



The influence process and informal groups in a rural high school
by Stephen Scott Smith

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
Montana State University
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Abstract:

The investigator was interested in determining the extent to which the informal faculty groups in a rural public high school sought to support or hinder the purposes, plans, and actions of the administrative staff.

Over the course of a semester, the investigator daily assumed the role of participant observer to explore the pattern, nature and effects of informal group actions, interactions, and sentiments. Through direct observation, triangulation and extensive development of protocols the researcher compiled data. This method was chosen because of its ability to determine actual beliefs, attitudes and actions of people interacting.

The researcher used the Stogdill LBDQ-XII and Kunz PZAI to generate quantitative information describing teacher assessment of the principal and teacher zone of acceptance of the principal's influence.

Results of the study revealed a disconnected informal group structure that lacked cohesion, uniformity and sense of purpose. Faculty informal group ability to influence the administration was limited by the disparate intents of the differing groups, by teacher autonomy and by working conditions imposed on the teacher including time and space limitations. Teacher autonomy and a staff schism limited the degree to which norms and values acted to influence teacher behavior.

With the exception of one informal group's attempts to influence the principal, his attempts to accomplish his stated goals and objectives were not greatly inhibited by or supported by informal group interaction or actions. Individual acts of support and hindrance were in evidence but were loosely connected if connected at all to other individual actions or events. The principal's ability to accomplish tasks was greatly affected by events, circumstances, and personalities that preceded his arrival, by the limitations of time, interruptions in his schedule, and by past practices.

It is the conclusion of this researcher that, in this case, the individual teacher's perception of the principal and willingness to respond to his influence was shaped more by individual encounters with the principal than by informal group processes. Informal group strength and purpose seemed contingent upon the strength of the administrator and upon the issues generated by the administration and teacher's perception of the principal's intent and focus.

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Stephen Scott Smith

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

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APPROVAL

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Stephen Scott Smith

This thesis has been read by each member of the thesis committee and has been found to be satisfactory regarding content, English usage, format, citations, bibliographic style, and consistency, and is ready for submission to the College of Graduate Studies.

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Signature Stephen S. Smith

Date April 2, 1986

VITA

Stephen Scott Smith was born in Geneva, Illinois, on April 6, 1949, to James D. and Doris C. Smith. He grew up in West Chicago, Illinois, and attended the public schools, graduating from West Chicago High School in 1967. He attended Southern Illinois University from 1967 to 1970 and transferred to Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in political science in June, 1973.

Six months later he resumed studies at Auburn University and completed work on the Masters in Education Administration in 1974, with a minor in social studies. The candidate then attended Northern Illinois University and completed Illinois teacher certification requirements. As part of that experience he did his student teaching in the Illinois Juvenile Correction facility at St. Charles, Illinois.

The author then utilized that student teaching experience and his social studies background in the employment of the DuPage County Juvenile Detention Facility, Wheaton, Illinois.

The candidate was employed by the Riverbend School District #2 of Fulton, Illinois, from August, 1977 to June 1983, teaching a variety of social studies courses at Fulton High School.

In June of 1983 the candidate accepted a graduate teaching assistantship at Montana State University and began working in the doctoral program in General School Administration.

The author's interest in the informal relationships of teachers has been lifelong. His father was a government teacher and his mother an English teacher in West Chicago, Illinois. Aunts and uncles on both sides of the family were also educators. In growing to maturity the candidate was surrounded by teachers as his childhood home became a loci of faculty interaction.

The author's interest in social studies was fanned by his father. The techniques of the social scientist were first imparted by James Smith and developed in college training. The candidate studied sociometrics under Dr. William Smith at Auburn University and read ethnographies under the direction of Dr. Allan Griesmann also of Auburn University. Finally, Mr. Smith merged these interests with an intensive study of organizational theory under the direction of Dr. Donald Robson.

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ABSTRACT

THE INFLUENCE PROCESS AND INFORMAL GROUPS
IN A RURAL HIGH SCHOOL

The investigator was interested in determining the extent to which the informal faculty groups in a rural public high school sought to support or hinder the purposes, plans, and actions of the administrative staff.

Over the course of a semester, the investigator daily assumed the role of participant observer to explore the pattern, nature and effects of informal group actions, interactions, and sentiments. Through direct observation, triangulation and extensive development of protocols the researcher compiled data. This method was chosen because of its ability to determine actual beliefs, attitudes and actions of people interacting.

The researcher used the Stogdill LBDQ-XII and Kunz PZAI to generate quantitative information describing teacher assessment of the principal and teacher zone of acceptance of the principal's influence.

Results of the study revealed a disconnected informal group structure that lacked cohesion, uniformity and sense of purpose. Faculty informal group ability to influence the administration was limited by the disparate intents of the differing groups, by teacher autonomy and by working conditions imposed on the teacher including time and space limitations. Teacher autonomy and a staff schism limited the degree to which norms and values acted to influence teacher behavior.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the course of the past fifty years the informal group structure has been recognized as an integral part of the work organization. The roles that informal groups play in the functioning of the formal organization were first noted in the field of industrial sociology by Mayo and his associates, Roethlisberger and Dickson. From 1923 to 1932 they conducted the series of experiments at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company, which was reported in Management and The Worker (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939).

The Hawthorne experiments were initially designed to further probe the long held management beliefs that income and working conditions were the chief concerns of employees and the single most critical issue in terms of motivation and productivity (Getzels, 1968). The effect of illumination on worker productivity was explored with a surprising discovery that illumination was not sufficiently related to productivity. It was apparent that old assumptions about worker productivity needed to be reconsidered. Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939:18)

reported that:

Although the results from these experiments on illumination fell short of the expectations of the company in the sense that they failed to answer specific questions of the relation between illumination and efficiency, nevertheless, they provided a great stimulus for more research in the field of human relations.

The studies were continued with six selected workers performing their work-related tasks under experimental conditions. The researchers developed the theories now referred to as the Hawthorne Effect: Differences in production were attributed to the special treatment required to study the workers. The results of these first studies were confirmed and reconfirmed in ensuing studies. The results were crucial in demonstrating the importance of employee sentiment and interaction (Getzels, 1968).

In reflecting on the empirical data generated by their study, Roethlisberger and Dickson advised, "Management should commit itself to the continuous process of studying human situations, both individual and group, and should run its human affairs in terms of what it is continually learning about its own organization" (1939:604).

Mayo (1933:73) suggested that a new industrial "milieu" was established in which the worker's "own self-determination and their social well-being ranked first and the work was incidental." He concluded, "Human

collaboration in work, in primitive and developed societies; has always depended for its perpetuation upon the evolution of a nonlogical social code which regulates the relations between persons and their attitudes to one another" (1933:73).

Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939:568) concurred when they reported:

Collaboration is not wholly a matter of logical organization. It presupposes social codes of conventions, traditions, and routine or customary ways of responding to situations. Without such basic codes or conventions, effective work relations are not possible.

The revelation of the role of the informal group in worker productivity by Mayo gave rise to an open system theory regarding complex organizations. Attention was no longer solely focused on the working conditions that rational model students had studied. Mayo's studies revealed that the complex organizations contained "more variables than one can comprehend at one time, and that some variables are subject to influence we cannot control or predict" (Thompson, 1967:6).

Attempts to control all variables provided Roethlisberger and Dickson with some frustration:

In human situations not only was it practically impossible to keep all other factors constant, but trying to do so in itself introduced the biggest change of all. . . . In the process of setting the conditions for the test, [the experimenters] had altered completely the social situation of the operators and their customary attitudes and

interpersonal relations (1939:183).

Attention was now focused on variables not found in rational models espoused by Weber (1947) and Taylor (1911). "Sentiments, cliques, social controls, via informal norms, status, and status striving" appeared in the research (Thompson, 1967:7). These variables were viewed by Roethlisberger and Dickson in 1939 as "patterned, adaptive responses of human beings in problematic situations" according to Thompson (1967:7). Thompson added, "In this view the informal organization is a spontaneous and functional development, indeed a necessity, in complex organizations, permitting the system to adapt and survive" (1967:7). That informal group structures were imperative for the survival of the formal organization, and the two structures interdependent has been established in the literature (Griffiths, 1962; Iannaccone, 1958; Lutz, 1967; Barnard, 1938; Simon, 1950; and Homans, 1950).

Barnard (1938) portrayed the formal organization as a unit interacting with its environment. He stressed that even the most logically constructed management plans have their unintended effects and were conditioned by other social agencies on whom the organization was dependent. In the words of Thompson, "There is little room to doubt the universal emergence of the informal organization"

(1967:9).

Two schools of thought emerged from the 1930's: Thompson (1967) referred to these as the open or natural system and the closed or rational system. The closed system focused on the classical management concepts of planning and control as the keys to efficiency and productivity. The open system found other variables that existed in the organization beyond the reach of management: informal group behavior patterns and attitudes.

In discussing these two apparently disparate systems, Thompson reported, "Each approach leads to some truth, but neither alone affords an adequate understanding of complex organizations" (1967:8). Noting Gouldner's appeal (1959) to synthesize the two models, Thompson delineated attempts to achieve a merger of both open and closed schools of thought. What emerged was a system that embraced the belief that organizational processes were affected by the organizational environment. The new theory also incorporated elements essential to closed system theory: performance, planning, and decisions reached through deliberation. Thompson's theory (1967:9) argued, "The organization has limited capacity to gather and process information or to predict consequences or alternatives. . . . [The organization] must set limits to its definitions of situations; it must make decisions bounded by

rationality."

Prior to 1958 empirical research involving informal faculty group behaviors in the public school could not be found. It was in 1958 that Iannaccone completed his doctoral research, a case study observation and narration which described the faculty of the Whitman Elementary School. Iannaccone's study (1958), tied to the work of Griffiths' (1962), revealed new insights into the actual significance of the informal organization of the school district. Iannaccone's observations (1958) led Lutz (1969:4) to conclude that knowledge of the formal bureaucratic structure is not sufficient in understanding how the system works. In order to know how the system works, one must step inside that structure. Iannaccone's work (1958) was a first step in determining the functions of the informal group within the organization of the public school.

What Iannaccone discovered substantiated in part the observations of Bronislaw Malinowski (1944:36) concerning the group behaviors of people.

Whether we consider a very simple or primitive culture or an extremely complex and developed one, we are confronted by a vast apparatus, partly material, partly human and partly spiritual, by which man is able to cope with the concrete, specific problems that befall him.

Malinowski (1944:38) added, "In order to achieve any purpose, reach any end, human beings have to organize."

The faculty of Whitman School had formed such an "apparatus" through which they coped with the problems that had arisen in both their personal and professional lives (Griffiths, 1962).

Iannaccone traced these faculty relationships and found that members acted informally in many different ways in efforts to protect their own interest, preserve or improve their environment, protect group norms, acculturate others and to either support or hinder the direction and planning of the formal organization. He found as Thompson (1967) described: elements of the open system impacting on the closed system (Griffiths, 1962).

Malinowski also noted, "Humans act together and satisfy some of their desires under charter of their purpose, traditional mandate, by obeying norms, and working through material apparatus which they manipulate" (1944:39). In the words of Etzioni, "Social order is, to a great extent, dependent upon interaction in and among organizations" (1961:xvii). In his observations of the Whitman faculty Iannaccone (1958) found that group members shared concerns for human needs ranging from job security to ego satisfaction. In short, the Whitman School informal culture acted to satisfy the needs of the membership.

While Iannaccone's study has contributed much to the knowledge base of educational organization systems, it

focused primarily on the elementary faculty group. It was the intent of this researcher to build a model which seeks to explain the role of the secondary school informal groups in the influence process.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of study was to determine the extent to which the informal faculty groups in the rural public high school of Grandview, sought to support or hinder the purposes, plans, and actions of the administrative staff of the school.¹ Research focused specifically on how, why and when the faculty responded to the attempts of the administration to influence the staff.

In the conduct of this study the investigator explored the pattern, nature and effects of informal group actions, interactions, and sentiments; those variables which have been revealed in organizational structure and systems research, beginning with Mayo's study and also espoused by Homans (1950).

Significance of the Study

The years 1983-84 were replete with studies dealing with the decline of the American public school system

¹ Grandview is a pseudonym for the real name of the site.

(Nation at Risk, 1983, The Carnegie Report, 1983, Horace's Compromise, 1984, and others). Boyer noted the abundance of recent literature and attention, and commented that the scribes had "descended from Mt. Olympus" to focus their attention on the plight of American education (1984).

In studies which culminated in High School (1983), Boyer and a team of researchers conducted onsite investigations into secondary public schools from coast-to-coast, involving two thousand hours of observations and descriptions. At the same time, Goodlad used empirical methods to investigate thirteen school districts across the country in research which developed into A Place Called School (1983). Both Boyer and Goodlad concluded that case studies of individual schools could better establish areas in which the respective American schools could best benefit from change. This case study was a response to that recommendation.

Boyer was particularly concerned with exploring the working conditions of the faculty member and found that those conditions were chiefly at fault for the decline of the American school (1984). Included within Boyer's definition of working conditions were the elements of the physical environment, the climate of the school, and those variables first noted by Mayo (1933): status, isolation, rewards and communication. This study is significant in its attempt to contribute to an understanding of how

teacher's actions and interactions are shaped by these working conditions and how they in turn, reshape those conditions to meet their own personal and professional needs.

Recent literature concerned with the concept of effective schools, including Cohen's research for the National Institute of Education (McCurdy, 1983:8) indicated, "Effective schools are characterized by strong administrative leadership, especially in instructional matters" and a school climate conducive to learning. The research conducted by this author strives to add to the administrator's understanding of how he or she can strengthen personal leadership skills and create a school climate more conducive to learning.

By reading the account provided by this study, administrators in similar settings may recognize elements that pertain to their individual schools and communities. This study contributes insight into the significance of the informal group in the secondary organization and allows the reader of the narrative to reach his or her own conclusions and hypotheses for further study in their respective schools.

School administrators may benefit from this study by gaining greater insight into how the informal groups within the faculty organize and function. Information regarding the nature of the informal organization is

provided which sheds light on how the communication network among faculty members worked, what functions it provided, what faculty needs it attempted to meet. Areas where faculty members were supportive of the administration and areas where they sought to hinder the administration's plans and efforts were noted, and their symbolic reflection of faculty sentiments pointed out. It is hoped that these insights will lead to an understanding of the role that the informal organization plays in the ongoing life of the school system, and result in the creation of healthier working environments, communications and relations.

Significance is also found in this study in that it makes a contribution to literature regarding the rural high school, far removed from the urban or suburban environment. Much of the research conducted in education has been pertinent to urban or suburban needs and environments. When research has focused on the rural school it was often in a site adjacent to a heavily populated area or in a heavily populated state where urban influence was felt. This study is significant in that it recognized the unique flavor of the rural high school and was intended to contribute to that literature concerned with rural high schools.

Another significant element of this study is the blending of quantitative and qualitative analysis. This

blending of data collection techniques and analysis was cited by Huberman and Miles (1984:20) as a recent phenomena which they wished to encourage:

Finally, if one looks carefully at the research actually conducted in the name of one or another epistemology, it seems that few working researchers are not blending the two perspectives. . . .

We conclude with a call for widespread experimentation, documentation, and sharing of methodological advances among qualitative researchers. . . .

We contend that researchers should pursue their work, be open to an ecumenical blend of epistemologies, and procedures.

This study incorporated the two methods of analysis in the attempt to produce the best evidence for the purposes of this study.

General Questions to be Answered

In this study the investigator determined the extent to which the informal faculty groups in the rural public high school of Grandview, sought to support or hinder the purposes, plans, and actions of the administrative staff of the school. Research focused specifically on how, why and when the faculty responded to the attempts of the administration to influence the staff.

The general questions considered in this study were:

1. For what purpose(s) did the high school principal and assistant principal attempt to influence the faculty? How did they attempt to influence staff

members and what intended effect did they hope to have as a result of their attempt to influence the faculty, or members thereof?

2. What role and action did the faculty informal group structure take in the formal decision-making process?

3. How did the informal group perpetuate its norms, values and beliefs?

4. Did the way the principal was perceived to exert his formal authority influence the degree to which teachers complied with his directives?

5. To what extent did data gathered quantitatively with the Kunz and Stogdill instruments corroborate, or contradict data gathered as a participant observer? For example: Did what a teacher revealed on the Kunz instrument about their willingness to comply with a principal's directive, contradict or support what the researcher has observed in the daily events of that teacher's life.

These general questions provided a foundation for the generation of research questions and hypotheses (expanded in Chapter Three).

General Procedures

The questions addressed by this study prescribed the methodology to be applied. In all instances the investigator wished to employ the most appropriate techniques available to ensure that the best evidence was found in the search for answers to those questions.

The first step taken was an extensive review of related literature. The author conducted a "by hand" search of journals, dissertation abstracts, texts, monographs and collected and incorporated information from a variety of bibliographies of this century. An ERIC search was then conducted through the Montana State University library. In this examination of the literature the investigator, working with a library staff researcher, conducted a computer search using the following descriptors: "secondary education" and "group behavior" or "group dynamics" or "peer influence" or "informal leadership" or "informal organization" or "administrative organization" or "organizational climate" or "power structure" or "social exchange theory" or "organization" (groups) or "individual power" or "decision-making" or "interprofessional relationship." A second search was conducted which incorporated the above variables with "policies" or "policy" or "goals" or "objectives."

After reviewing the historical development of the informal group concept in literature related to industrial

work groups, the investigator then surveyed research which explored the role and functions of the faculty informal groups in the public school system. Efforts in the review of literature were focused on the influence process and the role that the informal group played in impacting on the formal decision-making process.

The questions put forth in this study required that the researcher explore a social system, specifically a high school community with a primary focus on the social parameter of the faculty. Malinowski (1944:11) advised the researcher to first identify the subject matter and the appropriate methods. With regards to the social scientist he advised that theory be translated into a method of observation that allowed "consideration of each culture within its natural surroundings" (1944:17).

The researcher established criteria for the selection of a site to be studied and contacted the district superintendent and building principal of the chosen site. Permission was received to conduct this study. Preliminary meetings were held with the building principal and district superintendent to discuss the parameters of the study.

The investigator maintained the role of participant observer over a six month time period, one Grandview Public School semester. The investigator did not fill an already existing position in the district, nor was a

formal position created for the observer. Data collected in the observation of the faculty has allowed the researcher to describe how the informal group in that high school reacted to the attempts of the administration to influence them.

During the observation phase the researcher constantly recorded observations of actions, interactions and sentiments on protocols and matrices. A continuing analysis of recorded data allowed for a refinement of the research questions and hypotheses. Specific procedures used by the participant observer are outlined in the third chapter.

When it was apparent that continuance of the participant observer role would yield little in terms of refining the research questions the investigator ended that role and returned to the site to implement two instruments which allowed for the measurement of the teacher's zone of acceptance of the principal's influence and the measurement of the teacher's assessment of the principal's leadership style.

Using information gathered in both the qualitative and quantitative phases of this study the investigator prepared, in narrative format, a model which seeks to explain the role and functions of the informal faculty groups in the influence process.

Ethnography

The primary method used in gathering information for this study was the ethnographic or field study approach. This approach "involves the direct observation of human actions and interactions in an ongoing and naturalistic fashion" (Rist, 1975:86).

Ethnographic methods are used primarily for three purposes: description, formulation of hypotheses, and understanding causal processes (Cole, 1972:163). The research process for this study was divided into three components: the establishment of the researcher's role, the collection of data and the analysis and reporting of data (Wilson, 1974:15; Lutz and Ramsey, 1974:7).

The Researcher's Role

The procedures frequently prescribed as most suitable for the study of the dynamics of social process required an "intimate familiarity with" the social process and its operations (Blumer, 1966:689). Cusick argued, "Having accepted the perspective and even the social reality not as a static entity but as a creative process, it is the task of the researcher to actually take part in the process" (1973:229).

In order to get closest to that social process the researcher assumed the role of participant observer. It

was a role into which Whyte evolved in his study of Cornerville in Street Corner Society (1943). Whyte reported that he initially began as a nonparticipating observer, became a nonobserving participant and concluded the study as a participant observer (1943:321).

Participant observation allowed for the description of a social situation through the senses of both the researcher and the subjects. It also provided a format for explaining a situation from the point of view of both the researcher and subjects (Cusick, 1973).

Limitations

The following are limitations of this study, accompanied by a description of what the investigator did in attempts to control for these factors.

1. The degree to which one can generalize from the data gathered in one school to others is open to question (Rist, 1978:21).

In order to compensate for this shortcoming the researcher has described the community, its ethos, culture, and values. A description of the school has also been included to allow the reader to determine the appropriateness of fitting the model generated by this study to other school systems. Middle range theory by its very nature is not applicable to all organizations, nor is

it intended to be (Hoy, 1983:22). "A theory¹ is useful to the extent that it is internally consistent and [capable of generating] accurate prediction about events" (Hoy, 1983:20).

While the investigator is examining a sample of one site, the researcher "must make a wide range of sampling decisions samples of actors, settings, events, time periods and processes" (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

2. Rist (1978) also reminded the researcher that he could not take everything into account in terms of observation. Limitations were imposed by memory, the researcher's handwriting speed, faculties and inability to be omnipresent and omniscient.

Recognizing this the researcher limited the scope of the study. The intent in this study was not to act as a sponge trying to absorb every event and exchange that occurred. In order to create a "more powerful model" Dubin (1969:19) advised the researcher to "distinguish a realm of phenomena and focus analytical attention only upon that realm." Dubin (1969:19) encouraged the investigator to name a "primary group" for study. In this study that primary group was the high school faculty and building principals.

3. Those being observed sometimes changed their

¹ Hoy used the term "theory" to incorporate three subsets of theory: miniature (or model), middle range and general.

behavior due to the presence of the observer (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939).

To control for this possibility the researcher became immersed in the day to day life of the community observed, maintaining an unimposing presence as an observer; and a cordial and receptive attitude. Following the example of Whyte (1943), the researcher began by developing a few relationships with individual faculty members. Hollingshead (1949:20) reported, "The observational technique of being with them as often as possible overcame the original suspicion in a few weeks." Whyte (1943) and Cusick (1973) reported similar success in reducing suspicions that threatened their studies. This investigator's similar experience is described in the text of the narrative.

4. Bias that enters into data reporting is even more difficult to control in data analysis (Lutz, 1969:112).

The narrator describes his personal bias in his presentation and has included a description of his values and beliefs. This is in accordance with the advice of ethnologists, including Morris Olsen (1968:18-19) who urged that the best one can do is avoid conscious biases, and to state openly one's relevant personal values.

The personal bias of the researcher was also reduced by having a conceptual framework through which data was gathered (Lutz, 1969:119). Briefly, that framework

focused the collection of data on the actions, interactions and sentiments of the faculty and employed a methodology detailed in the third chapter.

5. The data collection methods and tools available to the researcher were limited by the role he or she occupied (Lutz, 1969:113).

Lutz outlined those methods available to the observer as a participant. They included: observing and recording descriptive data, recording direct quotes of sentiment, unstructured interviews, interaction frequency tallies, and the incorporation of written records (Lutz, 1969:113).

The researcher used those methods appropriate to the collection of valid evidence, consistent with the observer as participant role. Methods or tools that would effect reliability or validity were guarded against, as the researcher sought to maintain a delicate balance in the role of participant observer. For example, Lutz (1969:113) advised caution in using structured interview guides. He suggested that with time and talent the observer could learn to create structure in seemingly unstructured interviews.

In the process of writing protocols and site summary sheets, this observer generated a page of questions that remained tucked away in his office file to be referred to at the end of each day. The researcher would sometimes raise his questions in group conversations, with single

individuals, or simply allow the ebb and flow of conversation and daily life to answer the questions generated.

Lutz advised against using paper and pencil tests, questionnaires, or detailed interaction tally guides when establishing the role of participant observer. This researcher found that a notebook in informal settings was inappropriate. Teachers did not carry notebooks on their person, they were not engaged in the act of flipping notebooks open to record ideas. The notebook, as slight as it was, was a badge that read "researcher." That "badge" was hidden in the confines of a small office.

