclusion and connection are emerging as valuable leadership qualities. They are able to bridge the gap between demands for efficiency and the need to nurture the human spirit, to reconcile being efficient with being humane. They are able to approach negotiation as a collaborative effort with long term implications. They treat negotiations within a context of continuing relationships that require contact, interaction, and agreement. This description evokes again the enabling leader described by

Holderness (1989), the one who is affiliative and enters into relationships with followers that convey the message that "we are doing this, suffering this, hoping for this together" (pp. 77-78). It is also consistent with those qualities of leadership that have come to be associated with women or the feminine, qualities which are overwhelmingly consistent with what is described here as a feminine orientation toward power.

The Feminine and School Culture

The literature dealing with feminine assumptions about power and the manifestation of those assumptions in leadership behaviors suggests that feminine leaders work differently. As a result, the places where such persons work are often perceived differently by the people who share the workplace. Belenky and her co-authors (1986) touch on those differences. In the preface, they say that in the process of writing Women's Ways of Knowing, they developed an intimacy and collaboration that they value. They share their wish for all of us, saying, "We believe that the collaborative, egalitarian spirit so often shared by women should be more carefully nurtured in the work lives of all men and women" (p. ix). Such a spirit is part of what makes up the culture of the workplace. Such a statement suggests a relationship between what is considered feminine and school culture.

One of the characteristics attributed to leaders with a feminine understanding of power is the valuing of and commitment to building community. This is certainly an important aspect of school culture. Barth

(1990), for instance, says that healthy institutions are characterized by relatedness with other people and gratification from others and from the work itself. He finds this in schools where cooperative and collegial relationships exist. Barth observes that the setting being "right" improves the chance of good schooling. For him, the secret of a good setting is collegiality, which depends on respect of teachers and the principal for themselves and others. People work hard in places where people listen well and take one another seriously, even though they may not agree, and where there is expectation that everyone can make a difference in the overall life of the school. These are certainly aspects of community.

Barth (1990) maintains the community is central to the conception of a good school. For him, this involves a community of learners where everyone encourages everyone else's learning and a community of leaders where everyone shares opportunities and responsibilities for making decisions that affect all the occupants (p. 9). Barth cites several factors that contribute to this community of learners and leaders, all of which resonate with the indicators of the feminine. They include personal and professional interactions that are frequent and helpful, a climate of risk-taking that is deliberately fostered, and a profound respect for and encouragement of diversity.

Attention to relationships has also been cited as a feminine characteristic. Barth (1990) claims that no relationship has a greater effect on the quality of school life than that between teacher and principal. He maintains that no characteristic of a good school is more pervasive than a healthy teacher-

principal relationship and no characteristic of a troubled school is more common than a troubled, embattled principal-teacher relationship. The teacher-principal relationship, according to Barth, models what all relationships in the school will be. Part of such healthy relationships is trust, and for principals, part of trust is giving teachers the freedom to act on their wisdom, their knowledge of particular children and the ideas and skills that captivate them. Goodlad (1984) supports the importance of the relationship between teacher and principal. He reports that "A Study of Schooling" pointed to the principal/teacher relationship as a key factor in teacher satisfaction and to insensitive administration as one reason teachers leave the profession.

Holderness (1989) suggests that enabling leaders are emotionally involved in the school. Others speak to the importance of the affective, emotional issues that are a part of the feminine attention to relationships. Pelc (1987), for instance, suggests that affective characteristics are the bottom, the foundation of the steps leading to effective leadership, the effective principal, the effective school, and, finally, the educated child. She maintains that, though affective characteristics are traditionally assigned to the "feminine," they are essential components of all human beings, male and female. Utilizing this part of one's self enables her/him to better deal with, understand, and act in the world.

Such attention to the affective can also be found in the business world, which is even less attuned to the feminine than service organizations like schools. Hughey and Gelman (1986), for instance, quote Citibank executive

Antonia Shusta who says that "...because women are better able to cope with the sometimes messy emotions of the workplace, they foster a greater sense of belonging in their employees. That in turn breeds loyalty and encourages people to do their best" (p. 47).

Quality of School Culture

Before dealing specifically with issues of how quality and goodness are related to school culture, it is worth remembering that culture is hard to define and even harder to capture and describe. Taylor (1984) suggests that one of the problems with defining culture is its holistic nature. It is possible to pick out particular features--language, mythology, belief systems, conventional understandings, etc.--for study and interpretation. But there always exists in doing so a tension between analysis and holistic perception. It is important to remember that the study of culture is always "a study of wholes" (p. 126).

With that in mind, it is useful to consider some of the different ways in which culture has been described. Sergiovanni and Corbally (1984), for instance, suggest that a standard definition of culture might be,

the system of values, symbols, and shared meanings of a group including the embodiment of these values, symbols, and meanings into material objects and ritualized practices. Culture governs what is of worth for a particular group and how group members should think, feel, and behave. The 'stuff' of culture includes customs and traditions, historical accounts be they mythical or actual, tacit understandings, habits, norms and expectations, common meanings associated with fixed objects and established rites, shared assumptions, and intersubjective meanings.

Intersubjective meanings are dynamic and suggest that culture in organizations is continually in process.

Supporting this idea that culture is always in process, Rossman (1988) suggests that culture becomes defined as members of an organization react to, interpret, shape, and reinterpret the organization, its structure, processes, and events. For him, the interplay of individual idiosyncrasy and collective meaning "expresses itself in patterns of norms, beliefs, and values called 'culture'" (p. 5). Rossman goes on to portray the culture of an organization as doing two things. First, it describes the way things are. It interprets events, behaviors, words, and acts and gives them meaning. Second, it prescribes the way people should act. It normatively regulates appropriate, acceptable behavior in given situations. By doing so, Rossman says that "culture defines what is true and good" (p. 5). Giving credit to Wilson's earlier work, Rossman suggests that, "Culture is socially shared and transmitted knowledge of what is, and what ought to be, symbolized in act and artifact" (p. 5).

One of the particular aspects of culture that is especially relevant to a case study methodology that relies on transcripts of interviews and focus groups is language. Rossman (1981) says that language is key to looking at the culture of an organization. By this, he means that one interested in understanding an organization's culture must listen to and look at how people talk about their worlds, what they do and do not talk about, with whom and where. As he puts it, "Language is a crucial window for observing cultural beliefs and values at work" (p. 6). An example of the importance of language is offered by Helgesen (1990)

who quotes Frances Hesselbein, the National Executive Director of the Girl Scouts. She is speaking about her conscious efforts to use language that presents a message of caring. She says, "Your voice, your language, help determine your culture. And part of how a corporate culture is defined is how the people who work for an organization use language" (p. 82).

Speaking specifically about schools, Goodlad (1975) reiterates these general statements about culture. He says, for instance, that the literature reveals that much of what individuals do in an organization is governed by what has evolved in the institution to give it character, by the agreed upon ways of surviving and behaving, by the culture. To say this is not to imply that culture is immune to change. It does, however, suggest that culture does set limits on teacher behavior. He goes on to talk about school culture in terms of the people who live there everyday, the pupils, the teachers, the principal. For Goodlad (1975), the culture of the school is "the interactions of these people, the language they use, the traditions they uphold, the beliefs to which they subscribe, and so forth..." (p. 175). Sarason (1982) refers to such things as these as the behavioral and programmatic regularities that exist within the school. With that in mind, he defines culture as the "distinctive, tradition-based axioms, values, and outlook of school personnel" (p. 3).

The literature is clear that too little attention is given to school culture as a critical ingredient of school goodness. Barth (1990), for instance, says in the preface that in all that has been written about school reform, "insufficient attention has been given to the important relationships among the adults within

the school and to a consideration of how the abundant untapped energy, inventiveness, and idealism within the schoolhouse might be encouraged" (p. xiv).

Sarason (1982) also speaks to the relationship between culture and goodness. He attributes the failures of federal attempts to reform schools to "an inadequate, unclear, parochial conception of what the culture of the school was and has become" (p. 89). His point is that change in a school will not happen in the absence of attention to the school's culture. Any successful attempt to introduce change requires change in the existing regularities.

Goodlad in the introduction to Tye and Novotney's (1975) book, speaks to the importance of culture to constructive change, saying that such change can only occur when teachers are given the support and encouragement that results in feelings of self-worth, a sense of personal and collective power, and a higher level of professional behavior. He says that "In effect, the needed reconstruction of schooling must begin with the adults in the school and the social systems they constitute, not with pedagogy, materials and pupil achievement" (p. xii).

Tye and Novotney (1975) suggest that culture is a critical ingredient of goodness. Among several suggestions that they make for schools that want to be good is the recommendation that such schools build support systems that allow people to become self-renewing and collaborating individuals. They propose that there are three key processes in the school as a social system: communication, decision-making, and conflict management. About decision-

making, Tye and Novotney say that decisions need to be as close as possible to consequences and involve those who are affected and that "the administrator who controls all decisions is limiting the creativity of others while at the same time creating a bottleneck which often frustrates needed immediate action" (p. 40).

Another way of thinking about differences in the quality of school culture is offered by Goodlad (1984). He suggests that, "Schools differ; schooling is everywhere the same. Schools differ in the way they conduct their business and in the way people relate to one another in conducting that business. But the business of schooling is everywhere very much the same" (p. 264). For the purposes of this study, those areas of difference in the way a school's business is conducted and the way people relate to one another in that process are considered representative of culture. Those differences clearly impact on both effectiveness and satisfaction. Goodlad (1984) supports this when he notes that the degree of staff cohesiveness and the nature of the problem-solving and decision-making climates in schools are highly related to teacher satisfaction. Such characteristics, what Sarason calls the "regularities," of a school are part of the culture.

Rossman (1988) also speaks to issues of difference among schools. He says that what sets a good school apart from mediocre schools is its ethos. He acknowledges that this is a somewhat elusive term and clarifies that he uses the term to mean those common ideas of what is and what ought to be that exist within the school organization. He goes on to explain that school cultures are

different in their uniformity, the extent to which norms are held in common. Schools can vary from highly uniform cultures where most norms are held by most teachers to situations where divergent groups or subcultures hold different definitions of what is and what ought to be. In a way, this resonates with Goodlad's notion that schools differ while schooling is very much the same everywhere. Rossman (1988) suggests that it is an issue of figure and ground and says that, "From a distance, sameness overwhelms; from closer up, variation is striking" (p. 122). Rossman also agrees that culture and effectiveness are related. He says that definitions of effectiveness flow from norms, beliefs, and values concerning the way things ought to be. This suggests a different, more fundamental relationship between culture and effectiveness. In fact, for Rossman (1988), "culture defines effectiveness" (p. 134). For him, variation in definitions of effectiveness reflect variations in organizational culture.

Sergiovanni and Elliott (1975) also support the connection between culture and quality. They suggest that one can learn more about what a school values by looking at several key factors than by attending to what it lists as its goals and purposes. These key factors include: the way the school is organized, the ideology and procedure related to student control, the emphasis or de-emphasis on teacher self-actualization, the status system, the use of rules and regulations, and the extent to which parents feel a partnership in the school. These factors can be seen as manifestations of culture. Sergiovanni

and Elliott call them the "climate of living" and maintain that they have a critical effect on the climate of learning and growing in a school.

Again, the importance of a good culture is not limited to schools. Deal and Kennedy (1982), speaking of corporate culture, maintain that every organization has a culture and that culture has a major effect on success. They maintain that, for better business, it is important to "remember that people make businesses work. And we need to relearn old lessons about how culture ties people together and gives meaning and purpose to their day-to-day lives" (p. 5). They define culture as a cohesion of values, myths, heroes, and symbols that has meaning for the people who work in the organization. Culture can be fragmented and difficult to read from the outside or it can be strong and cohesive. Those same qualities can apply to the cultures of schools, where culture also has a major effect on success and can be used as an indicator of goodness.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study was a naturalistic inquiry into the nature of school culture when the administrator operates from a feminine understanding of power. Certain selected variables in school culture were investigated in the setting where they naturally occurred, as they naturally occurred. The methodology used was qualitative in nature and predominately followed a case study approach. A mail survey was used to identify participants. Primary means of gathering data were observation and interviews with selected principals and their staff members, both formal and informal. Field notes were taken and compiled following observations and informal interviews. With permission, formal interviews were taped and transcribed so that the precise language could be carefully examined and exactly reported. A focus group consisting of each school's leadership team was used to further explore the staff's perceived relationship between what is feminine in the principal's style relative to power and the culture of the school. A focus group of parents was also used as an additional set of perceptions on the principal's style and school culture.

Support for naturalistic inquiry using qualitative methodologies in education is wide-ranging. As those terms are used here, they refer generally to the work of Guba and Lincoln (1981, 1985, 1989), Stake (1982, 1991), and

Patton (1980, 1987), with the added feminist perspective of Shakeshaft (1981, 1987, 1989), Lightfoot (1983, 1986), and others. From such writers, the purpose of naturalistic inquiry is understood to be two-fold. Guba and Lincoln say that the purpose is discovery, the discovery of elements and insights. Stake would add that understanding and, through understanding, use are also purposes. Inquiries that focus on discovery and understanding recognizes that there are multiple realities. Guba and Lincoln say that these realities are like the layers of an onion; they are interrelated and each layer provides a different perspective. The inquirer's task is to search out patterns of "truth," not for the sake of prediction and control, but for the sake of understanding.

Naturalistic inquiry occurs in the natural setting. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), this is important because whatever is being studied takes its meaning from its context as much as from itself. Such naturalistic inquiry makes more demands on the researcher than comparable studies in controlled settings because s/he must take account of all the factors and influences in that context. Wolcott (1973), for instance, emphasizes the importance of context in a case study he undertook of school principals from the perspective of the cultural anthropologist. He conducted the study partly out of dissatisfaction with most research in educational administration. According to him, the problem is that "human beings get lost in masses of figures which bury the very subjects of study" (p. xiv). For him, the case study serves to provide a more complete picture of actual behavior in context. Ellett and Walberg (1979) reiterate the importance of considering the context of behavior when they say that "the

principal functions within a highly interactive social system and is affected by the consequences of his own functioning" (p. 146).

Another characteristic of naturalistic inquiry is that the inquirer is the instrument. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), s/he is instrument administrator, data collector, data analyst, and data interpreter. In that role, the inquirer seeks to be personally and environmentally sensitive to personal differences and contextual cues, looking for idiosyncrasies rather than norms. The inquirer does not seek to manipulate the environment, but to understand how the environment acts on itself. Unique to the human inquirer is the ability to extend and amplify meanings. As Guba and Lincoln say, "human beings as instruments are most responsive to the very areas of social organization about which we know the least: the social, the value resonant, the cultural" (p. 151). In a later work (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), they say that the human as instrument is key because *"only the human instrument has the characteristics necessary to cope with an indeterminate situation!"* (p. 193). The first of these characteristics is responsiveness, the fact that the human instrument can sense and respond to human and environmental cues that exist and can interact with the situation to make them explicit. Another characteristic is the human tolerance of ambiguity which "may well be the most important personal characteristic the naturalistic investigator must possess" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 211). The human instrument is also capable of intuition which, according to Firestone and Dawson (1988), is the primary source of understanding in qualitative data analysis.

Because naturalistic inquiry emerges and changes in response to the context studied and the special needs of the participants, there is no one, standard methodology. There are, however, some recommended and generally accepted practices that are associated with the means of gathering, analyzing, and reporting data in naturalistic inquiries. Those practices are generally qualitative in nature. With regard to sampling, for instance, Lincoln and Guba (1985), say that, in most naturalistic studies, the purpose of sampling is to include as much information as possible in all of its various ramifications and constructions. For this reason, maximum variation sampling is usually the sampling mode of choice. With this choice, the object is to detail the specifics that give the context its unique flavor. They borrow this terminology from Patton (1980) who says that maximum variation sampling serves to document unique variations that have emerged in adapting to different conditions. In this study, for instance, such sampling was used to document the variations in school culture that emerged in the context of administrators who demonstrated a feminine understanding of power.

With regard to data gathering in naturalistic inquiries, the preference is again for qualitative methodologies. Guba and Lincoln (1981, 1985) maintain that the three main data collection measures are observation, interviewing, and non-verbal communication. Observation provides direct experience, allowing the researcher to record behavior and events as they occur. The researcher can rely on propositional and tacit knowledge to enhance understanding of complex situations. This maximizes the inquirer's abilities to grasp motives,

beliefs, concerns, interests, unconscious behaviors and customs, those attributes that make up culture. Observation makes it possible to grasp the culture in its own natural, on-going environment. The researcher using observation needs to take running notes and keep a field experience log that is written up following each observation. Such entries can be organized according to the categories that emerge from observations and interviews.

Guba and Lincoln (1981, 1985) see the unstructured interview as the backbone of field and naturalistic research. In the unstructured interview, the format is not standardized and responses are not expected to be normative. The interviewee participates in providing both questions and answers. The focus is on reactions to broad issues raised by the interviewer who, in turn, relies on the interviewee to tell the researcher what s/he does not know. An advantage of the interview is the ability to move around in time, to reconstruct the past, to interpret the present, and to predict the future.

The third main type of data collection measure is non-verbal communication. This involves the attempt to understand the messages being delivered at the non-verbal and cultural level as well as at the verbal, highly cognitive level. Such attention to non-verbal communication goes on during the conduct of both interviews and observations.

Rossman et al. (1988) add another dimension to the discussion of appropriate methodologies. In talking about the methodology used in their case studies of three high schools, they say that interviewing and observation of a variety of events provided variety in data collection. In addition, these

techniques also encouraged participants to discuss and sometimes discover the more subtle aspects of school organization. Participants felt free to tell their stories and a "subtle display of deeply held, often tacitly expressed values and norms" was fostered (p. 146).

Another qualitative method of collecting data, relatively new to education, is the focus group. Focus groups are discussions among people intended to explore specific topics. The researcher listens, records, and later analyzes the group's attitudes, perceptions, feelings, ideas, and language. As with interviewing, the focus group interview guide is used to direct the group without rigidly dictating the content or the direction of the discussion. Focus groups can be less intimidating for participants than one-on-one interviews and, as a result, participants are often more willing to discuss a particular topic openly and in great detail. The combined efforts of the group often produce a wider range of information, insight, and ideas because the comments of one participant may trigger new ideas or responses in another. The use of groups rather than individuals also speeds the interview process and data collection.

In terms of data analysis, the preferred method in naturalistic inquiry is inductive and intuitive. Lincoln and Guba (1985), say that inductive data analysis is "defined most simply as a process of 'making sense' of field data" (p. 202). This process uses multiple sources of data: (e.g. observations, interviews, documents, unobtrusive measures, non-verbal cues, etc.). Data sources are synthesized as theory, variables, and constructions emerge from the analysis. The analysis relies heavily on the interaction between the inquirer

and the source. Firestone and Dawson (1988) say that intuition is the primary source of understanding in qualitative data analysis. Procedures, such as triangulation, intersubjective techniques, and multiple researchers can supplement intuition and help verify understandings. They maintain that the strongest analysis strategies find ways to combine such procedures. Such use of intuition in combination with procedures and intersubjective approaches serves to increase the validity of intuition in qualitative research. Using site participants in data analysis, for instance, was one intersubjective approach employed in this study. Firestone and Dawson (1988) say that researchers are increasing their use of site participants because, "interpretations are considered much more likely to be valid if they have been confirmed by setting participants" (p. 217). In this study, such interpretations were shared at several key points. Principals reviewed field notes written up as first impressions following the initial interview, field notes and overall impressions following the shadowing experience, and a draft of the completed case study. The problems with such an approach are, as Firestone and Dawson point out, twofold. The time involved in critiquing each stage limits the data that can be reported. Second, participants are likely to want to protect their images of themselves and their school.

As Firestone and Dawson (1988) point out, triangulation is a useful procedure for adding validity to qualitative research. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), triangulation can be achieved by using different sources, methods, investigators, or theories. This study used different sources

(principals, teachers, and parents) and different methods (interviews, observations, and focus groups) to improve the probability that the findings and interpretations will be found credible.

With triangulation, there is always the potential that the various points will not converge on a common interpretation or understanding. In response to the question of what to do if there is not convergence across methodologies, Firestone and Dawson (1988) say that "seemingly contradictory evidence generated from different methods can all be correct, but represent different perspectives on or aspects of phenomena. Such situations often generate discovery and new understanding" (p. 213). As Lincoln and Guba (1985) put it, if there is no match using the triangulation procedure, the researcher must respect the multiple realities and report the deviant voice.

Schon (1991) speaks to this same issue and reaffirms the importance of the researcher as instrument in analysis as well as data collection. In his work, he brings together a number of case studies whose authors have taken what he calls a "reflective turn" (p. 5). According to Schon, these authors observe, describe, and try to illuminate the things practitioners actually say and do. They explore understandings revealed by patterns of the spontaneous activity that makes up practice. Further, "whenever these patterns appear strange or puzzling, the authors assume there is an underlying sense to be discovered and that it is their business as researchers to discover it" (p. 5). Sometimes this involves reflection by researchers on the subjects and their own understanding.

They must become aware of their own underlying stories and search out sources of blindness and bias.

In naturalistic inquiry, the preferred method of data reporting is the case study. Stake, according to Shadish, Cook, and Leviton (1991), maintains that in the case study, reporting or program portrayal is holistic and diverse and is communicated in ways understandable to the intended audiences. Lincoln and Guba (1981, 1985) suggest that there are several reasons for this preference. It is an ideal method for providing the "thick description" that Stake, Guba, and Lincoln say gives the audience vicarious experience. Such description is essential for enabling judgments about the transferability of the case. At its best, the case study is a portrayal of the situation. The case study can also communicate the multiple realities of the context. In a holistic and lifelike manner, the case study presents a picture that is credible to participants. Partly because it does so in natural language, it is an ideal vehicle for communicating with the consumer. The case study also simplifies the range of data, providing essential information in a focused, conversation-like format.

In general, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the case study contains several distinct features. These include an explication of the problem that is the occasion for the study and a thorough description of the context or setting. Such description provides necessary information about the subject and is essential in determining whether results in one context might also be applicable in another context. The case study also contains a thorough description of the transactions or processes observed that are relevant to the problem and

description of those elements identified as important that are studied in depth. There is also a discussion of outcomes, the lessons to be learned from the study. These are not generalizations, but working hypotheses that relate to understanding. For Stake (1991), the vicarious personal experience that case studies provide can lead to improved practice. Through case studies, practitioners can reach naturalistic understandings, the new understandings that result when readers recognize similarities to cases of interest to them.

Wolcott (1973) adds a somewhat different perspective on the case study as a representation of the reality studied. He points out that even though pseudonyms are used, people close to the school or district will probably try to identify or at least speculate about personalities. In spite of this, "to present the material in such a way that even the people central to the study are 'fooled' by it is to risk removing those very aspects that make it vital, unique, believable, and at times painfully personal" (p. 4). For Wolcott, the answer is to keep the real actors in mind in every sentence written and to exercise sufficient discretion in reporting.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), the rigor of a naturalistic inquiry is based on the issue of the authenticity of the information and the interpretations drawn from it. Questions to be addressed include whether the findings are credible to various audiences; it is up to each audience to determine what the information means and whether or not it is applicable. According to them, the principal burden of synthesis always lies with the recipient, not with the researcher. Another question is that of "fittingness," whether the research fits

into other contexts. This concept of "fittingness" replaces the concept of generalizability. A particular case study cannot be generalized to other settings, but individuals can assess whether aspects of the case study fit with contexts they know. Other questions include whether the categories derived from the data make sense and whether the data are factual and confirmable, that is, whether they are reported in such a way that they could be confirmed from other sources if necessary.

Support for the sort of naturalistic inquiry described here, with the addition of a feminist perspective, is provided by Shakeshaft (1981). In her call for a new paradigm for research on women in educational administration, she calls for qualitative rather than quantitative research, arguing that descriptive data are needed on women in positions of power. According to Shakeshaft, research must grow out of the personal experience, needs, and feelings of the researcher. It must explore the situation in order to understand and legitimize it as seen through female eyes. In other words, a feminist perspective is needed. Shakeshaft maintains that conclusions from the work need to be taken back to participants to see if they ring true. Doing so will make it more likely that the research will reflect feminine consciousness and experience. She also argues for reliance on oral tradition, rather than written, for gathering and reporting data because the oral tradition is dynamic rather than static. Listening to what is said, engaging in dialogue with others may more successfully capture the female voice than relying on written responses and reports. Finally,

Shakeshaft's paradigm recognizes and acknowledges the use of research as an instrument for social change.