The observer was a participant in the informal group social system. While not an instructor the researcher did participate in meetings and activities of formal organization: staff meetings, department meetings, department head meetings, and curriculum review meetings. The investigator did not deliberately make statements or take actions which could affect a change in sentiments, interactions, actions of either the formal or informal organizations (Cusick, 1973). In such meetings the observer remained quiet and observed. There were many other teachers who acted in the same way. When, in smaller formal groupings it was necessary to talk, the researcher played the role of "probe and inquirer," for example: asking someone to explain their point of view.

Delimitations

1. This study was confined to one school building.
2. The review of literature was limited in its scope by the choice of descriptors used to locate literature relevant to the research topic. Those descriptors were outlined in the preceding "general procedures" segment. That search of the literature revealed a paucity of information from the past five years.

Definitions

The following definitions were used in the conduct of this study and the narration provided by the study.

District Personnel

This study focused primarily on the members of the faculty and the building administrators. "Members of the faculty" included all full, or part-time certified teachers, and specialists assigned to the high school. This included those teachers or specialists whose assignments took them to other facilities.

"Teachers" were defined as holding teaching certificates and being in the salaried employment of the district for purposes of providing instruction. Substitute teachers and teacher aides while not the central focus of

the study, were not be precluded from observation in situations where their participation in the informal group process was apparent and relevant to the research questions.

For the purposes of this study a "specialist" was defined as a person contracted by the district, or an interdistrict cooperative, to provide special services for the students of the district. Within this category were included (but not limited to) speech therapists, guidance counselors, nurses, school psychologists, social workers, and those who work with hearing impaired, learning disabled, emotionally disturbed, and culturally disadvantaged children.

"Building administrators" included the principal and assistant principal within the high school. This did not exclude those in the district heirarchy who exerted influence at the high school from possible examination when their actions or influence was felt by the high school faculty or administration. Other administrators were referred to by their respective titles; for example, superintendent, curriculum director, and business manager.

While "noncertified personnel" were not the primary focus of this study, their contributions were noted when appropriate. Members of this group included those hired by the district to provide school support services, including, but not limited to: custodians, cafeteria help,

bus drivers and secretaries.

Sociological Terms

"Activity" referred "to the things that people do: work on the physical environment, with implements, and with other persons" (Homans, 1950:34).

"Achieved status" was arrived at by one's performance in the group (Bales, 1970:75).

"Ascribed status" factors included age, sex, color, ethnic group, family, religion, education, job description, extraduty assignment, income and other characteristics brought into the informal group (Bales, 1970:75).

"Dyads" were social units in which two individuals were found interacting in a regular and persistent pattern of mutual support.

"Entropic" refers to a state of inertness. In education it refers to systems that have remained inert or in decline.

"Formal organization" of the school district referred to patterns of allocating responsibility and the flow of authority. Those offices or agencies, legally responsible for the conduct and operations of the school system were included in the formal organization (Lutz, 1969:29). Lutz enumerated the superintendent, building principals and

teachers as elements of the formal organization. Each had legal responsibility and a "high degree of control over their respective units" (Lutz, 1969:30).

"Group norms" were ideas of group members that "specify what the members or others, should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances" (Homans, 1950:123). Lutz (1969:69) added that ideas governing behavior were only norms when "deviation from the expected behavior results in a negative reinforcer, a sanction." Likewise, he pointed out that behavior in concordance with norms should be positively rewarded.

"Influence" referred to the process that "results in producing behavior on the part of others that differs from that which they would otherwise exhibit" (Lutz, 1969:11).

"Informal groups" lie outside the bounds of formal control, contract or regulation. Such groups exhibited regular and persistent patterns of relationships and interactions among persons or collectivities. Members of the formal structure, teachers for example, organized themselves into cliques and groups that were not prescribed by the formal organization (Schon, 1977:1).

"Interaction" was the process of "a unit of activity of one person being stimulated by and occurring in response to a unit of activity of another" (Lutz, 1969:63).

"Linkage" was viewed as the process by which two or

more systems were joined or linked. Loomis (1960:32) added that linkage allowed "two systems in some ways and on some occasions to act as a single unit."

"Political/socialization process" referred to the manner in which group members are introduced to group norms and activities. The term refers to the mentoring process through which new members become familiar with the formal and informal power system, norms and beliefs of the community and faculty.

"Power" in terms of social power, was defined by Floyd Hunter (1953:2-3) as "used to describe the acts of men going about the business of moving other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things."

"Protocols" are research instruments used by the participant observer. Notes are organized at regular intervals and allow for a systematic review of information gathered over a period of time. See Appendix C for an example.

"Pyramids" as used in the context of the narration, were viewed as distinct aggregates of interacting dyads and triads and other informal social cliques.

"Rural" was defined by Jonathan Sher (1977:375) as "areas lying outside of established Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) on farms, in the open countryside, or in places with less than 10,000

residents." Sher added that there are other definitions of "rural", and that each definition was "imprecise and suggestive rather than universal or absolute" (1977:375). Sher's definition was taken from United States Census Bureau (1970). It was the definition used in Congressional legislation (Sher, 1977:377).

"Sanctions" were negative reinforcers that tended to inhibit group members from engaging in behavior that was not in compliance with group norms (Lutz, 1969:69).

"Sentiments" referred to expressions of all affective states of people, including drives, feelings and attitudes (Lutz, 1969:64). Homans (1950:37) referred to sentiments as "units expressing inner states of the human being."

"Triads" included three people who were commonly found interacting and providing one another with mutual support.

"Triangulation" is a research procedure. The investigator checks his observations, analysis and conclusions through third persons familiar with the events, characters and attitudes sampled.

Summary

The informal group has been identified as a vital unit in the organizational system. Its role and function in the ongoing life of the work organization has been

noted. Although the informal group lies outside the bounds of formal structure control the two are viewed as interdependent. Each structure, formal and informal, responds to the other and impacts on the other. The Hawthorne studies revealed the extent to which the informal groups effected production and management planning.

Recognition of the role played by the informal group in the Hawthorne studies gave rise to open systems theory which focused attention on variables including sentiments, cliques, social controls, informal norms, and status. These variables had previously been ignored by scientific management theorists. Thus, two schools of thought emerged from the 1930's: the open-systems model and the closed, or rational model.

During the 1950's the development of a third model was encouraged by Gouldner (1959) and Thompson (1967). This model merged both the open and closed system models, and adopted the premise that organizational processes are affected by the organizational environment (elements of the open-system) and elements of the closed sytem theory: planning, programming, performance, and management decision-making.

In 1958, Iannaccone completed a study of the Whitman Elementary School faculty informal groups. Iannaccone's study indicated that knowing the outline of the formal

bureaucratic structure was not sufficient in understanding how the system, or process worked. Iannaccone found that the faculty members had formed informal relationships which allowed them to secure and protect a variety of personal and professional needs and desires.

Iannaccone's study (1958) focused on the elementary faculty. The intent of this researcher's study was to explain the role of a selected high school's faculty informal groups in the influence process. Research efforts were focused on how, why and when the faculty responded to the attempts of the administration to influence the staff.

Significance of this study has been articulated. This study contributes insight into the role and functions of the faculty informal groups at the public high school level and it is hoped that this information will benefit administrators seeking to create healthier work environments, communications and relationships with the staff.

This study is also significant in that it gathered data both qualitatively and quantitatively. In seeking answers to research questions the researcher used both the ethnographic techniques of participation observation and the data made available by the implementation of the Likert and Kunz instruments.

Data was first gathered on protocols in the role of

participant observer. This information is presented in a narrative form in the findings and interpretation chapter.

Data gathered quantitatively was analyzed to determine the relationship of two variables: the teacher's assessment of the principal's leadership style and the teacher's zone of acceptance of the principal's influence. This data was further analyzed to determine the extent to which it supported or contradicted the observed actions, interactions and sentiments of the faculty.

This study was limited in certain respects and those limitations have been addressed. Limitations included the degree to which one can generalize from one school to others, the natural limitations of the participant observer, the fact that those observed may change their behavior under observation, and the degree to which the researcher's bias impacted on the study. With each limitation the researcher also indicated steps that were taken to help control for the limitation.

Definitions of terms that are used in this text have been introduced.

The author introduced the concept of the "informal group." As this study focused on the influence process and the informal group it is appropriate to examine the existing body of literature with regards to the roles and functions of the informal group. As the ethnographic

method and participant observation were essential to the conduct of this study these subjects are also addressed in the Review of the Literature chapter which follows.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Several major topics are considered in the review of the literature. These topics include: the nature of informal group behavior in the organizational structure and its impact on the formal decision-making system; studies dealing with the nature of the informal communication network, and empirical studies that have focused on the dynamics of human groups.

As it was the intent of this study to further the focus of organizational theory regarding the role of the informal group in the school system, it was appropriate to develop those concepts, assumptions, and generalizations that have previously been elaborated in the literature. Those existing theories provide a general explanation for phenomena occurring within the organizational system, and act as guides for further empirical studies. The existing body of literature provides a framework for checking theory explanations against observed reality (Hoy, 1982:29).

Informal Groups Defined

As people interact, relationships are formed. Individuals enter into relationships with their own concepts of desired and acceptable behavior. The work group develops its own structure and culture, replete with norms and sanctions, shared beliefs, attitudes, and orientation to provide cohesion. Human behavior in the social system is thus organized by the structure of relations in the group and by the culture of the group (Hoy, 1982:51). The work group becomes a vital element in the formal organization.

Informal groups exhibit regular and persistent patterns of relationships and interaction among persons or collectivities. Informal groups lie outside the boundaries of formal control, contract and regulation and may assume various relationships with the formal organization. They may be draped over, substituted for, or supplanted by the formal structure. They may supplement or subvert the services of the formal organization. Informal groups may also give birth to formal organization (Schon, 1977:1).

Informal groups are viewed as important because they legitimize the authority of superiors, provide a source of comraderie, create a professional and personal support base, allow a network for communication, and set guides for acceptable behavior, including quality and quantity of

output (Kimbrough and Nunnery, 1976:69).

Organizational flowcharts of power structures have elaborated on how policies were supposed to be implemented, but have disregarded the process by which the policy was reached. Flowcharts showed lines of authority and formal power but revealed little with regards to power based on popularity, expertise, or appeals to emotion and sentiment. The informal structure in which individuals and work groups interact daily was not incorporated in the flowchart (Schorzman and Eugene, 1978:1).

Recognition of the informal group's role in the power system has resulted in its inclusion in some social system models (Hoy, 1982:65). Hoy's model which incorporated Getzels and Guba's model, placed the informal group at the center of interaction.

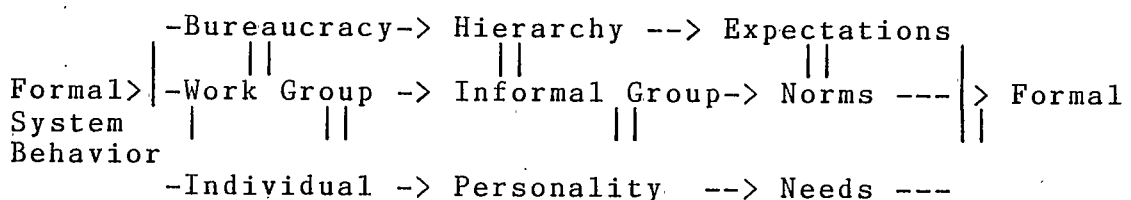


Figure 1

Hoy's Reformulated Elements for a Social Systems Model of Schools

This concept of bureaucracy was "especially applicable to organizations such as schools" (Hoy, 1982:64). It was

incorporated in the restructuring of at least one organizational flowchart: The Iowa Lakes Community College began with the hypothesis "that there was an informal group and it could be flowcharted" (Schorzman and Eugene, 1978:1). After a period of observation and analysis the people of Iowa Lakes were able to develop a new systems model that incorporated the elements of the informal group process and structure that influenced the formal process and structure.

Informal Group Behavior

There is a considerable amount of literature concerning the informal group within an organizational system. This literature attempts to describe and explain regularities in behavior of individuals and groups in organizations. It seeks basic principles that provide an understanding of structure and dynamics of organizational life (Babbie, 1973:10). Much of that literature is concerned with informal work groups found in the private sector or armed services. Information regarding the influence of the informal groups in public schools is far less extensive and less numerous. While the school may certainly be described as a dynamic system of social interaction "comprised of individuals bound together in an organic relationship" (Hoy, 1982:51); Hoy added that the

examination of that social system was "a task we are just beginning."

Informal group behavior was first recognized as an element in the formal structure in Mayo's study of the Western Electric Company's Hawthorne Works, Chicago, Illinois.

Initiated in 1924, the ten year studies "rocked the foundations of traditional management theory" (Tannenbaum, 1966:17). In their probings of the relay-assembly test room, begun in 1927, the investigators observed patterns which were quite different from what they expected. Among these discoveries was the power of the informal organization.

The group of experiments was designed to investigate the effect of working conditions on worker's performance. The studies were intended to extend the principles espoused by Taylor (1911) and scientific management. In the relay-assembly test room researchers manipulated rest pauses and the length of the workday to discern the impact of these two variables on the worker's performance. "But", Roethlisberger and Dickson reported, "the inquiry developed in an unexpected fashion" (1939:3).

Six workers were placed in the test room and continued in work similar to their job description in the regular plant. The study continued for two years under careful observation and with continuous attempts to

precisely control extraneous variables. Regardless of the effects of the independent variables: rest pauses and length of the working day; the curve of productivity continued upwards. The results suggested that a yet unrecognized and uncontrollable variable, more powerful than rest pauses and the length of working day, influenced the worker's performance. Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939:53-59) indicated that "from the attempt to set the proper conditions for the experiment there arose indirectly a change in human relations which came to be of great significance."

The elements of "human relations" referred to included the development of a cohesive work group structure. The workers identified this as the chief cause of high productivity in their test room (Tannenbaum, 1966:22). Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939:86) described the phenomena:

No longer were the girls isolated individuals working together only in the sense of an actual physical proximity. They had become participating members of a working group with all the psychological and social implications peculiar to such a group. . . . social activities developed outside of working hours and the plant. The conversation in the test room became more socialized the girls began to help one another out for the common good of the group. They had become bound together by common sentiments and feelings of loyalty.

Not only did the girls cooperate and encourage each other but they were also observed to put pressure on one of the

slower girls (1938:74).

The data gathered in this study contradicted previously held beliefs about formal organization. Taylor's (1911) principles of scientific management did not explain the impact that this informal group of six girls had on productivity. The girls were active rather than passive members of the work force. They were driven as much by individual needs as they were by institutional demands. Personality, emotion and sentiment, often ignored by the classical model, played important roles in worker productivity (Tannenbaum, 1966:24).

The impact of the informal on the formal organization could be constructive, as in the relay-assembly test room, or destructive, as subsequently revealed in the bank-wiring observation room experiments conducted by Roethlisberger and Dickson.

Groups formed in opposition to the goals and demands of the formal organization were discovered to exist in the plant when the researchers began interviewing the work force. These cohesive units were responsible for several phenomena which included restricting production output. Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939:378) described their findings:

Informal practices by means of which certain operators were placed under pressure and kept in line were brought to light. There was evidence of informal leadership on the part of certain persons who took upon themselves the responsibility of seeing

that the members of a group clung together and protected themselves from representatives of other groups within the company who could interfere with their affairs.

To pursue this insight the experimenters created the bank-wiring observation room and placed fourteen workers in it under conditions which replicated their work environment in the plant.

The men were observed to have established their own norms and standards for production to which they all conformed. They exhibited one behavior when their supervisor was present and a second behavior when he was absent. They put peer pressure on overachievers to slow down, and on slow workers to speed up. Although operating in a wage-incentive system where they were paid piece rate for production, the logic of the workers held that greater output would only bring higher company standards, cancelling out any monetary benefits gained through increased production.

As a result of the Hawthorne studies informal groups in organizational structures began receiving attention from both organizational researchers and management. It was apparent that the informal group could be either supportive or subversive with regards to the goals and requirements of the institution. Tannenbaum (1966:67) related the research of Roy (1955:23) whose experience as a participant observer in a factory affirmed the

observations of Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939). Paid on a piece-rate basis, Roy soon found that he was subject to warnings and predictions concerning price cuts. The work group logic was similar to that found in the Hawthorne Plant: produce too much and piece-rate earnings will fall. The work group norms and sanctions were also similar to those found in the bank-wiring study at Hawthorne. One sanction noted by Roy (1955:23) was group ostracism of the individual who worked too hard.

Coch and French (1948) also found that workers in informal work groups restricted productivity in an effort to preserve the status quo and resist mandated changes in work methods. The researchers found that the more cohesive the informal group was, the greater was the support given to those workers who resisted management's innovations (Tannenbaum, 1966:67).

In the words of Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939:568), "It became clear to the investigators that the limits of human collaboration are determined far more by the informal than the formal organization of the plant." They were so impressed with the limiting aspects of informal groups on production that they concluded their report by encouraging management to "introduce in its organization an explicit skill of diagnosing human relations" (1939:604).

The need for administrators to study human

interaction in a social science framework was also espoused by Barnard. Barnard (1938:115) described informal organizations as "indefinite and rather structureless, and [having] no definite subdivision." The informal group structure was viewed as "a shapeless mass of quite varied densities" which resulted from external factors that affected "the closeness of the people geographically" or from "formal purposes" which brought them "specially into contact for joint accomplishments" (Barnard, 1938:115).

Barnard observed that as people contacted one another in the formal organization and interacted they developed informal group behaviors. He noted that the attitudes, institutions and customs of informal society affected and were partly expressed through formal organizations (1938:114). Barnard did not view these behaviors as impacting on decision-making. He did not view these aggregates of informal groupings as having a joint purpose, although he did note that "common or joint results of important character nevertheless come from such organization" (1938:115).

While Barnard did not recognize the impact of informal groups on decision-making, he did view the relationship of the formal organization with the informal organization as one of interdependence. While societies were permeated with formal organizations these formal

structures were in turn "vitalized and conditioned by informal organization" (Barnard, 1938:120). The very existence of each was dependent upon the other, "if one fails the other disintegrates" (Barnard, 1938:122).

Because the informal group facilitated communication, encouraged cohesion, provided the worker with a feeling of independence and self-respect, Barnard felt it was essential. He also recognized its capacity to establish sentiments, norms, and understanding (Kimbrough and Nunnery, 1976:69).

In a reflection on the work of Mayo and Barnard, Griffiths (1962:287) cautioned the student of informal group behaviors to keep in mind that Mayo's study was designed to improve factory production and therefore stressed those aspects of informal groups that hindered production. Getzels (1968:36) agreed "Mayo may have had a managerial bias," but recognized that Mayo, Roethlisberger, Dickson and their associates did conduct a thorough longitudinal study and gathered a plethora of information that clearly indicated: "What goes on inside the workman and between workmen is more significant for production than what goes on outside."

In 1950 Homans pointed out a need to more closely examine the data gathered by previous authors who had explored group behaviors in organizational structures. Homans (1950:3) argued, "Sociology has been gorged with

facts; it needs to digest them." Homans called for a "fresh approach" and reexamination of the theories of human behavior. Arguing, "No theory is permanent," Homans (1950:148) inspired a wave of research and literature aimed at social groups in general and informal group behavior in particular.

Homans believed there was an interaction that took place among the variables: activities, interaction and sentiment. A change in one, he argued, would foster predictable changes in the others. He was especially adamant in professing, "The higher the rate of interaction of two more more people, the more positive will be their sentiments toward each other" (Schein, 1970:108). Homans observed that even when two people who despised each other were forced to work together continuously, they eventually found something likeable about their adversary that allowed a positive sentiment to grow (Schein:109).

Homans noted the games, interaction and sentiments generated by the workers in the Hawthorne Study and referred to this new pattern as the internal system. The internal system and external system were viewed as interdependent and a change in one affected change in the other. If the internal system developed certain norms about how life should be organized, that internal system would change the manner in which work was actually performed, and ultimately the quality of the output or

product.

Simon expanded the definition of informal groups to include its influence on the decision-making process of the formal organization. Simon (1950:148) noted, "The term 'informal organization' refers to interpersonal relations in the organization that affect decisions within it but either are omitted from the formal scheme or are not consistent with that scheme."

The concept of variation in informal groups that Barnard had introduced was incorporated by Simon, but Simon (1950) linked variation to decision-making rather than "geography" or "formal purpose," as Barnard had done. While both men agreed that informal group membership was usually in a state of flux, they differed as to why this was so. Barnard attributed the flux to geography, while Simon felt that membership in an informal group was catalyzed by the issues at hand and the formal organization's handling of specific issues. Both men viewed the informal organization as a nebulous entity.

As a result of the Hawthorne Studies there emerged a dichotomous view of the formal organization/informal group relationship. A black and white picture developed with the informal group depicted at one extreme as necessarily subversive and intent on undermining the formal structure's purpose. Conflicts between the two structures were stressed in the literature (Griffiths, 1962:227).

Blau (1955) reiterated a point discovered earlier in the relay-assembly test room: that the informal work group can also be productive. He agreed with Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) that the administrator should study human interaction and further suggested, "It is irrational to administer a formal organization, such as a school, according to purely technical criteria of rationality and formality, because that ignores the non-rational aspects of informal organization "(Hoy, 1982:89).

Dubin (1958:61-76) attacked the dichotomous view of the informal group/formal organization relationship when he noted that such classifications were proving inadequate. Dubin preferred to view the relationship "on a continuum from formally mandated relationships on one end to pure friendship groups at the other" (Griffiths, 1962:227). Griffiths (1962:287) agreed with Dubin's viewpoint and observed that between these two extremes could be found a variety of human relationships which were "related to the jobs to be done in the formal organization . . . and having structures which conform in varying degrees to the formal organization structure." This was not surprising according to Griffiths since the informal group's "effectiveness depends upon close contact with the formal organization at all levels" (1962:288).

While authors attested to the interdependence of formal and informal groups they did not deny that conflict

was present as suggested by Mayo's studies (1933). Argyris (1957) explained that the goals of the individual and the goals of the organization are necessarily at odds with each other. This conflict was "natural" according to Whyte (1956). Argyris (1957:66) found that when one tried to mesh the needs of the mature personality and the demands of the formal organization the experience was much like trying to fit a round peg into a square hole. When an individual and an organization merged, each would attempt to influence the other. These differences were made manifest when the individual united with others in the informal group.

Getzels and Guba (Getzels, 1968:77) expanded on the conflict between personal needs and institutional demands. They represented the relationship pictorially (1968:80):

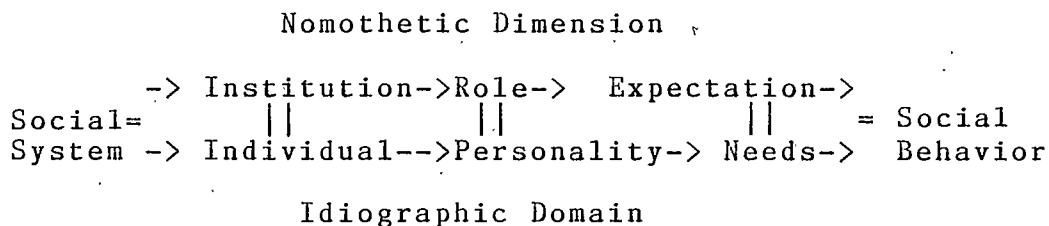


Figure 2

The Normative and Personal Dimensions of Social Behavior

They referred to institutional demands as nomothetic and individual needs as idiographic. Administration was

pictured as functioning in a social system consisting of these two dimensions.

In the formal organization the work group was viewed as the mechanism by which bureaucratic expectation and individual needs interacted and modified each other. A dynamic relationship between nomothethic demands and idiographic needs emerged. The informal group allowed the individual to maintain his personality, against the attempts of the bureaucracy to submerge it. The informal group provided cohesiveness, a feeling of personal integrity and self-worth, along with a notion of independence within the bonds of the work group (Hoy, 1982). Argyris, Getzels, and Guba thus viewed the relationship between the formal and informal structures as a two-way street, rather than a unidirectional one as suggested by Mayo (1933) and Barnard (1938).

It was not until 1958 that organizational researchers began to address the function of the informal group in the public school system. It was in that year that Iannaccone adopted the role of observer and focused on the interactions, actions and sentiments of the Whitman Elementary School faculty (Iannaccone, 1958).

The Whitman School Study was referred to in 1969 as "perhaps the most meticulous case presentation and analysis that has been published" (Lutz, 1969:164). Prior to 1962 the Whitman Study was only one of two detailed

case studies of informal organizations in education administration that had been completed (Griffiths, 1962:287). It has not diminished in stature.

The Whitman Study was developed as a part of a larger research effort funded by the United States Office of Education. The intent of the overall study was to determine the success of elementary principals. The intent of the Whitman Study was to develop simulation materials for the overall research effort. To this end Iannaccone made an extensive investigation of an elementary school in what was called Jefferson County. Using ethnographic techniques, Iannaccone's case study delved into all facets of the general school organization as it interacted with the informal groups of the Whitman School.

Iannaccone described the interaction within and between informal groups. He discovered two pyramids of relationships and within these pyramids various arrangements of people which had existed for a minimum of two years. He also found the formal organization affected the informal group structure in at least two ways:

1. Administrators could assign teachers to various rooms and thus affect the pattern of contact and interaction.
2. Administrators could also control formal job requirements and thus affect status patterns of the Whitman School.

Iannaccone also discussed the nature of the informal network and identified its impact on the power system which operated in the Jefferson School District and the Whitman School. His analysis provided perception into the kinds of influence and linkage informal groups have in the decision-making process. His data corroborated Simon's perception of informal groups impacting on the decision-making process.

Like his predecessors, Iannaccone and his adviser, Griffiths, urged the administrator to study the informal group structure. He also urged the full use of this organization, expressing the belief that such use would be "invaluable to the administrator" (1962:292). "The suppression of the informal organization" would lead to a "maximum disturbance in the total institution" (Griffiths, 1962:292).

Schon (1977) described the faculty social system as a practitioner network; within which teachers provided each other with mutual help for the carrying out of particular functions. Support, exchange functions, and coping functions commonly appeared in the network. Coping functions included relief from loneliness, advice, emotional support, a sense of belonging and sense of self-worth. This network provided a "nexus of mutual understanding, tacit bargains, agreements, which made the system work in spite of formal rules." Schon also found a

sense of professional 'belonging, mobility, status, prestige, influence, and a grapevine of information.

Weick (1976:1) proposed that elements of organizations, such as high school faculty members, are often loosely coupled, "tied together frequently and loosely." Contrary to classical management theory which held that an organization did what it did because of rationally derived plans and analysis Weick (1976:1) suggested:

People in organizations, including educational organizations, find themselves hard pressed either to find actual instances of those rational practices or to find rationalized practices whose outcomes have been as beneficent as predicted.

Weick (1976:3) distinguished "loose coupling" from words like "link" and "interdependence" by focusing on the image of coupled events as responsive, yet independent. Each element, while responding to another, also maintained its unique identity and autonomy. The term "loose coupling" connoted an impermanence and dissolvability that linkage did not.

It was Weick's contention that the two most common mechanisms which induced coupling, authority of office and technical core of the organization, are not prominent in educational systems in the United States (1976:4). For example, teachers are not frequently coupled by shared tasks, role or territory (technical core). Nor can their

interaction frequently be attributed to their authority, position, or responsibility in the formal system.

It was Weick's belief that informal group social interaction varied over a period of time. The patterns were not constant, nor should they be described as always present, cohesive, and bound by intention. "For this reason," Weick suggested, "a theory of how elements become loosely or tightly coupled may also have to take account of the fact that the nature and intensity of the coupling may itself serve to create or dissolve elements" (1976:5). Anyone wishing to develop leverage in the social system of an organization must understand what is available for the coupling and decoupling of elements (Weick, 1976:5).

The External Environment

Likert's model of organization (1961) focused on the concept of interlocking groups and developed the premise that these varied groups are linked by key individuals in the social system. In addition key individuals also linked the internal system to the external system (formal organization) and ultimately to the community or environment beyond the organization. In that external world of the community these key individuals may also link other community organizations and groups together. For example, a leader in the local educational association,

may also be influential in a local church and fraternal organization. Likert's model implied that parts of the environment are not independent from one another, nor are the internal systems of organizations, independent of the community environment.

Kahn (1964) developed the concept of interlocking role sets. He considered the formal positions in the organization and identified those offices with whom that key person was linked. He referred to these formal links as role sets, as these people were "expected" to interact. Kahn believed that these role sets overlapped and extended into the community. In both Likert's model which considered informal leadership, and Kahn's which focused on formal leaders the need to understand the interdependency of the environment in which the formal and informal (external and internal) systems of the organization function.

The work of the nineteenth century sociologist, Tonnies, (reprinted in 1957) emphasized a continuum which offers an insight into the importance of the community environment and its impact on the interaction of the informal group with the formal organizational structure.

Tonnies' continuum developed two polar extremes: the Gemeinschaft and the Gesellschaft. Tonnies assumed that all social relationships are created by human will (Tonnies, 1957:5). This will and the tie that bound two

people varied from time to time, in the manner suggested by Weick (1976).

In a Gemeinschaft relationship people associated, as friends do, viewing the relationship as an end in and of itself to be valued and enjoyed. He included friendships, neighbors and blood relationships as examples of Gemeinschaft groups that evolved in society. Exchanges were made without concern for ensuring a profit. The will that allowed these relationships was referred to by Tonnies as a natural will. Natural will was derived from the temperament, character, and intellectual attitude of the individual. It was the product of habit, inclination and emotion, liking and disliking.

It was Tonnies' observation that Gemeinschaft relationships were more frequently found in the rural agrarian societies, while Gesellschaft relationships predominated the urban and suburban centers of population. Gesellschaft relationships were based on rational will which Tonnies depicted as derived from the use of logic and scientific reason. Businessmen relied on rational will in their efforts to secure a profit. The mental processes of the capitalist were calculative. Exchanges that occurred were guarded with a vested interest in a return on the investment. It was not enough to have the favor returned someday, a profit was also anticipated. In the Gemeinschaft relationship the return of the favor was

unimportant, it was assumed that in the end the exchanges would all be equal. In the Gesellschaft relationship the party receiving a favor owed the other party, and if a formal contract did not exist a psychological contract did.

Tonnies recognized the importance of norms as a bonding mechanism that held together the fabric of society in an orderly mass. Norms provided "regularity" and Tonnies distinguished between the norms of the Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft societies. The norms of a Gemeinschaft society were based on concord or custom, while those of the Gesellschaft society were based on convention. As customs became codified and mandated, legislated and incorporated in policy, they became less recognizable to the people from which they evolved. The original intent and purpose of the custom became lost. As the society grew in complexity and became more rationalistic the customs, folkways, and mores of the community tended to become separate from the codified laws (1957:9).

In the Gemeinschaft norms were judged as moral and immoral in accordance with religious values, beliefs and creeds. Gesellschaft norms were sanctioned by public opinion based on common interests.

Values were also of importance in Tonnies model. All social values reflected on the social relationships and

organizations from which they evolved. As group cohesion and harmony increased the likelihood that common values were shared also increased. The sharing of values increased the likelihood that the possessions and ideas of each member would also be shared.

As people of like wills and attitudes merged, collective will also emerged. Gesellschaft, the calculative behaviors of the rational will, tended to cause the disintegration of Gemeinschaft, or natural will. The people, Gemeinschaft, became lost in society, Gesellschaft. Individual effort became group effort, individual pride gave way to collective ego, individual initiative felt the brunt of peer and societal pressure. Authority evolved which allowed one class or master to control another, and keep it in its place (Tonnies: 256). The "estate" in command maintained its power through exhibitions of authority, a legitimacy acquired by law and a need for order. Those who submit to that rule strive for the opportunity to participate in the satisfactions of life and the fundamentals of authority, and allow the controlling estate to remain in power.

Schein referred to the bond that Tonnies described as a psychological contract: the individual had a variety of expectations of the organization and that organization had a variety of expectations of him" (1970:12). Expectations included not only the manner in which work

was performed and rewarded, but incorporated patterns of rights, privileges and obligations that existed between worker and manager. The decision to join an organization implied commitment to the authority system of that organization.

The relevance of the concepts of Tonnies and Schein is illustrated in the findings and interpretation chapter of this text.

Informal Group Communication

In May of 1983, Hellweg submitted a paper to the annual meeting of the International Communication Association. The paper, entitled "Organizational Grapevine: A State of the Art Review," traced those studies, beginning in 1947, which contributed to an understanding of how the informal communication network operated. Of the more than twenty studies reviewed, only one (Timpano, 1972) looked at the informal communication network in the public school.

The studies focused on the diffusion of information within the workforce. Conflicting data has been gathered on the types of messages passed along, the types of people who utilized the grapevine, the accuracy of the information, the function of the network, and related characteristics.

Several studies found a direct relationship between where a person was positioned in the hierarchy and their knowledge of grapevine information (Davis, 1953, Sutton and Porter, 1968, and Knippen, 1974). Rudolph (1973) found that a curvilinear relationship existed, with middle level people most attuned to the grapevine. Marting (1974) found that there was no relationship between a person's position in the network and their awareness of information.

Studies also disagreed on the amount of, and degree of isolation of people that they witnessed. Davis (1953) reported that there was group isolation from the network, because of geographic or social separation. This tended to be truer of lower-level work groups. He also indicated that those who were identified as isolates were always isolated from the network. Sutton and Porter (1968) found that 33% of the rank and file were isolated from the grapevine half of the time, but never less than that. Marting (1974) found that management and nonmanagement accessed the grapevine equally, while Rudolph (1973) found a greater use of the grapevine among the higher levels of the network. Walton (1968) found those closer to formal power isolated from the flow of grapevine information.

In terms of the flow, Lee (1971) and Knippen (1974), observed information flowing downward. Davis (1953, 1964), Rudolph (1973) and Kaufman (1977) observed

information flowing either horizontally or downwards, but never upwards.

Evidence also differed as to whether informal information tended to flow most frequently within a department or work group, or from one group to another group. Cuplow (1974), Sutton and Porter (1968), Sutton (1969), and Davis and Oconnor (1977) found that information most frequently traveled within departments, rather than across department lines. Davis (1953, 1969) and Rudolph (1969) found that information tended to travel more frequently across department lines.

In identifying those who used the grapevine there was also disagreement. Walton (1959) found that reliance on the grapevine increased with seniority up to seven years, then leveled off and dropped sharply with people beyond twelve years of service in the system. Newstrom, Morczka and Reif (1974) found that new employees relied on the informal group grapevine, and found it useful in adapting to their new environment. Those with six to ten years tended to see the grapevine as less valuable than did those with more seniority. Those with the greatest number of years in seniority seemed to find the grapevine most useful.

That there was diversity in the evidence and disagreement as to the nature of the informal group communication network was attributed to the uniqueness of

the individual sites studied (Hellweg, 1983:1). While there was diversity in the information gathered there were also common conclusions arrived at by the various researchers.

While the formal communication network was established for the diffusion of officially sanctioned messages the informal mechanism emerged spontaneously and allowed employees to socialize and to express themselves off the public record. The formal network was structured, predictable, routinized and frequently out-of-date. The informal network was often spontaneous in nature and usually provided current information. Management that was willing and able to tap the grapevine would benefit in gaining insight into employee attitudes and acquired input for decision-making (Hellweg, 1983:1).

Grapevines operated mainly at the work site (Davis, 1953, Kaufman, 1977) and emerged as employees sought to meet their own social and personal interests (Davis, 1954). For this reason the grapevine was people oriented, rather than issue oriented (Coldhaber, 1974). Five out of six messages in the organizational structure were transmitted through informal grapevines (Lewis, 1980). The informal network often carried information inappropriate for the formal mechanism (Koontz and O'Donnel, 1955).

The literature concluded that grapevine information

was more often accurate than not (Cuplow, 1947, Marting, 1971, and Rudolph, 1973). Distortions that took place were generally due to efforts to simplify the message. Cuplow (1974) and Davis (1953), both concluded that only a small portion of what passed through the informal grapevine was rumor. Allport and Postman (1947) found that when rumor was prevalent it was usually because of management attempts to maintain secrecy. "Once a rumor is assigned credibility", Davis (1961) found, "other events in the organization were aligned to fit in with it and support it." Hershey identified three types of rumors that could be found in the grapevine, including (1) anxiety rumors, which reflected an uneasiness among workers; (2) wish-fulfillment, which reflected desires or hoped-for outcomes; and (3) wedge driving rumors, which reflected deviousness.

While liaisons were vital to the transmission of information only a small number of employees actually acted as liaisons in the grapevine (Davis, 1953, Sutton and Porter, 1968). Marting (1969) reported that only 10% of the employees acted as liaisons. Sutton and Porter (1968) concurred with that percentage. Sutton (1969) found that the number of liaisons increased up the hierarchy line, but that liaisons generally passed information along to only one other person. Kaufman (1977) discovered the same phenomena. People who acted as

liaisons were found to be interaction oriented workers (Sutton and Porter, 1968). They added that those who did not pass information along tended to be task-oriented and those who isolated themselves from the grapevine tended to be self-oriented.

Informal group communication was dependent upon persons who assumed roles in the network. Among the roles observed were mediator, facilitator, humorist, pacifist, evaluator, broker, enforcer and socializer (Bales, 1970). The network was dependent upon those people who filled these various roles. Those who were "carriers" of the norm and value system were especially valuable to the perpetuation of the group (Sarason, 1971).

Ethnography

The ethnographic method has been utilized in research over the course of history, dating back to Herodotus, Tacitus and Marco Polo (Malinowski, 1944:15). In more recent centuries Malinowski cites the contributions of Rousseau, Montesquieu, Durkheim and a host of other social scientists who observed cultures, collected data and then described as objectively as possible their discoveries.

Malinowski has been ascribed by more recent social scientists as the father of modern field study (Lutz, 1969:98). Malinowski's study of the Trobriand Islanders,

recorded in Coral Gardens and Their Magic , was termed "one of the most extensive field works ever done by a single researcher" (Lutz,1969:98).

This genre of research sometimes known as field study, case study, educational anthropology, participant observation and naturalistic inquiry, has as its primary method of data collection the "direct observation of human activity and interaction in an on-going and naturalistic fashion" (Rist, 1975:112).

Wolcott referred to an ethnographic account as "literally, an anthropologist's picture of the way of life of some interacting human group: or viewed as process, ethnography is the science of cultural description" (1975:112). Acting as observer the researcher seeks an overall view of the people, their interactions and sentiments and "especially the meaning the actors themselves assign to events they engage in" (1975:113).

Case studies have proved most valuable to cultural anthropologists, concerned with the nature of the human being, and the actions, interactions and attitudes that shape society. Several examples include Margaret Mead's Growing up in New Guinea (1930), Malinowski's Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922), W.F. Whyte's study of a Street Corner Society (1938).

Methodology incorporating participant-observation was used in Homan's The Human Group (1950), Gouldner's

Wildcat Strike (1954), Becker's Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School (1961), Hollingshead's Elmstown's Youth (1949) and more recently Cusick's Inside High School (1973).

Ethnographic methods and narratives have more recently been incorporated in the study of education. Prior to the 1960's there was little being done in terms of case study approaches to educational problems. Through the past three decades the descriptive literature has increased. Rist commented on the growing popularity of ethnographic research:

The ethnographic method is in vogue. Ethnography as a movement is generating its own language, its "hard" and "soft" side, its internal debates over the boundaries of what is or is not acceptable, and its own medium for publication. Indeed, it is nicely following the path previously taken by the quantitative methods (1980:9).

Smith (1978) outlined these areas of education that have recently been studied. A minimum of five case studies have been conducted in each of the six areas outlined: school and community, systems, classrooms, curricula, teaching careers, and schools in general. In the area of curricula and program evaluation alone, nineteen studies have been reported by Smith (1978). Numerous other papers, chapters, monographs and collections, referred to by Smith, report methodological statements regarding participant observation.

The ethnographic method has both its enthusiasts and its detractors. Scriven (1967) opened a provocative attack on "process studies" but within five years (1972) modified his position on the issue of objectivity and subjectivity. The internal and external validity of cases was raised as an issue by Campbell and Stanley (1963). The authors felt the "one shot" approach was not sufficient to lend validity or reliability to a researcher's efforts. Campbell (1974:24) modified his views indicating that qualitative studies "regularly contradict the prior expectations of the authors, and are convincing and informative to skeptics like me to a degree which my simple-minded rejection does not allow for."

Ethnographic studies have frequently been cited for the ability to gather data that other studies cannot detect and Campbell recognized this also, by noting that they have a "probing and testing power" and "validity." "They pick up unanticipated effects missed by more structural approaches" (1974:25).

The establishment of the researcher's role as a participant observer is the first step in the ethnographic methodology. This was pointed out by Wilson (1974:15) and Lutz and Ramsey (1974:7). Entering the research setting is a crucial step. In the participant observation model "the observer joins a group for the expressed purpose of studying it" (Lutz, 1969:108). The "observer's

presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation" (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955:344).

As both Whyte and Cusick gained entry into their respective groups they found in Whyte's words, "that my acceptance in the district depended on the personal relationships I developed far more than upon any explanation I might give" (1943:300). Cusick added, "I was accepted more as a member than as a researcher" (1973:233).

The researcher must spend much time in "legitimizing his 'natural' role" (Lutz, 1969:109). While the researcher may not have a great deal of interest in this task (Lutz, 1969:109) the accomplishment of this task would have much to do with how successful the researcher was in collecting data (Wilson, 1974:13).

Whyte (1943:303) addressed the futility a researcher could feel in becoming immersed in the society to be studied:

Sometimes I wondered whether just hanging on the street corner was an active process to be dignified by the term "research". Perhaps I should be asking these men questions. However, one has to learn when to question as well as what questions to ask. . . . As I sat and listened, I learned the answers to questions I would not have had the sense to ask if I had been getting my information solely on an interview basis.

Whyte's experience in Cornerville underlined a point made

by Lutz (1969:11):

The researcher must spend endless hours interacting in ways prescribed by the society only to discover that some of his collected data will not be useful in his research.

Most case studies present a descriptive narrative drawn from a synthesis of the many protocols obtained through the observation/notetaking procedures. These protocols lend themselves to the development of perspective. The narration is a chronicle without a commitment to universal laws or a model of explanations for causes (Gardiner, 1961).

While some researchers stopped with mere description, others advanced beyond this first level of interpretation and through analysis of the observed sought to contribute to the development of a theory base with broader application. Various levels of theory development are feasible, including miniature theories, middle-range theories and substantive theories in contrast to abstract, formal or general theory (Glasser and Strauss, 1962, and Zetterberg, 1965). Miniature or middle-range theories were suggested as most appropriate for ethnographic studies (Etzioni, 1961).

Miniature theories have been developed in studies of pupil roles (Smith and Keith, 1971) and involuntary superintendent turnover (Iannaccone and Lutz, 1970). Case study data and theories provide direction for further

analysis utilizing quantitative methods for verification.

Summary

A survey of the literature on informal groups in the organizational structure revealed that man's perception of the role and functions of the informal organization was changing. Although organizations have existed in business and education for centuries, the discovery of the importance of the informal group's impact on production and decision-making has been revolutionary. The discoveries in the Hawthorne Experiments have been cited and their significance established.

While the Hawthorne Experiments allowed for the growth of further research into the operations of the informal groups; they also contributed to the growth of a management style that incorporated this awareness of the informal group's power and influence in the system. The scientific management style encouraged by Taylor (1911) and perpetuated by Weber (1947) no longer stood alone as the foundation stone for management style. Barnard (1938), Simon (1950), Blau (1955) and Argryis (1957) each contributed to a knowledge base that revealed the extent of the informal group's influence, and this knowledge encouraged the growth of the human relations approach, which, in turn, gave birth to the human resources style of

management (Tannenbaum, 1966).

The definition of informal groups, and their role, changed dramatically through the decades of continued research. Initially viewed by Barnard as "shapeless" and having little impact on management decision-making, the definition later came to include Simon's recognition that the informal organization does impact on decision-making and has a vital role to play in that regard. Barnard, Roethlisberger and Dickson conceded that the informal group impacted on production and that these groups could hinder management goals and efforts in terms of production quotas.

The experiments at Hawthorne were also revolutionary in the sense that information contradicted previously held assumptions. Thompson (1967) pointed out that classical management theorists continued to exclude consideration of the informal group impact in management theory. Emphasis in the classical model continued to be placed on planning, programming, and efficient production. Human relations exponents focused on efforts to mollify the workforce, believing that a satisfied worker would increase production. Thompson felt the human relations theory excluded consideration of the classical ingredients of management planning. There existed a need to merge these two theories and to develop a perspective that considered both the impact of the informal group and the elements of

management planning and leadership (Thompson, 1967 and Gouldner, 1959).

Research into the role, functions and significance of the informal group has revealed much about its organization and nature. Research has been largely focused on the informal groups in industry, the armed services or ethnic neighborhoods. The availability of research in education, with regards to informal groups is less abundant (Hoy, 1982). There exists a continuing need to further develop a perspective on the informal group (Griffiths, 1962, Lutz, 1969, Iannacone, 1970, Smith, 1977, and Hoy, 1982).

The literature on ethnography established the technique of participant observation as not only a valid method of sampling behavior, but as the most appropriate method for exploring a dynamic, on-going, natural system. Close contact with those in the informal group would allow for a perception that extended beyond the preconceived notions and biases of the researcher. It also allowed for the discovery of data that may have otherwise not arisen (Whyte, 1938, Lutz, 1969, Cusick, 1973).

Existing literature provides a base of knowledge from which the researcher generated further questions in the course of examining the response of the Grandview Public High School informal groups to the attempts of the principal to influence them. This literature allowed for

the further extension of existing theory with regards to informal group impact on management planning. The extension of general theory, the development of a model, and the insight generated by this study should benefit administrators interested in extending their influence and effectiveness in the supervision of the school.

The procedures and methodology to be used in developing a model, or miniature theory, which seeks to explain the role and function of the faculty informal groups in the influence process are delineated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

PROCEDURES AND METHODOLOGY

In this study the pattern, nature and effects of informal group actions, interactions, and sentiments of a rural, public high school faculty were explored in order to ascertain how the influence process worked. The researcher has developed a model which seeks to explain how, why and when faculty members were influenced by the administrators, and by each other in the informal group process. The intent of this study was to provide school administrators with a knowledge base and insight into the role and function of the informal groups and the nature of their relationship with the formal organization.

This chapter presents the procedures that were used in this study. The population and investigation categories are defined within this chapter and information regarding the collection, organizing and analyzing of data is also included. Research hypotheses that were examined are offered herein, as are precautions that were taken to ensure greater accuracy.

Selection of the Site

Several criteria for the selection of the site were established, based on the purpose of this study. The criteria required that the school be in a community serving a rural area, and that it be a public high school.

The permission of the district school superintendent and the building principal to study the selected school site was needed. A degree of cooperation of both administrators and faculty was also mandatory in order to ensure that the observer was witnessing behaviors and attitudes that were representative of the actual, ongoing interchange of the staff.

Grandview Public High School was selected as the site for the study. The choice of Grandview further defined the scope of the study. The district superintendent was beginning his second year of service in the school system. The building principal and vice principal were each beginning their first year in the district, as well as their first year as school administrators.

In the late spring of 1984 the researcher approached the district superintendent to discuss the possibility of conducting this study. The superintendent gave tentative approval and required that the researcher receive the consent of the new principal in order to proceed with the study. The researcher met with the building principal

twice, first to present a copy of the proposal and to then discuss that proposal.

The researcher, superintendent, principal and vice principal then met to discuss the purpose of the study, methodology and personal concerns. The continuation of the study was contingent upon terms required by the principal. Those terms, outlined in the following paragraph also preview the school climate which characterized Grandview High School and further defined the parameters of the study.

The new principal was especially interested in allowing the study to be conducted, but emphasized: "This staff is already deeply suspicious of administrators. The last thing I need to do is to give them the slightest reason to mistrust me." In his first steps towards establishing credibility with the staff the principal was interested in developing trust. Faculty morale had slipped to "great depths" in the past several years. While approving the study of Grandview, the principal made it clear: "If the researcher's mere presence was an irritant to some personalities the study would have to be terminated to allow for the development of trust and faculty morale." He was imagining a "worse case scenario" and stated that such a reaction to the researcher's presence while unlikely, could not be ruled out.