An example of the bringing of a feminist perspective to qualitative research is provided by Lightfoot's The Good High School (1983). In this work, Lightfoot acknowledges that she brings her own feminist perspective to the work, a work that paints portraits of six good schools that are very human, holistic, and aesthetic. One of Lightfoot's premises about the use of portraiture as a technique is that the subject cannot be viewed as object. Instead, the subject must be seen as a person of myriad dimensions. This premise is a most basic one in feminist thought. Lightfoot maintains that multiple perspectives on the subject must also be considered. Out of these different perspectives on this multi-dimensional subject comes some sense of truth or what others would call understanding. For Lightfoot, understanding includes recognizing that "qualities traditionally identified as female--nurturance, receptivity, responsiveness to relationship and context--" (p. 25) are critical to the expression of leadership and are critical elements in good schools.

Support for the sort of naturalistic inquiry conducted here is also found in the emerging literature on feminist research. While the field is relatively new, agreement elusive, and definitions nebulous, it is fair to say that naturalistic inquiry, as it is discussed here, meets many of the criteria commonly associated with feminist research. For example, Fonow and Cook (1991) suggest four themes that point to the underlying assumptions about feminist research. The four themes--reflexivity, action-orientation, attention to the affective components

of research, and use of the situation-at-hand--could also be said to be characteristic of naturalistic inquiry. By reflexivity, Fonow and Cook mean "the tendency of feminists to reflect upon, examine critically, and explore analytically the nature of the research process" (p. 2). Reflexivity as a process is used to reflect on assumptions about gender that underlie the inquiry itself and can include consciousness raising on the part of the researcher and/or the subjects. While proponents of naturalistic inquiry do not speak specifically to gender, there is support for the inclusion of researchers, with all their history, values, and biases, as participants in the research process. The second theme is action-orientation which, according to Fonow and Cook, is most commonly expressed in the intention of the research: "the aim of feminist research is liberation" (p. 6). It also implies the use of techniques that acknowledge everyday processes and reduce the isolation between researcher and researched. This, too, resonates with the emphasis of naturalistic inquiry on social change, on the particular, and on the interaction between researcher and subjects. The third theme, use of the situation at hand, refers to the use of already existing situations as both the focus of investigations and as a means of collecting data. This is similar to the emphasis in naturalistic inquiry on context, on collecting data in the setting, on observing and recording events as they occur in the natural setting. The fourth theme is attention to the affective component or attention to emotions. This resonates with attention given in naturalistic inquiry to attitudes and feelings as well as behaviors. In fact, part of the reason for using the human as instrument is the ability to pick up on non-

verbal communications and cues which often express the affective components of the situation.

With regard to methodology, there is much discussion of, and little agreement about, whether or not particular methods are more appropriate than others for feminist research. While some argue for favorite methods, others maintain that any method can be feminist when used in feminist hands. Gergen (1988), for instance, argues that the issue is not one of particular methods, but a matter of goals and strategies that identify feminist methodology. She suggests six central goals of a feminist methodology, all of which are either the same as or very similar to the goals of methodology in naturalistic inquiry. The methodology Gergen argues for: 1) recognizes the interconnectedness of persons, including the investigator and the subject, 2) does not violate the social embeddedness of the subject, 3) includes the explicit, self-conscious application of values in scientific practice, 4) makes effort to recreate language in forms suitable to women, 5) enhances the voice of research participants, and 6) treats scientists as participants, not superior beings. The language may be worded somewhat differently. For instance, naturalistic inquiry calls for language that is conversational, lifelike, and understandable to the participants without speaking particularly to women. However, in essence, the goals are compatible, as would be expected in a study addressing feminine understandings of power in subjects who are mostly women.

Instrumentation

Several instruments were developed for use in the study. While not exactly an instrument, the first and most important was the model for a feminine understanding of power described under subject selection and shown in Figure 1. This framework was the foundation for the survey which was developed to identify principals operating from a feminine understanding of power. The survey asked three open-ended questions about community within the school, sharing power, and attention to relationships. Principals were asked to describe and give an example of their style with regard to these three topics. Demographics were included on the survey to help identify principals who had been in their current school for at least three years. A copy of the initial survey is included in Appendix A.

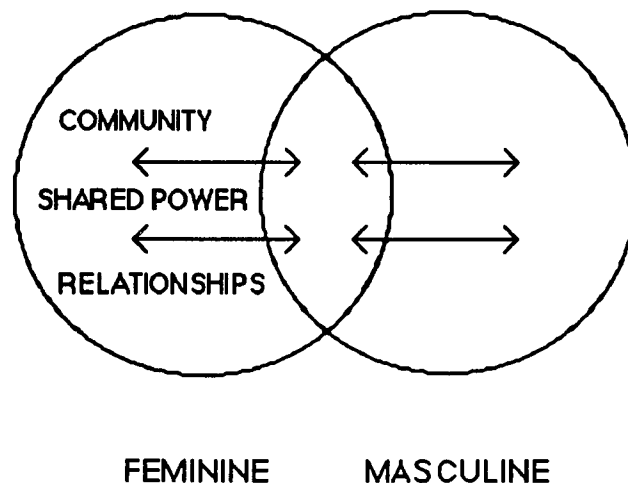


Figure 1. Model of Feminine Power

Through a content analysis of the returned surveys, six principals were identified as answering in ways consistent with a feminine understanding of power. A follow-up interview was requested with each of those principals. The second instrument developed was the protocol used during this interview. Six open-ended questions were developed which were intended to elicit further discussion of each principal's underlying values and to seek information about the school's culture. A copy of the interview protocol is included in Appendix B. At the conclusion of the interview, a prepared statement was shared with each principal. The statement described the intent and the activities associated with the study and asked if the principal would be willing to participate.

The third instrument developed was the protocol for teacher and parent focus groups. Again, the questions were open-ended, but specific prompts were developed to guide discussion if group members were reluctant to speak or if they wandered off the intended subjects. These seven questions were designed to solicit teacher or parent input on issues of school culture, especially decision making, and to gather perceptions on how the principal functioned within the school context. A copy of this protocol is included in Appendix C. Also included as Appendix D is a shorter version of the same protocol. Field testing to validate the protocol revealed that some participants would like to have a copy of the questions in hand. To accommodate that desire, the shorter version was developed and distributed to participants either before or at the beginning of the focus group session.

Subject Selection

The most difficult, and perhaps the most critical aspect of this study was the selection of the schools. It was critical to find schools where the administrator operates from a feminine understanding of power. Because philosophical assumptions are difficult to define and identify, the search focused on finding administrators whose attitudes and behaviors exemplified those fundamental understandings. To find such schools through some random selection would be highly unlikely. Therefore, a purposeful search for a site was used instead. Because the focus of the study was administrators with a feminine understanding of power, the search focused on finding good, effective principals who were operating in ways consistent with such an understanding. Because the study was intended to examine the culture of the school in relationship to a feminine understanding of power, principals were sought who had been in a given school for at least three years. This was necessary because the culture of a school is slow to change, and a principal's influence on a school's culture would take at least that long to become evident.

Based on the literature, a portrayal of a hypothetical administrator with a feminine understanding of power was developed. That portrayal suggested three key areas indicative of a feminine understanding of power: commitment to community, the sharing of power, and attention to relationships. A brief, open-ended survey was developed which selected administrators were asked to complete, indicating their perceived styles relative to the three key areas and giving an example of each.

In an effort to identify exemplary, successful principals, nominees for the Wachovia Principal of the Year award from Region V for the years 1987 through 1991 were identified. For this five-year period, there were 67 principals nominated by their district for the regional competition. Of that number, 43 were located using the North Carolina Education Directory for 1991-92 either at the same school or at a different school where they might have served three years since their nomination.

A survey was mailed to these 43 nominees with a cover letter explaining the researcher's interest in the leadership styles of exemplary principals and seeking their cooperation. Because the survey was short, a high return rate was expected. In addition, the survey included an opportunity to respond to the questions in a telephone interview if the principal did not have time to complete the written form. Twenty-one of the surveys were returned, for a response rate of 49%. Of that number, three requested the option of the telephone interview.

The information reported on the surveys was used to identify those respondents who reported leadership style and actions that exemplified a feminine understanding of and orientation toward power. To accomplish this, an informal content analysis of the surveys was performed using the indicators developed to portray how a feminine understanding of power might be acted on in the school setting. This was accomplished by developing a list of key words which were taken from the list of indicators used to identify a feminine understanding of power. Any of these words, synonyms, or phrases expressing similar meaning were marked on the questionnaires and tallied. The number of

words or phrases matching those on the key word list ranged from 3 to 18, and the average was 8.83. For selection purposes, a cut-off of 10 was used; principals with a score higher than 10 were identified for a possible follow-up interview. Seven principals had scores higher than 10 and all seven indicated on their questionnaire that they would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview. One of these was eliminated because he worked in the same school system as the researcher which could potentially bias the findings.

From the respondents, six principals were identified who reported characteristics and actions commensurate with a feminine power orientation. This group included two men and four women, two secondary principals and four elementary principals. Those principals were asked to participate in a brief follow-up interview. Interview questions were critiqued by committee members and modified accordingly. The interview was held to confirm that s/he perceived herself/himself as operating from a feminine understanding of power. If that was confirmed, permission was sought to conduct the case study in the school. Surprisingly, all six of these principals agreed to having a case study conducted in their school.

Of the six principals, two were principals of secondary schools and four were principals of elementary schools. Because of the smaller number of cases at the secondary level, different levels of study were pursued. At the secondary level, the study consisted of one follow-up interview in addition to the survey and the initial interview with the principal and one or more teachers. At the elementary level, more data were collected and more detail presented in the

case studies. As a result of the additional time spent in the elementary schools and the additional persons interviewed, more issues emerged and were pursued at the elementary level. While the studies of the secondary schools are much less detailed, they are presented in Chapter 4, primarily to affirm that such principals can and do work in middle and high schools.

The initial survey sent to the 43 nominees was key to identifying sites for the study. The survey was developed using a conceptual framework of feminine leadership. That framework was based on a model of different, though overlapping realms called feminine and masculine (See Figure 1). The realms are dynamic, not static and administrators can and do move from one to another as the context demands. For purposes of identifying the study sites, however, efforts were made to identify administrators who most often operate in what was defined as the feminine realm.

A set of descriptors for the feminine realm were developed and used to construct and analyze the survey. Because the two realms are neither dichotomous nor even opposite ends of a continuum, they were not treated as equally important to the study. The masculine realm was not as carefully developed, since the point was to find principals who reported feminine leadership styles commensurate with a feminine understanding of power.

The descriptors were drawn from the literature which speaks to feminine perceptions of power and feminine leadership (See Belenky et al., Denmark, DeWine, Friesen, Garfinkel, Gilligan, Greenberg, Holderness, Hughey, Lightfoot, Loden, Neuse, Schmuck, Shakeshaft, Stamm and Ryff, Tibbets, and

Wheatley .) Because an understanding of power is basically an underlying set of philosophical assumptions, it is not easy to define or observe. Therefore, the portrayal developed projected ways in which those assumptions were likely to manifest themselves in attitudes and behaviors of the administrator, ways the administrator is likely to act in the school setting.

For purposes of clarity, administrators with a feminine understanding of power were portrayed as those who:

1. Value and seek a sense of community in the setting.
2. Share power.
3. Attend to relational issues.

Specific indicators were listed for each of these which suggested how they would translate into attitudes and behaviors. Examination of the indicators should reveal that there is overlap among the three general organizers. This was seen, not as a problem, but as a means of increasing the richness, the depth of the portrayal by suggesting myriad ways in which the indicators interact with one another in the context of the school. The indicators for each of the three categories are listed in Table 1.

This list of indicators, based on relevant literature, was an organized consensus of what feminine understandings of power mean and how they might be translated into attitudes and behaviors evident in the school setting. A group of experts was convened to validate the indicators before they were used in the subject selection process. Four faculty at UNC-Greensboro who were familiar

Table 1

Indicators of a Feminine Understanding of Power

1. Value and seek a sense of community in the setting.
 - A. see setting as a web with complex interactions
 - B. emphasize interdependence and inclusiveness
 - C. emphasize collegial, collaborative, cooperative process
 - D. foster two-way communication between leader and group
 - E. foster teamwork with shared responsibility for results
 - F. are interested in process as well as goals
 - G. are sensitive to context
 - H. show sensitivity to cultural norms
 - I. value service to others
2. Share power
 - A. invite/encourage broad participation in decision-making
 - B. prefer democratic/participatory style
 - C. involve others in definition of goals as well as attainment
 - D. seek to free, release what is in others
 - E. allow for individual and group creativity and initiative
 - F. seek to enable, liberate others
 - G. consult with others before deciding
 - H. build coalitions
 - I. are willing to compromise
3. Attend to relational issues
 - A. demonstrate high respect for individual and group
 - B. care about individual differences
 - C. are sensitive and responsive to others
 - D. demonstrate concern for teachers and marginal students
 - E. are nurturing
 - F. prefer personal power (influence) to position power
 - G. listen carefully and effectively to others
 - H. communicate frequently with others
 - I. use praise frequently
 - J. use internal resources to motivate and inspire others
 - K. see self as connected to others
 - L. are emotionally involved

with the literature and the issues involved were asked to meet together to assess and critique the indicators. These four women were either current or retired professors or administrators who represented the fields of educational administration, curriculum, family relations, and program evaluation. Their feedback was used to clarify any ambiguities in language and to validate that the attitudes and behaviors included did, in fact, reflect feminine assumptions about power. This group suggested minor modifications and agreed that the descriptors selected were probably valid indicators of a feminine understanding of power.

There is certainly no such thing as the perfectly feminine administrator. The social and cultural influences on the individual, both past and present, as well as the social, cultural, and political aspects of the setting and the job make it highly unlikely that any one person would always operate in any realm. However, the realms were presented (See Figure 1) as both separate and overlapping to recognize the differences and to help identify administrators who preferred and most often operated on the feminine side of the diagram.

Procedures

At the conclusion of the initial interview, the purpose and methodology of the study were explained to the principal and the arrangements necessary for conducting the study in the school were described. This conversation also served to identify any issues the principal may have had concerns about and/or wanted considered by the researcher.

Data were gathered over a period of several months in the spring of 1992. The researcher visited the secondary schools twice to conduct interviews and tour the schools. She visited the elementary schools to conduct observations and interviews a minimum of seven times. For the two case studies of the secondary schools, there were three common inquiries: the initial interview, a teacher interview, and a follow-up interview with the principal. For the other four studies, there were six common events: an initial interview, a teacher interview, a shadowing experience, a follow-up interview, a teacher focus group, and a parent focus group. Other opportunities for observation varied depending on the scheduled events occurring during the data gathering period. In each school, however, attempts were made to observe both small and large groups, with and without the principal present. Because the focus of the study was the culture of the school as it was experienced by the adult members of the school community, the focus of the observations was on situations in which adults interact, reflecting their shared culture. Such observations included formal gatherings such as faculty meetings and committee meetings and informal gatherings such as impromptu conversations and lunches in the teacher's lounge.

Because attention to relational issues was one of the indicators of a feminine understanding of power, one full day was spent shadowing the principal, with an emphasis on the ways in which s/he interacted with the other members of the school community. As Brubaker (1991) points out, the shadowing technique is especially effective in taking the researcher backstage,

to see and hear personal orientations and cultural implications through the eyes and voice of the principal. A formal interview also was held with the principal following the shadowing experience. This allowed for responses to questions or issues raised by the shadowing experience as well as provided the opportunity for other study questions that had emerged. With the permission of the principal, this interview was recorded and transcribed so that accurate data were available for subsequent analysis.

During each observation, field notes were taken. Those notes were written up and studied as soon as possible after the experience so that a sense of the events as they happened naturally in the setting could be better captured. Such notes also sparked emerging issues that provided additional focus for the study. Informal interviews with staff members allowed for follow-up on questions or issues raised in the observations. Field notes were also taken during or just after these interviews and written up soon thereafter.

The other technique used for gathering data was the focus group. Two such groups were used, one with the school's leadership team and another with a group of parents, typically the PTA Board. Focus group questions were critiqued by the researcher's doctoral committee and piloted with a local school's leadership team and a representative group of PTA Board members. Suggestions and modifications were incorporated before the questions were used. The staff group was asked to respond to open-ended questions aimed at exploring their perceptions of their principal's understanding of power as it related to the culture of the school. Though questions were prepared

beforehand, it was expected that new questions would emerge from the discussion. The parent group was asked to respond to similar open-ended questions related to their perceptions of the principal and the culture of the school. Their responses were used as a check to see if the assessment of the principal and the school culture as perceived by the researcher and the school staff was consistent with what parents saw and believed about the school. If consistency was not found, the existence of separate realities was recognized and presented as a dissenting or inconsistent voice. The two focus groups were recorded and transcribed so that responses could be carefully analyzed and accurately reported.

It is important to emphasize that, during the data gathering process, questions, issues, and preliminary conclusions were taken back to the participants through the formal and informal interview process. This follows the paradigm that Shakeshaft (1981) suggests for conducting research on women in administration. One of her five recommendations is that conclusions from the work need to be taken back to the participants to see if they ring true. Doing so will make it more likely that the research will reflect feminine consciousness and experience. For example, copies of field notes from the shadowing experience were shared with the principal prior to the follow-up interview. At the conclusion of these notes, a number of overall impressions were listed. In the follow-up interviews, the principals were asked if they saw themselves in those notes and if it seemed like a fair and accurate portrait of themselves.

Reporting the Data

The model for the reporting of the data was portraiture, particularly as it is demonstrated in Lightfoot's The Good High School. In the preface to that work, Lightfoot explains that the use of portraiture serves to replicate the work of the artist using words, words that, as a whole, will capture the essence of the subject of the research.

Lightfoot paints portraits of six good schools that are very human, holistic, and aesthetic. She treats her studies of the six schools very much as an artist treats a subject. She searches for the essence and seeks to "paint" from the inside out. Lightfoot also brings to her portraits her own feminist perspective. Through this lens, she sees the schools and their leaders in some fresh and fascinating ways. One of Lightfoot's premises about the use of portraiture as a technique is that the subject cannot be viewed as object. Instead, the subject must be seen as a person of myriad dimensions. The multiple perspectives on the subject must also be considered. Out of these different perspectives on this multi-dimensional subject comes some sense of truth. It is not surprising, then, that Lightfoot's portraits of the school leaders she studies go well beyond superficial stereotypes and move toward capturing a more complex essence.

Eisner calls what Lightfoot does educational criticism. Educational criticism, part of Eisner's model of educational connoisseurship and criticism, provides another framework for the treatment of information. Eisner (1976) calls for observation by the connoisseur, or researcher, to provide the subject matter. The function of criticism is, then, to help others see and understand. This type of

criticism has three dimensions: description, interpretation, and evaluation. The treatment of the data in this study included those three dimensions.

The description of the schools enable the reader to experience a vivid picture of the scene and the people who inhabit it. The portrait of the school gives an account of what was observed. The interpretation of those observations accounts for what was observed, gives them meaning. The third dimension, evaluation, involves making value judgments about what was observed. Eisner states that, just as in conventional educational research, this is a critical feature and is influenced by the values the researcher brings to the school. Perception is selective, and the researcher naturally sees and reports what s/he cares about.

The purpose of such description, interpretation, and evaluation is to enable others to experience the scene. Such experience leads to understanding. Educational criticism, like art, can be generalized. While a given work addresses a particular, its meaning transcends the particular. Eisner (1991) calls this addendum to his earlier theory "thematics," the "moral of the story," the part of the practice of educational criticism that makes it clear that the lessons learned by studying a particular case pertain to cases beyond.

Such personal understanding is also the goal of case studies as they are described by Stake. As he says, "people recognize the value of something inferentially and simultaneously as they come to know it, not apparently comparing it to real or abstract standards" (Stake, 1991, p.73). Practitioners attend to experiential accounts; they "heed stories of people in a plight like their

own" (p. 76). For Stake, it is personal experience, often vicarious, that leads to improved practice. Case studies can provide such experience. Through case studies, the researcher can help practitioners in reaching naturalistic generalizations, new understandings that result when readers recognize similarities to cases of interest to them. These understandings are more important than scientific standards such as validity, because such personal understanding validates the findings and ultimately is the source of social change.

In the case studies presented here, the emphasis is on the particular. Though four elementary and two secondary school case studies are included, this is not intended as a comparative study. Multiple cases are included in hope that they may lead to greater personal understandings as individuals make connections between the case studies presented here and their own familiar contexts. The case studies presented are organized around two key themes, the principal's style as it relates to a feminine understanding of power and the culture of the school. With regard to the principal's style, treatment includes a look at how the principal does or does not embody the values associated with a feminine understanding of power: the sharing of power, a commitment to community, and attention to relationships. Other themes, which emerged during the study and are included, are whether the principals seem to be operating on what Sergiovanni and Elliott (1975) call a human relations or a human resources model, that is whether their commitment to a feminine power orientation is mostly talk or truly lived. Another is the source of their style with

regard to power orientation, whether it is naturally a part of their lives or whether it is learned and is being implemented because of its potential for improving school effectiveness.

With regard to school culture, the case studies presented here are organized around four general themes. The first is the extent to which practice in the school reflects involvement in decision-making. This begins with a shared understanding of the school vision, of what the school stands for and includes the degree of staff involvement in the processes leading toward that vision. The second is the sensitivity to context, a sense of shared history and traditions, the communication of the belief, on the part of the staff, that "we are in this together." The third is the existence of cultural norms: celebrations, means of recognition and appreciation, and processes that foster open and honest communication. The fourth is school-wide attention to relationships, whether or not a sense of collegiality exists among the staff, whether or not caring is evident, and whether or not trust and confidence in one another exist.

The case studies of the six schools presented here address, to varying degrees, these themes with regard to the principal's power orientation and the school culture. Because the schools are unique, the reports are also unique. While the emphasis is on the particular and the formats differ somewhat, it is hoped that the case studies included will, separately and together, give the reader a better, personal understanding of feminine leadership styles in relation to the principal's orientation toward power, the culture of the school, and the way in which those two are interwoven.

Limitations

Some of the limitations of this study are particular to its content and design. For instance, the development of the model for a feminine understanding of power was limited by the fact that theory on feminine leadership style is emerging and the literature is limited. Once the framework was developed, it strongly influenced what was seen, heard, and noted in the interviews and observations. The assumption was made that the principals nominated as Wachovia Principals of the Year were exemplary. Principals sent the initial survey were limited to those nominated in Region V, thus limiting participation to those residing in a particular geographic region. Of those 43, only 49% responded. These limitations suggest that there may well be in this or other regions other principals who would be better examples of administrators who operate in ways consistent with a feminine understanding of power.

Other limitations of this study are more general in nature. The first had to do with responsiveness. Naturalistic inquiry is often paired with responsive research, that is, research that grows out of the concerns and issues of the various stakeholders (see Stake ,1982, 1991; Guba and Lincoln ,1981, 1985, 1991). In such responsive studies, the questions grow out of issues and concerns, the study itself is dynamic and changes in response to audience feedback during the inquiry, and the analysis is a product of interaction between the researcher and the various stakeholders. Because of the nature of this study as dissertation research, it did not lend itself to a fully responsive model. It

may, therefore, be less "rich" than it might have been were the design more responsive.

The second category had to do with the disadvantages of the case study model itself. These are well explicated by Guba and Lincoln (1981) and generally recognized by researchers. Because of its nature, particularly if the case is selected as an extreme example, a case study can oversimplify or exaggerate a situation. The case study also depends heavily on the interpretations of the writer and her/his selection of the information to be presented. Because case studies are one of a kind, they do not allow for scientific generalization. Finally, because choices have to be made about what is seen and reported, case studies are always partial accounts that give the impression of being the whole.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOOL PORTRAITS

Introduction

This chapter includes six case studies, two of which are only rough sketches of principals and their schools while four of which are more detailed drawings or holistic pictures of school principals and the settings in which they serve. In all of the cases, the names of persons, schools, and communities are fictitious. The case studies are referred to as portraits because, following the example of Lightfoot, they are efforts to capture the essence of the case. They are attempts to see both the principals and the schools from the inside out, to attend to and report those aspects of the case that are often hardest to see: the social, the value resonant, the cultural. They include detail about the principal and the school to give the reader a sense of the context so that s/he will be able to ascertain whether or not there is a "fit" between these contexts and those familiar to the reader. The hope is that the reader will find such a fit and that the portraits will foster the sort of personal understanding, what Stake calls naturalistic generalization, out of which meaning is derived and social change emerges.