The principal, Bill Taylor, also required that the

researcher be introduced to the faculty, and that permission of the department heads be secured in order to proceed with the study.

The researcher arrived at Grandview High School on August 30th, for the first day of the new school year, one half hour before a scheduled faculty meeting. In a meeting with the new building principal, the manner in which the researcher would be introduced to the general faculty was agreed upon.

In his opening remarks Bill Taylor introduced new teachers and student teachers. The researcher was introduced as "a graduate student from BSU" who was "gathering information at Grandview High School for a study." This was the introduction agreed upon previously. Standing by his desk, the investigator then took several minutes to elaborate on the study and his intentions. It was explained that information would be gathered that would reflect on the importance of the role of the faculty members, their personal relationships, and group relationships in the influence process. The researcher's interest in the manner in which the teacher's influenced the building principal and how he influenced them was also expressed.

At the meeting of the department heads on the afternoon of August 30th, the principal invited faculty input on the presence of the researcher in the high

school. An interest in the study was made apparent and several general questions were put forth by faculty members. Mary Galbreath asked, "What would be done with the information gathered?" The researcher replied that the data would eventually be included in a dissertation seeking to answer the research questions that had been revealed at the faculty meeting. No one objected to the conduct of the study at Grandview High School.

As the meeting closed several people expressed an interest in the idea and welcomed the investigator. Nancy Wright, chairperson of the Social Studies Department, expressed excitement and an appreciation for the study. She extended an invitation to the researcher to join her department meeting at 8:30, the following morning.

A Description of the Site

A description of the community, its heritage, economy and people is provided in order to order enrich the data generated by the study and facilitate transference of conclusions and hypotheses for further study in other locations.

Demographic Information

This study focused primarily on the members of the faculty, the principal and the vice principal of Grandview Public High School.

Grandview is a town of seven thousand and the county seat for Bridger County, Montana. The state population was estimated at 800,000. The population of Bridger County numbered 12,660 in 1980. While the population of the county experienced a thirteen percent increase over the decade from 1970 to 1980, the population of Grandview increased little more than one percentage point (Census Bureau, 1982:Table 171)

In terms of gender the county population was fairly evenly distributed with 6317 males and 6,343 females. The population of Grandview was similarly proportioned (Census Bureau, 1982:Table 171)

Whether a person was a native of the state or not, was important to some residents of Grandview. Dave Tanner, the high school vice principal, was interested in running for public office: "The first thing the people ask is, 'Are you a native of the state?' and I'm not."

Ed Bentley, a reading teacher, agreed with that observation, "It doesn't hurt to be a native of this state, if you want to succeed politically."

More than half (3,906) of Grandview's residents were born in the state. Of those residents older than five in

1980, 4,799 lived in Bridger County in 1975. Less than seven percent lived out of state in 1975. Statistics indicated that of those who move into the state, the largest proportion came from the northcentral plains states (Census Bureau, 1983c:Table 166).

The median age of the community was 34.2 years. One fourth of the Grandview population was under 18 years of age. More than half, 56.5% of the residents were between the ages of 18 and 64, while the remainder were over 65. Seventy-eight percent of the community's population was 16 years of age or older (Census Bureau, 1982:Table 171).

As the researcher became involved in the informal group processes of the high school faculty it became evident that the physical environment of the region, the climate of the area, local history and culture have impacted on the interactions of the staff members and the climate of the school. This in turn effected the influence process which the researcher observed. For that reason the researcher has provided a detailed description of the school district. That description makes use of both quantitative information gleaned from documents, historical texts, novels, census data and the researcher's observations. Metaphors are also used in order to develop the reader's conceptualization of the vastness of the landscape and the depths to which the environment has

impacted on the lives of the people (Miles and Huberman:27).

A History of the Area

The Flint River passes through the town of Grandview. It has served as a highway for explorers, fur tappers, Indian tribes and more recently: fly fishermen in pursuit of the brown and rainbow trout found thriving in these blue ribbon waters.

The first white men known to have entered the region arrived by way of the Flint River. In 1805 a Frenchman, Larocque, explored the basin on behalf of the Northwest Fur Company. Members of Captain William Clark's party camped at the present day site of Grandview in 1806 (Whithorn, n.d.:1).

Gold activity flourished in the mountains south of the basin for a short time in the 1860's. As traces of gold in the streams were panned out the miners moved on, leaving behind the unfound motherlode and the names of their camps: Mule Creek, Blue Springs and Lost Hope (Haines, 1977a:70).

With wagon trains and miners in mind, one early entrepreneur established a ferry and trading post along the Flint River in 1875. The growth of Grandview soon followed as a direct result of the construction of the

railroad through the Flint River country. The first construction train arrived on December 1, 1882, and the plat of the town entered the county records three weeks later (Whithorn, n.d.:n.pag.).

The completion of a rail spur to a nearby park encouraged tourism in the late nineteenth century, but also resulted in one of the first railroad company reductions in the local working force.

While the railroad gave birth to towns like Grandview, the railroad also sounded the death knell for the local Crow Indian population. In the words of McGuane: "The Indians had been very thoroughly kicked out. It would take a shovel to find they'd ever been here" (McGuane, 1981:1).

The Railroad

The people of Grandview have long been dependent on the railroad. Of the 5,200 residents employed in the county, 1,120 were working in transportation, chiefly for the railroad (Montana County Profiles, 1983:Table 5.10). One third of the income earned in the county was through transportation payrolls. Reductions in services and the work force through the years have hurt the local economy. A 1961 survey of the Grandview economic base and trends for the future, The Thompson Report (n.pag.), noted "a

sharp trend toward automation, centralization, and curtailment of employment in recent years, a process which may be expected to result in sharply diminishing employment, not unlike that in agriculture." It was a trend which continued into the present decade.

Cutbacks in the work force and the transfer of jobs to other locations reduced community income. Many who had made their home in Grandview were reluctant to leave. The high school media specialist, Sarah Moore, laid off of her job with the railroad several years ago, would "return in a minute if the railroad offered another job."

"As the railroad goes, so goes the local economy," mused Mitch Gillette as he considered the problems of financing the school district. Artist and teacher, Walt Gifford, recalled how his once thriving Rent-a-Car business became a losing venture when Amtrak passenger service through the community was discontinued. The railroad yard and business offices still occupied a prominent site near the heart of town. There was talk of turning the old station into a museum.

Outlying Areas

The first road to Grandview was completed in 1882 as a wagon road through a narrow gorge in the Flint River Valley to the south. The road became known as the Blue

Hill Grade and was far from easy to negotiate.

The Blue Hill Grade, Highway 91, followed the course of the Flint River southward, sixty-two miles, to Dawson Creek, a town of six hundred. At Grandview, the highway left the river and followed a tributary northward sixty-nine miles to Windsor Gap, "Population: 1200." Windsor Gap was the county seat for Alpine County.

There were several smaller towns on the road from Windsor Gap to Dawson Creek. In the valley, south of Grandview, old mining towns like Mule Creek and Lost Hope still housed a handful of people. Their children rode the bus thirty miles to attend high school in Grandview. It was a short drive by regional standards. Grandview High School athletic teams traveled 350 miles one-way for a conference game and began the long trip home the same evening.

To the north of Grandview the highway stretched in a straight line across the plain connecting scenes from a C. M. Russell painting. For seventy miles there was not a stop sign. There were "stops"; places like Deer Park and Wagner offered "Beer, Gas and Groceries." They were "cowtowns" of an Owen Wister novel, composed of cowboys, ranchers and their wives. Blue jeans, flannel shirts, U-Roll It hats and pickup trucks were commonplace.

An interstate highway also passed through Grandview, intersecting State Highway 91 two miles south of town. It

diverted traffic away from "Old Highway 40." Once a main artery through Grandview, state highway 40 now handled largely local traffic. It connected Grandview with two of the state's largest cities, Bluff and Morgan.

Though they were separated by thirty miles and a mountain range, Grandview has lived in the shadow of the city of Bluff. The 1961 economic report noted, "Retail trade attractions in Bluff" accounted for the "low level of sales in Grandview." Grandview was described as "subordinate to both Morgan and Bluff and overshadowed by them" (Thompson, 1961:n.pag.). The same study revealed that one half of the rural residents in Bridger County shopped in marketplaces other than Grandview.

"We go to Bluff on a weekend, if we need more than a few groceries. It's only thirty minutes away and the cost of gas is more than made up for in savings. It is nice to get out of town once in awhile," teacher Ellen Davis reported as she went over her student's exams. Similar feelings were shared by her freinds. There were teachers on the staff of Grandview High School who preferred to live in Bluff and commute the thirty miles over a mountain pass to work in Grandview.

The Physical Environment

Dirt and gravel roads left the highways to snake their way into the foothills. These roads twisted along creek bottoms through stands of cottonwoods and willows, slipped into the sunlight and hugged the sideslopes of wind eroded fingers of sediment that extended from the foothills.

Above the foothills rose the peaks of a rugged range of mountains that looked down upon glacier carved cirques, and amphitheaters speckled with blue pools fed by mountain snow. Looking upon the expanse of land before him William Clark described it as a "country rugged and stoney, with immense quantity of prickly pear and a bottom of fine grass." (Bureau of Land Management, 1965:9)

Dave Huntley was enjoying an afternoon climb. He had given up the fast paced life of an eastern city for the lifestyle he now enjoyed. As he edged his way to a summit that afforded a view for sixty miles in all directions, he recalled encounters with bighorn sheep and mountain goats. Elk, deer and antelope were still abundant. The grizzly bear population, numerous when Clark passed through, was dwindling. The herds of buffalo that once carpeted the plains for twenty five miles had long since vanished; only a handful remained.

In the early summer it was not uncommon to still find banks of snow in the shade of the lodgepole pine and

Douglas fir. In autumn the aspen groves burned with a brilliant yellow. It was a reminder of their origins, for the aspen grew in "the sites of old burns" (Bureau of Land Management, 1965:14). The white of their birchlike bark contrasted with the darkness of the forests they formed, forests thick with Engelman spruce, limber pine, ponderosa pine, and especially the Douglas fir and lodgepole pine. It was the latter two that have had commercial lumber use (Bureau of Land Management, 1965:14).

Above the timberline the earth was stoney, and among the barren rock outcroppings could be found pockets of alpine soil which supported low growing, wind resistant vegetation and tundra cover (Bureau of Land Management, 1965:7).

In December, area families ignored the winter drifts of snow and moved amongst the groves of aspen and spruce to cut their Christmas tree.

It is one of the benefits of living here. When I was growing up in the east my dad would go down to the local gas station and pick a tree off the asphalt parking lot and pay ten dollars for it. Now my wife and I have an annual tradition: a family walk into the woods to select a tree. The school board tends to look at the surrounding scenery as a benefit of the job and I am sure they assume it keeps us here when it comes time to negotiate salaries.

Bill Edwards leaned back in his chair and surveyed the surrounding peaks and added, "Those mountains drew us here."

Tourism

Bill Edwards was not the only one drawn to the valley. Over the past century, tourists have increasingly traveled the paths forged by the Absaroka and Crow Indians, and early trappers like Larouque.

One of Grandview's most noted guests, Rudyard Kipling (Haines, 1977b:102), described the community in the late 1800's, as lying

in a fold of the prairie and behind it is the [Flint River] and the Gate of the Mountains through which the river flows. There is one street in the town where the cowboy's pony, and the little foal of the brood mare in the buggy, rest contentedly in the blinding sunshine while the cowboy gets himself shaved at the only barbershop and swaps lies at the bar.

It was that atmosphere that some local residents wished to recapture. It was the old west look of the past century that a town renovation committee was seeking to recreate. A billboard in Bluff called the summer tourists attention to "Historical Grandview."

The favorable location of the town for tourism was reflected in sales in eating and drinking establishments. An economic survey of the community, observed that tourists spend money on hotels, gasoline, personal services, auto repair, motion pictures, amusement and recreation and medical service. The report then advised the citizens of Grandview to "develop attractions and

facilities for tourism" (Thompson, 1961:n. pag.).

The tourist attractions of the community benefitted from Grandview's location at the intersection of two state routes, which resulted in the elongation of a business district along the original main street, "Old Highway 40." A distinct central business district could be noted along Bridger Street. The buildings were typically constructed of brick and seldom stood more than two stories in height. Retail shops, cafes, saloons and hotels were numerous.

The 1983-84 Grandview Yellow Pages listed fourteen local motels, twenty-two cafes and restaurants and eleven saloons. A walk down Main Street would take a stroller past the Calamity Jane, the Mint, the Longbranch, the Stockman, the Bird Cage, the Sundance Saloon, the Last Call, and the Bloody Bucket.

A survey of retail trade outlets revealed the impact of the physical environment on trade in Bridger County. The forested hills and scenic beauty drew tourists, allowed for thirty-seven eating and drinking establishments, twenty-eight gas stations, twenty-two food markets and thirteen lumber yards in a county with twelve thousand residents (Montana Profiles, 1983:Table 10.2, Table 10.5).

Retail sales from 1983 emphasized the amount of dollars those shops brought into the county (Sales

Management Magazine, 1983:C-119): One third of the county's \$65,000,000 in retail income was garnered by the sale of food and drink.

Grandview

When the railroad company surveyors developed the plat for Grandview they established the main street parallel to the railroad "so that the streets, as surveyed, crossed the existing streets of Davis City on a diagonal, causing confusion in regard to property lines and rights" (Haines, 1977a:265). The most recent city maps still reveal that original design.

Home construction trends over the century in Grandview revealed the early, rapid growth of the community. Of the 3095 units now in existence, roughly two thirds of those structures were built before 1940 (Census Bureau, 1983:28-50). The southeast has remained the most densely populated part of town. Lot sizes are relatively small and homes modest, when compared to other state communities (Thompson, 1961:n.pag.).

Population figures over the century also reflected the early, steady growth of Grandview. The initial influx of railroad workers provided Grandview with more than five thousand residents in 1910. The population peaked in 1960 with eight thousand residents. The 1980 census placed the

population of the community at seven thousand.

There were 5,642 people in the county labor force in 1980: 5,244 were employed and 398 unemployed. The unemployment rate had risen from 5.6 in 1970 to 7.1 in 1980 (Montana Profiles, 1983:Table 5.1).

Despite cutbacks, the 1980 census data revealed the continued importance of the railroad in providing jobs for the people of Grandview. The growth of service related occupations and the decline of jobs related to agriculture were also illustrated by 1980 census information.

Table 1. Employment by industry in Grandview

	1960%	1983%
Railroads	24.5	21
Agriculture	20	10
Service	18	31
Retail	17	19.5
Construction	9	6.5
Finance	3	3.5
Manufacturing	4	2.5
Wholesale	2	2
Other Trans.	1.5	1
Other	1	3

Sources: Thompson (1961:n. pag.) and Montana Profiles, (1983:Table 5.4).

Figures for manufacturing employment revealed that the community had not been involved in heavy industry. Less than three percent of the population, 139 workers, were involved in manufacturing. That 1980 figure, one of the lowest percentages in the state, reflected a decline

that was approaching the low for this half century of 111 employees in manufacturing. The high of 468 employed in 1959-60 was due to the tentative and unsuccessful expansion of the lumber industry which failed during 1960 (Thompson, 1961:n.pag.).

Census information also revealed the modest nature of the average household income. The number of households in Grandview was reported to be 2,843. That figure represented an eleven percent increase from 1970. There were 2.41 persons per household. The median income per household was \$14,205. In owner occupied dwellings the average income was \$18,167, while the average for those who rented was \$8,118. A little more than seven percent of the homeowner households were below the poverty level and close to twenty-three percent of the occupied households were also below poverty level (Census Bureau, 1983:28-50). Included in this number were several of the Grandview faculty.

The "Effective Buying Income" estimates of the Sales Management and Marketing Magazine (1983:C-120) revealed a sum of \$113,764,000.00 in the county. The same magazine estimated the following distribution of income for

Bridger County residents.

Table 2. Household income distribution in Grandview.

Income range	Percent of Families
10,000 - 19,999	30%
20,000 - 34,999	32.7%
35,000 - 49,999	10.4%
50,000 up	3.3%

Median family income: \$18,603

There was still, as there was a century ago, a lumber yard at the edge of town where the tall pine became pulp and plank. There was a persistent odor of cut wood and pine sap. In the early autumn the wood burner's stove announced the end of summer. There would have been a haze of smoke over the town, if the wind were not so strong and persistent that it usually carried the aroma of burning tamarack, cottonwood and pine into the next county.

There remained, to the south of town, eight mining districts from the past century. These mines reported traces of gold, silver, copper and tungsten. These traces have not been sufficient to justify opening the mines on the grand scale of the nineteenth century (Thompson, 1961:n.pag.). Occasional rumors persisted to that effect as prices rise and fall on the market. A handful of residents still foraged the hills in search of traces of ore, and conducted small placer operations. The mining of

precious ores has been replaced by the sale of building stone, limestone, granite, and sandstone (Bureau of Land Management, 1965:31).

There are still men and women who set traps, gather pelts and recreate the lifestyle of Larocque and William Clark. Hunting remained important to the people of Grandview. Weekly auctions of confiscated game were cause for social gatherings. Pickup trucks and four wheel drives frequently sported the carcass of an elk or deer. The racks of these animals decorated gateways, living room walls, saloons and in one case the hood of an automobile. A person who was able to win a permit to hunt moose in the state lottery was rare and extremely fortunate. The avid fisherman could tell the seasons by the flyhatch and local news and radio were certain to carry the daily report of what lure was "sure to get 'em" along the Flint, Poudre, Adams or Crockett Creek.

It was a remote area. A person does not find a neighbor at every quartermile, or over the first hill. Some think of it as isolated from the world.

"There are many in this town who have not been in touch with the world beyond. I have seniors in class who can honestly say they have been as far as Wyoming and that is it," Nancy Wright commented at a social studies curriculum meeting.

Ed Bentley remarked in a separate conversation, "The

sense of isolation that the people have runs deep and in many cases, is a source of pride." Members of the faculty often used the words "provincial" and "parochial" in describing the town. "These people have their own little world here and they don't want anyone messing with it," Bentley continued. He gave as an example the furor created in the community when large segments of the valley were bought by California interest groups.

Perhaps there were none more isolated than those who farmed and ranched on the valley floor and in the foothills. Among those who did were found members of the Grandview faculty. Ty Mader left teaching on two occasions to give ranching a chance, Allen Able was taking a one year leave of absence for the same reason. Rowdy Thompson, Able's replacement worked his family's spread on the weekends. Several other faculty members maintained small operations that included a handful of cattle and horses.

Agriculture

The district encompassed an area described by Thomas McGuane in Nobody's Angel (1981:1)

In the grasslands that looked so whorted, so cowlicked from overhead, were the ranches. Some of these ranches were run by men who thought like farmers. . . The others were run by men who thought like cowboys. . . The farmer-operators were good mechanics. The cowboys had maybe a truck and some

saddle horses, and statistics indicate that they had an unhealthy dependence on whiskey.

Golden wheat fields and pasturelands dropped abruptly into the Flint River. Bridger County contained over 600,000 acres of pastureland and 100,000 acres of cropland (Montana Profiles, 1983:Table 9-3). In the hot, dry summer months, the parched fields of hay, wheat, barley and oats received moisture from the snowmelt that coursed through the streambeds. Irrigation was important to the farmers and ranchers of these valleys on the leeward slope of the Rocky Mountains.

There were some farms that seemed more fertile, better irrigated, and sheltered from the wind. "Those farms hugging the river appear to be making a go of it. But, a closer look reveals that they too struggle to keep the place in the family," advised Jack Davis as he surveyed his land. The fistful of soil that he held was gravelly.

Darren Owens, a valley wheat farmer reported that he "took to raising trout to supplement the income and keep the farm in the black." Several months later he listed the spread of land "for sale" in a local realty office.

The number of farms in Bridger County has been steadily declining from 625 farms and ranches in 1940 to 336 in 1980 (Thompson Report, 1961:n.pag.). While the number of farms has decreased over the decades, the number

of acres per farm has increased. The average farm in Bridger County comprised 1,076 acres in 1925 compared with 1,926 acres in 1959 (Thompson Report, 1961:n.pag.). In 1983 the average farm contained 2,588 acres (Montana Agriculture Statistics, 1983:9).

The number of people living on those farms has also decreased over the years. In 1970 the farm population stood at 1,320. In 1980 it was down to 1,226 (Montana Profiles, 1983:Table 9.1). The average age of the farm owner, 52.7, was steadily rising. As in other agricultural regions of the nation it was becoming increasingly difficult for young people to afford farming. Of the farms in Bridger County 258 were family owned, thirty-nine were partnerships and thirty-nine were incorporated (Montana Profiles, 1983:Table 9.6).

The consolidation of farms and mechanization of production resulted in substantial reductions of agricultural employment in both the county and the state (Thompson, 1961:n.pag.). In 1940 the U. S. Census Bureau reported 1,017 persons employed in agriculture in Bridger County; one of every four laborers or twenty five percent of the labor force. By 1950 agricultural employment in the county had declined to 949 or twenty percent of the labor force (Thompson, 1961:n.pag.). The number of "hired hands" working in the rural area dropped from 576 in 1978 to 474 in 1980, or eight percent of the labor force

(Census of Agriculture, 1984:203).

Of the farms in Bridger County 254 were beef cattle farms, twenty-eight cash grain farms, and twenty-nine field crop operations and twenty-nine planted in hay (Census of Agriculture, 1984:203). While wheat and barley fields dominated the countryside, in terms of state production the county ranked forty-fourth of fifty-six counties. While there were fewer acres in hay, the counties production of hay ranked eleventh in the state (Montana Profiles, 1983:Table 9.8).

The average sale per farm was \$40,114. Total sales for Bridger County agriculture reached \$15,965,000 in 1983. Census figures revealed that of the nearly \$16,000,000 of agricultural income \$12,600,000 was in livestock and all but \$379,000 of that was in cattle (Census of Agriculture, 1984:148). Thompson's 1961 report noted, "Agricultural cash receipts in Bridger County are generally low" (Thompson, 1961:n.pag.). Thompson was commenting on the 1957 cash receipts per farm. The county was forty-fourth of fifty-six counties in Montana at that time. That same position was held by the county in 1983 (Montana Profiles, 1983:Table 9.7).

In the forested foothills above Grandview one could find cattle grazing on public land rented to the rancher. In these hills could be found characters similar to Grandfather Fitzpatrick in McGuane's, Nobody's Angel: Men

and women who "carved out the irrigation ditches, sluiced water into springhouses and farmed without machinery," built their homes of stone or lodgepole pine and tracked the elk and deer for their meat and hides. They were a proud people and wore their scars as evidence of their lifestyle.

Allen Ludlow was one such character encountered by the researcher in the Bloody Bucket Saloon. Ludlow leaned over his beer and rearranged the "chaw" of tobacco in his mouth as he talked. A finger was missing from his right hand as he pointed to a newspaper on the wall of the Sundance Saloon, "I was out here then, and I will be 'til I die." The newspaper announced the Hindenburg Air Disaster.

Ludlow defined his family's lifestyle, "My grandchildren and great grandchildren still work the soil, pray for rain, curse the wind, saddle the horses, look for strays and mend the fenceline."

It was autumn and in the bed of his pickup truck was an axe, a chainsaw, a gallon of gas and a golden retriever. He still cut his wood for winter heat. In 1984 he paid a small fee to the Forest Service and pulled logs from the hillside with a four wheel drive vehicle. He regretted the fee and called it a "federal intrusion" in his life.

There were a few on the Grandview High School staff

who were second and third generation natives of the valley. Several of the men reported that they went into teaching because it would allow them to find work in the area and continue the lifestyle that they had known all of their lives. "Don't make fun of the Valley cowboys," Susan Rogers politely reminded a fellow staff member, "my family has been in the business for years!"

A Description of Grandview High School

There were five high schools in Bridger County, including Grandview, Flint Creek, Deer Park, Wagner, and Dawson Creek.