The portraits presented here are organized around two general themes, the principal's orientation toward power and the culture of the school. The first of these specifically relates to what was defined earlier as a feminine

understanding of and orientation toward power. In Chapter III, a model was presented that portrayed administrators with a feminine understanding of power as those who: 1) value and seek a sense of community in the setting, 2) share power, and 3) attend to relational issues. Specific indicators were listed for each of these that suggest how they would translate into attitudes and behaviors. Administrators who value and seek a sense of community in the setting, for instance, might be expected to see and talk about the setting as a web with complex interactions that reflect connectedness, inclusiveness, and interdependence. Such an administrator might be expected to show an interest in process and might talk about school processes using words like collegial, collaborative, cooperative, teamwork, and two-way communication. Sensitivity to context might be expected, with attention given to both cultural norms and persons within that context. An administrator who values the sharing of power might prefer a democratic style of leadership that encourages broad participation in setting as well as attaining goals. Such a person might view liberation of others as a goal. This may be demonstrated by a commitment to accepting individual and group creativity and initiative and to supporting others seeking to express and release what is in themselves. Words like consultation, coalition, and compromise might be expected in the language of such a person. An administrator who attends to relational issues might be expected to care about and positively acknowledge individual differences. S/he may be nurturing and supportive of others and sensitive to, concerned about, and responsive to their needs. Such traits may be demonstrated in such behaviors

as frequent communication, careful listening, and ready praise and recognition. Such a person might be expected to be emotionally involved, to convey to others the sense that s/he is connected to them. To borrow from Holderness (1989), such a leader may enter into relationships with others that convey the message "we are doing this, suffering this, hoping for this together" (pp. 77-78).

This framework was developed before data collection began and it strongly influenced what was seen, heard, and noted in the interviews and observations. It is, therefore, an important part of these case studies or portraits. Each principal is considered in light of this framework; behaviors and language are interpreted in this context; and evaluation of personal styles includes whether the individual does, in fact, embody and demonstrate the expected characteristics.

As might be expected in a naturalistic inquiry, however, other themes and issues emerged as the study progressed and the data were collected. Those themes, in turn, influenced later observations and analyses of language, behaviors, and perceptions. For instance, repeated visits to the schools revealed that administrators were characterized by varying degrees of a feminine orientation toward power. In some cases, that orientation seemed superficial; in others it seemed to reflect deeply held values. This theme will be treated in the portraits in terms of what Sergiovanni and Elliott (1975) call the human relations and the human resources models. They point out that how principals share power reflects underlying values. They also caution that, on the surface, it is sometimes difficult to tell the difference between the two

models. For example, on the issue of the kind and amount of participation in a school, they suggest that the principal operating on a human relations model wants everyone to feel like s/he is an important part of the team. Such a principal explains decisions and is willing to discuss objections. S/he encourages teacher involvement in planning and decision making on routine decisions. On the other hand, the principal operating on a human resources model wants to create an environment where everyone can contribute the full range of her/his talents to the accomplishment of school goals. Such a principal works to uncover the creative resources of others. S/he allows and encourages participation in important as well as routine decisions. Such a distinction is useful in considering whether a principal's feminine power orientation is mostly talk and somewhat superficial or truly lived and a manifestation of a genuine sharing of power. In the cases treated here, those principals with a clearer feminine orientation toward power seemed to operate more from the human resources model. Because such differences became apparent in the process of collecting data, they will be treated in the cases.

Another theme that emerged during the study deals with the source of the principals' style with regard to power orientation-- whether it is naturally a part of their lives, their being, or whether it is learned and is being implemented because of either top-down expectations and/or its potential for improving school effectiveness. Both types of principals were observed and differences among them became apparent. Part of this difference may reflect the current interest in site-based decision making on the part of academics and educators.

In some instances, the state department's interest in this approach as a mechanism for school improvement has filtered down to superintendents and principals. Principals have been trained in how to structure such involvement in their buildings and have learned to speak the language of broad and meaningful participation. These principals are implementing some of what they have learned, and many of their actions are commensurate with a feminine understanding of power. Two things, however, the breadth and depth of involvement and the time frame, indicate that these behaviors are newly-learned and that deliberately chosen actions rather than fully assimilated orientation toward power are evident. For the principals who are implementing learned behaviors, even when they have become committed to the beliefs behind them, there tends to be an unevenness of involvement and a relative newness to the process. As might be expected, a person recently converted to a new way of thinking and behaving is more likely to start small. In the case studies, this tendency is demonstrated as partial involvement of some, but not all, individuals and/or groups. In those schools, the sharing of power is a relatively new occurrence, and both the principal and the teachers are getting used to new language and new processes. In some ways, it is possible to think of these settings as places where a new culture is being born.

On the other hand, in settings where principals are living long-held personal beliefs that reflect a feminine understanding of power, there tends to be wider-ranging involvement in more decisions. Adults in such settings participate, not just in routine decisions, but in significant decisions such as

hiring and budget matters. The involvement and the attitudes that support a feminine understanding tend to be more pervasive throughout the school. Instances of involvement and expectations of significant participation tend to have been in existence for longer periods of time and seem to grow out of personally held beliefs and values on the part of the principal rather than newly discovered learnings about the power of involvement for improving schools. In many cases, these principals have demonstrated many of the attributes of a feminine understanding of power for some time, for longer than such behaviors have been in vogue for administrators.

With regard to school cultures, the analysis framework was not developed a priori, but emerged during the data collection period. Out of a general understanding of school culture and the process of collecting data through interviews, observations, and focus groups, four themes surfaced that seemed to capture the essence of the school cultures, especially as they might relate to a feminine understanding of power on the part of the principal. Those themes are: 1) the extent to which practice in the school reflects involvement in decision making, 2) sensitivity to context, 3) the existence of selected cultural norms, and 4) school-wide attention to relationships.

These themes emerged as readings about school-based culture interacted with the actual data collection processes. It is hard to say exactly what school culture is. Sergiovanni and Corbally (1984) successfully capture the sense of the literature when they suggest that a standard definition of school culture is:

the system of values, symbols, and shared meanings of a group including the embodiment of these values, symbols, and meanings into material objects and ritualized practices. Culture governs what is of worth for a particular group and how group members should think, feel, and behave. The 'stuff' of culture includes customs and traditions, historical accounts be they mythical or actual, tacit understandings, habits, norms and expectations, common meanings associated with fixed objects and established rites, shared assumptions, and intersubjective meanings. Intersubjective meanings are dynamic and suggest that culture in organizations is continually in process (p. viii).

Theirs is certainly an inclusive definition of school culture, but it also is a somewhat cumbersome one. That is troublesome when the desire to have participants understand and find meaning from the study dictates clear, lifelike language that is easily understood by readers. With that as a goal, simpler definitions are preferred. Sarason (1982), for instance, says that culture is "the distinctive, tradition-based axioms, values, and outlook of school personnel" (p. 3). In this definition, he includes both behavioral and programmatic regularities. Even though shorter, the language of this definition is still not very lifelike; it is hard to imagine teachers using such language in the hallways as they converse with one another. Goodlad (1984) provides a more lifelike understanding, contrasting schools with schooling: "Schools differ in the way they conduct their business and in the way the people in them relate to one another in conducting that business. But the business of schooling is everywhere very much the same" (p. 264). For the researcher, those areas of *difference* are what constitutes culture. Goodlad would probably agree because he talks about the pupils, teachers, and principals who live in the school everyday. He defines the

culture of the school as "the interactions of these people, the language they use, the traditions they uphold, the beliefs to which they subscribe, and so forth..." (p. 175). To say that school culture can be seen and found in the way schools conduct their business and the way people relate to one another in that process is a much more lifelike definition than Sarson's or Sergiovanni and Corbally's. Goodlad speaks to the importance of language as a part of the school culture. Rossman et al. (1988) agree, saying that language, how people talk about their worlds, what they do and do not talk about, with whom and where, is the key to looking at the culture of an organization. For them, "language is a crucial window for observing cultural beliefs and values at work" (p. 6). Because language is such a crucial window, the case studies presented here will include carefully recorded and accurately reported language used by the people who live together in the school, those adults who make up the school community and embody the culture of the school.

- Saphier and King (1985) also provide some useful ways of looking at school culture that accurately reflect life in schools in understandable language. For them, culture is the foundation of school improvement. They suggest 12 cultural norms that affect school improvement and claim that these 12 norms must be strong for school improvement to have lasting effect. They use the word "strong," and maintain that, if certain norms are strong, school
- improvement will be on-going. Their suggested cultural norms are very useful in making school culture understandable. However, it seems that a particular norm could be "strongly" negative in ways that might inhibit school

improvement. For instance, if the norm in a school was a highly punitive attitude toward children, this would not likely foster school improvement. For that reason, I have chosen to refer to the positive presence of such cultural norms as indications of a "healthy" school culture.

The 12 cultural norms that Saphier and King (1985) say affect school improvement are: 1) collegiality, 2) experimentation, 3) high expectations, 4) trust and confidence, 5) tangible support, 6) reaching out to the knowledge bases, 7) appreciation and recognition, 8) caring, celebration, and humor, 9) involvement in decision making, 10) protection of what's important, 11) traditions, and 12) honest, open communication. Of these, several seem highly related to a feminine understanding of power as it is described in this study. The first characteristic of a feminine understanding of power is a commitment to community within the school. The presence of a sense of community might well be indicated by a sense of collegiality among the staff that manifests itself in mutual sharing and support. Certainly working communities share traditions and celebrations. In settings where community is evident, honest, open communication would be expected. In schools, this manifests itself as effective two-way communication between the leader and the group as well as among group members. The second characteristic of a feminine understanding of power is the sharing of power. This characteristic is clearly evident in involvement in decision making. It also is evident in experimentation, especially the sort that seeks to free and release what is within community members and allows for individual and group creativity and initiative. The third characteristic

of a feminine orientation toward power is attention to relational issues. This might be seen as the presence of the trust and confidence that follows the demonstration of high respect for individuals and the group. It might be manifested as the tangible support a nurturing leader provides. It might be demonstrated as the appreciation and recognition communicated by the frequent use of praise. Finally, it might be seen as the caring expressed through emotional involvement, the creation of the sense that "we are in this together."

Researcher awareness of the cultural norms that seem to be associated with a feminine understanding of power contributed to the emerging themes used here to organize discussions of school culture in the case studies or portraits. Again, there are four general themes which provide the framework for discussion. The first is the extent to which practice in the school reflects involvement in decision making. This begins with a shared understanding among principal, staff, and parents of the school vision, of what the school stands for. Such shared understanding is evident when members of the school community talk consistently about the values and purposes of the school. It continues with staff involvement in the processes that lead toward that vision. This involvement is present in degrees, reflected by the amount of staff involvement, the processes and mechanisms used to insure that involvement, and the number of areas in which such involvement occurs. The second theme is the sensitivity to context. This can be observed, on the part of the principal, the staff, and parents, as a sense of shared history and traditions. Again with

context sensitivity, there is a communication of the belief on the part of the school community that "we are in this together." The third theme is the existence of selected cultural norms. Of particular interest are celebrations, means of giving recognition and showing appreciation, and processes that foster open and honest communication. The latter can be both formal, as in mechanisms for contributing agenda items to decision making sessions, and informal, as in administrative practice that fosters communication between leader and group members. The fourth theme is school-wide attention to relationships. This is ascertained by whether or not a sense of collegiality exists among the staff, by whether or not caring is evident, and by whether or not trust and confidence exist among the adult members of the school community.

There is nothing magical about these four themes or the five themes used to talk about the principal's orientation toward power. It is simply that the researcher's perspective, in combination with data collected through observations and interviews, suggests that these are useful and understandable ways of presenting the cases, of painting portraits that will help readers to experience vicariously the settings visited. All of the principals studied and all of their schools speak to these themes with varying degrees of power and clarity. Each school is different, yet these themes weave throughout them, making the connections that will serve to help the reader see them less as individual portraits than as theme studies that are part of a complex tapestry. Each is unique, yet they are connected, not only to one another, but to other places where adults live and work together in the settings we call schools.

Glendale Elementary

Principal James Sawyer describes Glendale as the "neediest" school in the city. That impression might be supported by the location and the physical plant. Glendale is located in an area surrounded by low-income housing, a public housing project, a largely unused city recreation facility, and several light industrial operations. This setting, however, is largely preferable to the one which existed before redevelopment efforts demolished the shacks that used to exist where the housing project is currently located. In those days, the vice squad staked themselves out in what is now a computer lab to monitor activity at the local neighborhood bar whose front door opened onto school property. Even today, the entrance to the school is rather cold and forbidding with brick and metal columns mostly covered with peeling paint. On the spring day of my first visit, however, the entrance is softened and brightened by the bloom of carefully planted daffodils. Inside, the entrance hall is dim and walls show dirt, but they are covered with children's work.

The initial physical impression belies the many exciting things going on inside the building. Sawyer reports that, contrary to what might be expected, new and innovative approaches are being implemented by a committed and caring staff. Glendale's approximately 500 students are neither rich nor educationally advantaged. The population is 65% minority and most of the children come from families that either subsist on welfare payments or factory wages. It is a transient population, with a new child entering the school about every day. Most come to the school having experienced language deprivation.

As Sawyer says, Glendale could be "the perfect place to fail" because these are not the parents that would complain to the School Board about poor quality education. Such, however, is not the case. On the contrary, Sawyer and the staff see their clientele as offering challenges, yes, but also opportunities for huge improvements. As he says, given where the children come from, there is no time for remediation, only acceleration.

When Sawyer came to Glendale nine years ago, the school had been seen as something of a training ground for administrators. If one could survive at Glendale, s/he was ready for a new and "better" assignment. As a result, the school had a new principal every two years. Sawyer broke that tradition by insisting, when it was time for him to move, that he wanted to stay, arguing that this population desperately needed continuity and stability in lives that otherwise had little. They also needed what schools can offer more than their privileged counterparts in wealthier sections of town.

In such an atmosphere, Sawyer has encouraged his staff to reach out for new ideas, to explore what is in the best interest of "their" children and to experiment with new and innovative ideas and approaches. He has supported their efforts to stretch beyond what is comfortable for what is good without regard for what some amorphous "they" at the central office or state might want or think.

The initial visit provided two examples of programs born of what Sawyer calls "positive visioning." One is the pre-K program, housed down the hill in recreation center space rented from the city. A four year old program paid for

from Chapter I funds exists along side a pilot multi-aged pre-school class supported by competitive grant funds. Both programs are developmental and model many of the practices suggested by the Circle of Childhood program. Happy, excited young children busily go about their "work" with enthusiasm and curiosity. Sawyer calls them "my friends" and they seem to know they are; several gather around him for an impromptu lesson in descriptive language, sorting, and categorizing centered around what his various keys are for.

The second example of a reality growing out of positive visioning is the computer technology program. Housed in huge classrooms in a 50 year old building are two state-of-the-art computer labs, one devoted to research and writing, the other to language and math. Sawyer explains that these two labs, in combination, provide what he believes is the most advanced application of technology in the elementary school in the southeast. The research and writing lab has a CD-ROM encyclopedia and both a sophisticated word processing program (complete with spellcheck and thesaurus) and the Children's Writing and Publishing program. That even the young children prefer "writing" using the more sophisticated package so they can do it "right" and prefer going to the publishing program for the "icing on the cake" is indicative of the students' enthusiasm for this lab. The students in the lab and the writing samples posted on the wall outside attest to quality work going on. In the other lab, a fileserver offers Josten's language and math program on an individualized basis to every child in the school. A full-time teacher "borrowed" from what was to have been a Spanish position supports the classroom teachers. While in the lab, a group

of 4th graders enters. To say that they "go right to work" is an understatement. They move almost instantaneously to their prescribed assignments and are immediately and continuously involved. According to Sawyer, the skill-oriented lessons also encourage thinking and problem-solving skills. They also are either computer or teacher controlled to ensure success and to provide immediate reinforcement and/or re-teaching.

Sawyer shares one other example of Glendale's success. The leadership/planning team was an early participant in a local university-sponsored Collegium's summer workshops on participatory management. The members were so successful with the model that they "deposed" Sawyer as "king" and elected their own chair. This summer, they have been invited back to the Collegium's summer program as a demonstration team, to model for others how the process works.

While the first visit did not afford opportunity to look inside the "regular" classrooms, there is potential for forward-thinking, innovative teaching there, too. For instance, the staff is experimenting with a marriage of Open Court and whole language and excited about the potential impact on the learning of language and on measures like test scores. When Sawyer came to Glendale, test scores were stable--always at the bottom. Since then, they have varied, but typically fall near the "middle of the pack." With children like those at Glendale, there is lots of room for growth and improvement. It seems that Sawyer and the staff are committed to making that a reality.

Further visits to Glendale and conversations and interviews with teachers indicate that the staff does, indeed, share Sawyer's vision of the school's purpose. There is almost a missionary zeal about the way teachers describe their work in the school. They know and articulate that their children have many unmet needs and they are driven to see that at least some of them are addressed in the school. One teacher points out that the best hours in the day for most of their children are those spent at school, and she is determined that those will be quality hours. These teachers are not discouraged by their circumstances; many have had opportunities to go elsewhere and have turned them down. Many of them talk about the attitudes of their peers in other schools when they find out where the Glendale teachers work. The typical response is something like, "Oh, you poor thing; how do you stand it?" The Glendale teachers who tell these stories seem to get personal satisfaction out of informing those peers that, while they may have come to Glendale under duress or with great trepidation, they now choose to stay. One says that it takes a special person to love Glendale and its children and that the great majority of Glendale teachers fall into that category.

Sawyer has certainly contributed to this perception the teachers have of themselves as special. He sees them that way and tells them often. He praises them frequently and tries often to let them hear him singing their praises to others. He communicates clearly the message that "we are in this together." He models his own commitment to the Glendale children in numerous ways. He came to Glendale from a Central Office position and, as already mentioned,

refused to leave for "greener pastures" when his two-year "trial" was up. He sees needs and bends rules almost to the breaking point to get them addressed. For instance, the state's Basic Education Plan gave elementary schools second language teachers. Sawyer saw his children as barely able to manage English and more in need of skill acceleration than Spanish lessons, so he sought and fought for a waiver to use his Spanish teacher position for a computer lab specialist. In another case, he refers to "bootlegging" children into the AG program, saying he can "get them in by putting them in." His children come from educationally disadvantaged homes with few books. To get books into the homes, he began sponsoring a Book Fair where the books are sold at cost, with no profit to the school. This reduces the price of the books by 50% and makes purchases possible for many more parents.

Sawyer does not expect all Glendale's teachers to fit a particular mold, with the exception of their commitment to teaching at Glendale. He demonstrates respect for individual differences in how classes are organized and taught and is more open than most to innovation. The system, the way things have always been done, has failed these children, so, in Sawyer's mind, there is no loyalty to the status quo. Such an attitude makes for a context where teachers are encouraged to experiment, to try new things in the hope that they will make a difference for children. He conveys that he wants them to be "open to the stumbles." As he says, if it doesn't work, they can always say, "Well, what did you expect with these children?" If it does work, they can take credit for making a difference against the odds.

Sawyer's caring is more evident holistically than individually. He knows the personal stories of some children and tells them poignantly. There are many others whose names he does not know. The children, however, would never guess this because he communicates delight to see them and calls them "my friend." With teachers, the same is true. While he is responsive to teacher concerns and needs, he does not come across as nurturing. He treats teachers like responsible adults. When one says she has to leave the campus to pick up a sick child during the day, he tells her to do what she needs to do and get back when she can. In writing an observation on another, he comments that she has "a lot of grief in her life" and tries to give suggestions and direction without negating her sense of self.

Sawyer describes himself as the Pied Piper, and it is an apt metaphor. He is playing his song and leading the parade; others are joining in. He has a great deal of personal power, a sort of charismatic enthusiasm that inspires and motivates others. He talks about the importance of the school ethos, and admits to frequent use of the technique of "talking as if until it is," of "acting as if until you are." Through such techniques, he gets others to join the parade, to dance willingly to the music he provides. The school vision is shared and articulated by many, yet it is still Sawyer who is at the front. Some teachers continue to feel isolated. As one says, "We're broken off in grades and we all close the door and we do our own thing."

Sawyer does not particularly seem to value community in the setting beyond the degree necessary to accomplish his ends. That is, he knows and

acts on the knowledge that he cannot make a difference in the lives of these children alone; he must have the commitment of and help from the teachers. He comments that the "best idea" that nobody else likes will not get done and opts, therefore, for the "most forward thinking idea that the majority can buy into." But he does not seem to value community in its own right. Again, the Pied Piper image describes the scene. He wants inclusiveness; he wants everyone to be a part of the parade. But it is a parade, and he is the grand marshal. As he says, "I have to have my vision and I have to infect them with it...the more they think its their idea, the more likely it's going to happen." He leads, encourages and cajoles others to join in, and praises them when they do. It seems unthinkable that anyone else could step forward and take his place at the front.

Sawyer talks more than he listens. He is a man of strong beliefs and he articulates them with clarity and power, using many stories and analogies to make his points. One of the things he believes in is teamwork, and there are examples of teams at work at Glendale. In preparation for the school's review by the regional accreditation team, committees are at work reviewing and recording progress on previously stated goals and writing new ones. Those groups have obviously worked hard and worked well, and the progress reports they share with one another are thoughtful analyses of their current status. The tasks they have been working on, however, are clearly delegated. They are sharing the responsibility for completing the tasks, not for setting the new directions. This is evident when the committee chairs present their tentative findings to the assembled faculty. A couple of them make some strongly stated

recommendations that generate a nervous response in Sawyer. In response, he gives information or raises questions that serve as a pull on the reins. There is a point beyond which he does not want these committees to go, and he subtly communicates that.

Sawyer genuinely wants the staff to be a part of his parade and, to that end, he fosters and supports activities that provide the glue that holds the group together. Fun and laughter are a key part of such activities. One of the most talked about activities is what is becoming a traditional meal out for the school's leadership team while they are away at a retreat. They have found a delightful little Italian restaurant where they can "let their hair down," and laugh and sing and dance together. When one member of the team, who has not experienced this event, says that she may choose not to participate in the evening session, another is quick to tell her that it is the high point of the group's time together. As she puts it, "This is my vacation." In another example, the peers of a woman about to begin her maternity leave host a baby shower and invite the entire faculty. There are no rules for who does or does not bring gifts; those who choose to do so and the level of participation is high. It is a pleasant time for staff members to gather informally and enjoy one another while they celebrate this significant event in the life of the honoree.

Sawyer's practice with regard to power is to delegate responsibilities rather than share it. The leadership team has been in place for several years, and they have dedicated time and energy to learning how to work effectively together. As with the other committees, however, there seems to be an

understood boundary defining where they can go and what they can do. Sawyer consults with them by asking for and listening to their input. He builds coalitions with members of the group; they do not build coalitions among themselves. Teachers who serve on the group say that they make decisions, but they perceive Sawyer as clearly influencing what those decisions are. In one meeting, a member comments, "Obviously, we will do whatever we are told to do." Another says, "You can voice an opinion, but in the end it comes from the office." They hear from him what he wants the decision to be, and then they make it. From their point of view, he still clearly holds the reins. Within the boundaries, individuals are encouraged to be creative and show initiative, just as long as they do not go too far outside prescribed limits.

Such examples indicate that Sawyer is clearly operating from the human relations model. He truly wants the staff to feel like useful and important members of the team, and he tells them consistently that they are. At one point, he tells them that it "makes me feel better that ya'll feel better." They do talk about decisions; he is quick to share information with staff members and to discuss the pros and cons of particular alternatives. Within their classrooms and on some limited school-wide decisions, teachers are encouraged to become involved in planning and making decisions. On some things, he wants them to take responsibility. For instance, when problems with individuals not performing their morning duties are revealed, Sawyer wants the teachers to deal with the assistants who work with them, or to take responsibility for task completion. As he puts it, "If each person keeps up with his own, then we're

home free." Teachers shun this responsibility and want, instead, for Sawyer and the "administration" to "fix" the problem. At the same meeting, there is discussion of how assistants will be allocated. On this larger matter, it is not at all clear that teacher wishes will prevail. They talk about various scenarios, but there is a feeling that, in the end, Sawyer will either make or strongly influence the decision.

The source of Sawyer's power orientation seems to be learned rather than natural. The leadership team model has been in place at Glendale for only a few years and, through their involvement with the local university-sponsored collegium, they have learned together the whys and hows of teamwork and involvement. Because he knows that a shared ethos is critical to accomplishing what he wants for Glendale, Sawyer consciously and deliberately builds a common language to articulate shared beliefs. Sawyer comes from a family dedicated to commitment to ideals and service to others. Many of his uncles are ministers. Perhaps that context has provided some of the missionary zeal he embodies and that is reflected in the devotion and commitment of the staff. Because Sawyer is a charismatic individual who speaks powerfully and convincingly, his influence is felt throughout the school. In the end, however, he is still clearly the leader, always marching ahead of rather than among the others.

Sawyer's nine years of "talking as if until it is" has clearly had an impact on the culture of Glendale. Whereas the school has a history of being at the bottom on multiple typical measures of school success, the people who now

work together there see it as a good place to work. The example of test scores is a good one. The school's scores were consistently at the bottom within the system. That has changed and the scores are still consistent, though at the middle rather than at the bottom. With the children they serve, Glendale is unlikely ever to match the scores of the across town schools filled with economically advantaged children. This fact does not seem to trouble the staff in the least. They are realistic about the children they serve and adamant about making school good for them, building their skills, meeting their individual needs, opening doors on a world these children might not otherwise know. Teachers talk about what happens when one of their children transfers to another school. Sometimes the receiving teacher will call with questions like "What on earth did you do with this child?" and comments like "He certainly doesn't fit in with my class." The Glendale response is that the child was accepted for what s/he was, taught where s/he was and encouraged to excel, not in comparison to others, but in terms of her/his own ability. A parent reports that she has an academically gifted daughter in the school. While many of her classmates were far below her in terms of ability and achievement, the parent insists that her child has always been appropriately challenged.

Teachers' views mesh with Sawyer's and parents' on at least one key attribute--that these teachers care about these children and work very, very hard to make school a good and productive experience for them. A parent volunteer being honored as the "Volunteer of the Year" says afterwards that she deserves none of the credit, that it is the teachers who deserve it all.

In spite of the power of this shared vision and this joint mission, Glendale teachers have not moved beyond that to genuine involvement in more important, wider ranging decisions. They do have a leadership team and the processes have been learned and practiced that would make such involvement possible, yet both they and Sawyer seem hesitant to make the leap. Sawyer loves to tell the story of and laugh about how the leadership team "dethroned" him from his position as "king" when they decided one of them should chair the group. But one teacher notes that there is a degree of true discomfort underlying his mirth, that he really was the king and is not yet comfortable with a lesser role.

The history that the Glendale staff shares is not a very happy one. The school, even after redevelopment efforts have brought improvements, is still perceived as on "the wrong side of the tracks," in an undesirable locale. The children are poor, transient, without much parent support, and undereducated in those things typically associated with schools. But rather than discourage the staff, the situation seems to inspire them. Instead of dwelling on what they cannot do, they focus on what a difference they can make for these children. As one says, "We are interested in these underprivileged children, in what we can do." The children seem to sense this commitment; they are appreciative and responsive. An after-school "club" operates to give children in need of remediation additional time in the school's computer lab. Children see this as an honor and even those who do not desperately need the extra help have sought to join. Over the nine years that Sawyer has been at Glendale, most of

those unwilling or unable to buy into the shared vision have found ways out, either on their own or with not always subtle encouragement. The result is that most of those remaining want to be there. One teacher tells about how she cried when she found out she was assigned to Glendale. She was frightened of the school's reputation and of working with an age group she was unfamiliar with. Now, she says, she would not consider going anywhere else. She shares with the vast majority of her peers the sense that "we are in this together."

Part of being in this together means sharing in the celebration of special events, like the birth of a baby or the recognition of individuals. Because of the advanced technology offered in the computer labs, the school is often visited by others seeking to implement such systems. This gives the staff a source of pride, a cause to celebrate themselves. Certain events, like the "at-cost" Book Fair, have become a part of the school's life, and the teachers show up to "cashier" and encourage the children in their selections. Parents, limited in resources and free time, show appreciation for the teachers. The school's business partner, a local grocery chain, provides the food and the parents put together a staff appreciation luncheon. When the school's chorus performs for the PTA, large numbers of parents turn out to share in their children's opportunity to be "on stage."

While such celebrations are, or are becoming, traditions at Glendale, the same is not true of mechanisms for communication. Most communication is informal. Sawyer engages in bits of conversation as he encounters teachers and others in the building. On one day, as he breezes by, the cafeteria

manager says that she needs to talk to him. He does not have time at the moment, but later in the morning, he goes back to hear her concern. In the larger scheme of things, it is a minor concern, but he treats it with respect and assures her that he has taken care of the problem. Much communication is of such an informal nature. It is not clear what the manager might have done if he had not happened by or if he had not returned. Formal mechanisms for communicating are less evident. There is, for instance, no formal process for getting items onto the leadership team's agenda. Until very late in the year, the minutes of the group's meetings were being shared only with members, not the entire faculty. As a result, other's knowledge of discussions held and decisions made was dependent on oral reporting by representatives rather than the more formal written record and some were concerned "because they didn't think they knew what was going on." Sawyer hears and communicates much information "on the run," and those who are confident and assertive enough to stop him are heard. However, that does not appear to be a universal practice and there may be some going unheard in the absence of more formally defined mechanisms. As one says, "Communication is not what it should be."

At Glendale, with a couple of notable exceptions, the group is more predominant than individuals. One teacher who is highly involved in the technology program is a stand-out. She is like Sawyer in some ways: in her commitment to innovation, in her drive, in her determination. She attributes some of her "successes" with him to their similarities. She is not afraid to ask for what she wants, even when it borders on the impossible. They joke and laugh

together, but he obviously has great respect for her. Another exception is the chair of the leadership team who, with her developing skills as a moderator and facilitator, has some success with gatekeeping for others and preventing, gently, Sawyer's domination of the meetings. Other staff members, however, come across more as members of this committed, successful team than as individuals. They seem to care about one another, and Sawyer seems to care about them as group members, more than as individuals. There is some of the sharing and support which defines collegiality, but it does not always reach across grade level and subject area lines. When views differ, as in how assistants can be best utilized, teachers tend to gather together and present their grade level's viewpoint rather than step back and look at the overall needs of the school. In one faculty meeting, a specialist whispers "I have no idea what they're talking about. Can't see, can't hear, now what?" However, because it does not concern her area, she claims to be disinterested and says that it does not matter. In spite of such exceptions, there is, overall, the sense of trust and confidence that comes from being on the same team. These people share a vision, they are willing to give one another latitude in choosing how they get there, and they support one another as they can along the way.

Edgewood Elementary

Edgewood is a pre-K through 5 elementary school in Oxford County, just over the Anderson County line. About 400 children attend the school, though there are another 200 children who could attend. These 200 live in Madison

which sits on the Anderson/Oxford County line. By an agreement between the two counties, these children can pay a small tuition and attend the Anderson County schools with their Madison neighbors. Most choose to do this. As a result, Edgewood has space to accommodate more children than are enrolled and "extra" space is, therefore, available for the pre-K program, specialists, community activities such as GED programs, and even a multi-purpose activity room for the kindergarten classes. Entering the building, one is struck with an impression of open, airy spaciousness created by lots of glass and views in several directions, immaculate hallways accented by huge designs in bright, primary colors, and children's work displayed on the walls.

A sense of welcome is communicated by Brenda Harris, the principal, who presents herself as a warm, knowledgeable, and articulate individual who still loves being a building principal after 22 years. She has been at Edgewood for 6 years and says significant change has taken place in the school over that time period.

Edgewood draws from a primarily rural population of lower and middle class families, both black and white (the ratio is about 60% white, 40% black). There are no wealthy families assigned to Edgewood. Perhaps because of the similarity in socio-economic status, children coming to the school tend to have a number of shared values. Harris says that, at least on the surface, education is not highly valued, at least not as it relates to long term goals and aspirations. Perhaps related to this is the fact that the students are not, as a group, academic

stars, at least to the degree that academic achievement is reflected by test scores.

When Harris first came to Edgewood, there was a sense of resignation on the part of the faculty as a whole, a sense that because of the familial backgrounds and values the children brought with them to school, there wasn't much the school could do. This had turned into something of a self-fulfilling prophesy, and expectations of children were relatively low. Over the last 6 years, that attitude has changed, and Harris describes the current attitude as one of commitment to "opening windows that were just not opened when children came in," of ensuring that the time the school does have the children is quality time, of trying to "instill values in children where there were none," of teaching children to function effectively in an information age.

Edgewood is, for the most part, traditionally organized with self-contained classrooms at each grade level. The exception is at grades 4-5 where 5 combination classes exist. This is a new organization pattern conceived by Harris and agreed on by the staff to give greater flexibility to the principal and teachers in placing children according to their individual needs and learning styles, in matching student and teacher personalities, and in separating children who might exhibit behavior problems if together. This configuration will also make it possible to place a child with a given teacher for two successive years, providing continuity and eliminating the "start-up" time it takes for a teacher to get to know a particular child. For these 5 teachers trying a new and different configuration, a common planning time was perceived as essential to success. Harris has demonstrated her personal commitment to this effort by arranging the

specialists' schedules to create such a common planning period. Beyond that, because there were not enough specialists to go around, she herself teaches art to these 4/5 groups. This unusual action, which required a waiver, enables the 4/5 teachers to have a common planning period each day of the week. Teachers at other grade levels have a common planning period 2 or 3 days per week which enables them to work and plan together.

The classrooms are organized along hallways generally devoted to a grade level or two. An initial walk down those hallways reveals a combination of open and closed doors, more or less inviting others to enter into the activities of the classroom. Teachers greet the principal and observer with a range of responses from non-verbal raised eyebrows seeming to ask "Do you need me?" or "Shall I leave my group?" to welcoming smiles to verbal invitations to enter and see what is going on in the class. No one is disturbed by the entrance of the principal and she is, at least, acknowledged and, more often, warmly greeted by teachers and by children who offer many "Hello, Ms. Harris's.

Inside the classrooms, many different things are going on, ranging from a couple of instances of teacher-centered whole group instruction (primarily in classrooms of older children) to small group activities with the teacher functioning as facilitator to independent "play" in learning centers. One teacher is using the act of children leaving the resource room to return to their classrooms to do individual assessment, complete with immediate reinforcement. On the whole, children appear to be engaged in learning activities. The quiet, productive sounds of children busy at their work is audible.

More often than not, these sounds include student-student interaction; in only a couple of instances is the teacher talking to the students with little interaction.

On this initial visit, little sense of teacher-teacher interaction is observed. No groups of two or more adults are seen interacting. However, there is evidence of teacher-principal interaction and communication. Bits and pieces of quick conversation indicate that teachers know Harris is aware of and familiar with their professional activities and personal concerns. Whether with reference to curriculum, pedagogy, supplies and materials, or family matters, there is an apparent assumption on the part of teachers that Harris knows "what is going on." She is certainly not a stranger to these classrooms or to these individuals; she has a keen sense of and ability to pinpoint succinctly the unique differences of the adults who make up the school.

On the whole, teachers appear to be busy about their work and happy doing it. In several instances, enthusiasm and excitement about some new thing or new learning is apparent. This brief initial visit offers little opportunity to see teacher-student interaction; however, not a single instance of an adult treating a child negatively is observed. Conversely, several examples of reinforcement (verbal and concrete), support, and encouragement are observed.

Finally, even the custodian's behavior suggests that there may exist at Edgewood a sense that "we are in this together." The secretary is away attending a program her child is in and the parent volunteer covering the office has to leave for another commitment. Into this void comes the custodian, who

happily agrees to answer the phone and cover the office while Harris conducts the tour.

Subsequent visits reveal that this sense of being "in this together" varies within the school community. Harris communicates an attitude of inclusiveness. For instance, she asks the cafeteria staff to help judge an upcoming student costume contest, commenting that they are in a position where they see all of the children. Not all staff members, however, feel included and some suggest that differences exist dependent on how well Harris likes the individual. There is something of a web present, but is more like a series of gradually widening concentric circles. Those on the innermost circles are connected to Harris, who is at the center, while those on the outlying circles do not experience the same degree of connectedness. Harris herself suggests that different levels exist when she says that, "You're always going to have your people who are big joiners out front, and your laggards...." At another time when she is describing the staff, she says that, "I'd see smiles on most of their faces. There are some that don't smile much." There are certainly examples of interaction, interdependence, and cooperation. For those who are closest to the center, the level of interaction is high and there is comfortable and frequent communication about school and personal issues. When these persons speak, Harris listens. For those that are farthest from the center, there is less interaction; some of these people convey something akin to fear and deliberately keep their distance. As mentioned earlier, Harris teaches art to fourth and fifth grade classes. She does so jointly with a teacher assistant who is released from her

classroom duties. Together, these two offer a shining example of interdependence. Harris provides the presence of a "certified" teacher and interacts with the children, providing some help along with encouragement. The assistant provides the lesson; she basically plans the activities and gathers and readies the necessary materials. Without much advance planning, they come together and work effectively as a team, with much mutual respect evident.

While such mutual respect exists at the innermost circles, it is not the norm throughout the school. As one teacher says, "I think people are still afraid in many cases." She sees herself as one of several who "are not really afraid to say what we think to Ms. Harris," but believes that she is somewhat atypical in that regard. Another individual says that, "Sometimes it is hard to bring up things that you might want to ask. I get a knot in my stomach,...I just get like really nervous to bring something controversial up." Someone else says that "some teachers are scared to voice their opinions to Ms. Harris because they're scared of rejection or stepping on Ms. Harris's toes." A parent, speaking about the lack of teacher involvement in the Parent Teacher Organization, wonders if it is because "they're afraid of the administration." Whatever the cause, she says that, "I don't feel like a lot of them feel free to say things and be involved."

A bulletin board in the hall is covered with newspaper clippings of happenings at Edgewood, mostly from the small local paper. Several of these show various assemblies and programs that the children have staged. These rather elaborate productions have resulted primarily from the cooperative efforts

of several of the specialists. These women have taken on this task with enthusiasm and are proud of two aspects of their actions: that quality programs involving many children have resulted and that they have relieved the classroom teachers of responsibility for these activities. Such successful cooperation, however, is not viewed as the norm. When the end of the school year approaches, there is a need for teacher assistants assigned to classes of younger children to be released to help teachers of older children with paperwork. One of the assistants involved suggests that the persons involved get together and work out the schedule. Harris discourages this and insists on a more formal plan because, in the past, similar efforts at cooperation have been less than totally successful and the end results were not accomplished. In her own mind, Harris perceives that "there are some problems in those relationships," and is trying to avoid potential conflict. From an assistant's perspective, however, the issue is that "she really doesn't trust us, still. She doesn't trust assistants to make their own decisions about when they can go to another person's classroom."

Community is an important word at Edgewood, but, for Harris, there is a greater emphasis on the community the school exists within than on the community that exists within the school. Edgewood is located in a rural setting and serves as a community gathering place. The school is open each evening until nine o'clock for regular events, like adult education classes, and as a meeting place for various groups. Harris is keenly aware of this community and seeks to recognize the connections between school and community. An annual

Community Festival Day takes place each spring. On this day, people gather together for fun and fellowship at the school. Sensitivity to community differences is reflected in the day's entertainment. A traditional Maypole dance is performed, followed by an African American gospel group, a young folk guitarist, and a bluegrass band. A large crowd of various ages and races gathers to watch the entertainment, play the games, and look at displays of various vendors. This event is more than the carnival-type event typically seen in more urban settings. Here local politicians wander among the crowd, introducing themselves and asking for support in their race for County Commissioner or School Board or whatever. Community agencies, such as Social Services and Parks and Recreation, have tables set up on the sidewalks offering information about services and locations. The local health department offers cholesterol tests and free blood pressure screening. Such offerings suggest that the families that make up the school community are seen as whole entities who have social and physical as well as educational needs that can be, to a limited degree, served by the school.

Harris and the teachers are aware of and sensitive to the community within which the school exists. Interestingly, each sees the other as not fully understanding or responding to the realities of that community. Harris says that the teachers are not used to dealing with children from families like those Edgewood serves and, therefore, demonstrate some difficulties with the situation. As she says, "I do see a gap in the backgrounds of the teachers and the values they matured with and the values that the students are bringing to

school, or the lack of." On the other hand, a teacher points out that the children come from backgrounds so dissimilar from Harris's that she sometimes has difficulty understanding and empathizing with her clientele. As she puts it, "she's a very cultured woman from a different kind of background than a lot of our students are. And you just have to recognize that." At another point, one says, "I think she has a really hard time truly identifying and relaxing with the community she teaches in. She is from an incredibly different background, that's very obvious."

With regard to the community that exists within the school, there is mixed awareness of and sensitivity to cultural norms. Some events, like the Community Festival Day, are clearly a part of the school's tradition. Though there is some resentment about Harris's expectation that "you will be here for an hour," most speak of the event with pride and give Harris credit for the energy and commitment she gives to make the day a success.

In other areas, there is an absence of mechanisms for community interaction. For instance, the opening of a new school in the county recently resulted in a number of Edgewood teachers being transferred. More recently, a member of the staff died unexpectedly. In both cases, a number of teachers experienced a tremendous sense of loss. There were, however, no avenues for dealing with their grief. Neither the loss of their colleagues by transfer or through death was talked about; there were no opportunities for saying good-bye or for recognizing the loss. As one teacher sadly notes, "all these people left our building and there was never one moment's mention of good-bye."

When the staff member's death went unnoticed, a teacher says that the staff was left "not knowing how to even admit that we were feeling any loss whatsoever, and to try to express it in any way." This experience "left the entire staff feeling kind of bizarre about the whole situation." As a result, some staff continue to feel the impact of this unresolved grief and are somewhat resentful that they have not been able to process their feelings in the context of a supportive and understanding community.

This same distinction between the community outside the school and the community within the school exists with regard to Harris's sharing of power. Harris has begun to share some of her power, but it is something that she is learning to do. It is not natural to her, not something that she has always practiced. Two things seem to have affected a difference in her interest in and willingness to share power. One is the recent arrival of a new superintendent who believes in and models behavior that supports local school autonomy. The other is the success Harris has experienced as she has opened decision-making to include more people. Just this year, for instance, staff committees have been involved in hiring decisions. Harris is thrilled with the results of that process and sees it as something that has greatly increased staff ownership of the decision and taken some of the burden off herself. As she says, "Once you've had a taste of it, you never go back."

Harris is also willing to give teachers latitude to make decisions about their classrooms. She recognizes individual differences and tolerates them. About the staff, she says that, "We are very fortunate to have different styles,"

partly because she is better able to match children with particular teachers. Visits to the classrooms reveal those differences. One teacher is facilitating what looks on the surface like barely organized chaos. Children are gathered in small groups making the final preparations for skits that portray some aspect of Moravian culture as they discovered it on a recent field trip to Old Salem. The children have written their scripts, scavenged their costumes, and gathered their props. Silence falls when "curtain" time comes and other members of the class watch the presentation as the teacher videotapes it. Children are active and talkative as they create meaning out of this experience they have shared. The teacher is confident; she is clearly not worried that such practice will not be accepted as appropriate pedagogy. In another classroom, the teacher is teaching the children the process skills they will need for using a new set of individualized learning activities. On the same hall are classrooms that are much more traditionally organized, where students take turns reading from a common novel or complete assigned worksheets. Harris is aware of and tolerant of these differences. She has her own ideas about what is "best," but she also realizes that teachers have their own styles and that success with children can be achieved through various means. In fact, one of her reasons for advocating the 4/5 combinations was to give herself more latitude in matching teacher and student style and personality.

It is with respect to participation in goal setting and decision making that the distinction between external and internal communities is most apparent. Just this year, Harris has formed a School Planning Team made up of teachers,

Central Office personnel, parents, and community members. She has invested time, energy, and money in the training necessary to build the process skills necessary for successful teamwork. The persons who form this group have invested over fifty hours in learning those skills and are beginning the process of using them to formulate goals for the school. Consensus building is neither a fast nor easy process, and this group has taken the time necessary to let such consensus emerge. By the end of the year, they have divided into subcommittees for each of three proposed goals, included other persons in each group, and come back together to share their ideas and seek approval from the larger entity on strategies for moving their goals toward reality in the school. Harris is especially proud of this group and the people who serve are proud of themselves. The result of their efforts is a statement of school goals that is believed to reflect what the community wants of its school. As Harris says, "This school is based on what our clients want for their children." At another time, she maintains that "The best ideas, I believe, come from parents and teachers and, when you have them generated that way, there is more of a commitment to them." By moving in the directions these goals suggest, Harris believes that the school will be responding to the needs and wants of its community in a way never before realized. She is optimistic about that future, saying that, "I'm hoping that a new day is dawning, where we are going to be more professionally responsible and eager to try new things..."

The same sort of broad participation in goal setting and decisions is not broadly practiced within the school. The school has a leadership team, called

the Teacher Advisory Council, which is made up of representatives from each grade level, the specialists, and the assistants and is chaired by Harris. Both Harris and the staff members who serve on the Council see it as more of a communication medium than a decision making one. Harris says that the Council "mainly works as people who represent other people" and that it serves as her "vehicle to disseminate information." If Harris has information she wants disseminated, she brings it to the council and asks them, in turn, to share it with those they represent. Harris sometimes asks the group for input and the representatives will return to their "constituents," gather the requested information, and bring it back for sharing in the next meeting. Harris hears this input and considers it, but group members feel that the final decision is hers, not theirs. One of the members, for instance, says that she feels like "the principal makes most of the major decisions." She agrees that Harris does ask Council members for input, but suggests that "sometimes even when Ms. Harris asks for an opinion, she really already has a strong idea of how she's going to do whatever it is, anyway, and finds a way to make us eventually come up with that solution." As another puts it, "She has a way of persuading us to go her way." An excellent example of this use of persuasion is the reorganization of the 4th and 5th grades into combination classes. This was Harris's idea and, while it was strongly grounded in her desire to meet student needs more effectively, it took some "influence" to get it implemented. As Harris remembers the process, she took the teachers involved out and "wined them and dined them one whole

afternoon, and did everything I could to encourage, nudge them, and to say we need to do this."

On the whole, Council members see themselves as gathering and disseminating information. They believe they are well informed about decisions, and that they do "an appropriate amount of networking" with those they represent, but they do not see themselves as a important part of making those decisions. As a result, one member says that, "I don't think we're used in the manner we should be." They are familiar with the work of the School Planning Team and believe that their colleagues who serve on that group may have some influence in the direction the school is going, but that they themselves do not. That group members want more involvement is apparent in the couple of examples they cite where Harris did seek meaningful input and act accordingly. As a member remembers one such incident, Harris "really looked for our input on that. But I felt like that was one of the first times she really sought, and was really looking for an answer from us."

Their feelings support the impression that Harris exemplifies a human relations posture with regard to a feminine understanding of power. She is a "people" person who is comfortable in conversation and laughs easily and frequently. She clearly wants others to feel good about themselves as useful and important persons in the school. Teachers have latitude in their classrooms and are encouraged to use it to explore better ways of teaching children. But democracy at Edgewood is limited. Decisions are explained and objections are heard, but there is a clear sense that democracy means involvement and

participation as long as the decision is what Harris would have made independently.

With regard to relational issues, there are apparent contradictions in Harris's attitudes and behaviors. She comes across as open and honest and fun to be around. She clearly has a high respect for teachers. For instance, she speaks fondly of her first principalship. In this instance, she went directly from the classroom to the principalship and credits her success in the unfamiliar world of administration to what the teachers taught her and to their willingness to learn together as they created a new school. She demonstrates concern and caring for her staff, remembering to ask about health problems or family situations. She uses personal influence rather than directives to suggest answers to questions that teachers pose. She says things like "Have you thought about..." or "What would you think of..." rather than "I think..." or "You should...". She uses the process skills the School Planning Team has been practicing, saying things like, "What about you,..." and "What I hear you saying is...". Yet, in spite of these things, there is a sense that there is more to Harris than is readily apparent. There are hints that, underneath this very social exterior, is a very private individual. She could be an example of the administrator Sarason describes as a very private person who, at heart, perceives herself as superior to her subordinates. One teacher, for instance, comments that, "personally I find her very hard to know, but professionally I have a lot of respect for her." She cares about the school, its staff, its students,

and its community, but there is a holding back from full emotional involvement, from the acts that communicate the belief that "we are in this together."