The present structure for Grandview High School, designed for eight hundred students, was first occupied in 1968. The facility included a gymnasium that seats 3,100, thirty-two teaching stations, a centrally located library, a modern and well equipped food service, athletic facilities, a bus garage and health, administrative, guidance and vocational areas.

The 1984 Northwest Evaluation Report commended the district for the "excellent initial planning of the facility, which has allowed for departmentalization, smooth student flow, ample space for the student population, and expansion of the facility."

In discussing the design of the building several teachers lamented the fact that Grandview citizens had essentially copied the building design of Bluff High School. The single story sprawl of brick and glass resembled the facility in Bluff, as did the spaciousness. Referring to that spacious atmosphere, one teacher commented that a failure to adequately project the population had created the space: "We have three hundred fewer students than the architects anticipated."

The facility was centered around a small open airspace referred to as a courtyard. The administrative offices were placed to the north of the courtyard to allow the principals a visual escape from the brick confines of the building. "There have been days when I wanted to escape into that space and head right into those mountains," a recent building principal, Jack Miller, said wistfully.

To the east of the courtyard was the cafeteria which also served as the study hall. It was the first and only room that visitors observed when entering the high school to visit the principal's office. "It is regrettable," a lunch group of teachers agreed,

that those who visit this school during the day see only this study hall as they enter and leave. They walk past this wide-open space and see the children of Grandview wasting the hours of the day: sleeping, gabbing, walking around and engaged in horseplay. No wonder the people of this town have concluded that we are not engaged in effective teaching here!

Also off the main entranceway, and to the left of the cafeteria was the gymnasium. The gymnasium stood above the remainder of the single story complex and was set forward on the lawn, allowing it to be the most noticeable facade of the high school facility. The symbolic nature of that position was not missed by several of the staff who observed that it reflected the emphasis placed on athletics in the district. "We are," complained one teacher,

the source for entertainment in the community. We provide the citizens with athletic teams upon which the community can focus its rapt attention, relive its youth, and devote its tireless energy to the development of state champions.

While the school gymnasium reflected a heavy investment in a basketball program that turned out state championship teams, the landscape surrounding the school revealed a football field that did not have the usual equipment one associates with the sport. "Blasters," and two and five man sleds normally used to develop linemen and blocking technique have not been purchased. "We are a one sport town, and that is about the only thing many of these citizens care about: basketball!" a veteran teacher concluded in a conversation with his peers.

To the west of the courtyard and administrative offices were the three wings of the building dedicated to

the "academic" subjects. Noting the amount of building space set aside for the academic curriculum and that space provided for physical education and study hall one teacher remarked, "The disproportionate emphasis on things other than academic education in this district is physically illustrated by the fact that only one third of this building is used for the mission of transmitting knowledge."

Another teacher found the physical arrangement of wings to be symbolic:

It has always struck me as more than circumstantial that the English department occupies a physical space that is thrust to the fore and center of the building, closest to the community. It seems to connote an importance of some kind. Also visible to the community, but off to one side, is the wing housing the math and science departments. To the rear of the building, out of sight and lost in the woodlot is the wing that houses the business department, and to the rear of that wing, the farthest distance from the entranceway and community is the social studies department.

The Organization of The School

The organizational pattern of the Grandview public school system was vertical. The local school board was charged with writing policy and a local superintendent ensured that the policies of the board were carried out. Montana high school districts may frequently incorporate outlying rural areas that govern their own elementary

schools. The high school board in Grandview was composed of nine members, seven of whom were also responsible for the community's elementary school district. Of the nine board members, three women and six men, seven represented the city of Grandview. The remaining two were elected from the outlying rural area.

The relationship between the board and the superintendent's office was described as "improved in recent years with the arrival of the present superintendent, William Sumner." The communication line between the board and superintendent "has been strengthened through the continued efforts of the superintendent." That line could be best described as two-way communication with each side sharing information at regular and frequent intervals. Sumner's efforts included a weekly letter to the board, often five pages in length; an itemized preview of the agenda for the monthly school board meeting, which frequently consisted of thirty pages; annual retreats, frequent telephone calls, and conversations.

Superintendent Sumner, shared an office building with the business manager, Frank Mitton and a staff of four secretaries. Sumner worked with an administrative team that included principals from three elementary, one middle and one high school, and the director of a countywide special education district.

His leadership style was best described as human resources with an appreciation for human relation touches. His confidential newsletters to board members revealed praise for district personnel, as did his remarks at board meetings and in news releases. His conversations with administrators and staff included a warm regard for their efforts as well as inquiries into any problems that were surfacing. His administrative staff meetings included round table discussions in which principals were encouraged to air out any problems or issues of concern. Their advice and ideas were frequently sought, as was the input of district personnel and, at times: the community. Sumner's evaluation sessions with these administrators also revealed two-way communication. The subject of these sessions was often self and staff improvement. Administrators explored the progress they were making toward the accomplishment of goals.

At Grandview High School, the principal's job description required that he attend to this goal: "To make the school facility an attractive, pleasant and productive place in which to work and learn." His responsibilities included "the administration, the instructional programs, the extra curricular programs, and community relations." The four page description elaborated on those general categories and further defined his relationship with the superintendent, staff, students and community.

The vice principal was "under the direct supervision of the principal, performed assigned duties involving management and control, records and reports, improvement of instruction, in-school relationships, pupil/parent contact, and community relations."

The teaching staff of the school was subordinate to the principal and vice principal. In some cases teachers were also required to pay formal allegiance to other administrators or third parties. For example a Chapter One teacher worked in the building, but his job description required that he be evaluated by the Director of Special Education. Other special education teachers and reading specialists had similar relationships with administrators beyond the building. The athletic director's position in the hierarchy was particularly clouded. He responded directly to the principals, superintendent and the school board athletic committee chairman.

The teaching staff was divided among a series of subject related departments including English, social studies, mathematics, shop, physical education, home economics, science, business, music, special education, and guidance. Each department had a number of assigned teachers ranging from two in home economics, music and guidance to six in English. In several departments teachers of subject matter vaguely related to the

department were included, in order to "give everyone a group to belong to." As an example, the driver education teacher was included with the Social Studies Department, as were a German and a Spanish teacher.

These departments each had a teaching-chairperson whose job descriptions were not formally written. In the past several years the Northwest Evaluation revealed that the past principal abandoned the use of chairpersons. The present principal was seeking to reestablish the importance of the position and the responsibilities of it. Chairs did not receive an additional stipend, nor did they enjoy a reduced class load. The position was viewed as "only a title" (Northwest Evaluation, 1984:n.pag).

The full and part-time personnel employed at the high school numbered 72 in all. The following table lists the certified and noncertified personnel:

Table 3. Personnel serving Grandview High School

	Full-time	Part-time
Administrators	2	
Classroom teachers	37	4
Guidance Counselors	2	
Educational Media	1	
Health Service		1
Specialists & Consultants		2
Paraprofessionals & Aides	2	3
Secretaries and Clerks	3	
Custodial Personnel	4	
Food Services	10	
	--	--
Totals	62	10

In addition to staff required for tasks related to subject matter, these figures revealed the number of school personnel required to maintain the building and support the organization. Several of these noncertified staff, including the head custodian, secretaries, clerks and a head cook were visible on the periphery of the social structure of the teaching staff.

Subordinate to the administrative and professional staff were the 558 students. In 1984 the high school student body was composed of 168 freshmen, 125 sophomores, 131 juniors and 134 seniors.

Grandview High School enrollments peaked at 903 students (9-12) in 1976-77. In the years following 1977 the school enrollment figures continued a downward pattern that included occasional gains followed by greater losses (Montana Profiles, 1983:Table 3.5).

The school enrollment figures varied from week to week, as well as from year to year as the district continued to experience a flux in the general population. The Northwest Evaluation Report attributed a decline from the previous year's enrollment to employee layoffs on the railroad. As a result of declining enrollments and few staff reductions the high school has "maintained a low teacher/student ratio in recent years" (Northwest Evaluation, 1984:56).

A "high percentage," seventy-three percent, of the Grandview graduates elected to further their education in four-year colleges, junior colleges and vocational schools (Northwest Evaluation Report, 1984:56). The Grandview staff boasted that in the graduating class of 1984, three students continued on to attend Harvard and Princeton.

Within the past five years a decline in district general fund revenue has been recorded, and has impacted on the materials and services provided for the students.

Table 4. General fund revenues
of the Grandview Public Schools.

1981-82	\$5,389,498
1982-83	\$4,788,781
1983-84	\$4,234,772

Per pupil expenditures have risen considerably since the 1902 figure of \$38.60 a year to \$2,024 in 1983 (Montana Profiles 1983:Table 3.6). The district was confronted with the continuing problems of rising costs, declining local economy, reductions in federal aid and a growing resistance to taxes.

The Curriculum

The facility and organization of the school allowed for the development and implementation of the school curriculum. The curriculum was divided into subject areas

and fragmented into courses. Like the floorplan of the building, the school curriculum also reflected an emphasis on certain subject areas. The educational program of Grandview High School included the following course offerings:

Table 5. Grandview High School Curriculum

<u>Courses</u>	<u>Credits</u>	<u>Offerings</u>
Language Arts	12	22
Practical Arts	11.5	21
Fine Arts	7	14
Business	10	12
Home Economics	4.5	9
Mathematics	9	9
Music	7	7
Science	6.5	7
Social Science	4.5	7
Foreign Language	9	5
Physical Education	2	4
Health	1	2

During his first year as superintendent, Sumner focused attention on the district's curriculum. It was his intent to systematically develop the scope and sequence of each subject area (K-12). It was, in the memory of a middle school social studies teacher, "The first time in twenty years that anyone had asked the teachers to examine the school curriculum." The superintendent described the task as "Herculean" in the fall of 1983. He immediately realized the need to involve others in leadership positions related to the task.

Teachers within the district were tapped to chair committees for each subject area. In the spring of 1984, Superintendent Sumner recommended the board hire a full-time curriculum director charged with the continued analysis and development of each subject area.

Every student of Grandview High School was required to complete twenty credits in order to graduate. The core curriculum required for graduation included:

Table 6. Courses required for graduation

English	4
Mathematics	2
Science	1
Social Science	1.5
Physical Education/Health	2

Total	10.5 credits

The remaining 9.5 credits required for graduation were accumulated through the process of choosing electives.

During his second year in office Sumner and the school board focused considerable attention on these graduation requirements. Responding to national literature, increased university requirements and local needs the district revised the graduation requirements in the winter of 1985. The new standards required twenty-one

credits of all students, to include:

Table 7. Proposed graduation requirements

English	4
Mathematics	2
Science	2
Social Studies	2.5
Physical Education	1
Fine Arts	1
Vocational	1
Typing	.5

Total	14

In addition to the required credits the board mandated a recommended curriculum for college-bound students as well as a recommended curriculum for vocational training. Guidance personnel would be required to urge the students to choose courses that met the recommendations prescribed by the board.

During the course of his first two years in the district, the superintendent assimilated a variety of information that allowed for the assessment of outcomes and output related to the process of educating the children. A lengthy review of achievement test scores (K-12) concerned the superintendent and revealed in his estimation: "Grandview students were at best, mediocre; often lying well below the fiftieth percentile as a group." He was particularly concerned that the past five years revealed a continuous, and sometimes "drastic decline in performance scores."

As the superintendent introduced a proposal for new high school graduation requirements he also revealed information provided by Bluff State University. The information as reported in the local daily newspaper revealed, "Grandview High grads below norm at BSU." The first paragraph of the newspaper article informed the citizenry of Grandview: "Grandview graduates may not be as well prepared for college as graduates of other Montana high schools" (Grandview Gazette, November 13, 1984:1).

The Interrelatedness of Variables

That the local history, physical environment, facility, staff and curriculum intertwined was articulated by a local citizen speaking at a community forum on graduation requirements and the high school curriculum:

For too long this community and school district has, in effect, said to its youth: "You are either a future railroad gandy dancer or timberjack, or you are college-bound." We are promoting a class system where those who are labor bound view education as a frill and those who are college-bound view those without that education as beneath them.

High School guidance counselor Mitch Gillette referred to that dichotomy during an autumn lunch.

From the time of its construction we have been dependent on the railroad for sustenance. Kids come through our system dependent upon the railroad for a living. There is individual and community dependence on the railroad. It effects an attitude in students

that says, "I will have a job when I get out." It effects an attitude in the community that says, "Who needs these frills?"

Arriving late for lunch Nancy Wright, Social Studies Department Chairperson, was exhilarated that social studies (K-12) was finally involved in developing a curriculum. "It's about time!" summed up her feelings. She expressed a realization that the district's program in social studies was "too provincial!"

We have adopted this parochial Grandview perspective that somehow we are isolated from the world and better off for it; and that we do not need to know about the rest of the world. We focus the student's attention on Grandview and Montana and we feed right into the community's tunnel vision, it's provincialism!

Clarence Dayton, a veteran mathematics teacher with experience in several other similar communities, was quick to remind Wright:

That's so true of any town in this state. Each community has its own self-centeredness, attitude of independence and reluctance to merge with the next community down the road, let alone with the world. They each want their own basketball team, they each want to have their kid on that team and they can't stand the thought of consolidating with another school.

Each teacher at the table then listed various schools in the state as examples of where that was true.

The staff itself was not immune to charges of parochialism. One teacher noted "a good deal of inbreeding on the staff which has tended to increase our

propensity for staying in the rut that we are in." He then listed those who were "born and raised here," or "married into the town": Cheryl Ginther, Susan Rogers, April Wills graduated from Grandview. Joe Watson, Ted Callahan, Dave Tanner married into the community. Albert Streets was related to half the community. "The town needs an infusion of new blood, new ideas," the teacher concluded.

During a conversation with the researcher, a department head, talked about the "clean up" she wished to see in her department. She felt the faculty "perpetuated mediocrity and that it was not entirely their fault." She suspected "localism, community attitude, inbreeding, and peer pressure, as well as poor administration in the past" were all responsible for a mediocrity revealed in recent local studies of student performance. She suggested that Montana was unique in that not many professional alternatives were available and "local citizens had few choices if they wanted to remain in the state, employed in professional occupations."

Students and former students were also described as fitting into the "self-perpetuating cycle of parochialism." Speaking in the high school lounge, English teacher Swede Anderson talked about Grandview graduates who stayed in town after graduation. He described them as "walking the earth with this notion that

they have somehow been damaged for life by their high school experience. Somehow this place has done them in. Life was over. They have reached the end." He swept his arm through the air as if to encompass the school and all that it stood for and continued:

If these were supposed to be the best years of their life what could be left to accomplish in life. If these were the best years of their life and were miserable, they do not want to take a chance on looking any further into the world, for fear that it could only get worse. They stay here and feed on what few good memories they have of high school and blame this school if it was not a pleasant experience. They will never forgive us.

Andy Reynolds, the athletic director was listening intently. He occasionally nodded his head to second what Anderson was saying. When the English teacher paused Reynolds added, "On election day they take it out on us, by defeating mill levies."

Anderson then described the impact this worldview had on his own life:

I can't stand seeing them any more. I try to avoid them, but they are everywhere. I don't even go to the laundromat anymore. I have Mrs. Millard do my laundry. It costs five dollars more but I don't have to mix with that crowd. They live for the Friday night game and hang around the stands reliving the past. There are a few who have stayed around and really made something of themselves and continued to grow, but it seems they are few in number.

When he had finished there was a quiet moment in the lounge and Reynolds then recognized, "It's kind of depressing isn't it?"

Method of Data Collecting

The methodology used in this study had to satisfy the principle of providing the best evidence, while at the same time allowing for as small a degree of disruption of the normal flow of activities as possible. It was also necessary for the investigator to have contact with all categories of participants, in order to fully understand what was taking place in the school (Rist, 1975; Wilson, 1974:13).

This investigator collected data in a two-phase design. Within the first phase, data collection involved the investigator in the role of participant observer. In the second phase the investigator collected data quantitatively.

Establishing the Role as Participant Observer

The data gathering procedure accepted the premise that schools and faculties are social entities dependent on adherence to some minimum common set of values, norms, beliefs, expectations, rules and sanctions.

It was the intent of the investigator to establish himself in the role of a participant observer in order to observe the social dynamics of the Grandview faculty, for the purposes of the research. At first this was not an easy task. The researcher was not already "on staff" nor

was he joining the staff as a new teacher. No title, such as "administrative intern" or pretense was attached to explain the presence of this newcomer. No attempt to play down the importance of the researcher's presence or to be nebulous in answering staff inquiries was made.

From the standpoint of the research it had been decided that developing the trust of the staff and administration in the investigator, would enhance the validity and reliability of data gathered. Events and attitudes occurring in the presence of the researcher would be more genuine if those observed had trust in the investigator.

It was agreed that it would not be healthy for the development of staff morale, for the staff to suspect that the researcher was misrepresenting himself, or that the researcher was really there to "spy on the staff" and pass information along to the principal or central office.

Principal Taylor addressed that issue:

I want, very much, to have this research conducted in our school. There would be many benefits. Please keep in mind that my intent this year is to build trust with these people and to restore calm and develop staff morale. My worry with regards to the conduct of the study at this high school is that some faculty may be suspicious of your mere presence, perceiving you to be a spy for the principal or superintendent.

Both the researcher and the principal were faced with similar challenges with regards to developing

relationships, trusts, lines of communication, and a rapport with the faculty. On one hand the researcher wanted to be accepted as a part of the staff, on the other hand, the researcher wanted to be candid in explaining his presence. Any fear that candor would cause people to shy away from the presence of the investigator was allayed within the the first several days. Any awkwardness that was felt on the first day in the building was shortlived.

Data Collection as Participant Observer

As a participant observer the investigator observed and recorded descriptive data, direct quotes of sentiment, utilized unstructured interviews, recorded interaction data, and perused written records including newspapers, official minutes, speeches, memorandum, newsletters, daily announcements and other available documents which lent insight (suggested by Lutz, 1969:113; Pelto, 1970:145; and Wolcott, 1975:121). The high school facility floor plan information was also gathered (Figure 3).

All data was carefully collected on protocols for further reference. These protocols were written at intervals during the day. (An example of a protocol is displayed in Appendix C.) At the end of each day protocols were entered into a personal computer and recorded on discs. Keywords were used which allowed the

researcher to trace events, personalities and ideas. Hardcopy of this information was printed and a "subject" filing system was developed on notecards.

A matrix (Figure 4) evolved from observations which reflected "the relative power of the members" (Bales, 1970:74). The researcher observed the interaction patterns that occurred from day to day, who interacted with whom, and where those encounters occurred was also noted. The researcher noted the number of exchanges that took place and the content of those exchanges. While Bales (1970:62) and Lutz (1969) indicated that the quantity of exchanges was not completely reliable as an indicator of status, each author recommended the collection of such data for the purpose of shedding light on questions which involved power, influence and informal group behavior. The researcher was alert to other forms of interaction, including facial expressions, gestures, bodily attitudes, emotional signs and expressions that indicated feelings or sentiments (Bales, 1970:70).

The researcher developed a record of which teachers assumed leadership positions, and which teachers were perceived to be in leadership positions. This was done by noting both the formal and informal network involvement of faculty members, and their achieved and ascribed status; and through informal interviews with faculty, students, administration, noncertified personnel, board members and

community members.

The researcher noted which faculty members aligned themselves with the respective faculty leaders. Sociometric pyramids (Figure 4) were developed which illustrated lines of interaction and influence in the informal faculty groups. Points of tangency where the informal faculty group interacted with the formal structure were identified. Sites of interaction (Figure 5) where dyads, triads and small informal groups met were noted to determine the importance of the physical plant in the interaction of the faculty (Festinger, 1950; Iannaccone, 1958). Sites where the informal groups interacted with the formal structure were also noted.

The researcher utilized informal conversations with faculty members to explore their expressed sentiments with regards to attempts of the administration to influence them. The researcher also noted those sentiments expressed in conversations and recorded them on protocols.

The researcher utilized formal and informal interviews with the district and high school administrators to record their intent as they sought to implement policy, respond to situations and influence the high school faculty; and to gain additional perspectives on group dynamics. Additional documentation was received from both faculty and administrators in the form of written materials including agendas, goal statements and

objectives, and other written communications.

In the data collection process the observer did not resort to taking notes of events or conversations until he removed himself to the privacy of his "office" (Lutz, 1969:122). The researcher accepted the premise that note taking could interfere with the researcher's need to be perceived as a participant (Cusick, 1973; Whyte, 1943). The observer was also aware that he could become so involved in "taking notes" that he failed to observe important data (Lutz, 1969:122). For these reasons the observer was often dependent on memory, codes or shorthand methods. While the researcher had a small tape recorder he used it only to record details after the fact. It was not used to record conversations. Short retreats were utilized to allow the observer time to record observations on protocols, in privacy. Lutz (1969:122) noted that these techniques and devices could be used effectively by the participant observer when actual note taking was not adviseable or feasible (Lutz, 1969:122).

The literature revealed that other researchers have placed themselves in closets and washrooms, or even exited from buildings on a regular basis to write in their cars (Gold, 1983). Those options seemed less than comfortable and could draw some attention from the staff and students as deviant behavior. Wishing to behave as much like a teacher as possible, the researcher did not want to be

viewed leaving the building every two hours, or exiting regularly from closets.

It was assumed that staff members would be approaching the new principal with questions about policy, procedures and purchase orders, among other issues. The researcher wished to observe these encounters in an unobtrusive manner. The investigator did not want to affect this interaction by his presence or affect his own ability to participate in the informal processes of the school.

After several days in the school a suitable space was found. The arrangements in A-5, a room adjoining the office, were ideal for both writing protocols and listening to the exchanges between the principal(s) and teacher(s). When the door to A-5 was closed it was impossible to discern if the room was occupied. At the same time, a person in A-5 had ample opportunity to survey the depth and breadth of issues brought to the principal's attention, and the manner in which he conversed with those present or over the telephone.

Encounters between the principal and teachers, that took place outside of the office, were frequently revealed by the participants. Their summaries could be checked against the impressions of other participants.

Reliability and Validity with Regard
To Observation Techniques

No single observation was considered as being reliable (Lutz, 1969:124). Reliability was enhanced through the continued surveillance practices of observing and recording.

In addition the researcher found several confidants within the system with whom he could check the accuracy of descriptions of behaviors and events. Such procedure, referred to as triangulation, was followed frequently by Whyte as he consulted "Doc" in Cornerville (1943).

When the researcher occupied a seat in the "E Wing" row, it did not go unnoticed. An acquaintance wondered, "How did you manage to get one of the good seats?"

It was later learned that some faculty members deferred to Walt Gifford, rather than "get hassled." That the researcher was in a seat usually occupied by a member of "the group" was an indicator of either nerve or naivety. Gifford was one of the first to welcome the observer to Grandview High School and was always generous and cordial. Though a generation apart in age, Gifford and the researcher had grown up in neighboring communities of the Midwest: Gifford's father was a local legend in high school football circles, the name was familiar to the researcher. Gifford and the researcher were also mutually acquainted with several educators, towns, and

establishments in their homestate.

Gifford had offered the use of his desk, suggesting that the observer could write his notes there and develop a file cabinet. As protocols could become sensitive documents and the writing of them required more privacy than his room could afford the offer was refused.

In future faculty meetings the researcher made certain that he sat in a new section each time, so that no one group or individual would associate him with any other particular group. His relationship with Gifford continued to grow.

Though always cordial with each other, conversations could also be blunt when it came to sharing information. On several occasions each withheld information from the other. If the researcher probed into an area that Gifford felt was sensitive with regards to staff, he would say, "I don't think I should answer that." On such occasions the information had often been revealed to the researcher, by other sources or firsthand observation. As an example, one teacher's office had been disturbed by another teacher. Gifford made it clear, "I'd rather not discuss that." He hesitated and then deferred, saying, "No. I shouldn't talk about it." The teacher suspected of the behavior was not a close friend of either the researcher or Gifford. Gifford simply felt it would be inappropriate to discuss the matter.