The culture at Edgewood reflects some of the same mixtures, the same contradictions that exist in Harris's power orientation. Practice within the school, for instance, reflects different levels of involvement. As discussed earlier, the new School Planning Team has been very involved this year in the setting of school goals. A considerable investment, including a week-end retreat with stipends, has been made to insure this level of involvement. On the other hand, the Teacher Advisory Council sees itself more as a functionary for communicating decisions than as a participant in making them. The School Planning Team is involved in long range school goals that will determine direction for years to come; the staff group is involved in the "nuts and bolts" decisions that affect day-to-day operation within the school. There are, new this year, staff committees involved in personnel decisions. When a new assistant secretary needed to be hired, a committee was formed to review applicants. A decision was made, but reference checks indicated the choice might not have been a good one. When Harris reported this information back to the committee, they decided to invest the time necessary to begin the process again. While this was a time consuming process, Harris predicted that the person hired would have "some solidly built commitments from the people who were on that group, because she was chosen unanimously." The person eventually hired is fitting into the role beautifully, perhaps more so because the committee members and, through them, other staff members feel a high degree of ownership of the

choice. On the other hand, there are areas where involvement seems to be minimal. With regard to the school budget, for instance, there is a new committee this year that was formed to solicit input in the form of orders from the various members of the school community. Teachers are pleased about this new opportunity, yet there remains a sense of mystery about where money comes from and where it goes. Some teachers perceive that this is "office controlled" and that things they need are unnecessarily hard to come by.

With regard to context sensitivity, a lot of what exists at Edgewood is in response to some negatives in its history. Under the previous Central Office administration, the school was perceived as a failure. Test scores and other traditional measures of student achievement were low compared with other schools in the district. As a result, threats were communicated to the school that, if marked improvements were not made, the school might be "taken over" and run by Central Office personnel. This threat made the Edgewood teachers and Harris very angry. Harris was caught in the middle, caring about and wanting to support her school and being in the hierarchy which required her to respond to directives of her superiors. The teachers were not in the middle; they were wholly "in the school" without allegiance elsewhere. As a group, they felt as though they were being judged on a narrow set of indicators and in the absolute absence of contextual understanding. The superintendent, they felt, had no appreciation for the population they were dealing with and was totally unaware of those areas where success was experienced. In response to this situation, the teachers came together, demanded a hearing, and supported one

another in taking their concerns to the School Board. Harris says it was a time when "teachers pulled together, we put our wagons in a circle." A teacher says, "we were able to fight and explain.... We were able to say, 'Whoa, you messed up.' And we really stood together." In this process, there was a joining together, but it was a "circling of the wagons" in defense rather than a coming together around a clear vision and purpose. There was a shared anger and hurt, a shared understanding of what they did not want, but without a clear shared understanding of what was important, of what values the entire school community shared. That lack of a shared understanding still exists. As one teacher says of one of her colleagues, "Sometimes I think she has forgotten that we are here for the kids."

On the other hand, there are shining examples of shared traditions and the sense that "we are in this together." These examples, however, seem to stem from only part of the school community. As mentioned earlier, the Community Festival Day is a school tradition and a number of persons, especially Harris, put tremendous energy into making it successful. On the day of the event, however, staff reactions are mixed. One teacher complains about Harris's expectation that every staff person will spend at least an hour at the festival. On the other hand, another organizes a group of children and parents to perform a line dance to the music of a bluegrass group. Another sees that a game is unattended and steps in to "open" it so children can play. Another teacher has brought along her daughter, herself a former student at the school, to the festival and both mother and daughter operate games.

The Community Festival is a good example of a school celebration. In addition to the games, entertainment, and information sharing, there are displays of children's work. The cafeteria is filled with examples of individual science projects and group and class projects that span the curriculum. It is a way of saying to the children and their parents, "We are proud of our children and the work they do." Many other school events are celebrated in words and pictures in the local paper and those accounts are proudly posted on a bulletin board that is visible, not only to the school community, but to the parents and other community adults who use the building in the evening. Each week, a student is spotlighted as the "Star" student of the week and students and teachers are pictured and given credit for accomplishments.

In the hallways and in the office at Edgewood, mechanisms for communication are apparent. Formal mechanisms are available for everyone. For instance, when the secretary makes morning announcements, she records that information on a daily log so that teachers not present at the time of the announcements can check later for information they missed. Forms are available in the office for inputting information into the weekly newsletter that Harris compiles and sends home to parents. Forms are also available for suggesting agenda items for meetings of the Teacher Advisory Council. In the hallways, the more informal mechanisms for communication vary somewhat. They appear to be more or less accessible, more or less open and honest depending on the relationship between Harris and the individual. As she moves through the school and enters classrooms, some teachers acknowledge

her with questioning, raised eyebrows while others seize the opportunity to share an exciting classroom happening or lobby for a particular need. One teacher says that much of what teachers feel free to say and do depends on how well Harris likes them. In her own case, theirs was a tenuous, careful relationship at first. Now that Harris has come to trust and respect her, she feels much more willing to speak her mind.

This same variation is evident, not only between Harris and staff members, but among various staff members. There is certainly collegiality present; small groups of teachers work together and support one another. Trust and confidence, however, is not pervasive. Earlier in the year, discussions held in the Teacher Advisory Council were "leaked" to other staff members and feelings were hurt. Because all the members were acting on the assumption that what went on within the committee was confidential, suspicion and distrust resulted which remains unresolved. In spite of what one teacher calls this "breakdown," she notes the general absence of "back stabbing" in the school and feels instead a general sense of support. Another Council member says, however, that ever since these earlier occurrences, she has been very careful about what, if anything, she says and adds, "I prefer not to comment, for that reason." Still another tells the interviewer that, because of problems with "leaks" of confidential information, "That may be the only comment you'll get out of anyone." In essence, then, the ways in which the staff at Edgewood relate to one another in the process of conducting their business reflect the same layers of concentric circles that describe Harris's attention to relational issues. For

those that are near the center, who are close and trusted and respected, there is open and honest communication shared in a context of caring. That same closeness exists among various small groups of staff members who have found the sort of commonality and collegiality on which community is built. On the outlying circles, however, are those where care is taken with what is communicated and where an underlying distrust of others negatively affects relationships.

There is clearly a sense of "old" and "new" with regard to Harris's beliefs and practice, to how others in the school perceive her, and to how members of the school community are included in the long and short term decisions that drive the school. There is a part of her, the "old" part, that is grounded in top-down authoritarian thinking. For instance, when she describes with pride the involvement of staff members in the hiring of the new secretary, she also says that she told the group, "If it gets out, I'll see that you never get on one of these teams again. I mean, that's just my little police action." One teacher describes the "old" as a "pyramid," with a clear "pecking order." Another says that Harris "has been in control for a long time." That same teacher says, however, that "I just think she has changed and has worked really hard to try and open up to site based management, open up to doing things by consensus." For the first time, teachers are being involved in scheduling and hiring, there is a fledgling budget committee, and the staff has completed a training program in site based management. They are not where they want to be. As one says, "I think there could be a lot more collaboration. But, I think there's far more here than there is

in other places. But we don't have to settle for okay. We could still take a step further."

As Harris continues to practice her developing skills in fostering participation and as her enthusiasm is further communicated to the school community, the connections to those on the outlying circle may become stronger and those concentric circles may begin to look more like a web. Given the existence of some examples of web-like interdependence and connectedness, that seems a possibility. On the other hand, the presence of those "outliers" makes it too early to tell for sure.

Fairmont Elementary

On the way to Fairmont, the visitor passes relatively new, modern middle and high schools and travels through a residential section that includes the country club golf course and many large homes. It is somewhat of a surprise, then, to come upon Fairmont, a 1930's vintage building with a long, plain brick facade stretching across the top of a sloping, unadorned lawn. Inside, the visitor is immediately struck by the lovely old hardwood floors which are shined to perfection. The reception area, which is the entrance hall itself, is softened by plants. In the main hallway of the "old" building, selected accents using primary colors brighten what might otherwise be a rather drab space. Everything is neat and clean. Even the open cubbies of children in the hallways are orderly; not a single bookbag is spilling out onto the floor.

The facility is old and it is clear that money for repairs, remodeling and "dressing up" is either inadequate or not available at all. That has not stopped principal Geneva Malone from working to improve the facility, to make the physical climate more inviting. She has made a point in the four years she has been at Fairmont to invite and encourage staff members to join her in making their school a better place to work. She has asked all staff members to look around them and to identify things they can do to contribute to this end. The response has been good. In the old building, for instance, the only teacher bathroom was a single toilet in a closet-sized space. The custodians realized the teachers' need for additional bathroom facilities and suggested the conversion of what used to be a boys' bathroom. These custodians completely painted the space and installed a wall mirror and counter. Though much improved, three unsightly urinals remained. A teacher solved this problem by bringing her fern collection to school. Now three huge ferns sit in the urinals and three more sit just below, creating something of a miniature botanical garden. These same custodians are working on a landscaping project to improve the outside entrances to three classrooms on the back of the building. They have added landscaping timbers and some shrubs, with plans for more as money is available. In the second building (1950's vintage), the teacher eating area is in a large hallway outside the cafeteria, a rather drab and impersonal space. Two teacher assistants have "taken on" this area. They have found blinds to soften the light coming through large windows and block an uninteresting view. On the day of the initial visit, they have covered the teacher

tables with pink tablecloths, a white lace runner and two pink and white flower arrangements. Because money is scarce, the staff has a day planned soon when they will report to Burger King one afternoon to sweep floors, clean tables and maybe package french fries. In return, the school will receive 10% of the day's receipts, which they will use for painting and refurbishing a peeling wall in the library. All of these activities are indicative of staff members taking seriously Malone's invitation to be an active, involved, contributing member of the school community.

Fairmont is a relatively small school, housing about 300 K-3 students since the 4th and 5th graders were moved to the intermediate school. The students are traditionally organized in self-contained classrooms, with the 2nd and 3rd grades located in the older building and the kindergarten and 1st graders in the newer building. The overall impression, without classroom observations, is of primarily teacher-centered whole group instruction. With the exception of one teacher speaking somewhat harshly to a child about time-out placement in front of her peers, the overwhelming impression is of kind, encouraging teachers who love children and are excited about what they are doing. They seem to know that Malone is familiar with and supportive of their efforts. The PE teacher, for instance, proudly shares the preparations she is making for the next night's PTA meeting. Another stops Malone in the hallway to convey some information she has found about year-round schools. In each case, Malone thanks the teacher for sharing the information.

Fairmont draws from a rather large and varied district that includes both "city" and rural neighborhoods. The "city" is Rockmont, itself a fairly small town in a largely rural county that is split among several school systems which have only five to seven schools each. In 1993, however, the systems will merge. Though Fairmont is old, it is expected to remain in service so efforts to upgrade and refurbish continue with long term goals in mind.

Malone's enthusiasm and positive attitude seem to be contagious. In a situation where staff might justifiably complain about what they don't have, they have chosen to focus on what they do have and to work together to make that better, for themselves and for the children they serve.

Further visits reveal that such a positive attitude is generally prevalent. In only a couple of instances are teachers heard to compare their resources with those of a larger, wealthier system in an adjoining county. For instance, she says that she has friends in a nearby system and relates that, "We are such a poor school system. We have nothing, not compared...." They are more likely to compare their present situation with their past. History and tradition are key elements in the Fairmont context, at least partly because the school has existed for about sixty years. Teachers point out that Fairmont used to be "the elite school" in town. It was known for its excellence, and parents wanted their children to attend this particular school. More recently, a newer school has opened which has siphoned off some of Fairmont's "better" families. Those teachers who have been here or know the history talk about those days with some longing in their voices and convey that they sense something of a decline

in quality. Such feelings have not permeated the larger community, however. Parents continue to view the school as a good place to be. One parent comments, for instance, that as long as her child has a good teacher, "I'm not worried a bit; I feel real good about this school." Some of those parents attended the school themselves thirty years ago and hold fond memories. Others are new to the area, but are nevertheless satisfied that the school is serving the interests of their children well.

Some of the staff's belief that "we are in this together" comes from this sense of a long and proud shared history. Even teachers who are new to the school are encouraged to adopt those feelings. In one grade level planning group, for instance, the two "old" teachers are eager to share with their "new" colleague what they have done in the past, what traditions are a part of that grade level's curriculum from year to year. Some of that "we are in this together" feeling also comes from commonly experienced adverse conditions. Those same teachers, for instance, bemoan briefly the fact that they have neither the materials they need for particular traditional activities or the money to buy them. At the same time, however, they share their appreciation of a supportive parent network. They know, from past experience, that they simply need to send notes home inviting parents to contribute needed items. In the next day or two, more than they asked for will appear. Partly because they recognize the importance of this parental resource, these teachers send a letter home each week informing parents not only of what they need, but also of what they are currently doing and what will be happening in the near future. Such

communication serves to keep the parents feeling connected and in touch with what is going on in their children's classrooms. Beyond the classroom level, there is less parent knowledge, but the parents do not seem to see that as a problem. One, for instance, says, "I don't have a clue as to how they spend money." Another says, "Overall, I don't know a whole lot about the decisions....," but adds, "I feel that as a parent,...that my voice is heard. I am satisfied...."

It is more this shared history that holds the Fairmont staff together than it is a shared vision of the future. There is some commonality of purpose, but it is more a commitment to continuing the tradition of excellence than it is a clear picture of how that will come about. Partly because Malone wants improvement on every front, partly because teachers do have some freedom to pursue their own interests, and partly because the school's leadership team, called the School Improvement Team, is a fairly loosely organized group, a clear sense of purpose is missing. There is the absence of focus that occurs when a group of well-intentioned people try to take on too much simultaneously. Malone and a number of the teachers want to do their jobs better; they want to incorporate whole language, they want more math manipulatives, they want hands-on science instruction, they want discovery learning, and they want a half dozen other things that are currently thought to be "state of the art" in elementary schools. Because they want so much, their efforts at positive change are somewhat fragmented; theirs is more of a "shotgun" approach than one where a direct aim is taken at a well-defined target. This lack of focus is apparent in the school's staff development plan. With the funds they have available, Malone is

trying to arrange a little training on a lot of topics. Everything is important and clear priorities have not been set. In one School Improvement Team meeting, for instance, teachers suggest that developmentally appropriate practice, math, science, assertive discipline, and how to teach using fewer worksheets as possible topics for staff development activities, but no priorities are set. For one after-school staff development activity, for instance, Malone has arranged for a local doctor to train the staff to recognize and deal effectively with children who have asthma. This is not to say that knowing about asthma is not important, but to say that time spent on that topic means time unavailable for the other areas she and the teachers want to explore.

That same lack of clarity of purpose is reflected in the school's School Improvement Team. The group, in its second year of operation, is relatively new to the school, so the tradition that defines other areas does not apply. It is a large group that is representative of virtually all segments of the school community, teachers, specialists, and assistants. The group's chair is a teacher who is bright and articulate and who clearly cares about the school and its children. At the same time, she is on unfamiliar ground in her chairperson role. Neither she nor Malone nor any of the other members have had any training in group process skills. There is a vague understanding that they are to be involved in decision making, but there little understanding about how that might be best accomplished. In one meeting, a lot of what transpires is information sharing on Malone's part and discussion about some of that information. Again, the staff development issue is indicative of the mood. When the time allocated

for staff development at the end of the year is mentioned, a couple of persons mention a particular interest that they or those they represent are interested in pursuing. Those people are heard, but there is no attempt at building consensus about what topic might be the most needed or wanted. Instead, there are plans to do a little bit of everything.

The leadership team is unclear about just what it is they are supposed to do. Members say that they can and do bring agenda items to the meetings. Those items are discussed and individuals are encouraged to share their opinions. In this regard, at least some staff members believe that progress is being made. One compares the past tendency for grade levels to operate more in isolation with the present, saying that in the past, "things weren't aired as openly as they are in this committee." The members feel free to make suggestions when Malone brings a question to them and they believe that their input is heard. They do not, however, see themselves in a decision making role. One teacher, for instance, says that "a lot of the teachers that are on that committee are disappointed that they feel like they don't have the power they should have to make decisions...." They perceive that Malone is making most of the school's decisions. Sometimes she has sought the group's input; sometimes she simply brings the decision to the group as a "given" and asks them to disseminate the information to those they represent. One teacher reports that team members she knew "said they thought the decision had been made before they knew what was going on, and they didn't feel like they had the proper input. They said the decision was made among just a couple of

people." There are also cases where, as one member puts it, "there are some things we talk about but decisions are not made. I mean, you bring it up and then it just gets, sort of left stranded.... We talk about them, but then they're left hanging or something. We don't carry them through sometimes." Without knowing exactly what it is they are supposed to be doing, the group, nevertheless, seems to feel a vague dissatisfaction with their role and a desire to do more. The range of their involvement is rather narrow. As one says, "Many of the decisions that are made in the school at least get talked about there." But there is a desire expressed by some for more than discussion. They do not have, for instance, opportunity for participating in decisions about hiring or most budgetary matters, and at least some of the members long for such involvement. One even says, "I think we need to be included on every major decision that's made unless it's something that the principal totally has to make and tells us."

At a leadership team meeting, it is apparent that some members are more verbal and more willing to participate than others. During one particular meeting, there are about twelve persons present, a large group for shared decision making. Of those, about half make contributions to the discussion, a few others comment occasionally, and several never say a word. This is representative of differences observed in relationships among the staff as a whole, both among themselves and between individuals and Malone.

There is evidence of collegiality in the school. One group of teachers who have classes at the same grade level meet for a regular and lengthy weekly

planning session. They share ideas and materials, they plan activities together, they divide responsibilities equitably, and they support one another both personally and professionally. One of these teachers, for instance, says of the others, "They try to help me get it a little better....They help me out." When one teacher, for instance, suggests that she is thinking about keeping a particularly difficult child for another year, the others show tremendous concern and want to be sure that she is not taking on too much. One member of this group says that, "Working together is the best thing that ever happened to me." One teacher says of her colleagues, "I think they make every effort to pull together.... I think there is right much cooperation between teachers in the grade levels...." Such sharing and support is evident elsewhere. There are, for instance, some highly cooperative behaviors on the part of classroom teachers and specialists as they work together to meet the needs of particular children. They converse about particular children, not in a negative way, but in order to share information and perspectives that may help better address particular needs. When the child they are discussing is a "problem" child, they do not speak in a derogatory manner about the child, but offer the personal support that helps the teacher to continue to deal positively with the child.

Such collegiality and caring is not uniform among the staff, however, particularly in relationships between Malone and individual teachers. She is clearly different from principals that have preceded her at Fairmont or for whom some teachers have worked elsewhere. Some are delighted with her and clearly understand that she cares deeply about the people who make up the

school. As one says, "She is a listener. She will give you her time." Another says, "I feel like she cares about me as a person, as well as a professional." Malone, by her own admission, wants everyone to be happy. As she puts it, "I just have a philosophy that if you feel good, then you're able to work better. If you're happy, then you'll be able to produce and be more productive...." At another time, she says that she thinks people are important and, "I want them to be happy. I feel like if they're happy, then they'll be more successful in their job and they'll be more successful with the children....sometimes I think it's almost like I believe in fairy tales." This desire for happiness includes teachers and children and parents. Some of the most vocal staff members recognize this as a strength and talk about it. As one says, "She makes a special effort to reach out both to the community and to those of us here." Others do not have much to say at all and by their silence seem to communicate a "wait and see" attitude. A couple of others, apparently grounded in the school's or their own traditions, are clearly uncomfortable with her different style. That her wanting everyone to be happy includes children and parents does not seem to be okay with those who think teachers are first in importance. One staff member, for instance, believes that in responding to a parent concern, Malone has told the parent one thing and the teacher something different. Whether or not this is true is unclear; what is clear is that the teacher is somewhat distrustful as a result. As this teacher puts it, "I don't feel like I can trust her...." Another teacher is having some behavior problems in class. Malone is asked and agrees to intervene and talk with the children. The teacher, much more authoritarian than she is, is clearly

not fully satisfied with her more humanitarian way of dealing with the problem. What the teacher is after is punishment; what Malone is after is understanding and rehabilitation. The result is some tension in the air between the two.

The difference does not seem to be in how Malone treats individuals within the school community, but in how they respond to her. She treats everyone with respect, from her superiors to the maintenance workers. She is positive and upbeat, even when things are not going particularly well. She is a good listener and is quick to show her appreciation for information brought to her and for tasks accomplished. She likes to brag about the accomplishments of what she considers an excellent staff. All of these behaviors and characteristics tend to be informal rather than formal. The same is true of mechanisms for communication. Malone is out in the building every day. She consistently performs the time-consuming task of visiting briefly in each classroom every day. From this investment of time, she gains an overall sense of what is going on in individual classrooms and how the classes at a given grade level compare with one another. This high degree of visibility makes Malone accessible for quick, informal communications with teachers and others. Many seem willing to stop her "on the run" and share a piece of information or make a request. As one staff member says, "she makes the time if you need to see her." She is willing to listen and either responds immediately or says she will follow up and get back to the individual. Others seem less interested in taking advantage of these impromptu conversations. Again, the staff willingness to take advantage of these opportunities seem to be related to the

type of relationship they have with Malone. More formal mechanisms for communication are harder to pinpoint. For instance, it is unclear how agenda items for the School Improvement Team are generated. Grade level planning sessions are held erratically and it is not clear how Malone is informed of the content of such sessions. One group shares with her a copy of the joint planning document they prepare each week, but that does not seem to be happening across the grade levels. As a result, there are differences in how well informed staff members perceive themselves to be. One, for instance, says that, before she became a member of the School Improvement Team, "I knew nothing about what was going on except I heard a few comments now and then." Another adds that, "There are probably some others who feel like they don't know everything that's going on." Still another explains that minutes from the School Improvement Team meetings are not distributed and says that, "There should be some minutes written up and passed to the rest of the staff so that everybody knows what decisions are being made, or discussed."

Malone herself is more consistent in her interactions with the school community than might be imagined based on others' reactions to her. She seems to be more attuned to and committed to the concept of community than most others. For instance, she is sensitive to issues of inclusiveness and wants everyone to feel like they are contributing members of the school team. As she puts it, "I try to make people feel worthy because they are...." She is as quick to share contributions made by the school's custodians as the most esteemed teachers. Malone is a good communicator; she listens well and expresses

herself clearly. She, like most of the staff members, is aware of the school's history and is sensitive to the obligations that are associated with maintaining its reputation at the same time improvements are explored and fostered. In some ways, that long history makes change more difficult, especially in the individual classrooms. In some other areas, however, some changes are evident. When Malone first came to Fairmont, she heard several teachers speaking harshly and conveying negative messages to children. She describes one instance where she saw a teacher have a child stand at the board with his nose in a circle. In another case, she says that, "When I first came here, I saw adults jerking children around, and the first time I saw it, I said, 'No, don't touch those children.'" Malone believed so strongly that this was inappropriate that she conferenced individually with those teachers and made it clear that children would not be "put down" at Fairmont. Malone believes that, "The parents send these children here to be in our care, and we are to treat them the best we know how." Currently, that message seems to have been heard and teachers are generally treating children kindly and with respect. When sternness is communicated, it tends to be associated with behaviors, not individuals. Malone cares deeply about children. She knows many of the children by name and knows something about many of their families. For those who do not have many resources or much parental support, she has a special concern. For instance, she spends time almost daily chatting with three young girls whom she has helped get involved in scouting. The troop is planning an expensive out-of-town trip that they desperately want to experience. Malone offers to talk

to the scout leader and see what resources might be available. She also makes some suggestions to the girls about actions they might take to begin earning some of the required money and tells them that she will explore some other avenues for them. Malone says that she tells the children, "You know why I'm here, don't you? I'm here to help. So if you have any problem, no matter what it is, you feel free to talk to me about it and I will try to help." Even when she is dealing with a "discipline" problem, she does so in the context of caring about the child's home situation.