Gifford would also occasionally probe the researcher. He understood the researcher's reasons for being in the building. "You've been getting around this place, circulating among the staff: What do you think about the quality of some of these teachers?" Such questions could quickly become sensitive. The researcher was aware that Gifford often gathered evidence for his causes in such a second hand manner. An occasional apology, or blunt, "I really don't want to reveal that," was sometimes necessary when the researcher was concerned that revealing insight might affect the influence process he was observing.

Gifford's experience and position in the school and community proved most valuable. Information that he provided often proved reliable and factual when held up to the processes of triangulation and cross-validation.

Denzin (1971) noted that such a triangulation process amounted to "qualitative cross-validation among multiple data sources, research methods and theoretical schemes" (Hellweg, 1983:11). House (1977:31) added:

Validity was provided by cross-checking different data sources and by testing perceptions against those of participants. Issues arise from the people and situations being studied rather than from the investigator's preconceived notion.

The triangulation procedure used in this study allowed the researcher to obtain a different perspective from members in various positions of the organization,

over a period of time. In addition to Walt Gifford the researcher developed similar ties with members of other segments of the school social system. In this manner the researcher was also able to cross-reference the validity of information provided by Gifford, administrators and others.

"Once reliability is established", Lutz (1969:124) argued, "validity is not so much at question with field observation." Kerlinger concurred, "There is no complaint about artificiality here" (1964).

Validity and reliability of observational data collecting techniques could be enhanced according to Homans (1950) by adhering to the following six guidelines for subjectivity.

- (1) Time: as the researcher spends more time with a group he will gain greater accuracy in describing it.
- (2) Place: accuracy of perception was increased as one became physically close to the people observed.
- (3) Social circumstance: the observer's interaction with the group in a number and variety of social circumstances also increases accuracy.
- (4) Language: the researcher should share a common language with the people observed.
- (5) Intimacy with the people observed enhances accuracy.
- (6) Consensus: Triangulation, the researcher can seek confirmation of meaning that he has attached to events, behaviors or actions

Cusick observed that the description and explanation

of a situation was enhanced as one lived closer to the center of actions studied (1973:232). His advice echoed the concern of Homans (1950) who espoused the need for the researcher to be physically close to the group observed in order to increase the accuracy of his perception.

During this case study the researcher conducted himself as much like a teacher as possible. He arrived at work generally before the required time and departed when the school day was over. The researcher frequently stayed beyond the normal working hours and remained for extracurricular events, board meetings, and other school related functions. He enjoyed the company of the faculty during the day and socialized with members of the faculty at the end of the working day.

The researcher developed close ties to certain members of the faculty and became as one teacher stated a "welcome addition." The researcher attended formal school functions and informal group activities. He became familiar with teachers in the lounge, the cafeteria, the boiler room, their classrooms, the hallways, the office, the local cafe and saloons and other places that teachers mingled.

Involvement in the high school's wrestling program allowed greater freedom in accessing the locker room area and interaction with the coaching staff. Up until that point, the locker room was one area of the building that

the researcher had not fully accessed. In moving into that area the researcher cultivated and enjoyed a relationship with Tim Mahoney and wrestling coach Reggie Dillon. It was through Mahoney, an assistant football coach, that the observer gained "access" to the gymnasium. Mahoney had been making regular trips into the gym during his seventh hour preparation period. The observer eventually tagged along with him and began to feel at ease "parking it on the bleacher seats," to watch Pete Blaylock's PE class.

The researcher did not have great opportunity to interact with students initially. As a result, students sometimes asked, "Who's that guy?" Other students would hazard a guess: a "new teacher," a "social worker," a "student teacher" and "college guy." When he began appearing in the locker room after school, to help coach the wrestling team, students soon found a label they could use to identify this man: "There's a wrestling coach." Student interaction with the observer soon increased.

Staff and administration appreciation of the researcher's involvement with the wrestling program was also expressed. Such involvement indicated to some a commitment to children, a commitment to the school, and a "maniacal desire to get hurt" that was admired.

"You wrestle with Snyder, that animal?", the athletic director asked in amazement.

"Steve once coached wrestling", the principal explained. The observer's status was immediately elevated.

The interaction with the students allowed for even greater interaction with adults.

Despite the formal introduction and statement of purpose at the opening day faculty meeting, and department head meeting it was clear that some people had quickly forgotten the researcher's purpose.

The researcher was not wearing the uniform or carrying the baggage of someone who was conducting research. He dressed as the male faculty members dressed, agonized over Mondays and looked forward to Fridays. He kept a social distance from the student body, developed a few relationships with some students, as other teachers did, and participated in formal and informal events. In short, he conducted himself as a teacher.

On one occasion, guidance counselor Albert Streets asked, "Are you teaching next hour or do you have a prep period? He assumed he was speaking to a member of the staff. Streets' remark, coupled with one by Clarence Dayton; "You're in the shop aren't you?" indicated that there was some confusion about who this man was.

In the day following the first parent/teacher session April Wills asked, "Did you have any problems with the parents of students at last night's open house?"

The researcher was confused by the question for a moment, and then answered, "I'm not teaching, April."

She looked even more confused and countered, "I thought you had classes!" Some teachers obviously had placed the observer on staff.

Tina, the media specialist, also thought she was talking to "one of the new teachers" as she introduced herself to the observer. She apologized for not knowing him and rationalized that she was "confined to the room behind the library and secluded from the action."

Other members of the staff were more aware of the researcher's intent. They were, for the most part, people deeply interested in people; people to whom the social system was important. At one point a teacher drew the analogy of an elk herd, and observed, "Some staff members tend to be more curious than others about new members in their territory." The analogy of the elk herd was remembered at several points during the course of the study. The analogy had not been offered as an insult. Considering the local emphasis on hunting and game, and the nearness of wildlife, including an abundance of elk, the young man's comparison added local flavor, and a recognition that the faculty had its own peculiar behavior patterns.

The researcher found, as Homans (1950) suggested, that being able to speak the professional language and

vernacular of the staff was essential in gaining acceptance in the school. A former teacher and student of education the observer was well aware of the professional jargon and participated in curriculum and staff development meetings with other faculty members.

Familiar with the works of Boyer and Goodlad the researcher could talk with teachers like Ed Bentley who enjoyed staying informed and current in their professional knowledge base.

The observer, a former social studies teacher, enjoyed rare current event conversations with people like Joe Watson and Fred Winter. The researcher was also able to talk with teachers about the problems of the classroom or community life.

The observer was an avid outdoorsman and could also speak the informal language of the environment conscious staff. He was at home with talk of trout and mountains, and learned to comprehend the language of the hunters on the staff.

In many situations the researcher waited to see what topics would arise, rather than instigate conversations. The researcher was aware that his own preference to talk politics, sports or recreation could lead to a biased sample of what teachers talked about. When conversations were initiated by others the researcher also guarded against dominating them or prolonging them. While the

researcher was essentially in Grandview to observe, speaking the language was important in establishing relationships.

The researcher soon felt comfortable among the staff members and was included in their conversations. Gestures of staff towards the researcher were similar to their gestures towards others. Dillon would give a pat on the back and promise to "see ya later." Spencer's eyes would grow wide as stories and barbs were exchanged. Winter would lean towards the researcher and talk quietly with him. Streets would rest a hand on the researcher's shoulder and exchange pleasantries. Thompson would let out a rodeo like "How ya doin?" when he saw the observer halfway down the hall. Mayer would take the investigator's elbow and talk softly about a product he was selling, or a hope for the new basketball season. Gillette would touch the investigator's arm several times to make a point. Callahan would tell an off color joke and smile devilishly as he concluded it. Walt Gifford would rest an arm on the observer's back. Mason would bubble enthusiastically and ask about the day.

That intimate friendships were developing became apparent to the researcher and others as the study came to an end and the number of visits decreased.

"These people are going to miss you when you are gone," the principal informed the investigator. "Some of

them come in here during the day and ask me if I have seen Steve. You have become an important part of some lives."

On a later date in December the district superintendent remarked to the principal, "I don't know what we are going to do without Steve around here, he is beginning to fit right into the faculty."

Such compliments were reassuring. In late January, when it became necessary to change roles and take on the characteristics of the stereotypical research scientist, complete with notepads and questionnaires, the transformation created an awareness among many, that the researcher had other obligations in life, and new directions to go.

Mary Galbreath warmly took the observer's hand and expressed pleasure that he had been a part of the faculty's life: "It has meant a great deal to me, to have your friendship. I have felt more like a human, and less like a part of a machine."

Margie Mason handed in her questionnaire and remarked, "Am I ever going to see you again, or do you ride off in the sunset like the Lone Ranger, at this point?"

John Rockwell, Don Millard and Swede Anderson each wished the researcher well, as did others. In completing the questionnaires each realized that they would be seeing less of the observer, and many assumed it would be the

last that they would see him. In each case, the individuals were reassured that he would be returning, but on a more formalized basis to engage in formal interviews where necessary.

Additional strength was added to the validity and reliability of this empirical study by articulating, beforehand, the techniques and strategies to be used in the conduct of the study (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Those techniques were enumerated in the Analysis and Organization of Data section found in succeeding pages.

Quantitative Measures to be Used in Collecting Data

In the second phase of data collection the researcher employed two instruments which provided information regarding the teacher's zone of acceptance of the principal's influence and a profile of the teacher's assessment of the administrator's leadership style.

Influence was described by using the Professional Zone of Acceptance Inventory developed by Kunz (1973). This instrument provided a measure of the teacher's willingness to accept a supervisor's unilateral decisions in various school-related areas. It accomplished this by requiring the teachers to indicate their probable frequency of compliance on a Likert five-point scale ranging from "always" to "never." Examples of items

surveyed included "the change and modification of existing curricula," "the methods of to be used to discipline students in the classroom," "the requirements for student membership in extra-curricular activities," and "the degree of student proficiency needed to pass each grade" (Kunz and Hoy, 1976: 54). A copy of the instrument is appended.

Stogdill's Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ-Form XII) was developed for use in obtaining descriptions of a supervisor by the group members whom he or she supervised. The LBDQ-XII used twelve subscales to arrive at a profile of leadership behavior. Each subscale was defined by component items and represented complex patterns of behavior (Stogdill, 1963:3). As with the Kunz instrument, group members were asked to respond with a Likert scale (1-5) rating of each item of the one hundred item inventory. Subscale items were distributed throughout the instrument. For example, the Representation subscale consisted of items 1, 11, 21, 31, and 41. The twelve dimensions of the principal's behavior that were measured are:

1. Representation: the degree to which the principal acted as the representative of the group was measured by five items.
2. Demand Reconciliation: the principal reconciled conflicting demands and reduced disorder in the system. (5 items)
3. Tolerance of Uncertainty: the principal was able

to tolerate uncertainty and postponement without anxiety or upset. (10 items)

4. Persuasiveness: persuasion and argument was used effectively; the principal exhibited strong convictions. (10 items)

5. Initiation of Structure: the principal clearly defined his role, and let followers know what was expected. (10 items)

6. Tolerance of Freedom: the degree to which the principal allowed followers scope for initiative, decision and action. (10 items)

7. Role Assumption: the principal actively exercised the leadership role rather than surrendering leadership to others. (10 items)

8. Consideration: measured the principal's regard for the comfort, the well being, status and contributions of others. (10 items)

9. Production Emphasis: measured the extent to which pressure was applied to secure production output. (10 items)

10. Predictive Accuracy: the degree to which the principal exhibited foresight and the ability to predict outcomes accurately. (5 items)

11. Integration: the principal maintained a closely knit organization; resolves intermember conflicts. (5 items)

12. Superior Orientation: measured the degree to which cordial relationships were maintained by the principal with superiors; influence was established with superiors, and the degree to which the principal was perceived to be striving for higher status. (10 items)

The Stogdill and Kunz instruments provided further insight into the influence process. It was presumed that the influence an administrator had with his staff (measured by the PZAI) was directly related to the

leadership of the administrator measured by the Stogdill scale (Kunz and Hoy, 1984:49).

The quantitative data collected with these two instruments was combined with data collected by the researcher as participant observer. This method provided the researcher with a greater data base, and another tool with which to refine hypotheses, draw conclusions and make recommendations.

The instruments were not be employed by the researcher until it was determined that sufficient information had been gathered in the role of participant observer. These instruments were administered at the conclusion of the first semester of the high school academic year. The researcher met with the building principal and it was agreed that a late January workshop day would allow time and a convenient setting for administering the instruments.

On that day the researcher explained the purpose of each instrument and described the kind of data each instrument would generate and how that data would be valuable to the study of the high school. The importance of each teachers participation was stressed and teachers were told that in previous experiences the researcher had found that fifteen minutes were generally all that were required for the completion of both the Stogdill and Kunz instruments. The staff was asked to first complete the

Kunz PZAI and then the Stogdill LBDQ-XII. Instruments were completed and returned to the researcher at the meeting.

Reliability and Validity
With Regards to Kunz and Stogdill Instruments

The Kunz instrument for measuring the professional zone of acceptance was developed with statements selected from "a pool of more than 150 items that had been written and collected based upon the literature and the researchers' experience" (Kunz and Hoy, 1976:54). Items were screened and modifications made in order to create "a comprehensive yet parsimonious set of items" to detect the professional zone of acceptance of teachers. Modifications based on the comments of respondents were also made following a pilot study. An analysis of the pilot study data also revealed that some items had low correlations with the major cluster. These items were modified or eliminated. Kunz reported an initial reliability coefficient of .91 on the PZAI over a week's lapsed time in using a test/retest method, involving 380 teachers and an alpha of .96 (Kunz and Hoy, 1976:54).

The Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire - Form XII, evolved from the efforts of Hemphill (1949) and the ensuing Ohio State Leadership Studies. Shartle (1957)

observed that "when the Ohio State Leadership Studies were initiated in 1945, no satisfactory theory or definition of leadership was available." Through empirical research it was found that a large number of hypothesized dimensions of leader behavior could be reduced to two strongly defined factors identified by Halpin and Winer (1957) as Consideration and Initiation of Structure.

Stogdill (1963:4) reported that "two factorially defined subscales, Consideration and Initiation of Structure, have been widely used in empirical research, particularly in military organizations, industry and education." Halpin (1957) reported, "In several studies where the agreement among respondents in describing their respective leaders has been checked by a 'between-group vs. within-group' analysis of variance, the F ratios all have been found significant at the .01 level." Halpin concluded that same-group members tended to agree in describing their common leader, and the descriptions of different leaders differed significantly (Stogdill, 1963:4).

Shartle (1957) reported that while it seemed inconceivable that two factors could account for all the observable variance in leader behavior, there was no theory available to suggest other factors. Stogdill's development of a theory explaining role differentiation and group achievement, accompanied by a "survey of a large

body of research data," suggested that a number of variables contribute to the differentiation of roles in social groups: tolerance of uncertainty, persuasiveness, tolerance of member freedom of action, predictive accuracy, integration of the group, and reconciliation of conflicting demands. An examination of empirical research suggested the following variables: representation of group interests, role assumption, production emphasis, and orientation toward superiors. Items were developed to describe these hypothetical subscales and incorporated in questionnaires which were administered to successive groups. Item analysis was then used to refine the instrument. It was administered, reanalyzed and revised again.

The LBDQ-XII was first used by Marder (1960) in an examination of military leadership. Day, in 1961, used the instrument in the study of leadership in an industrial organization. Usage and refinement of the LBDQ continued in the 1960's. Stogdill, Goode and Day reported the use of the LBDQ in the study of ministers, community development leaders, United States senators, corporate presidents, and industrial and governmental organizations (Stogdill, 1963:2).

The reliability of the subscales was determined by a modified Kuder-Richardson formula. Each item was correlated with the remainder of the items in the subscale

rather than with the subscale score including the item, yielding a conservative estimate of subscale reliability. (Those reliability coefficients are found in Table 1 of the appendix.)

Research Questions and Hypotheses

In this field research the investigator was an instrument through which data was gathered. The bias of the investigator had to be reduced in order to enhance the reliability and validity of the study (Lutz, 1969:117). For that reason the researcher worked with research questions, and through the course of the field study, generated hypotheses. The research questions were phrased as open statements that allowed for the collection of data.

The hypothesis was viewed with guarded concern, in that it implied a direction that the researcher believed he would find variables interacting. The hypothesis was viewed as a closed statement, or "preconceived idea" (Malinowski, 1922:8,9). The observer was concerned that he would consciously or unconsciously screen out those events that would prove the hypothesis wrong or discount the significance of a finding. This fear was expressed by Malinowski:

If a man sets out on an expedition, determined to prove certain hypotheses, if he is incapable of

changing his views constantly and casting them off ungrudgingly under pressure of evidence, needless to say his work will be worthless (1922:8,9).

Research Questions

In the conduct of this study the questions that follow served as a focal point for data collection. While many different events, actions and sentiments were revealed to the observer, the investigator could not possibly absorb and record all details arising in the everyday flow of school activities. A sifting and sorting of stimuli occurred which allowed the author to filter through to those events that contributed to the focus of the study, and the development of a model related to the specific problem statement proposed by this researcher.

1. What was the intent of the principal with regards to influencing the actions and behaviors of the faculty?

A. How was that influence felt by the faculty?

B. How did the faculty respond to that influence or attempt to influence?

2. What was the intent of the faculty with regards to influencing the actions and decisions of the principal, superintendent and school board?

A. How did the faculty impact on the formal decision-making process?

(1) How did the faculty show support for the administration?

(2) How did faculty members intentionally or unintentionally hinder the goals and ambitions of the administration?

- B. On what formal policy issues did the faculty show support for, or hinder the administration?
3. How did the political/socialization process take place in the given system?
- A. How were the norms, values and beliefs of the formal and/or informal organization inculcated in the membership?
- B. What sanctions and rewards were used in maintaining the structure of norms, values and beliefs?
4. What impact did the physical facility have on the informal group dynamics?

Information gathered in the process of answering these and other questions that arose were used to develop a model that seeks to explain the role and functions of the informal faculty group in the formal decision-making process, supervision of the school and the development of the school climate.

Research Hypotheses and Quantification Analysis

The researcher was interested in determining the extent to which each of the various leader behaviors identified by the Stogdill instrument accounted for variation in the teacher's zone of acceptance (Kunz instrument). The null hypothesis offered: That variation in the teachers zone of acceptance of the principal's influence, as measured by the PZAI, is not accounted for by the teacher's perception of the principal's various

leadership characteristics, as measured by the LBDQ-XII. The alternative hypothesis: That variation in the teacher's zone of acceptance is accounted for by the teacher's perception of the principal's leadership characteristics.

The author was also interested in testing the degree to which information generated with the Kunz and Stogdill instruments corroborated or conflicted with data gathered through onsite observation. To test that relationship the following hypotheses were tested:

1. Teachers who identified the principal as low in consideration and structure on the LBDQ-XII, were observed to be engaged in hindrance activities, and expressing negative sentiments about the principal's attempts to influence the staff.
2. Teachers who identified the principal as high in consideration and structure on the LBDQ-XII, were observed to be supportive of the principal's attempts to influence the staff, and expressed positive sentiments about those attempts.
3. Teachers who identified the principal as high in structure and low in consideration on the LBDQ-XII, were observed to be in compliance with the attempts of the administrator to influence them, but expressed some reservations about his leadership style.
4. Teachers who identified the principal as low in structure and high in consideration exhibited calculative behaviors, and utilized personal digression with regards to accepting the principal's influence while considering possible sanctions that could be used against them.
5. Teachers who identified the principal as high in Representation were observed exhibiting greater support for the principal than those who rated him low in representation.
6. Those teachers who rated the principal as high in

Demand Reconciliation and Integration were observed demonstrating support for the principal. Those rating the principal low in those categories were observed expressing negative regards for the principal.

7. Those who rated the principal as high in Role Assumption and high in Superior Orientation were observed going through the principal, in the chain of command, to secure their needs. Those who rated him low in those areas were observed seeking alternate routes to secure their needs.

8. Those who rated the principal as high in Tolerance of Freedom, Tolerance of Uncertainty, and low in Role Assumption exhibited negative sentiments about the degree to which the principal had opened the decision-making process.

9. Teachers indicating a narrow zone of acceptance of the principal's influence on the PZAI, were observed engaging in hindrance activities and expressing negative sentiments with regards to the principal's attempts to influence them.

10. Teachers indicating a wide zone of acceptance of the principal's influence on the PZAI, were observed engaged in supportive activities and expressing positive sentiments with regards to the principal's attempts to influence them.

Organization and Analysis of Data

Analysis in the field study approach occurred simultaneously with the collection and organization of data (Miles and Huberman, 1984:23). It was carried on in an ongoing manner that was sustained during the researcher's presence at the site of the investigation (Becker, 1958:48). The advice of Malinowski was heeded:

Successful research depends upon the synthesis and organization of evidence done in the field. The greatest source of all inadequacies and gaps in my own field work has resulted from the dire methodological fallacy: Get as many "facts" as you

can while in the field, and let the construction and organization of your evidence wait until you write up your material (1935:467).

The primary method of organizing the data collected as the participant observer was in a descriptive, narrative format. This narrative reveals the way in which the staff organized itself informally. It describes interactions, loci of interactions, actions, conversations, and reveals beliefs and attitudes of the faculty pertinent to the development of the research questions (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973:118).

Included in the description are "apparent paradoxes or contrasts," including the comparison of differences within a group and between groups. Wolcott's suggestion that discrepancies should also be noted in what people say they do, what they think they should do, and what they prefer to do, was followed (1974:124).

The analysis of descriptive data was an important part of this ethnographic research. The researcher was aware that analysis was too often neglected by the investigator (Lutz and Ramsey, 1974:7). Lutz and Iannaccone (1969:131) substantiated this charge, "Often the weakest part of descriptive research, particularly in education, is analysis of data" (1969:131). The investigator recognized the need to analyze the data in order to produce generalizations that could be examined in

settings other than the one investigated.

The internal validity of the empirical design was enhanced by implementing a detailed description of how the collected data would be analyzed (Miles and Huberman, 1984:22).

The analysis stage of this empirical study consisted of three inseparable activities: data reduction, data display, and conclusion-drawing/verification.

Data reduction was a culling process (Lutz, 1969:132) that required the researcher to select, focus, simplify and transform raw data found in field notes and protocols (Miles and Huberman, 1984:23). Data reduction occurred each time the researcher determined what personalities he would observe, what interactions he would sample, what locations he would step into. It occurred when the researcher recorded data and occurred again as he selected, discarded and transformed that data into a narrative for display.

Data reduction methods included anticipatory and interim data reduction. Anticipatory data reduction incorporated methods for focusing the collection of data, while interim data reduction methods provided an ongoing means to correct for excessive prefocusing (Miles and Huberman, 1984:25).

The following anticipatory data reduction devices

were used:

1. A conceptual framework was developed to orient the research. This framework specified the aspects of behavior subject to observation (Lutz, 1969:119).
2. Research questions derived from the conceptual framework provided a more explicit definition of what the researcher wanted to know.
3. The researcher limited the bounds of the study by sampling one school and establishing criteria for that school site selection.
4. Finally, in determining how data would be collected and recorded the researcher furthered the focus of the data collection/analysis process.

The importance of these data reduction techniques was noted by Miles and Huberman (1984:25) for their ability to create "data that are radically more analysis-rich."

The following interim methods, suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984:25) were also used:

1. Contact summary sheets allowed the researcher to capsule a site visit on a single page. Protocols for each day were summarized on these sheets and information about people and events, issues and research questions explored and hypotheses generated, and points that were to be explored were briefly summarized. In addition to written sheets the researcher also used tape recorded summaries that were made at the end of each day as he returned home.
2. Coding of protocols, filed notes, summary sheets and the information within them facilitated data retrieval for analysis (Levine, 1983). The usage of keywords on personal computer softcopy, the creation of a computer disc file, as well as a hardcopy chronological text, and hardcopy subject file notecard system facilitated data retrieval.
3. Memos were developed which provided a brief insight, puzzles for consideration, a category for further consideration, a possible explanation, a

significant event, or striking deviant case (Glaser, 1978). The researcher did not carry a visible notepad. Instead he kept a small pad in a pocket and referred to this in the privacy of his office, where legal notepads allowed lengthy development of protocols during the course of the day.

4. Site analysis meetings with third persons, including university faculty and district personnel, provided opportunities to step back intermittently to review the flow of data and the direction of the study.