For all of this, the processes observed at Fairmont do not genuinely look like those associated with a feminine understanding of power. Malone emphasizes inclusiveness, but evidence of more complex interactions and interdependence is less noticeable. She is collegial in attitude, but less so in action. There are examples of cooperation and teamwork among individuals on the staff, but those examples tend to be isolated rather than omnipresent and they tend to exist in groups that do not include Malone. The School Improvement Team, the primary place where such behaviors might be expected, does not offer such examples. Another example of the absence of truly collaborative action is provided by the work the school is doing on its accreditation. On one day, a long after-school meeting is held to get input on a particular piece of the accreditation document. Too many people are present for effective collaboration to occur. It is also clear that the "working document" is one that has been prepared outside the school and is being modified to "fit" Fairmont's situation. Several of those present leave after only a few minutes

and many more leave as the meeting goes on. Of those who stay, some offer little to nothing as input, and many of those who do comment provide advice only on such things as wording and format, not substance. In spite of this, those who do stay until the end are supportive of one another in what appears an unpleasant process. They laugh together and make positive comments that seem to keep them going. The teacher who is chairing the group stops several times to tell the others how much she appreciates their "sticking with" the task. As she puts it, "I really do appreciate your hanging in here with me" and "I want to say to you all again how much I appreciate your staying." At the time these comments are made, there are, however, only seven of the original fourteen participants remain.

From this description, it might seem that Malone is another example of the human relations model in action. She clearly wants others to feel like they are useful and important members of the Fairmont team. She is willing to discuss most anything with anyone. She encourages participation in routine decisions, but not important ones. In spite of this, there is a sense in which Malone wants to be more like principals using a human resources model. She is a believer in people and appreciates that differences can be viewed as strengths. She has issued invitations to others to become part of the school team, to contribute their talents to the accomplishment of school goals. The problem with putting her into the human resources camp, however, is more practical than philosophical. She would, it seems, want to be there, but simply has not yet developed the skills to make it happen. She wants more involvement and others, particularly

some members of the School Improvement Team, want to be more involved. If the outside resources were available to teach the skills and processes integral to adopting such changes, it would likely happen at Fairmont. The potential, as yet unrealized, is there.

This unrealized potential is most evident in the absence of a true sharing of power at Fairmont. Malone wants inclusiveness and invites others to become members of the school team. Across the school, there are small pockets of individuals working in cooperative and collaborative ways. In spite of this, the school is not a democratic organization. There is not broad participation in goal setting and decisions that would make it so. Part of this may be due to the fact that Malone herself is "caught in the middle." She is a relatively new principal and, according to some of the teachers, wants very much to please the superintendent. As one perceives the situation, Malone "is the kind of person that wants to please. She wants done everything that he wants done." There is also the long and distinguished history of the school pulling at her. At the other end, is her desire to be inclusive and her genuine appreciation of the uniqueness of each individual. Caught in this position, without training in forming a democratic school organization, Malone straddles the fence. For instance, she often brings questions to the leadership team for discussion, but some members feel that the process dies there, without decisions being made or follow-up occurring. At other times, members sense that she comes to them to share a decision that is already a given and simply asks them to disseminate it to others. Even this is a rather haphazard process that happens more or less

well depending on the nature and procedures of the groups represented by the various members. A frequent complaint is that, because minutes are not disseminated and groups sometimes do not communicate effectively, many staff members feel left out of and unfamiliar with discussions and decisions that are in process.

On the people issues relative to sharing power, Malone is closer to the feminine model. Her respect for the worth and dignity of all persons is conveyed in her willingness to allow, even encourage her staff some freedom to be creative and demonstrate initiative. While most of the examples observed dealt with the physical climate of the school, there is some evidence that creativity and initiative in the classroom would be allowed as well. One teacher assistant is praised for her work at emphasizing vocabulary school-wide with a "Word of the Week" program and the plans for in-service indicate a desire for creative and innovative teaching.

In the final analysis, Malone's practice is not indicative of shared power. There is a desire for inclusiveness and examples of cooperation and collegiality among groups of staff members. Communication is frequent between Malone and individual staff members, but it stops short of being genuinely consultative. Decisions seem to fall into two categories: routine decisions that the School Improvement Team can make and more major ones that Malone makes either on her own or with guidance or direction from "above." True compromise is lacking and the give and take and the sorts of discussion that lead to understanding and consensus-building are not in evidence.

On the other hand, Malone demonstrates a strongly feminine orientation toward power with regard to attention to relational issues. Her respect for individuals, the group, and the differences among both are clearly articulated and lived. She says, "I try to make people feel worthy and important because they are" and she acts in ways that support this belief. She communicates her caring for others, both adults and children. She listens attentively when someone speaks to her and is responsive to what s/he has to say. She clearly chooses to use her personal power rather than position power to influence her. As mentioned earlier, some staff members seem to be somewhat uncomfortable with her non-authoritarian style. While Malone can be authoritarian and has been so when she felt children were being mistreated, she clearly prefers other means of influencing. In fact, she prefers modeling for others the ways in which she would like them to behave toward one another. As she says, "I'm a role model, and the way I behave sort of rubs off on everybody around me." She believes that if she is happy and upbeat and a good communicator, others will model those same behaviors. Happiness is a goal, because she believes that happy people will be more productive in their work, that "if you feel good, then you're able to work better." And the people at Fairmont, on the whole, seem to be happy people. Even those who share particular concerns temper those with the reminder that things are not so bad that they would want to leave. One teacher, for instance, says about the school that, "we might work on it and make it better," but adds that a teacher by teacher census were done, "you would not find a lot of teachers that wanted to leave." She adds that, "we don't all want to

go out the door and go to another school." There is a sense of connectedness at Fairmont, a feeling that people are here because they enjoy working with children and want what is best for them, collectively and individually. The talk that goes on among teachers who share "difficult" children and Malone's investment of time and energy in helping children to improve academically and in enriching their lives outside of school point to the shared belief that "we are in this together" and that, as a team of concerned educators, we can uphold our traditions and make good things happen for children.

The differences reported here in Malone's attention to relational issues and her sharing of power correspond to differences in the source of her orientation toward power. On the people issues, she is clearly operating from a natural source. Difficulties in her own life were dealt with in the context of close, caring, and supportive relationships with her mother and siblings. She attributes some of her own valuing of a strong sense of family to these experiences and wants that for the Fairmont staff. To date, however, that only translates on the people level. There is not yet wide-ranging involvement in issues and the School Improvement Team is only in its second year of operation. In these respects, the source of her power orientation seems more learned than natural. Even that is complicated by the fact that learning is absent; neither Malone nor her staff members have had any training in how to transform a traditionally organized school into a site where staff involvement in all levels of decision-making is the norm. Malone's case makes it evident that simply having a natural inclination toward a feminine model of power is not

always sufficient. Simply wanting it to be so is not enough; it must exist in combination with the skills and abilities necessary to facilitate its happening. With the development of those skills, Fairmont is likely, under Malone's leadership, to become a place where the school culture consistently reflects the principal's leaning toward a feminine model of power.

Morehead Elementary

Morehead is one of those small towns that grew up around and whose existence depends on the college. In the heart of the town lies the namesake elementary school, separated from the road by a large lawn dominated very old, huge trees. A walk leads to an arched entrance way that beckons the visitor. Inside, the office is large and airy with a reception area furnished with a soft sofa and rocking chairs and fluorescent lighting supplemented with warm lamplight.

Spreading out to the sides and behind this new central area is a very large school built in phases over the last thirty years. The school houses over 700 children and a total staff of about 80, yet even on the "long hall," there is no sense of the impersonal that sometimes comes with size. The building is clean; custodians are at work spot mopping the halls and washing windows. The walls of most of the hallways are covered with the work of children that brightens and warms long expanses of cinder block.

Through the halls a few groups of children, an occasional solitary child, and several adults move. They are reminded by signs to maintain quiet and

one group is instructed to walk with their hands behind their backs, but the overall feeling is that they are relaxed, comfortable, and "at home" in the setting.

That feeling of "home" is a goal of the principal, Penny Stevens. Having been at Morehead for about 10 years, she considers the people here as her family. There is some evidence that her view is reciprocated by others. There is an easy familiarity in her dealings with adults and children. Both "pop in" her office with brief messages or requests; they are listened to and responded to, efficiently and effectively. A child who comes with a message is treated with respect and given responsible tasks to perform. Another child comes in to share something and is told, "You did great! I'm proud of you." A hint of honest, open and familiar staff/principal relationships is found in a teacher's note expressing "up to here" frustration and asking for help. In response, Stevens makes a slight schedule modification and later stops by the teacher's room to communicate understanding and support.

A high level of involvement is evident as Stevens moves through the halls. She greets many children by name and is greeted by lots of "Hello, Mrs. Steven's. Questions about one child's family, another's progress on multiplication, another's hallway behavior indicate that she knows and deals with these children on a personal level.

The same is true of the adults in the building. Stevens warns the observer not to be surprised to find that her staff members are treated like adults, just as they would be in any other setting. Because the school is located in close proximity to most everything in the small town, being treated like adults includes

the freedom to take care of "personal business" as needed and convenient during the school day. In return, teachers do not feel they have to rush off to take care of these things at the end of the day and frequently stay beyond official dismissal time to plan, prepare, meet, and talk--all the things teachers must do outside of their time with children if quality learning is to happen.

When Stevens is asked in the interview how she would draw a picture representing the adult relationships in the school, she gestures, forming a big circle with her arms. Here, she says, everyone is included, a part of the family. She maintains that people visiting the school have difficulty telling teachers from assistants. The tour bears her out; though it is a quick tour and virtually no time is spent in classrooms, the impression is that adults work cooperatively with groups of children.

The school is traditionally organized with self-contained classrooms generally grouped by grade level along hallways. However, this is not absolute. One kindergarten team occupies a large room where children are busy at their "work" in centers and small groups with several adults acting as facilitators. Another kindergarten teacher who didn't want to leave her "old" room seems happy in a self-contained classroom on a separate hallway housing mostly 1st and 2nd grades.

Stevens sees Morehead as a school in transition. Several years ago, the school was one of four in the state selected as a National School of Excellence. But there is no sense of the staff "resting on their laurels." They continue to seek, explore, and try new and better ways of educating children. Sometimes

ideas come from staff members, sometime from the outside. There is evidence here of both the internal motivation and interest and the external support and resource availability that Sarason says are required for successful change. It is the commitment to continued growth that Stevens sees as important. As examples of this attitude, Stevens indicates that her staff was involved in and practicing participatory decision making long before "site-based management" became a catchword and everyone "learned" how to do it. The school had also moved toward a whole language approach before that became the "popular" thing to do. Stevens's expectation is that this attitude toward positive change will continue.

Stevens's statement that, "we had a lot of site-based decision making long before we read about it and started getting instructed in how to do it," is a key to understanding that her basic assumptions about power are natural rather than learned. They are a part of her being and have been a part of her practice for all the years she has been a principal. She has also practiced wide-ranging involvement. As she says, "We've had committees since the first day I've been here." Before the language of "leadership teams" came into vogue, Stevens was operating with committees that helped to determine school goals, areas for staff development, and other important decisions.

Her practice also indicates a strong orientation toward a feminine model of power. Her deeply held values that she lives in the setting indicate that she clearly operates from the human resources model. At Morehead, she strives to create an environment where everyone can contribute the full range of her/his

talents to the accomplishment of school goals. Part of this, she maintains, is out of necessity since, in a school the size of Morehead, she sees the impossibility of trying to "go out there and try to be a super hero and try to do it all." Perhaps more importantly, she thinks that "when somebody feels like they're involved and they're a partner, then they put forth a lot more of their own motivation and their own enthusiasm in whatever activity it is that you're trying to do." Stevens, the teachers, and the parents all talk about the degree of freedom that staff members have. One teacher, for instance, says, "I see a great deal of freedom allowed among the faculty....the freedom to experiment...and the freedom to teach what we think is right." For Stevens, the bottom line is that staff members share with her an overriding interest in children and what's best for children. As she says, "as long as they are valuing that, then we're all in it together and they know I'll work real hard beside them and I expect the same from them." As long as the impetus for any action is the best interest of the children they serve, the Morehead faculty has lots of latitude. As Stevens describes it, "anything they want to try, they've got everybody's support and they feel very comfortable with trying things, risky things." The teachers reiterate Stevens's perceptions and say that, "We feel free." Another adds that, "You have the freedom to experiment and explore." Still another, talking about how she teaches differently from a colleague, says, "she lets us both do our own thing as long as the children are benefiting from it."

The other key piece of the human resources model is evidence that the principal allows and encourages participation in important as well as routine

decisions. That practice exists at Morehead. Some members of the Leadership Team profess the belief that Stevens still makes most of the major decisions, saying that while she seeks input on certain things, "in the end she does have the final decision." In practice, that same Leadership Team relates their involvement in major decisions. For some years, for instance, a budget committee has been in operation. Teachers submit prioritized requests to this group which approves or denies them. In another instance, teachers talk about a school-wide process of goal-setting they went through several years ago. Through questionnaires, problems were identified and prioritized. Then committees were formed to work on the identified issues and "every teacher was involved in one of the groups that worked on one of the problems. Members of the team say that they were involved in the interviewing and selection of the current assistant principal. They have also interviewed and recommended candidates for teaching vacancies. They also point out that, because Leadership Teams are not supported by the current superintendent, some schools have dropped theirs. Morehead, by vote of the faculty, has kept theirs and it appears to be becoming more involved in school-wide decisions. Compared to others, one member says that, "we probably have one of the stronger Leadership Teams in the county."

Such involvement is indicative of Stevens's willingness to share power. The Leadership Team is involved in some of the issues mentioned above. They also perceive themselves as "in charge" when Stevens and the assistant principal are away. On one particular day, when both were going to be away

the following morning, Stevens made a point to speak personally to each member of the team and ask for their help in insuring that everything was taken care of in their absence. On another day, she and the cafeteria manager interviewed two candidates for a cafeteria helper. Because she could not be present for the next interview, Stevens encouraged the manager to conduct the interview and make a decision, saying, "I trust you implicitly." One of the things the Leadership Team decides is when and on what matters they can make a decision. In one meeting, Stevens asks them whether they want to decide a particular issue or whether they want to poll other faculty members. As one member puts it, "We decide whether we can decide this or if everybody needs a say so." When they believe it is necessary, the team takes the time to issue questionnaires or surveys to the entire staff to assess opinions and preferences.

Stevens is sincere about wanting input from other members of the school community. In Leadership Team meetings, she reminds the group that she does not want to pursue particular avenues unless they share her interest. In this way, she begins the process of coalition-building necessary to accomplish goals in a school the size of Morehead. To that end, she is willing to compromise and temper her own enthusiasm for particular directions in response to staff input. Because they know that she values their input, the staff feels very free to talk with Stevens honestly. In their minds, it is not necessary that they agree. Even when their views differ from Stevens's own, they know that she will be open to what they have to say and listen carefully. As one says, "I always feel like I can go in there and put my cards on the table and tell her

what I'm thinking...She and I don't have to agree, but as long as you will listen to me and I will listen to you...I never feel like I can't go in there and say I don't agree with this or I'd like to see that." Another says that, "anything can be discussed and it's not like she's going to rule it out because that's not right or that's not what she wants. She's very fair." Even when there is no agreement, teachers maintain that they have no fear that Stevens will hold it against them or bear a grudge. This is possible, one teacher suggests, because "we both are here for the best of the kids and we don't have to agree on everything."

Stevens also demonstrates her willingness to share power in the freedom she gives to those who work with her. A number of these instances are discussed as evidence that Stevens is operating from a human resources model. Another example is the story she tells of how whole language came to Morehead. One teacher and her assistant "discovered" the concept and decided to try it in their classroom. Others saw what was going on in the free travel in and out of one another's classrooms, became interested, and begin trying some of the concepts themselves. Soon, the shift to whole language instruction had permeated the entire school and the faculty had changed their teaching, from within. In another case, an individual teacher has decided to put on a Math Fair for the entire school. It is a major undertaking involving the coordination of many resources and some considerable scheduling ingenuity. Stevens offers her enthusiastic support and brags on the teacher's initiative and the outcome that results, saying, "She and her math students have done the whole thing and it's just a delight. It's beautiful!" The coordination of resources,

both within and outside the school, are also necessary to enable the Morehead students to participate in a statewide problem-solving contest sponsored by business and industry. Stevens not only coordinates but further involves herself as the sponsor of one of the school's teams.

Stevens is comfortable in this role; she is everywhere, talking to everyone. She clearly has her finger on the "pulse" of the school. She says that she is only comfortable, however, because she sees these people as her family and because she has lived with them for ten years. She maintains that, in other situations, she would be largely silent, almost invisible. As she puts it, "I'm in my own surroundings and I've been here a long time so I'm very comfortable. I know the people, so I'm comfortable with them, but I am, and have always been, very shy, and if I'm in unfamiliar surroundings, I won't say a word. I really won't, until I get familiar with the people."

Family is the word that Stevens chooses to describe the community at Morehead, and her perception is shared by teachers and parents. Both groups use the term to describe the feeling they experience as participants in the school community. Talking about relationships, one teacher describes it as a web with all groups being "just a part of the whole. It all sort of fits together, working together. A web. And we're not in competition. There's no feeling of one being more powerful and one being less powerful." A parent describes the "camaraderie and the openness" that "filters down from the bus drivers to the janitors to the parents to the kids and teachers, to the administration." Speaking about how parents fit into the school, another says, "I don't see them as

separate. I see them as mixed in. We're part of it,...parents intermingled with the teachers and the kids."

Like in a family, all does not always go smoothly. One teacher describes differences as sibling-like problems and disagreements. There is, for instance, some tension between the kindergarten teachers, who are practicing developmentally appropriate curriculum and methods, and the first grade teachers, who are much more conventional in their approaches. This is openly expressed to Stevens who hears frustration from the kindergarten teachers that they are expected to modify their program by "putting the fear in them for six weeks before they get out" to better prepare children to "fit" into a program they do not believe is in the best interest of children. Stevens does not negate their feelings. Instead, she says things like, "I know what you mean," and she tries to help them to understand the perspective of the first grade teachers and to understand and be more tolerant of their differences. In another instance, members of the Leadership Team complain to Sterling that they do not fully understand the nature of one specialist's job, but feel like she may be using her time in some ways that are "not helping our kids." Stevens clarifies one piece of the job role, but then makes a couple of suggestions about ways to resolve the misunderstanding. Together, the group decides on a mechanism for beginning to solve the problem.

There are also problems with what some perceive to be inadequate communication, a situation that is typically attributed to the size of the school and or the lack of teacher time for one another. One teacher says, "We don't

know what's going on a whole lot with faculty members, personally. It's hard to get the news around about people. Another adds, "We don't know what's going on in the other wing unless we make a special trip to go down there." And another comments that, "We don't always see each other. Just because we work in the same place doesn't mean we can talk to each other." On another occasion, this same problem is mentioned and one teachers says that, "As far as the faculty goes, we do not have the opportunity to visit with one another and share as often as I would like." Another agrees, adding that, "we just don't have time to sit down and do enough planning or sharing together." In this small community, some of this frustration is resolved outside of school time as teachers talk on the phone at night or through activities like having dinner or playing volleyball together. Yet the frequency with which the problem is mentioned indicates that teachers wish they were more in touch, on both a personal and professional basis, with their peers, even though they see their school as "a comfortable, friendly place to be." It seems likely that, if the school day and year were structured differently to allow time and opportunity, these teachers would like to communicate more.

Stevens sees herself and others see her as one who is cooperative and willing to collaborate. This is true within the immediate school community and within the larger community. Because Morehead is located in a college town, there are many instances of cooperation with the college. The school is also involved in a school/business partnership with a major industry in town and many collaborative efforts have resulted. The business, for instance, has

provided T-shirts as incentives for those children participating in the problem-solving contest as well as some financial support to make their participation possible. Stevens is sensitive to the community context. Morehead had earlier been unfavorably compared with schools in an adjacent "city" system. Partly because of that, she saw one of her early roles in the school being to make the staff "feel like they were good." She, as well as the staff, know that their parents, many of whom are associated with the college, want and expect the best for their children. As one teacher puts it, "It's always been expected of Morehead to be good, and we have had to live up to that." Another adds that, "We have a very competitive community. They want their children to do well. They expect them to do well. So I think when we have that many parents that are wanting that much for their children, that pushes us to do more and to do it the best we can." Because the school community is aware of that context, they strive hard to deliver what is expected. As another says, "We're all very proud of Morehead and, I think, that we teach at Morehead. But with that gives a certain amount of--you've got to be on your best all the time."

What is expected at Morehead is that everyone do her/his utmost to deliver what is in the best interest of the children served. Stevens herself is very aware of this creed. As one teacher puts it, she knows all the children and usually something about them and their families. As she puts it, "She does know most of these children, by name. Any child that comes up to her office, she pretty well knows who they are and whose room they're in and all about them." She likes them all, the "bad" ones as well as the "good" ones. This is

evident one morning as Stevens does hall duty with the early arrivals. While most children wait patiently in the hallway for the call to breakfast, one little girl is motioned on to her classroom. It turns out that this is a child on medication for her hyperactivity who is without much parental support at home. The morning ritual is for her to go early to her classroom where her teacher gives her the medicine and combs her hair. For this child, this process helps to start her day in a calming, supported manner. On another day, during a classroom observation, Stevens sees a child consistently behaving inappropriately. In a short follow-up conference with the teacher, she emphasizes not the child's behavior, but where the teacher is in the process of finding some help for the child. In still another instance, Stevens herself has taken on some almost daily tutoring of a child who is far behind. Stevens says that the teacher had gotten frustrated with and by the child, so she offered to spend some one on one time with him. In their session, she questions him and reinforces his responses and, when they are finished, tells him that, "We're done. You did well!"

Stevens demonstrates much of the same caring for her school family as she does for such marginal children. She clearly respects differences in individuals and groups and allows them the latitude to experiment and to try new things to whatever degree they are comfortable. Sometimes, that means that some individuals and/or groups are more successful than others. An example is offered in the comparison of two grade level meetings. In one, the agenda is all business and detail-oriented. The meeting seems fragmented, with lots of bits and pieces of information being tossed on the table for

information and discussion. While the necessary agenda items are dealt with, there is an overall absence of personal sharing and support. There is also some indication that there have been some lapses in communication and that group members are not well informed on some issues. Several times during the meeting, questions like "When was that decided?" or "When did that change?" or "Can we do that?" are raised. In another grade level meeting on the same day, the atmosphere is different. Sensitivity is shown toward a community member who did not have any parents attend his session at a recent PTA workshop. When they talk about "making things right for children," some offer personal testimonials. Together, they express a desire to meet with a group of teachers at another school to improve communication and coordination. This group also tends to agenda items and accomplishes several tasks, but they do so in a manner that demonstrates a higher level of professional collegiality and personal support than the other meeting. Stevens seems to be aware of these differences, yet allows them as a part of her willingness to let groups and individuals grow as they are comfortable. She says that, "I am accepting of people and however they are." A teacher supports that assessment, saying, "She wants you to do what you're comfortable doing because she feels like you're going to do a better job if you believe in what you're doing and you're comfortable doing it. So, if she has a new idea, she gives you the leeway to do as little as you want or as much as you want, as long as you're comfortable."

With the staff as well as with the children, Stevens demonstrates her caring and concern. She is nurturing without being mothering. For instance,

she cautions that one might be surprised to find her staff treated like adults as they would be in any other context. In this small town where most everything is conveniently located near the school, Stevens allows her staff to leave as they need to and are able to during the school day to conduct personal business. Because they are able to do this, Stevens says that her teachers do not feel pressed to leave at dismissal time and tend to stay at the school, spending long hours on the planning and communicating that must happen outside of time with children. Stevens is also sensitive to her staff as persons. One teacher tells a story of her personal distress when her own child began school at a school she was most unhappy with. It was only when her own child entered this other school that the teacher understood and appreciated what was different about Morehead. During this period, Stevens demonstrated her concern and support by offering to cover the teacher's class when she felt she had to go the other school to check on situations there. As the teacher describes it, "She would come and take my class when I would be so upset and need to go to that other school to see what was going on." In another instance, a teacher tells of calling to say she was going to be late. Stevens offered to cover her class and reminded her to take care of herself by not speeding to get there quickly.

The teachers at Morehead deal with Stevens as a person, as a member of the team, rather than as "the principal." Stevens contributes to that perception by choosing to use her personal rather than position power to influence events. Her own enthusiasm is contagious and her considerable expertise is respected, so she has much to do with directions the school takes. But she is not

authoritarian. She says things like, "I was wondering what you think," and "I was wondering about following that up with." Talking about one possible direction, she says to the Leadership Team, "I don't want to push this if it's not an area you want to pursue."

Stevens does truly wonder what people are thinking and how they are feeling. To gather this information, she communicates frequently and listens carefully to what others have to tell her. In fact, she spends so much time doing this that other aspects of her job sometimes go wanting for attention. She describes what she calls her flexibility as a flaw, saying that her lack of organization and her loosely scheduled days mean she seldom gets to all the things she wanted to do. However, if her days weren't loosely scheduled and if she weren't so available, much communication would be missed. On the contrary, because Stevens's office is in the path staff members take to see the secretary or to pick up their mail or to see the assistant principal, they are apt to stop in for just a moment to communicate bits of information about themselves, children, or a number of other topics. While some might see these brief visits as constant interruptions, Stevens chooses to view them as links between her and her school family. They are a part of her being connected, giving praise when it is due, offering empathy when that is appropriate, asking questions, and giving suggestions. It is partly through such communication that Stevens communicates to those around her that she is in this business of doing the best they know how for the children who are with them, that the staff at Morehead is "in this together." One teacher describes the faculty, saying, "We always go the

extra mile. You will find teachers here on the week-ends working, staying late, coming early. They do whatever is necessary for the betterment of each and every child." They see Stevens, and she sees herself, as one who is going the extra mile with them.

That the Morehead staff shares an understanding of the purpose of the school and the their common values is evident with respect to two themes: educational excellence and family. One teacher says that the school is known for its openness, the extent to which children and parents are made to feel welcome in the school, and for its sense of family. One parent describes a summer visit to what was to become her children's fourth elementary school. Stevens "was in the floor and she had tons of paper stacked everywhere. She stopped, hugged all three of my kids that she'd never seen before and took them by the hand and gave them a tour..." This parent goes on to say that, "I had never seen a principal stop what they were doing to try to make the kids feel that welcome." That feeling is reiterated by a parent who says she believes parents feel that the "staff and administration are there for our children." This parent goes on to say that, generally, parents "just can't do enough, because we know they are doing their best." That sort of goodness seems to be contagious. Parents seem to feel it, and teachers feel that they must, in fact, do their best because the parents expect it. It is that overriding high expectation of themselves, that they will do the best they know how in the interest of the children who come to them that seems to be the most commonly shared value among the Morehead staff. One teacher, speaking of excellence, says that "it's

always been expected of Morehead to be good, and we have to live up to that."

Another adds that the staff is proud of their school and proud that they teach there, but that "you've got to be on your best all the time."

With regard to levels of staff involvement, it is harder to find consistency across the school. There are certainly instances of staff involvement. One teacher, for instance, tells of a multi-year process the staff was involved in during which they worked together to identify and prioritize goals and problems to be addressed. Then each faculty member was assigned to a committee to work on a problem area. In another case, the staff has just been through a decision process related to expansion of the Leadership Team. There is some feeling that each grade level needs to be represented on the team for better communication. A decision of this magnitude was taken to the staff because, as one Leadership Team member says, "we felt better on decisions like that to let everybody have input." In the end, the staff decided to keep the group small to foster better discussion and decision-making. Nevertheless, a high degree of involvement is hard with a staff of almost eighty persons. Throughout the school, there is concern that adults do not get to talk to one another enough, that there is not time for the sharing, planning, and simply being together that most desire.

The discussion of common purpose and shared values discussed above reflects a sensitivity to the context within which the school operates. That they exist in a small college town with a high level of involvement with college professors and students and with parents who have high expectations seems to

be a part of every staff member's history. One teacher describes the contextual implications: "So I think when we have that many parents that are wanting that much for their children, that pushes us to do it the best we can." As another teacher puts it, "I think that has made us feel that we have to be good enough for the college." Speaking of the school's history, one teacher points out that, "It has such a good reputation." Part of that reputation involves academic excellence, but it also includes the perception of Morehead as a comfortable, friendly place to be and as a school with a strong community connection.

Part of the school's tradition is also the giving and receiving of recognition. Stevens provides the initiative and the leadership to apply for various recognitions and awards for the school. While the most prestigious is the National School of Excellence award, there are others that have served and continue to serve to validate the good things happening in the school. That sort of recognition is provided on a smaller scale as well. During Teacher Appreciation Week, the PTA awards "door prizes" and provides refreshments on a daily basis as morale boosters. The school's business partner provides incentives for students who have earned recognition in various ways. Stevens herself awards a multiplication pin to each child who successfully masters the multiplication facts. The Leadership Team tells of the day they bought and cooked breakfast for the school's bus drivers as a way of showing appreciation. In many such ways, Morehead conveys to those who are a part of the school community that they are important and appreciated.

With regard to communication, the teachers' belief that they can discuss anything with Stevens has been illustrated. There is no fear of retribution if an individual disagrees with her or if the staff disagrees among themselves. As one says, "it's good that we're all different. We don't all have the same opinions and we mold our ideas together and it gives a broader view." Many of the mechanisms for sharing these different opinions seem to be informal rather than formal. This may reflect Stevens's personal style, which she describes as flexible and somewhat disorganized. She believes that those who want definitive plans made well ahead of time are often frustrated with her. Much about her seems to happen almost spontaneously. While this assures quick access, it may also create some problems. It is not clear, for instance, how items for the Leadership Team's agenda are generated. With such a large staff, it may be that some people are left out of the communication chain in the absence of formal mechanisms. There is some concern, for instance, that those grade levels not directly represented on the Leadership Team are not getting good information about issues discussed and decisions made. On the other hand, some formal mechanisms are in place, primarily the questionnaires or surveys that are used when polling of the entire staff on some issue is desired.

Finally, with respect to relationships within the school, there is much that is good, but it is not nearly so consistent as Stevens's own attention to relational issues. There is evidence of collegiality, but it varies from group to group as illustrated in the example given earlier of the two grade level teacher groups meeting on a particular day. In general, caring and support are expressed, but

there is not the level of patience and understanding that Stevens herself demonstrates. In a teacher-led staff development activity, for instance, the leader expresses some impatience when her colleagues lack of attention to task threatens to prolong the scheduled ending time. In another instance, when their colleagues are acting in ways not perceived to be consistent with the school's excellent reputation and/or in the best interest of children, some concern is expressed. Those instances, however, seem to be the exception rather than the rule. For the most part, the staff sees and respects one another as members of a well-working team who, while they may approach the goal somewhat differently, are all heading in the same general direction. They trust that each is contributing her/his best to maintain the school's perception as a good, happy place for children to be and they appear confident that, together, their future will be as positive as their past has been.

If the case studies of these four schools are portraits, then the next two are sketches. They are such because they are based on superficial rather than in-depth studies of the schools. In the first four cases, considerable time was spent in the schools observing the principal and others as they went about their day to day business. The principals were interviewed, but so were teachers and parents so that various segments of the school community were included. Examples of school culture in action were based on first-hand experiences as well as the stories and reports of school stakeholders. In these two studies, that is not the case. What is surmised about the school culture and how the

principal practices the beliefs that s/he professes is based on two interviews with the principal and an interview with one or more teachers.

In spite of this, these two studies are included because they suggest that principals with a feminine orientation toward power can and do exist in secondary schools as well as in elementary schools. The first four schools were chosen for study because they shared in common the fact that they were elementary schools. While these two schools do not share that factor, they are included because, given the general, authoritarian nature of secondary schools, it seemed less likely to find a principal with a feminine power orientation operating there. One of the schools is a middle school and the other is a high school. In both, initial principal and teacher interviews suggest that the principals do, in fact, act in ways consistent with a feminine power orientation and that the cultures of the schools do have some of the characteristics associated with such an orientation. Therefore, they are included, incomplete as they are, because of the promise they suggest that such principals and such schools do exist and because of the opportunity they offer for further studies with schools at the secondary level.

Pinewood Middle

From the outside, Pinewood looks like what it is: a grand, sturdy example of 1930's architecture. Though most schools that look like this began their lives as high schools, Pinewood was built as and has always been a junior high or middle school. Inside, the building was completely refurbished about 10 years

ago, a time when the system knew that middle schools were on the horizon. Because of that, the school renovations were made with the middle school philosophy in mind and the building actually matches educational needs in many respects. For instance, the huge, old auditorium yielded a media center, a computer lab, and a smaller, more intimate auditorium just large enough for a grade level to gather together. The more striking example is the existence of "team rooms." Every team of teachers in the school has a room of its own for planning, material and equipment storage, and simply coming together for conversation. The rooms take on the personality of the teams: some are business-like, others home-like with a wide range from neat and well-organized to "organized" clutter. The existence of these rooms suggests that the teams form the "heart" of the school organization.

Principal Mildred Barnes affirms that the closest relationships among the staff exist at the team level. Teams from 2 to 4 teachers are formed at the various grade levels, typically with 2 teacher teams at the 6th grade and 4 teacher teams at the 8th grade. Specialists and support staff are assigned to an academic team, but also form a team themselves, an arrangement that gives this group two working communication links. The academic teams share a common planning period which facilitates communication. While the specialists do not share this common planning period with their academic teammates, a closeness is perceived. One specialist reports that she feels she could go to her assigned academic team or any other and find teachers who would listen to

her problem and offer, not only support and encouragement, but help with solutions.

Pinewood is characterized by that most difficult of student bodies--one made up of extremes. The 600 students in the school tend to be either very advantaged or very disadvantaged, with nothing much of a "middle." These students are mixed within the teams, a decision that caused some parent consternation. The school also houses a large number of exceptional student programs, including Trainable Mentally Handicapped, autistic, Behaviorally or Emotionally Handicapped, Chapter I and English as a Second Language. These students are mostly housed in a downstairs space away from the academic teams, but they are not excluded from the school community. One teacher tells a beautiful story about the first time the TMH students were included in an assembly program. As they performed a flag routine on stage, the student body spontaneously rose to give them a standing ovation. One teacher who was seated beside one of the toughest, most street-wise, poorly behaved boys reached to grab him as he stood, thinking he was about to harass someone around him. Instead, he was joining the ovation and stood with his fellow students with tears running down his cheeks. The teacher telling this story says that it was at that point that she realized there was goodness within the most hardened, most unreachable of these students. Other teachers seem to share that realization, and seek to touch and free and encourage that goodness within. Certainly, it is not always successful. On this particular day, the ISS room was full. But there are successes. An after school enrichment/tutoring program begun in the fall with grant money began with

about 85 students accepting their invitation to participate. After 16 weeks, about 80 remain in the program.

Teachers at Pinewood are involved in decision-making. The team leader from each team, who is selected by the team, serves on the Program Improvement Council (PIC) which meets with Barnes weekly. Schedules have been arranged so that this group can meet in the early morning, before they are exhausted by a day with middle school students. For the second year, the group is chaired by a teacher and any staff member is free to put an agenda item on the office board. Barnes reports that few agenda items are decided "on the spot." The clear preference of representatives is for discussion, an opportunity to go back to their teams for input, and to return for a decision the following week. In this manner, some rather bold decisions have been made. For instance, the staff recently decided against purchasing a new science text for every child. Instead, they opted for class sets of books and spent the available money for laser disc equipment and science programs that offer science lessons in a multi-media, integrated format that even includes Spanish audio for classes with ESL students.

Barnes herself is a soft-spoken, gentle person with a clear sense of educational vision. She and teachers agree that "what is best for our students" is the bottom line of decision-making. She encourages rather than directs, an indication that she prefers the use of personal to position power. Speaking of her influence, she comments that, "if you listen closely, you will hear your own words reflected back to you often. She goes on to say that, "the more subtle

ways, for me, often work the best." An example of this is seen in staff development. A committee shares responsibility for deciding on school-wide staff development as well as individual opportunities. Teachers are encouraged, often by Barnes, to seek out and attend workshops and conferences and bring their experiences back to share with others. On this particular day, two teachers were recognized on the office board for presentations at the state middle school conference and two others for participating in Southern Association visits. Because the school qualifies as a Chapter I school, additional staff development monies are available and most teacher requests are funded. Barnes says that Pinewood is a Goodlad-type school of renewal, and it seems that the school has what both he and Sarason say is necessary for renewal--a combination of people who see a need and want better with the availability and accessibility of outside resources with a network that provides support and encouragement.

Pinewood seems to be a good school getting better. Teachers say, for instance, that they see a need for more cooperative learning. A quick pass by several classrooms, however, suggests that there is a lot of whole group instruction going on. In only one classroom are cooperative groups successfully at work. But the desire to do more with cooperative learning in combination with available resources and support from Barnes and one another suggest that growth in that direction is beginning and will be ongoing.

While there may be differences in how teachers behave in their individual classrooms, there seem to be two commonly held beliefs. As Barnes says,

"mostly they believe they can teach kids." As a teacher puts it, "I think we all have the same common goal." Another adds that the goal is "whatever is best for the child."

The teachers interviewed clearly believe that they are not alone in pursuit of this goal. They see Barnes as a member of the team, one who always wants to know how they feel and who is always seeking input. With her, the teachers say that, "There's no fear or dread to ask or to try new things with her because she's usually 100% with you." They also believe that they have the support of one another. More than one talks about the special family feel that the school has and about the warmth and friendliness found among the staff. One teacher, whose previous experience was in the lower elementary grades, says that she cried for three days when she found out she was coming to Pinewood. She describes how she was taken in, helped, and supported by the staff. Now in her second year, she says she would not think of leaving. Another tells of a colleague who went to another school, but missed the closeness of the faculty so much that she returned the next year. That this support is seen as more than talk is evidenced by one teacher's comment that, "everyone would give their right arm if you needed it." Trying to give words to this culture, one teacher says that, "if you spend a day with us, you'll know what I'm talking about." Still at a loss for words to describe it, she says, "It is within us; it's within the entire staff."

Barnes maintains that this closeness, this belief that "we are in this together" evidenced in staff collegiality and caring existed at Pinewood prior to her arrival six years ago. Rather than help create it, she sees herself as trying to

"foster it, enhance it, and engender it." Certainly her manner and her actions help to do at least that.

Barnes's manner and her actions seem to be well grounded in a natural orientation toward a feminine model of power. She talks as if it has always been a part of her and tells of efforts to foster teacher involvement well before such practices became the vogue in administration. In fact, she tells of one experience where she learned to temper her natural inclinations with the reality that such involvement could only be effective if those asked to take responsibility were ready to do so. In another school where she served, the staff conducted a needs assessment to determine school goals. Specific committees were set up to work on particular goals, and one committee failed in its tasks. Barnes attributes this to the fact that, while the chair was a good person, she did not have the necessary leadership skills to facilitate things happening with that committee. In spite of such experiences, Barnes still believes that "people perform better when they feel that they do have some stake in determining how things will be done,...when they have some latitude to make choices." Because of this, she acts in ways that, "somehow enable people to feel a certain degree of relaxation, a certain degree of control of their own destiny."

These statements indicate that Barnes is operating from the human resources model, that she does want and foster an environment where everyone can contribute the full range of her/his talents to the accomplishment of the school goals of teaching children well and in ways that match their

adolescent needs. To this end, she allows and encourages participation in important as well as routine decisions. The example cited earlier of the PIC decision to forego new science textbooks in favor of a program likely to teach children better in ways that match different adolescent learning styles is a case in point. Certainly the opportunity to participate in such decisions is a contributing factor to the sense of efficacy that the Pinewood teachers feel. As Barnes puts it, "It would be really easy to throw up one's hands and quit in a school like this, if teachers didn't feel control and feel optimistic and feel a sense of efficacy and feel that they could make a difference." Based on limited data, it seems that Pinewood's teachers are not about to quit. Rather, under Barnes's leadership and with the healthy cultural attributes they describe, it seems highly likely that they will make a difference in the lives of the children they serve.

Greenwood High

Greenwood High School is a school with a difficult past, a mixed present, and the potential to realize the principal's vision of the future. Greenwood was originally the city's black high school, serving the population of the mostly black east side. That changed with court-ordered desegregation. In 1983, when the reorganization of the city and county schools occurred, Greenwood was slated to become a middle school. Community protests erupted and enough pressure was brought to bear that the school remained a largely unneeded high school. The school now serves a population that is balanced racially at about 50/50 and includes an urban black population and a rural white population that spans the

distance from the school to the adjacent county line. When principal Richard Curtis came to Greenwood 5 years ago, he found a long-standing practice of Greenwood students who displayed their parking stickers in temporary holders while at school. Outside of school, they removed the holders and stickers because they did not want their peers at the mall or the movie theater or other teen gathering places to know they went to Greenwood.

Curtis has spent the last five years working to turn that shame into pride. Initially, the goal was academic improvement and some successes were observed. In one two-year period, for instance, the SAT average rose 92 points and other test scores moved from the bottom toward the middle. More recently, however, Curtis and teachers have realized that, given the demographics of the student population, Greenwood will never be the number 1 academic school in the county. Instead, Curtis and the school's School Improvement Team decided to strive to make Greenwood the most respected and admired school in the district. To this end, the idea of a Greenwood Nation has been created and talked about and emphasized in many, many different ways.

Greenwood has had support in this effort from a large corporate sponsor, which has adopted the school. The PR and advertising expertise the sponsor offers have made the selling of Greenwood Nation something any marketing executive would be proud of. Cups and frisbees and medallions and posters are everywhere, keeping the message in the eyes and minds of the Greenwood staff and students. Annual T-shirts are developed and used for incentives. First, an Academic Team was established to honor students with a 3.0 in their

academic subjects. Assemblies honoring these students are held and T-shirts awarded. Even though the number of students so recognized has increased to almost 20%, that still leaves 80% excluded. So another incentive was born, and students who showed marked improvement in areas such as citizenship and teamwork became members of the "Dig Deeper" club with t-shirts to commemorate their admission. The addition of this plan brings the number of included students closer to 40%, but that still leaves others out. And so Curtis and the staff continue to seek ways to build what he calls "group self-esteem" and to help Greenwood students know and realize their individual potential and develop a sense of belonging to the Greenwood Nation.

The latest step in making Greenwood the most respected and admired school in the county is the development and opening of a school store. With the help of the central administration and the corporate sponsor, an old storeroom has been converted to something that strongly resembles an airport boutique. Curtis says it is the only such school store east of the Mississippi. Marketing students have been most involved to date, but there are plans to involve English, math, and other classes in interdisciplinary studies that center on store operations. Curtis envisions a day when the store will grow into a business center and Greenwood will become a magnet school with a waiting list of students wanting to get in.

Curtis maintains an open door policy with staff, parents, and students. As another staff member reports, judging by the number of students who "drop by" to see Curtis, they are beginning to believe that he will listen and care about

what they have to say. Curtis shares an incident involving a group of about 20 students engaged in a parking lot fight. When Curtis stepped into the middle of the group, they dispersed and ran. Later, as he was talking to witnesses and trying to piece together what had happened and who was involved, most of the students returned and "turned themselves in." Curtis took the time necessary to hear the various versions and to piece together what had happened before taking action. At other times, he has chosen to be extremely tough. As he says, "I'm a caring person, but I also believe there's a time that I really have to take a hard stand on issues." He cites an example two years ago when a student tip led to the discovery of several weapons on campus. Students were arrested and prosecuted, leading to a great deal of unwanted publicity. That weapons were not a part of the Greenwood Nation was made very clear. Sadly, Curtis cites as an example of lingering community prejudice against Greenwood the fact that when a similar occurrence happened at a cross-town high school, the news coverage used two-year old tapes of Greenwood and its students to accompany the story.

Curtis calls the school community his family, and there is an initial sense that such is the case. During the visit, a student sings "Happy Birthday to Rob" on the intercom during homeroom announcements, an event that a long time staff member says would never have happened under previous administrations. Jane Patterson, the curriculum coordinator, calls a number of students by name and seems to know something about them as individuals. On the whole, teachers are perceived to be a caring group. Many of them chose to stay at

Greenwood 8 years ago when they had the opportunity to move and, even now, Greenwood has the lowest percentage of teachers requesting transfers among the county's high schools. Patterson claims that there is a strong sense of unity most of the time for most of the staff. As an example, she offers the fact that 52 of 67 certified staff members attended a recent evening covered dish gathering. Both Patterson and Curtis indicate that those who are dissatisfied tend to be those who think he is "too good, too nice." As Curtis puts it, while not all of the staff agrees with his philosophical approach, "the greater majority of my staff agree with what is being done." Unfortunately, "the people who don't agree have a tendency to make it a little harder for me to do things." Such comments hint that the dissatisfaction of some staff members might be grounded in his difference; he is clearly not the stereotypical tough, authoritarian high school principal and there are probably some remaining who are most uncomfortable with this.

Patterson also believes that, for the present, Curtis is the key to helping the Greenwood students learn to "pull together." The vision of a Greenwood Nation he shares with many staff members is affecting the students; many are beginning to "buy into" the Nation. The possibility of Greenwood becoming the county's most respected and admired school seems very real.

Two of the six principles that underlie the Greenwood Nation resonate with a feminine orientation toward power. They are largely Curtis's words, though there was involvement on the part of the School Improvement Team in deciding on them. The first is teamwork and the principle is "To encourage and

support a school of mutually supportive teams, our foundation for the learning process." Patterson says that Curtis is strong on teaming and wants to see a team approach. Feeling a part of a team can help with the achievement of academic goals as well as foster a sense of belonging. As Curtis says, "I'm a firm believer that, if a child or an employee, a teacher, or a staff member is happy in what they're doing and they feel that they belong here and they are contributing to the total workings of this school, that they're going to do a better job." Most of the staff seems to have joined the team, which is organized around the common goal of making a difference for some students as well as a bonding that comes from the messages they get from their colleagues across the system that, "Oh, man, you're in a rough place." Curtis sees the staff as one of the most "un-cliquish" he has ever seen and notes that to find a high school staff which "is pretty much one group" is rather unusual. Those staff members who have joined the team have opportunities for involvement. As Curtis puts it, "I am more of a democratic leader. I really like getting input and sometimes probably to the detriment of some decisions that need to be made." He cites an example of a group of teachers who are currently interviewing a candidate for the head coaching job. He points out that this is unusual, but does not point out the irony in the fact that, as a group, it is the coaches who have been most reluctant to become a part of the Greenwood team.

The second Greenwood principle that resonates with a feminine understanding of power is Imagination: "To tap the brilliance in every student and staff member by removing barriers and driving out the fear of failure." This

sounds like the words of one who believes in freeing and releasing what is in others, who enables others to demonstrate their creativity and initiative. Curtis says of himself that, "I really welcome teachers innovative thoughts on what will work. We are not afraid of trying things. We're not afraid of failure." A part of that freedom is the right to disagree. Curtis says also that, "They don't mind telling me when I make mistakes,....I give them an opportunity to be very vocal with me, and very honest with me, and vice versa."

Another way in which Curtis seems to embody a feminine orientation is in his caring. He suggests that this part of his personality may come from his mother who was very people-oriented, "very caring about other people and their problems and those kinds of things." Curtis expresses such caring in his concern for the marginal student. He reiterates that Greenwood's student population is not always the easiest to love, but goes on to say that, "I still feel that the humanistic approach to education is the best way. The caring, nurturing--we probably go longer with kids who are high riskers than any other school in this system." Elsewhere he says, "I probably have a tendency to want to work with the kids longer than most principals do, before I give up." Such caring is also communicated as commitment. Because he feels that Greenwood is at a crossroads and gaining positive momentum, he has asked not to be considered for reassignment. As he says, "I am committed. I am committed to a school and a mission, and I feel we're not there yet."