5. Interim site summaries of ten to twenty pages, provided a synthesis of findings at the site, and revealed the "robustness of supporting data, or the lack of supporting data (Miles and Huberman, 1984:25). These summaries also provided an agenda for further data collection.

6. Post data collection reduction was carried out in the data display, and conclusion-drawing and verification phases of analysis.

Data display was defined by Miles and Huberman (1984:24) as "an organized assembly of information that permits conclusion-drawing and action-taking." The researcher used matrices, graphs, networks, and tables to supplement the narrative system provided by protocols and field notes. These displays allowed the researcher to illuminate the conclusions offered. In determining what data to incorporate in various displays, and what format to use for display the researcher was again involved in data-reduction and analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1984:24).

The descriptive narration is supplemented with flow charts, diagrams, and references to protocols according to the best method available for presentation.

A line and staff flow chart of the formal organization was developed depicting the power structure as it was intended to function. A second flow chart of the power system was developed which reveals how the structure was actually observed to be working.

A second series of flow charts revealed the nature of the informal group. This sociometric presentation revealed pyramids, and their subgroups within the informal system. Included in this model is information showing dyads, triads, isolates, leaders, and those persons who acted as linkage points or junctions connecting subgroups or pyramids.

A map of the facility floor plan is presented which reveals classroom location and loci of primary interaction for various groups and points of tangency for between-groups interaction. It illustrates how the geography of the building facilitated or hindered personal interactions.

Information arrived at through the usage of the multiple regression equation with the Zone of Acceptance as the dependent variable and the Profile of Leader Behavior Questionnaire subscales as the independent variables, are presented in a Summary Table.

Conclusion-drawing and verification involved the researcher in drawing meaning from reduced data. The researcher noted patterns, paradoxes, and deviant cases;

alignments and configurations, explanations and causal relationships which were verified and further scrutinized for validity and plausibility (Miles and Huberman, 1984:24).

The conclusion-drawing process began immediately in the empirical study, and was interwoven with the data collection and analysis process (Miles and Huberman, 1984:27). In bringing meaning to events and patterns observed the researcher engaged in a somewhat vague conclusion-drawing process that was taken lightly at first. The process became "increasingly explicit" as it became grounded in and supported by gathered data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Miles and Huberman, 1984:26).

The following strategies were used in drawing conclusions (Miles and Huberman, 1984:27):

1. Counting was used to analyze content. For example, the researcher took mental note of the number of interactions that faculty members had with one another in order to determine their informal group affiliations. Counting was used to determine the number of encounters that faculty members had with the administration. Quantification of data was a common practice in determining the pattern and nature of events (Bales, 1970).
2. The researcher noted patterns and themes that arose in the course of the study.
3. In establishing the plausibility of conclusions the researcher looked for robust data that supported the conclusions. The investigator noted clusters of data that corroborated or contradicted conclusions.
4. The use of metaphors allowed the researcher to bring an aggregate of loose and fragmented

observations together.

5. As the researcher visited the site he was constantly engaged in fitting separate and individual events into a holistic, conceptual framework; moving from the particular to the general.

6. Qualitative factoring was used to sort out the variables that appeared to be affecting various events and personalities.

7. At the same time the researcher noted relationships that existed between variables, and in finding intervening variables.

8. Data was linked together in a logical manner that was consistent in concept and theory.

Finally, in seeking to explain the data the researcher explored all possible theoretical explanations (Lutz, 1969:132). Malinowski indicated that "without a theoretical grasp of the problem it is impossible to make relevant observations" (1935:465). In the field study the researcher moved from theory to hypothesis to data collection and back to theory once more in a continuous cycle that worked to refine the hypothesis and develop the theory to a point where further data collection did not modify the theory (Lutz, 1969:135).

In the analysis of data Wolcott, Rist, and Wilson implored the narrator to remain objective. The researcher was cognizant of his own feelings and attitudes and has stated them in this text, allowing the reader to consider that perspective. (Wolcott, 1975:125).

Analysis of the Kunz and Stogdill Data

One intent in using the Kunz and Stogdill instruments was to examine the extent to which the twelve subscales of the Stogdill Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire accounted for variance in the teacher's professional zone of acceptance. Specific leadership behaviors were identified which may increase or decrease the principal's influence among his subordinates. By comparing the descriptions of the principal, from subordinates determined to have a wide zone of acceptance with those determined to have a narrow zone of acceptance, leadership processes (Stogdill instrument) were identified and related to the width of the zone of acceptance.

The twelve LBDQ-XII subscales were used as independent variables in a regression equation with professional zone of acceptance as the dependent variable. Each of the twelve subscale elements were examined to determine what proportion of the variance of the teacher's zone of acceptance each subscale accounted for.

Analysis of Hypotheses Testing Kunz and Stogdill Data Against Empirical Evidence

The ten hypotheses seeking to establish the degree to which the Kunz and Stogdill instruments corroborated empirically generated data were subject to the following

scrutiny. Scores for each teacher on the individual subscales were arrived at and protocols and matrices were perused in order to ascertain the degree to which empirical evidence was in agreement with subscale information. For that reason it was necessary for each teacher's Kunz and Stogdill information to be identifiable.

Precautions Taken for Accuracy

In order to enhance the accuracy of the conclusions drawn, and improve the validity and reliability of the data gathered the researcher incorporated the following strategies in the study:

1. Events were sampled regularly and repeatedly to ensure robustness of data.
2. The researcher deliberately looked for cases that contradict a hypothesis, or conclusions that were being drawn.
3. Data was sorted and sifted regularly to locate areas where sampling was weak.
4. Random sampling of all faculty members and events under study occurred to ensure that the researcher's bias was not accounting for the selection of people and events observed.
5. The researcher was alert to his effect on the site and the effect of the site on the researcher.
6. Triangulation was implemented, allowing the researcher to check observations with third persons. Feedback was sought from informants.
7. Evidence was weighed and considered in light of its trustworthiness.

8. Patterns were scrutinized, contrasted and compared, in order to verify conclusions.

9. Rival explanations were entertained and pursued.

10. Replications of a finding were sought in other areas of data collected.

Data was gathered with Stogdill and Kunz instruments to provide further evidence for the study. This information and all other numerical data analyzing was done by the SPSS Format on the Telray 1000-CP6. All computations were set up and run under the guidance of members of the investigator's committee.

Summary

This chapter defined the procedures used in the conduct of the study, the population and site studied, and the categories of investigation. The methods of collecting data were described, as were the methods of organizing and presenting the data. Methods used in analyzing that data and precautions that were taken to improve accuracy were also disclosed.

The investigator conducted a two-pronged data gathering investigation in the Grandview Public High School. As a participant observer in the faculty informal processes the researcher record data reflecting faculty responses, actions, and sentiments which indicated

acceptance, ambivalence, or hindrance of the high school administrators' attempts to influence the staff.

Additional evidence was gathered with the usage of the Stogdill Profile of Leader Behavior and Kunz's Professional Zone of Acceptance Inventory. Information regarding these procedures and instruments was reported, including evidence as to the validity and reliability of the techniques.

Research questions answered in the participant observation phase, and hypotheses tested with the Stogdill and Kunz instruments were offered. The research questions focused the investigator's attention on the high school faculty informal groups and the role and function and attributes of those groups in the influence process/relationship with the high school administrators. The Kunz and Stogdill instruments sought information which reflected the faculty member's degree of acceptance of the principal's influence (Kunz) and their assessment of his leadership style (Stogdill). A second set of hypotheses, tested the degree to which the quantitative instruments produced data that corroborated empirical observations.

The close relationship that exists in empirical studies, between data collection and data analysis/conclusion-drawing has been emphasized. Strategies used in collecting and analyzing data have been included in order to provide the reader with an idea of

how the empirical researcher reduced the bulk of data to a coherent and well-grounded narration that allowed for model building and robust, valid and reliable documentation. To that end, the researcher has revealed those techniques that were used to ensure that data samplings were representative and conclusions soundly based.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This narration reflects the researcher's attempts to describe the manner in which the influence process was observed to function among a number of faculty members and a new building administration at a rural Montana high school, here referred to as Grandview High School.

The data gathering procedure accepted the premise that schools and faculties were social entities dependent on adherence to some minimum common set of values, norms, beliefs, expectations, rules and sanctions. In the course of the field observation the researcher found that many more variables effected the informal group structure and influence process in Grandview High School including the events of the past several years.

The Recent History of the Organization

In their discussions of the present administration and school climate, Grandview faculty members frequently reflected on the turmoil of the past few years--years which were frequently referred to as "war years."

Principal Taylor's ability to influence the staff members was enhanced by the need of faculty members to return to a sense of normalcy.

As teachers recounted the events of the past several years they each recognized that difficulties and stress "began when a succession of administrators paraded through the office." In a period of four years the Grandview school district had two superintendents and one interim superintendent. Grandview High School teachers have known three principals and one interim principal in that same span of time. The vice principalship had been occupied by three different men. The two former vice principals were now informal leaders in the high school faculty. The present vice principal was an informal leader of the faculty prior to occupying his present position.

It was the contention of a diverse spectrum of the faculty that leadership in recent years evolved at various moments as a process of filling vacuums continued. The management of the school was often referred to as a "floating hierarchy," with various people surfacing to assume the leadership role.

Vacuums in the formal leadership positions began occurring with the departure of a past principal, Phil Simon, in the summer of 1982. Simon's leadership was well received by those teachers who preferred that the system have a firm leader at the helm. His leadership was

equally despised by those who found him to be too "autocratic." Divisions in the faculty social system intensified and differences in each group's philosophical foundations became apparent during the principalship of Phil Simon. The philosophical differences remained in 1984-1985. That Simon was a stern ruler became evident as both his admirers and detractors described him. As his memory continued to be evoked during the 1984-1985 schoolyear it is important to include his description.

Phil Simon, Past Principal

In Lee Smith's custodian workshop, Walt Gifford talked about Phil Simon, and his ability to get things done: "Phil jumped all over me once about loaning my keys out, and that was all it took. He wasted me."

Lee agreed, "He wasted Dan Ginther once, too. Phil wanted a key to Dan's storeroom and Dan told him 'no.' Phil told him he would 'either have the key or have the door torn from its hinges.'"

Gifford related a similar story. It was clear that Smith and Gifford respected Simon's ability to make a point and "inspire people to move."

Simon was variously described by teachers as: "brash," "curt" and "businesslike." "Simon was despised by women, one teacher added, "He was a chauvinist and a

tyrant with women." That teacher recalled an incident as evidence to support his contention:

The ladies would sometimes gather in the Audio-Visual Center to talk. Phil always suspected it was idle gossip and would bust in there like a vice squad cop, sending those women scurrying in all directions. He would bark at them to "get back to work" and "stop meeting in what is supposed to be a work area."

One of those women who had been harassed by Simon recalled that while she "did not fully appreciate Simon's brashness, and seemingly discriminatory attitude toward women, he did supervise the staff and kept teachers on their toes around here."

In talking to Vice Principal Tanner at lunch, Ted Callahan described one method used by Simon in supervising teachers. "He came in and ducked out regularly. He knew what was going on in the building. We never knew when he was passing through."

There was a common agreement that "Phil's shortcoming was in the allegiance he paid to jocks, and the jock mentality that developed as a result of his time on board. He played favorites and buddied up to those people."

Conflict Between Past
Administrators

Conflict between Simon and his superintendent, Tex Rawls, evolved as Simon sought to run the high school without the superintendent's "nose in the door." Rawls was perceived as wanting a high school principal he could control. The conflict became especially visible when Rawls would interrupt the principal's day with a surprise visit.

Walt Gifford remembered occasions when "Simon would only allow the superintendent a few minutes and then leap from his desk and announce that he (Phil Simon) had work to do. With that Simon would leave the office and walk off down the hall," Gifford recalled.

The struggle between Rawls and Simon, for control of the high school was carried to the school board on several occasions. The struggle came to a head when Rawls chose to remove two nontenured teachers from the staff; teachers that Simon had recommended be retained. When the board refused to continue the contracts of the two teachers Simon had recommended, he prepared to leave. To Joe Watson it was a sign of strength and conviction. "It was as if Phil was saying 'to hell with ya, I can leave!' He was strong. Nobody pushed him around. He wouldn't take anything from Rawls."

Walt Gifford and Ed Bentley each confirmed Watson's

account. From the confines of his office, Gifford indicated, "Simon could no longer tolerate Rawls, although he could and did stand up to him." With Simon's departure, Gifford's own visibility in the formal and informal power structure increased dramatically, as did that of his closest friends.

The Emergence of the Gifford Group

Ed Bentley and Walt Gifford were but two of the five teachers that were referred to by teachers as the "Local Radicals," or "The Group." For the purposes of this study they have been identified as the Gifford group. Walt Gifford, head of the Industrial Arts Department; Ray Lang, an English teacher, and Ann Lang, head of the English Department were recognized as members of this group. They were joined by former assistant principal, now guidance counselor, Mitch Gillette.

Walt Gifford, recruited, financed and campaigned for the election of Max Wold to the school board. Wold won a seat on the board and in the words of Gifford, "Rawls and Wold began to knock heads openly." Ed Bentley, also campaigned for Max Wold and verified that Walt Gifford pushed hard for Wold's election to the school board. Gifford was recognized by his friends as the man who selected "our candidates for the board."

Gifford described Wold as an old friend with whom he had hunted and socialized for years. They were frequently seen together in the school and community. On one occasion the observer and his wife took a weekend retreat in a park some one hundred miles from Grandview and encountered the Wold and Gifford families enjoying a weekend together.

A New Administration

In searching for Simon's replacement, Gifford felt that board member, Ella Frey, was pushing hard for "an Easterner" named Jack Miller. Miller had an academic background and was described as "looking good on paper." A rumor that Miller began his career as a "hatchet man" for a superintendent in Vermont, circulated in the community. That rumor encouraged some to believe that Rawls was hoping to manipulate his new principal, and thus control the high school.

Gifford was somewhat disappointed when Max Wold went along with Board Member Frey on the choice of Miller. Additional support for Miller was generated and he was hired as the high school principal.

A replacement for Vice Principal Mitch Gillette was also needed. Steve Mayer, the high school basketball coach, was a popular choice for vice principal. His

evaluation, written by Phil Simon, included the note, "Steve is a fine teacher and would be a strong administrator in any school system."

Max Wold recognized that Gifford had misgivings about Mayer and tried to convince him that the combination of Miller and Mayer would work. Wold believed that Rawls and Miller would be strong enough to control Mayer. Gifford had his doubts.

An Interim Principal

Phil Simon's late resignation, and the time it took Miller to move from New England to Grandview, resulted in Jack Miller arriving in Grandview two weeks into the school year. From the very beginning of the year there was a "vacuum at the top." One teacher described the force that rushed in to fill that void as a "small corp of disciples with a vision of how this place should function." It was their mission that teacher contended, "to influence the direction of the school. When Miller arrived he did not have the leadership ability to fill that vacuum or control the cadre that was soon at his heels." It was the contention of this teacher and others that power was eventually usurped by those few teachers and they were "darting about like gadflies making up for what they perceived to be Jack's weaknesses." One teacher

concluded that "Miller didn't have the skill or leadership to run the place without that group, and by increasing their power, he eventually destroyed himself." The person speaking never once mentioned the "disciples" by name but was referring to the Gifford Group. Members of that group presented similar details. The "vacuum" metaphor was used by other teachers in separate descriptions of the past years.

Steve Mayer acted as an interim principal until Jack Miller arrived. The manner in which Mayer asserted himself in those weeks irritated the "small cadre." Mayer took control. The "small cadre" felt that he was overextending his own influence in the school. They perceived him to be filling the "vacuum" in an iron-handed way that suggested an intent to "put the stamp of his value system on the staff and students alike." In a 1981 evaluation Simon remarked, "Steve has and is willing to express his strong Christian values within his teaching activities."

It was the suggestion of a teacher close to Gifford, that Walt Gifford perceived Steve Mayer as a threat to his own power base and philosophy of how the school should be run. Gifford was identified as a man with some strong opinions and an iron resolve to protect those things that were valuable to him, especially the students, for whom he would "struggle ferociously."

Rawls and Mayer were believed to be "at each other's throats." Realizing that he could not control Mayer, Rawls was described as "quick to turn on him." A recounting of events by several teachers, indicated that when Miller arrived, Rawls instructed him "to ride herd on Mayer." While Rawls wanted to control Miller, it was soon revealed that Miller, in the observation of some, could not make a decision without calling Rawls first. Gifford suggested, "It may have been more control than Rawls wanted."

A Suspicious Evaluation

Gifford revealed some compassion for Mayer, the man that many assumed to be his bitter foe: "When it came time to evaluate Mayer, Miller was ruthless. The words could not have been his and everyone knew it." Gifford nodded his head and indicated a distaste for the manner in which Mayer was victimized. It was not that Gifford could defend Mayer, but that "Miller was a coward in his approach." When confronted with the language of the evaluation Miller denied that he had any help writing it. The original rough draft, reflecting Miller's handwriting, accompanied the typed, formal copy. In that evaluation Mayer was advised that:

He needs to take a more active role in the

curriculum development and evaluation of methods of materials. . . . [he has] demonstrated a reluctance to accept a student's excuse at face value and grant the student the benefit of the doubt.

He has not been effective in . . . instilling discipline. . . . [he has] experienced difficulty communicating. . . . [his] role in co-curricular activities has hampered his availability both during and after school.

Mr. Mayer has been repeatedly approached by me in an attempt to form a cohesive administrative unit . . . these attempts have been ignored or rebuffed . . . lines of communication between us are virtually nonexistent.

The evaluation was dated February 4, 1983. It was signed by Mr. Miller. The office secretary noted in script that Mr. Mayer chose not to sign for receipt of the evaluation.

There was common agreement among faculty members that "Mayer got burned by Miller" and that "Rawls wanted it that way."

The Vice Principal's Rebuttal

In various conversations, Mayer was described as "showing everyone the evaluation," "distributing copies," "marshalling his forces" and "playing on people's sympathy."

Mayer responded in writing to the district superintendent, and requested an executive session with the principal, superintendent and members of the school board "to discuss an evaluation of me which was supposedly

done by Mr. Miller." In that letter he also announced his strong objections to the content of the evaluation, a need to discuss the issues and the desire "to bring along a couple of guests to listen in (probably Fred Winter and Ray Simms)." The request was dated February 7, 1983. Appended to it was a typed, six page rebuttal to Miller's one page evaluation.

In his rebuttal, Mayer called the evaluation "untrue and libelous," "picky" and "as close to a lie as you can get." He referred to it as a "false report, maliciously aimed at injuring my reputation." He then asserted his belief that "Mr. Miller had help concocting this document." That allegation was repeated in the course of the letter. He made it clear that he did not value Mr. Miller's evaluation "of me or anyone else because it is apparent that he has no expertise or wisdom in this area."

The typed pages of Mayer's rebuttal contained numerous handwritten footnotes and margin notes scribbled by Miller as he studied each of the six pages. The document, complete with each man's perceptions and complaints, revealed a struggle between two men for control of the school.

At one point Mayer proclaimed, "Not everyone will agree with my philosophy or way of doing things."

At which point Miller scribbled, "His? Who is in charge?"

In addition to the suspicious evaluation, Gifford felt Mayer was also able to increase his popularity with the staff, by appealing to teachers to send their discipline problems to the office, with the promise that he would handle them. Students were being sent to the office for a variety of reasons. Walt Gifford noted that some students came to him for counsel in his shop. They reported that "Mr. Mayer was laying it on them." "He was preaching to them and chastising their families for being drunks and sinners. Basketball players were telling me that they had to take home religious tapes and listen to them as part of their training." Other teachers repeated similar first hand evidence.

Gifford was not the only one receiving an influx of student visitors. In his evaluation Miller noted, "Occasions have arisen where I felt it advisable to intervene [sic] in order to act as a "buffer" so that misconceptions could be avoided." In his personal remarks on Mayer's rebuttal Miller wondered, "Why do students come to me instead of him?" On the same page he answered his own question with, "They come to me and tell me he (Mayer) is unreasonable."

The Superintendent's Ouster

During the course of the 1982-1983 school year, "the bottom fell out on the superintendent, Tex Rawls." In a surprise 4-3 vote his contract was not renewed. He was expected to complete the school year. Tex Rawls's demise was attributed to "his way of handling people." He was "poor in the human skills department" and described as "offensive with board members." Various faculty members depicted Rawls as rude and evidence of that was offered by those who heard him publicly redress board members with "shut up" at school board meetings.

A search committee was organized to find a new superintendent. At that time the Grandview Education Association was "operating smoothly." The board asked for input. They wanted one high school teacher and one elementary teacher to serve on the selection committee. The high school association building representatives were Ed Bentley, Ray Lang, Mitch Gillette and Walt Gifford--all members of the "small cadre." This foursome nominated Ray Lang, and he was instrumental in the selection of William Sumner, as the new superintendent. Speaking for "the cadre," Gifford indicated: "We wanted Sumner bad. Lang and Wold did their homework." Gifford felt that the Mader/Mayer faction of the school social system became immediately suspicious of the choice.

Mayer anticipated the arrival of the new

superintendent in his formal rebuttal. He remarked: "Time will tell whether Mr. Miller, the new superintendent, or myself prove to be good administrators. I accept that challenge. I believe I am a good administrator." The tone suggested that Mayer anticipated a continuance of his confrontation with his superiors and an eventual personal victory. Events and personalities would dictate otherwise.

At midterm of the school year, Tex Rawls suffered a heart attack and Wade Faulkner was elevated to acting superintendent. After only six weeks of recovery, Rawls notified the board that he was well enough to finish the year. He was able to "hang on to his job until June," but was obviously "a lame duck superintendent."

Stepped Up Effort to Oust Miller

William Sumner replaced Tex Rawls as district superintendent in the early summer of 1983. In the words of Ty Mader: "Miller was a Rawls man. When Rawls was canned, Miller was out to lunch alone." In the minds of others, Miller became a "lunch for the local radicals."

Walt Gifford outlined the events that followed Sumner's arrival.

Right away, we went to work. Our mission was to get rid of Miller and Mayer. We started getting the word to William on what was happening here. Almost everybody was in agreement that Jack Miller had risen

to a level of incompetency. Many liked Jack because they were able to use him. Mader and Price liked him because they didn't have to work. They could arrive late, stand in the halls, sit in the lounge, do everything but teach, and still collect their paychecks. Miller let them get by with it.

A Lack of Cohesion at All Levels

There was an obvious breach in the relationship between Mayer and Miller, a point brought home by a university evaluation. The two administrators were not on speaking terms. Miller and Mayer would pass each other in the hallway without so much as a glance. They could stand in the hallway, within several feet of each other, and not share a word.

The new superintendent was aware of the difficulties that existed between the high school principal and vice principal. It was his hope to remediate those differences and see an improvement in the relationship between the two men. In evaluating the situation he made his own observations, received input from board members, listened to members of the faculty and other sources.

Sumner reflected on his first year: "By this time a year ago I probably had fifty teachers go through here. They were dropping in like flies. I listened to a lot of teachers." The superintendent continued to describe the dynamics of the past years.

Board members were also harried last year and constantly reporting calls from the faculty. Prior to my arrival board members had a tendency to act individually when not convened as a board. They would take calls from staff and act on them. They would walk the corridors of the school and pull teachers out of their classrooms to address a concern. They would appear in the school regularly, just to see how things were going. It was a hard habit to break them of.

The Bluff State University education specialist brought in to evaluate the high school administration provided some instruction to the board on the role and responsibilities of board members, and their lack of power when not convened.

The problems grew worse in January of 1984. A faculty meeting at the semester break was described as "a nightmare." In the words of Reggie Dillon, a special education teacher, "The meeting flopped because Miller didn't have the skills to conduct a constructive meeting." He added, "It was embarrassing to watch as Gifford, Gillette and Mader were screaming at each other."

Sheldon Haag described faculty meetings as a "battlefield" with "shots fired at every meeting," formal or informal. There were "shouting matches" at every turn between Gifford and Mader. He affirmed that "it was painful to watch, and Miller could not control or alter the course. Jack lacked the skills to run a meeting or facilitate a conversation."