Though it is hard to tell without having spent time in the school, it seems that Curtis is working from a human resources model and that his beliefs and

his philosophical approach are deeply held and valued. At the same time, he is using, in conjunction with the school's corporate sponsor, some very sophisticated public relations tactics to get those beliefs communicated and to build ownership of them on the part of the entire Greenwood community. It also seems that such actions may have been a part of Curtis's life as an administrator for some time and that, in fact, may have been a part of why the superintendent appealed to him to come to Greenwood. Certainly at Greenwood, the word is out. It seems impossible that any individual cannot know what the common mission is and be aware of the many events that are going on to celebrate and appreciate any movements in directions toward accomplishment. If Curtis and Patterson are right that most of the staff have joined the team and if increasing numbers of students see themselves as a part of the effort, then it seems likely that, from its current crossroad, the school will go in some very healthy, very positive directions.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to characterize the culture of selected schools where the principal was operating from a feminine understanding of power. The idea for such a study grew out of the small, but significant body of literature which supports the idea that administrators who use feminine styles of leadership differ from more traditional leaders on the dimension of power and that traditional models of power may not fit those women and men who operate from a feminine orientation. Of further interest was the literature on the importance of school culture and the relationship between certain aspects of what I have chosen to call a healthy school culture and goodness or effectiveness. It seemed to me that many such attributes of healthy school culture resonated with those differences that could be associated with what I have called a feminine understanding of or orientation toward power. Because of that, the study was conducted to identify and describe a feminine understanding of power, to find principals who operated from such an understanding, and to study the culture of the schools in which those principals served.

Kotter (1979), for instance, represents the traditional treatment of power when he associates power with the influence necessary to get others to do what

you want or prevent them from forcing you to do something. This, and most of the traditional literature on power, fits nicely into the pyramid metaphor. Power is generally seen as the control of human and natural resources by those who find themselves at the top by virtue of their position authority, their expertise, or, sometimes, their personal charisma.

That such a model of power is inadequate is supported from several directions, directions that touch on differences in leadership and those that touch on differences in school cultures. Lightfoot, for instance, in The Good High School (1983), observes that it is what is feminine in the leadership of the school principals that leads to good schools. She cites characteristics like the high regard for teachers that exists in good schools, schools whose leaders show the nurturance that accompanies that regard. In these schools, attention to process leads to a genuine sharing of power. Teachers are really listened to and given opportunities to participate in decision making. There is an emphasis on relationship and a sensitivity to cultural forms. Finally, there is a sense of liberation in these schools that is virtually non-existent in the schools where the power is held tightly in administrative hands.

Shakeshaft(1987) also offers support for a different model. She suggests that, in schools headed by women, relationships with others are central to all actions. In such schools, building community is an essential part of a leader's style. She finds that women tend to exhibit a more democratic, participatory style and encourage inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in the schools they serve. According to Shakeshaft, the communication and decision making

styles of these women tend to stress cooperation and help facilitate the translation of educational visions into action. Elsewhere (Shakeshaft, 1989), she suggests that women are less committed to hierarchy and are more willing to submerge displays of personal power in an effort to get others to participate in the decision making process. She concludes that power means different things to women, that women tend to see power, not as something finite, but as something that expands as it is shared. Partly because of such beliefs, women tend to use power to empower others.

In another work supporting the development of a different model, Belenky, et al. (1986) suggest that the hierarchical metaphor of power does not fit with the way women see the world. In the hierarchical model, power resides at the top of the pyramid and the person there relates to others primarily through bonds of agreement like laws and contracts. The authors propose an alternative, feminine metaphor, that of the web. On the web, relationships are important, because the actions of one influence everyone else. Communication is essential and everyone shares a bit of the power. Such a metaphor elicits visions of schools with healthy cultures, schools characterized by the nurturance of relationships and community, attention to process, shared decision making, real communication, inclusiveness, and cooperation.

That cultures such as this are critical to good schools is supported by many who write about issues of culture and its relationship to goodness, effectiveness, or positive change. Barth (1990), for instance, maintains that community is central to the conception of a good school. For him, this involves

a community of learners where everyone encourages everyone else's learning and a community of leaders where everyone shares opportunities and responsibilities for making decisions that affect all the occupants (p. 9). Barth cites several factors that contribute to this community of learners and leaders, all of which resonate with the indicators of the feminine. They include personal and professional interactions that are frequent and helpful, a climate of risk-taking that is deliberately fostered, and a profound respect for and encouragement of diversity.

Goodlad, in the introduction to Tye and Novotney's (1975) book speaks to the importance of culture to constructive change, pointing out that such change can only occur when teachers are given the support and encouragement that results in feelings of self-worth, a sense of personal and collective power, and a higher level of professional behavior. He says that constructive change does not begin with pedagogy, materials, or pupil achievement. Instead, he says that "the needed reconstruction of schooling must begin with the adults in the school and the social systems they constitute..." (p.xii). In that same book, Tye and Novotney (1975) suggest that culture is a critical ingredient of goodness. Among several suggestions they make for schools that want to be good is the recommendation that such schools build support systems that allow people to become self-renewing and collaborating individuals. They propose that there are three key processes in the school as a social system: communication, decision making, and conflict management. About decision-making, Tye and Novotney say that decisions needs to involve those who are affected and be as

close as possible to consequences. The administrator who does not practice this is limiting the creativity of others and frustrating needed change.

Lightfoot (1983) also speaks to qualities critical to good schools. While she speaks specifically of the characteristics of school leaders, she makes it clear that there are cultural implications. She says, for instance, that "qualities traditionally identified as female--nurturance, receptivity, responsiveness to relationships and context--" (p. 25) are critical to the expression of leadership and are critical elements in good schools.

With such literature as background, this study sought to develop a framework for talking about a different, or feminine, model of power. While some of the authors cited speak to issues of differences in women and men, I chose not to do so. While such difference may, generally, be associated more with women than with men, there are certainly many male school principals who act in ways that are consistent with what I have called a feminine understanding of or orientation toward power. For that reason, feminine has been used here to describe a model that, while it may be more typically associated with feminine sex-role characteristics, is independent of biological gender.

For purposes of clarity, administrators with a feminine understanding of power were portrayed as those who:

1. Value and seek a sense of community in the setting.
2. Share power.
3. Attend to relational issues.

Specific indicators were listed for each of these which suggested how they would translate into attitudes and behaviors. While there is overlap among the three general organizers, this was seen, not as a problem, but as a means of increasing richness. The specific indicators for each of the three categories can be found in Chapter III. For purposes of summary, they are condensed here.

An administrator who values and seeks a sense of community in the setting was seen as one who, when asked to describe her/his setting, might choose a metaphor more like a web than a pyramid. Such a person might sense and express the complex interactions, interdependence, and inclusiveness that the web metaphor suggests. Such a person might be sensitive to process and would use language and demonstrate behaviors consistent with an emphasis on teamwork, on people in the setting working together in collegial, cooperative, and collaborative manners. Such a person might be expected to emphasize communication and to insure that two way communication between the leader and the group existed. S/he might also be aware of and sensitive to contextual issues, including cultural norms. Finally, such a person might be expected to emphasize service to others and show special concern for the marginal student.

The second characteristic of a principal operating from a feminine understanding of power is that s/he shares power. This might be perceived as a democratic leadership style, a style that offers and encourages broad participation in goal setting and decision making. Liberation might be a theme

with such a person, who might talk and act in ways consistent with a desire to free and release what is in others. S/he might foster and celebrate creativity and initiative in others and act in ways that enable others in the school to discover and use their own talents. The practice of such a person might be characterized by consultation, coalition-building, and compromise.

The third characteristic of the leader with a feminine power orientation is that s/he attends to relational issues. Manifestations of this might include genuine respect for individuals and groups, and for the differences that exist among them. Such a person might describe herself/himself and be described by others as nurturing, caring, concerned, sensitive, or responsive. Another characteristic might be the preference for personal rather than position power, for the use of internal resources to motivate and inspire others. In such a person, communication might be frequent and characterized by careful and effective listening and the use of praise and appreciation. Finally, such a person might communicate and demonstrate emotional involvement, the kind of involvement that expresses the belief that "we are in this together."

Once this model of a feminine understanding of power was developed and validated, the task became to identify principals who seemed to be operating from such an understanding. This was accomplished by developing a survey which asked principals recently selected by their systems as Wachovia Principal of the Year nominees to respond to open-ended questions about the three characteristics. A content analysis of these surveys was used to identify potential subjects for the study. A follow-up interview, an interview with selected

teachers, and a willingness to participate in the study were to have further narrowed the selection. In fact, all six principals who were initially identified by the survey seemed to confirm in their initial interviews that they were operating from a feminine understanding of power. There was support for this in the initial teacher interviews and all six agreed to participate if chosen. The decision was made to concentrate the study on the four principals of elementary schools. While the two principals of secondary schools were excluded from in-depth study, a brief sketch of them and their schools was included here because it suggested, somewhat surprisingly, that such principals can and do exist and function effectively in the more hierarchically organized, tradition bound realm of secondary schools.

With the four elementary principals and schools that were selected for further study, an entire day was spent shadowing the principal. Notes on the shadowing experience were shared with the principals and another follow-up interview was conducted. Time was spent in each of the four schools observing and talking with adults in the school community as they went about their daily business. Efforts were successfully made to schedule visits that coincided with such activities as faculty meetings, Leadership Team meetings, grade level meetings, committee meetings, shared planning sessions, staff development activities, and informal gatherings at lunch or after school. Field notes were taken on each of these occasions.

In addition to observations and the formal and informal interviews, focus groups of teachers and parents were conducted at each of the schools. These

groups, typically the school's Leadership Team and parent leaders from either the PTA or the Parent Advisory Council, were asked questions about the principal's style, the culture of the school, and possible relationships between the two.

From the hundreds of pages of interview and focus group transcripts and field notes, along with general impressions based on the many non-verbal cultural cues that exist in schools, I put together a portrait of each of the schools. The portrait methodology was modeled on work of Lightfoot (1983) who explains that the use of portraiture serves to replicate the work of the artist using words, words that, as a whole, will capture the essence of the subject of the research. Such portraits are very human and holistic, and are careful never to view the subject as object, but as a person of myriad dimensions. Such portraits also recognize the presence of multiple perspectives on the subject, in hope that out of these different perspectives comes some sense of truth. The presentation of these portraits also followed basic case study methodology as described by Patton (1980, 1987), Eisner (1976, 1979, 1991), Guba and Lincoln (1981, 1985, 1989), and Stake (1982, 1991).

Reporting about the relative presence of a feminine orientation toward power on the part of the school principals was strongly influenced by the existence of the framework for such a model developed earlier. The same was not true of the assessment of the school cultures. In that case, it was during the data collection period and further review of notes and transcripts that the organizing themes emerged that were used in preparing the case studies or

portraits as they pertained to cultural issues. From the literature on cultural attributes, particularly those associated with goodness or effectiveness in schools and from the actual experiences in the schools, four cultural themes evolved that seemed to be resonant with the presence of a feminine understanding of power. The first of those was the extent to which practice in the school reflected involvement. Such practice was associated with a shared understanding among adult members of the school community about the school's vision, its values, and its purpose. Attention was also paid to the degree of involvement present in the school, including how much involvement was evident, what processes were present to insure that such involvement occurred, and how wide-ranging it was across the school.

The second of the themes was sensitivity to context. It was expected that schools with a healthy culture resonant with a feminine understanding of power might have a shared history and shared traditions. It did not seem to matter so much what this history or these traditions were so much as the fact that people talked about them and they informed present actions. A second aspect of this theme dealt with the presence, expressed and demonstrated, that the adults in the school believe that "we are in this together." This, again, included bad as well as good aspects of school operation as was suggested by Holderness (1989) as associated with leaders who were emotionally involved, who enter into relationships with followers that convey the message that "we are doing this, suffering this, hoping for this together" (pp. 77-78).

The third theme which served to organize discussions of culture was the presence of selected cultural norms. This might include celebrations of various sorts, celebrating events ranging from academic achievement on the part of students to special events in the lives of staff members. It might also include the presence of examples of recognition and appreciation. A third, important part of this theme was perceived to be the obvious presence of both formal and informal mechanisms for open and honest communication.

The fourth theme addressing cultural issues was attention to relationships. It was expected that schools with a healthy culture, one that was associated with a feminine orientation toward power, would be characterized by a principal and staff that demonstrated collegial, collaborative behaviors. The existence of this theme was also determined by the presence of adults who cared about one another both professionally and personally and who talked about and demonstrated a high level of trust and confidence in one another.

Conclusions

One of the characteristics of case studies is that they do not lend themselves to generalizations, particularly scientific generalizations that might be presented as conclusions. What case studies do have, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985) is a discussion of outcomes, the "lessons to be learned" from the study. These are not generalizations, but working hypotheses that relate to understanding. For Stake (1991), the vicarious personal experience that case studies provide can help practitioners reach naturalistic understandings, the

new understandings the result when readers recognize similarities to cases of interest to them.

For these reasons, the "conclusions" drawn from this study must be up to the individual readers, who make their own personal meanings by comparing the portraits to settings with which they are familiar. The discussion here of what Lincoln and Guba call "outcomes," the "lessons to be learned," must, by necessity, be somewhat personal, the working hypotheses that relate to my own understanding. The conclusions are not absolute. They are personally created meanings which have come from my interactions with the participants and the research process itself. Perhaps the sharing of some of those working hypotheses will help to foster understanding in others.

The first such understanding is that there are, indeed, school principals who "fit" the model developed of a feminine understanding of or orientation toward power. There are persons practicing administration in our schools that have philosophies and practices that resonate with those presented in the model as examples of the feminine orientation. Some have more of the traits and some have fewer. Some of the principals demonstrate some of the characteristics, but not all and in some, one of the characteristics may predominate while others are more difficult to observe in practice. There also seems to be a relationship between the relative presence of these traits and the likelihood that the principal is operating from a human resources rather than a human relations model. The presence of more rather than fewer of the traits and the stronger the existence of those traits, the greater the possibility that the

principal is one who genuinely wants to create an environment where everyone is involved in the establishing of school goals and where everyone can contribute the full range of her/his talents to the accomplishment of those goals. It seems more likely that this principal will be one who works to uncover, encourage, and support the creative resources of others. Such principals also seem to have come to the feminine orientation naturally as demonstrated by their practice of wide-ranging involvement over a longer time frame.

Another working hypothesis related to my own understanding is that the more a particular principal "fits" the model of a feminine understanding of power, the more aspects of a healthy school culture appear to be present in the school. If the principal is a person who practices a democratic leadership style, the more likely it seems that practice in the school reflects the involvement of a wide range of staff members and parents in processes that lead to a shared understanding of vision and purpose as well as shared decision making. If the principal is one who demonstrates attention to relational issues, the more likely it seems that caring, collegiality and trust and confidence in one another might be found in the school.

Another working hypothesis or lesson to be learned is the extent to which, even when practice indicates otherwise, teachers profess the belief that many school decisions are made by others rather than themselves. Because this tendency seems to be present even when practice indicates a high level of teacher involvement in decision making, it may be that it is more a product of the history and traditions of schooling than it is a reflection of their current realities.

For most of their history, schools have been androcentric, hierarchically organized institutions where teachers were, in fact, powerless. These feelings may be so ingrained in teachers as a profession that they still speak to decisions being made by the central office, or the principal, or some other outside person or entity even when the reports and the practice of those same teachers indicate otherwise. It may be that teachers continue to feel limited because, even when they are involved in decision-making, their involvement exists in a context that largely fails to recognize them as professionals and extensively limits flexibility.

One final working hypothesis or lesson learned is related to what Sarason and Goodlad have to say about the nature of change. Both suggest that several factors must be present in a school if constructive change is to take place. These include adults within the school who are aware of the need for change and are motivated to make it happen. Also necessary is the presence of a network of outside resources and a system of support that can help change to occur. This study supports the truth of these suggestions in at least one case. In that case, the absence of sufficient outside resources seemed to result in less constructive change occurring in the school, even though the staff seemed to be aware of and motivated to adopt some wanted improvements. Based on the study of these schools, I would add another necessary factor. That would be the presence of a healthy school culture. Having spent time in these schools, I would suggest what some others have hinted at, but not directly stated. That is, in order for constructive change to occur, in order for schools to renew

themselves, in order for schools to be good or effective--whatever terminology is used--schools must begin with a healthy school culture, a culture characterized by the themes and attributes presented here.

In addition to these working hypotheses, I have my own naturalistic generalizations, my own understandings as they relate to settings I am familiar with. One of those is an increased appreciation for the power of the principal in the school setting. In these studies, even in instances where the principal seemed to be operating more from a human relations rather than a human resources model, I was struck by the personal power, particularly through the use of language, that principals demonstrate in the school setting. One of the subjects talked of his practice of "talking as if until it is." Another has used many standard public relations strategies to communicate the school's vision to all members of the community. In both of these settings, the power of that language and the consistent and persistent use of it, seemed to be having an effect on the school cultures, fostering significant changes in the culture of the school. As a school principal, I am both encouraged by and humbled by the sense that such power exists.

Another naturalistic generalization, or personal understanding, relates to the difference between the human resources and the human relations model. A working hypothesis suggested earlier is that principals who are operating from a human resources model tend to have come by their preferences naturally, that their commitment to wide-ranging involvement seems to be a part of their being and to have been believed and practiced for a longer time frame. This sense of

a longer time frame, of a long history of involvement helps to reiterate for me that change is a slow process. It teaches me patience in light of the fact that cultural change only occurs over the long term, as members of school communities come to adopt cultural characteristics as part of what is natural for them or, as one teacher put it, becomes something that is "within us."

Recommendations for Further Study

There are three recommendations for further study that grow out of the experience of conducting this research and preparing the case studies. The first is that an inventory be developed which could be used to assess to what extent a particular school principal, or leader in some other field, was operating from a feminine understanding of or orientation toward power. While the survey and follow-up interview used in this study served that purpose, their major shortcoming was the inability to differentiate between how an individual talked and how that person lived in the setting. I would envision an inventory which would be completed not only by the subject, but also by significant others. In the case of the school principal, the others might be the superintendent, peers, teachers, support staff, or others. Having such multiple perspectives at the outset would, I think, lend initial credibility and help identify those who not only used language consistent with a feminine understanding of power but practiced those characteristics in ways that were evident to her/his co-workers.

A second recommendation for further study is to conduct similar studies in secondary schools. To have found two possible subjects serving as middle or

high school principals in this relatively narrow search indicates that such persons do exist in those educational settings. Because it seems less likely to have found them there, it is important to further study such subjects and the settings where they practice. It would be interesting and important to know whether secondary principals share the characteristics associated with a feminine orientation toward power with elementary principals or whether some differences might exist. It would also be interesting and important to know whether or not cultural indicators manifest themselves in secondary schools in ways similar to what was seen in elementary schools.

Finally, the last recommendation for further study is that similar studies be conducted which expand to include the study of outcomes for students. If it is true, as these case studies indicate it may be, that principals who operate from a feminine understanding of power can influence the development and existence of a healthy school culture and if it is true, as many profess, that a healthy culture is a pre-requisite for school goodness or effectiveness, then a powerful question follows. If both those things are true, might there be an indirect relationship between the power orientation of the principal and whatever measures are used to determine goodness or effectiveness? At Greenwood and Glendale, student outcomes as measured by standardized test scores improved significantly under such conditions. At Morehead and Fairmont, effectiveness as measured by high levels of parent satisfaction and high levels of parent confidence in the school was present under such conditions. Certainly, no generalizations can be made from these limited examples. On the

other hand, with the nationally recognized need for better, more effective schools so evident, it certainly seems a possibility worth pursuing.

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APPENDIX A

ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out about your leadership style. The information you provide on this questionnaire will be absolutely confidential. It will not be used in any way that would identify you or your answers.

Name _____ Sex _____

Current School _____ Grades served _____

School Address _____

Years as principal at current school _____ Total years as a principal _____

If asked, would you be willing to participate in a follow-up interview at your school?

Please respond to the three questions that follow. Please return the questionnaire by February 7, 1992 to Martha Hudson in the envelope provided. If you have any questions about the questionnaire, please call me at 919-379-9094. If you would be willing and would rather answer the questions in a brief phone interview, please indicate:

At what number you can be reached _____

The best time to call _____

1. A. Please describe your leadership style with regard to building a sense of community in your school.

(over)

B. Please give one example.

2. A. Please describe your leadership style with regard to sharing power with others in the school.

B. Please give one example.

3. A. Please describe your leadership style with regard to the attention you give to relationships within the school.

B. Please give one example.

Again, I am most appreciative of your cooperation. Please use the space below for any additional comments.

QUESTIONS FOR FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW

SCHOOL/LOCATION _____

1. In your response to the questionnaire, you used words like _____, _____, and _____. Why are these things important to you?
2. Do you think that your beliefs/values influence your staff? If so, how?
3. Please tell me a little about your school.
4. Goodlad says that schooling is pretty much the same everywhere, but that schools differ. They differ in the way they conduct their business and in the way people relate to one another in that process. With that in mind, please tell me how you think _____ differs.

5. If you were to draw a picture of _____ showing the relationships of the adults who work here, what might it look like?
6. Schools are thought to have unique cultures. How would you describe the culture here at _____? (If asked, define as the beliefs and values that are reflected in 'the way we do things.')

Briefly describe research: case study which looks at both the principal's style and the culture of the school. Involves shadowing principal, follow-up interview, meeting with and talking to school leaders and parents, observations and informal interviews with teachers/parents as they "conduct their business" (e.g. meetings of faculty, leadership team, committees, etc., staff development activities, informal gatherings at lunch, after school, etc.).

7. Would you be willing to participate in such a case study?
8. Would you be willing to have me talk to 2 or 3 selected staff members to get their perspective on questions similar to those I have asked you? If yes, when?

Request brief tour of school (asked for in phone contact earlier).

APPENDIX C**FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS
TEACHERS/PARENTS****INTRODUCTION/EXPLANATION OF PROCESS:**

I am Martha Hudson. As a part of my studies at UNC-G,
I am studying _____ (name of school).

I am especially interested in:

--how decisions get made

--how people work together

--how you fit into the school community

I'd like to ask you several questions about those areas. I'd like for you to
answer them and tell me anything else you'd like that will help me
understand how _____ (name of school) works.

With your permission, I'm going to tape your responses. I will then transcribe
the tape and use it in my study. No one else will see the responses and
any comments or ideas I use will be anonymous. So, please feel free to
be honest in what you say. Is everyone comfortable with that?

QUESTIONS:

1. How do major decisions get made at _____ (name of school)?
(If additional prompt needed):
 - a. Where do ideas come from?
 - b. If choices are necessary (e.g. what the goals will be or how to spend
limited money), how are those choices made?
 - c. Examples?
2. Do you as a group have input into the decision-making?
If so, how?
Do you think that other staff members/parents feel the same way?
Examples?

3. Please describe how people on the _____ (Leadership Team, Planning Leadership Team, School Improvement Team/PTA Board, Parents' Advisory Council) work together.
 - a. How does the group get along?
 - b. How are other people included?
 - c. What are the problem areas?
 - d. Examples?
4. Please tell me how you see yourselves fitting into the school community. (If additional prompt needed):
 - a. Think about the school as a whole and tell me what part the (name of group) plays.
5. How does _____ (name of principal) fit into this picture?
 - a. What sort of relationship does the (name of group) have with _____ (name of principal)?
6. If you had to choose three words to describe _____ (name of school), what words would you choose?
 - a. Can you choose one of your words and give me an example of why you think it describes _____ (name of school)?
7. Is there anything else you think I should know about how _____ (name of school) operates?

Thank you for your time. I really appreciate your sharing this information with me. If there is any additional information you would like to share, you may write it on the space provided on your question sheet. If you choose to do this, please put the sheet in an envelope, write my name (Martha Hudson) on it, and leave it with the school secretary or principal. I will pick it up the next time I visit the school.

APPENDIX D

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS
PARENTS/TEACHERS

1. How do major decisions get made at _____ (name of school)?
(Think about where ideas come from and how choices are made.)
2. Do you as individuals have input into the decision-making?
If so, how?
Do you think that other staff members feel the same way?
3. Please describe how people on the _____ (name of group) work together.
How does the group get along?
How are other people included?
What are the problem areas?
4. Please tell me how you see yourselves fitting into the school community.
(Think about the school as a whole and tell me what part the _____
(name of group) plays.)
5. How does _____ (name of principal) fit into this picture?
What sort of relationship does the _____ (name of group) have with her/him?
6. If you had to choose three words to describe _____ (name of school), what words would you choose?
Can you choose one of your words and give me an example of why you think it describes _____ (name of school)?
7. Is there anything else you think I should know about how _____
(name of school) operates?

Additional comments:

If there is any additional information you would like to share, you may write it in the space below or on the back. Place this sheet in an envelope with my name (Martha Hudson) on it and give it to the school secretary or principal. I will pick it up the next time I visit _____ (name of school).