Members of the Gifford group used their formal

positions as elected building representatives, in the local education association, GEA, to gain influence with the past principal, Jack Miller. When other methods of formal organization deteriorated, Miller turned to these four men for "help" in maintaining the formal school organization. Miller thought he was dealing with a representation of the whole faculty.

During the 1983-1984 school year the local Grandview Education Association became increasingly involved in the events that transpired at the high school. As noted by Sheldon Haag, the GEA vice president that year, "School administration problems were affecting GEA leadership, and vice versa." "It was," he said, "an interesting phenomena [sic] to see that the two were becoming intertwined."

The question, "Who is in charge here?" became the focal point within the faculty, administration, board and community.

Because they were tight with Mayer, Mader and Price would stand around in the halls and intimidate kids. They'd brace their arms over their chest like this, and intimidate the kids, chew them out, yell at them and what happened?

The kids rebelled. They didn't like that stuff. Rather than behaving they fought back. They would do things behind these guys back, and make them angrier. Kids would throw things, yell names and run away when these guys tried to get them for something. The place was coming unglued. It was about to explode between semesters. Kids were talking strike, the student council had plans to strike.

As conflicts increased in frequency, the small

Gifford group became more cohesive. Mitch Gillette, who had been reluctant to take the approach Gifford was espousing, soon found himself persuaded to join "the cause."

Gillette reported that Gifford and Lang came to him and involved him in the struggle to eliminate Mayer and Miller.

I was reluctant because it is not my preferred style. I would have allowed the two men (Mayer and Miller) to dig their own graves, and within a few years, I think the situation would have taken care of itself. Ray and Walt pointed out to me that it couldn't be put off, because the kids were paying a price. I could see that. I decided to get involved.

Informal Group Action

Gifford felt compelled to take action. He told Lang that something had to be done. Lang told Gifford he would quietly bring the students into his room on a Friday for a secret meeting. Gifford promised to get a board member there.

Gifford called Max Wold and asked him to come to the school to "talk to the kids." Aware of the superintendent's admonition that individual board members not meddle in the affairs of the school, Wold was reluctant; in fact--said he could not respond to the request. Gifford believed the students were going to strike. He persisted in pressuring Wold. Wold finally agreed, and told Gifford to bring the students to his

home. After several hours, Gifford contended that Wold talked the students into staying in school, "The students were promised that changes would be made."

In an effort to keep those promises, Gifford felt that Mayer and Miller had to be convinced that the students would be less restless if the administrators were out of the hallways. Gifford convinced them to stay in their offices. Gifford assumed that Price and Mader would also vacate the hallways once their allies, the principals, were confined to their office spaces. Miller was then advised to "appeal to the teachers to patrol the hallways." It was Gifford's surmised that the average teacher would last four or five days in the halls before "disappearing back into their room."

Gifford group members continued to monitor the hallways in 1985. Gifford contended, "Control of the hallway was a battleground in which his group took on the Mayer group." He added, "Two philosophies on student discipline were colliding head on in the hallway."

There was a pause and then a note of introspection from Gifford followed:

I'll tell you where Jack really screwed up though. He couldn't work with faculty meetings, department heads, and student councils. So, what did he do? He tried to work through the GEA building representatives and who was that? Ray Lang, Ed Bentley, Mitch Gillette and I. He played into our hands. Oh, we ran with that! We were in control! We were the power! Mader and his group didn't like that. They weren't the building representatives.

They were out of power. God, that burned Mader!

Support for the Vice Principal

Nancy Wright reflected the general faculty opinion that "Walt's group was not necessarily representative of the faculty as a whole." In her opinion, that was where the trouble started: "Once they got nestled in here it was almost impossible to remove them."

Mayer's discipline methods remained the focal point of the Gifford group. When the assistant principal suspended four students, the Gifford group responded heatedly. At the advice of members of the Gifford group the four students appealed to the school superintendent, William Sumner.

A petition circulated through the high school staff in support of Mayer and the response revealed a strong base of support. Thirty-two of the school's fifty-two staff members signed it. The petition expressed concern over "the unfair criticism Mr. Mayer had received from students and certain faculty members undermining the administration."

Gifford was accused of harboring students that the administration had intended to discipline. Members of "the group" were also accused of providing counsel to students, and encouraging the students to resist administration efforts to enforce a discipline policy.

In an interview with a local reporter, a Mayer supporter said he believed Mayer was "well accepted by the faculty and worked well with them."

Talking to the same reporter Mayer charged that his problems with the faculty were due to "a twenty percent faction that is always into the political end of things at this school."

There was great resentment that the Gifford group was, in effect, "running the school." "The cadre" had eroded the influence of Price and Mader with Miller, and usurped the powers of the very man who had trusted them: the principal. Their methods were considered by some to be "unprofessional and insubordinate." The notion that Gifford had acted to quiet a student rebellion was scoffed at by some who felt that Gifford and his "compatriots" had incited the student unrest. As evidence a letter was referred to, a letter that had been written by one member of the Gifford group to a senior student. In that letter a staff member was held up to ridicule and the student was encouraged to resist those with whom the author differed.

On several occasions the small Gifford informal group visited with Superintendent Sumner in his office. Their positions as building representatives in the GEA gave them some legitimacy with the new superintendent. Some members of the high school were becoming increasingly irritated with the growing influence the group had. There was a

protest. Members of the group were asked, by certain staff members, to resign their positions as building representatives. Ty Mader called for new elections. With the power they had now developed the group members were committed to removing both Miller and Mayer from their respective positions. Resigning their GEA positions at that point, was out of the question and association bylaws forbade an election of the type Mader suggested.

Members of the small informal group spent a great deal of time in planning and carrying out their strategy. Ray Lang reflected on the unfortunate consequences:

The past two years were war years. What our small group did essentially was wage war to get the past principal and assistant principal out of here. A great deal of time was spent in planning and carrying out our strategy.

My classes paid a price as a result. I would not be prepared to teach, I might have neglected my readings and taught instead from my memory. I wasn't making assignments that I would normally make. Rather than reading or preparing for class I would be busy calling a board member or parent, or sitting with Walt, Mitch, Ed and Ann for hours at a time.

The Gifford group gathered evidence on Mayer. They resorted to documentation--"stacks of it," they gathered witnesses including influential members of the community "like the McClellands." They had students as witnesses. Superintendent Sumner later admitted that the evidence was "substantial and insurmountable."

There was a growing body of evidence that Mayer was maneuvering behind the scenes. In early March of 1984 he

was blatant in his opposition to the cutting of the sophomore basketball program. Sumner was disturbed when Mayer, as an administrator, became irate and openly hostile toward the board decision to cut sophomore basketball. Sumner recognized that Mayer had a right to freely speak his mind. The position taken by Mayer at that point indicated to many that he saw himself as a basketball coach first and an administrator second.

School Board Action

Ed Bentley claimed that his group had been able to use Board Member Max Wold to remove Miller from his position, but reported that when they wanted Mayer as well, Wold asked them to "cool the pressure" and to be patient with Sumner.

In analyzing the board, the group thought it had the votes to oust Mayer. "With Board Member Frey, one could argue coaches shouldn't be administrators. This would win her support." It was the academic line that the group had used previously with Frey. The only one perceived to be "really hanging on to Mayer" was Deke Payton, and "maybe Bill Jones." It was at that point that Walt Gifford felt, "We had Steve's job."

The question of Mayer's continuance as vice principal was brought before the board in the spring of 1984. The

Bluff Courier headline noted, "Discipline policy cited as reason for principal's firing." Board members had voted 7-1 to demote Mayer. Sumner's evaluations of Mayer commented in much the same vein as the Miller evaluation of February, 1983. Sumner cited "internal conflict and polarization" at the high school, "strong student oppositon to the way Mr. Mayer handled discipline," and a "need for a full-time administrator" who is not saddled with coaching duties.

Sumner's evaluation noted that the relationship between the vice principal and students had deteriorated, contributing to faculty disunity and disrupting education. "Students and parents have objected to what they perceive as a judgemental intrusion by Mr. Mayer into their personal lives," which had resulted in an "intense reaction by some students and parents to his approach in handling student misbehavior."

The evidence alluded to by Gifford was presented in the press. A former student stated that Mayer, in the presence of several teachers, made inquiries into her personal life. He also criticized and allowed others to criticize her religious attitudes and living arrangements. At that point the honor roll student lost much of her interest in school.

A parent reported that Mayer told his son that the boy's family was not a good Christian family and that "the

most solid students here are from Christian families."

A school official reported that Mayer told a student he would not succeed because he came from a broken home.

In his remarks to the school board Sumner indicated that there were "many, many such complaints." The complaints continued even after Mayer had agreed to stop his condemnation of students.

The Vice Principal's Defense

In his defense Mayer said his removal was caused by resentment of his outspoken dedication to discipline and a failure to conform "one hundred percent" to Sumner's goals.

Mayer was especially irked by the restraints of the district due process policy. He felt students should be suspended immediately at his discretion. "I think you have to trust the judgement of the people in charge and not try to second guess them all the time," he offered. Mayer continued to be vocal in his opposition to the due process provisions which eventually became district policy. A May copy of the Bluff Courier announced that the policy was opposed by Vice Principal Steve Mayer.

Again, as he had done with Miller's evaluation, Mayer made the evaluation public and generated yet another rebuttal letter. Walt Gifford fumbled through his file

and revealed the letter. He had "found it on a copier this past spring." It had been written by Steve Mayer. Mayer asked that the letter be included in his file with his evaluations. In it, he protested the evaluations and the treatment he was receiving, treatment which he questioned on "legal and ethical terms." He protested his demotion to coaching and teaching, and accused the superintendent of harassment and "being out to get me before you got here." Other members of the school system verified that such a letter was written by Mayer.

Gifford did not take any of the credit for the final removal of Mayer. Instead, he viewed Mayer as a man who "did it to himself. He was his own undoing." Gifford simply "greased the skids."

Going almost unnoticed at the same board meeting in which Mayer was demoted, was the resignation of Jack Miller. In the same article announcing the plight of Mayer, the newspaper announced that Miller resigned "reportedly because of continued conflicts among the school's faculty, students, and administrators."

Selecting The Current Building Administrators.

In the efforts to choose a new principal, members of the "Gifford Group" understood that they could not be on

the selection committee. Superintendent Sumner also could not include one of the Mader group. Sumner chose his principal selection committee from the middle ground of the high school staff: Ben Whitney, Sheldon Haag and Swede Anderson were asked to participate in the screening of candidates for the principalships. Of all the interviews conducted, Gifford group members only went to one: Bill Taylor's. "When the word got out on that, you should have seen Mader! We got the word from Max Wold that Taylor was the one for the job. We did our homework," Gifford revealed with a sense of accomplishment.

There was less cohesion in the Gifford group on the selection of the vice principal. Gifford thought that Dave Tanner would be an excellent choice. He had worked with him for more than a decade. He had socialized with Tanner. Max Wold wanted Tanner because he was perceived as a "local," and there was wide local support for his candidacy.

A Description of the Principal

A description of the principal, his demeanor, background, leadership style and personal characteristics is essential to the development of a case study of the Grandview High School influence process.

Introducing the New Administration
To the Community

Superintendent Sumner was quite pleased with his new administrative team. In public forums he referred to his staff as "probably the finest in Montana." He recognized the similarity of their philosophical bases and concluded that the commonality had "expedited work" with the various schools and "projects a team image" of the administration.

An August 29th issue of the Grandview Gazette (1984:3) presented the new high school administrative team to the community. The characterization of Taylor included references to his Viet Nam experience, time in the army, years as a teacher, year of doctoral study at Bluff State and several years of tending a ranch in the nearby Blue Timber Mountains.

The newspaper announced Taylor's personal goal: "To provide a unified, cohesive and professional atmosphere to the school." The article also quoted Taylor with regards to the improvement of curriculum, strengthening of the academic subjects, staff development and "tough staffing decisions that may be necessary if enrollments continue to decline."

As discipline had been at the heart of the resignation of Miller and the demotion of Mayer, seven paragraphs of the August article in the Gazette were

focused on the roles and attitudes of the new principals with regards to discipline.

"I begin with the assumption that students are good and well behaved at Grandview High," Tanner was quoted as saying. "I hope to help students manage their own behavior, as opposed to managing it for them," he reported.

Taylor's approach was similarly expressed. He believed the students had to accept some responsibility for their behavior. The principals would "help students understand their behavior." He professed an approach to discipline that incorporated a counseling perspective. He was quoted as saying that "neither he nor Tanner were iron-fisted when it comes to discipline." In the final paragraph he expressed the hope that the new administrative team could "create an atmosphere where learning can be fun and exciting again."

The Accessibility of the Principal

In order to improve morale among his staff Taylor recognized the need to be accessible--to listen as well as talk to the staff.

Taylor's office was enclosed in wall-to-wall glass. Curtains were hung in the windows, but were seldom closed, unless privacy was required for sensitivity's sake. The

principal could be viewed from the hallway, and was often seen propped on the edge of his chair listening to teachers. This image alone, of a man listening, reinforced in others the notion that he was "approachable." He was not in there "flapping his mouth"; he could not be heard "raising his voice" with his visitors. He was not making the gestures of a man who felt that his time was being "wasted by intruders."

A principal's gestures were important to teachers. Fred Winter reflected on the mannerisms of Phil Simon. "Simon would lean back in his chair when he was done with someone and throw his hands behind his head. That meant 'Get out, I'm through with you!' Teachers didn't like that."

Walt Gifford drew a similar picture of the former principal. "He would sit at the edge of his chair, as if he was about to leave. Sometimes he would. He would bolt from his chair and say, 'I have to get going,' and he would be gone."

Miller, on the other hand, tended to create what some felt was an uncomfortable environment. "People hated to go in there," Swede Anderson began, "It was a smoke filled room. Jack would always grab a teacher who happened to be in the vicinity and say 'Got a minute?.' I tried to avoid the place."

Taylor's body posture in his office was open and

indicated to people that he was receptive and genuinely interested. He would creep forward in his seat and he would close the distance that his desk created between himself and his visitor. His face would move out over the center of the desk, and he would edge his elbows out onto the desktop to support his weight, while maintaining his position in the chair. His arms were often opened wide, resting and stretched across his desk. His hands would rest quietly. His fingers did not fidget. His energy focused on the visitor's face. His body language did not suggest impatience, nervousness or discomfort.

His voice sometimes assumed the quality of "hushed tones," suggesting intimacy and familiarity, as he conversed with a person. In part that hushed tone was required by "porous walls." Taylor was aware of the fact that sounds carried in the building, and the outer office was frequented by staff, students and citizens. At other times he would fall back into his chair in laughter, flushed with enthusiasm.

His desktop was seldom littered with papers. A single item might occupy the space on his blotter. There was not the clutter of documents that seemed to say to visitors, "Can't you see? I'm busy!" Instead, Taylor would take paperwork into A-5 and sprawl "all those documents, forms and papers" across a lengthy work table that afforded him space and privacy. In the seclusion of

that room, he could work more effectively. When he was in his office he expected visitors. If there was paperwork before him, he would shove it easily to one side and invite the company of whomever wanted "just a minute."

The doorway to Taylor's office was located within several steps of the main corridor. He was not sequestered in some far corner of the office. There was not a counter, dutch door, or a swinging gate that provided a physical barrier between himself and the faculty. Not even the secretary's desk was placed between the principal's office door and the entranceway to the outer office. A teacher who was eager to see Taylor could easily slide into his office without explaining to anyone the reason for their visit. There was not a screening process, or a person who acted as protector of the principal's daily calendar. He was there, "That's what I'm here for!"

The Principal's Personal Touch

The new principal was attempting to get to know the staff with personal questions and asides. The attempt to develop a rapport was clear. He admitted to using humor, chatter, talk of family, sports, elk bugling and anything that was important to the teachers. His attempts were viewed as genuine. He indicated that several teachers had

made efforts to get to know him personally, as well.

Sheldon Haag had served on the screening committee and felt that Bill Taylor was the best candidate available. He described Taylor as

sincere, a people person, a decision maker who appeared willing to create change slowly and methodically. Some of the other candidates were movers and shakers, and while I liked some of them, I felt the pace Taylor would use would be easier to survive. There were some smoother talkers than Taylor; but Grandview High needed someone who was human, not plastic, or put on for the job interview. I liked Taylor's personal style.

As part of his personal style Taylor mentioned contributions by people, and gave credit for "good ideas." In a September faculty meeting he referred to a conversation with Mahoney, thanked Dayton for his science club idea, thanked Haag for helping with the fairgrounds each night and thanked John Rockwell for "all the information on special services." "Thank you" was clearly in his vocabulary, along with "input" and "process."

At lunch Swede Anderson commented that little things like that made up for the lack of pay. He suggested that more of it was needed. He mentioned a birthday greeting a board member had sent him several years ago and commented that such niceties had been infrequent in the recent past. He said the board needed to engage in gestures of a more personal nature showing their appreciation.

The new principal was not afraid to reveal his own

human side. He readily engaged people in light exchanges about sports, family, and local events.

A former college athlete, Taylor maintained a high interest in a variety of sports. His interest included participation and "arm chair quarterbacking." Both the principal and assistant principal participated on a city league basketball team. Through that affiliation they maintained contact with several teachers who were on their team. Taylor stated that such contact allowed staff members to see him operate in other areas outside of the school, enabling them to get a deeper perspective of his own character and style.

Taylor's interest in sports allowed him to conduct the perfunctory conversations about sports with the best in Grandview. When Frank Mitton, the business manager, visited with Taylor at the high school, the two compared notes on the Detroit Tigers, San Francisco 49ers, Dan Fouts, and cords of wood. It took Frank fifteen minutes to pull himself away from the office to make an onsite inspection of the gymnasium. Taylor felt that such conversations were vital in establishing relationships and facilitating human interaction.

New Administration
New Hope

Remarks made by members of the staff during the first full week of classes reflected a hope for the new year, as well as a positive perception of the new principal.

Hope was expressed by many people. The past year had taken its toll and for many "things could only get better." In mid-October Sheldon Haag described the present schoolyear as "much improved." The atmosphere was "remarkable", "far healthier than last year." He was pleased with the conduct of the students.

They are coming in again after school, after class, showing an interest in education. My wife had noted that for several years I sat quietly at dinner and didn't talk about how the workday was going. I used to bubble over about my teaching experiences. Last year I was ready to leave. I updated my file and looked for work.

Other teachers reported that their morale had slipped to the depths revealed by Haag. Swede Anderson called it "widespread, prevailing in all segments of the school population: faculty, students and janitors." The impact was physically visible as: "plant cleanliness was down. Pride was difficult to find." Those listening to Swede agreed. He now felt a renewed spirit.

Dave Tanner was fully aware of the stress that had been experienced by faculty members. In his opening day remarks to the faculty he referred to "low morale in the

past" and said that "as far as I am concerned, this is a new start for everybody."

The concept of a "new start" was important to many. For Ben Whitney there was an automatic blotting out of the past. He treated it like a trauma that needed to be forgotten. For Don Millard the past was dead and buried, "Miller is gone and now forgotten. There is no need to raise the dead."

The Informal Group Structure Of Grandview High School

In the opening paragraphs of this chapter the author stated that the data gathering procedures accepted the premise that schools and faculties are social entities dependent on adherence to some minimum common set of values, norms, beliefs, expectations, rules and regulations. From the very first day of observation the researcher examined the interaction of faculty members in order to establish patterns of interaction and linkage among the school personnel.

In fact, what the investigator found was a faculty that had been divided for some time: distinct cliques that did not interact with other teachers or groups of teachers, individual teachers who had completely isolated themselves, and several different groups each operating

under norms, reward systems and values that were distinctly unique and offensive to other groups.

The descriptions, in this text, of several members of the staff reflects the manner in which Grandview teachers had come to know each other and about each other. Teachers caught glimpses of their peers during the brief passing periods and at formally convened meetings. They frequently based their evaluations of each other on hearsay evidence gathered through the secondhand sources of the informal grapevine which disseminated student, staff and community information and rumors.

It was Mitch Gillette's belief that the events of the past years had given the superintendent and principals a misperception of the high school staff.

Last year Sumner may have assumed that we were just up here raising hell because of Mayer and Miller. It went beyond that though and it has not yet been resolved. It is a philosophical issue on whether we are student oriented or content oriented that divides us. Bill thinks the staff is fairly united on that. In fact, we are not. Listen to the Clays and the Maders and you hear a totally different stance on what children are about, and what we as teachers are about.

It was the contention of members of the Gifford Group that the school's faculty was divided into two camps, the pro-Mayer faction or "hardliners," and their own group.

Faculty members who were not affiliated with the Gifford group did not recognize the existence of a pro-Mayer faction in the school's social system. The

researcher did not observe the overt patterns of interaction and behaviors of the Gifford group, among those who were allegedly aligned in a pro-Mayer faction.

Teachers did recognize that the pressure placed on Mayer in the past year created a crisis that caused some coalescence among those who shared similar sentiments. There was not, however, the cohesion, resolve and the intent that they felt gave the Gifford group members the strength to carry out their will. Unity of purpose was more difficult to define in the pro-Mayer pyramid: Those who had signed a petition to support Mayer, did so for various reasons. The issue provided a rallying point for teachers of diverse backgrounds. In the aftermath of the school board action removing Mayer, that alliance did not endure.

The Gifford group was perceived by faculty members to be a cohesive and powerful informal group, and was observed to be so, by the researcher. Reflecting on the events and alliances of the past year, Ellen Davis commented: "Last year we agreed to disagree. When the Gifford group took control, there was little the rest of us could do to stop them."

The Gifford Group

The extent to which the Gifford group exerted its influence in the formal organization of the school has been recounted. "The Group" remained intact with the arrival of the new principal and assistant principal. Walt Gifford and Ed Bentley continued to have lunch together in Walt's office and occasionally enjoyed the company of Board Member Wold. Bentley's classroom was directly across the hallway from the rooms of Ray and Ann Lang and he maintained a cordial relationship with them. Ray and Walt encountered one another as they patrolled the hallways and Walt would occasionally visit with Ray in the English teacher's classroom. Mitch Gillette enjoyed a greater mobility as the guidance counselor and frequently visited with his friends in the Gifford group, while maintaining contact with a diverse number of faculty members.

While members of this group interacted on the school premises they interacted far less, if at all, away from the school. While Bentley had been in the close alliance with Ray Lang and Ann Lang during events of the past year, he was unable to socialize with them outside of school because, like other staff members, "Ray and Ann don't socialize all that much with anyone on this staff."

Ray Lang was not one to socialize in the manner that many of the staff did on the premises. Yet, he did

exercise a great deal of influence in the administration of the school and in processes related to the educational missions and concerns of the school. Lang had been recognized by students, staff and members of the community as an outstanding teacher. He was touted for high moral principles and an outstanding character. Prior to the past year no one doubted his professional ethics.

In reflecting on the power plays of the past several years Superintendent Sumner was aware that the Gifford group of the high school had played the role of the kingmaker. The Gifford alliance possessed a great deal of power and Sumner added, "At one time they were apparently popular at the high school with the other staff."

Walt Gifford was recognized as a rugged individualist, an artist and architect. He talked about pheasants, blue hungarians and his hunting dogs. A part-time hunting guide, his office was lined with photographs of family, dogs, and birds. He was proud of his dogs and could talk at great length about their abilities and the joy they brought him. His belt buckle was emblazoned with the representation of his favorite gamebird--the turkey.

Walt lacked Ray's articulate speech but was never at a loss to express his devotion to "the kids." As Walt Gifford explained his reasons for leaving the Grandview Education Association he revealed his differences with

other members of the faculty.

We need to build our image in this town. Our chief concern should be these kids, and their education. That is what it is all about. Hell, there is only so much money in this town and we're limited in how much we're going to choke out of lumberjacks, ranchers and railroad labor. But, some of these teachers always want to talk money.

I'm not real popular here. I've made a few enemies, but I've had the kids in mind and they support me. I'm on their side and they know it, that gets home to the parent and they support me. That really was the bottom line last year.

Mitch Gillette admitted that he too had alienated a few of the staff members. He described himself as "student centered," rather than "subject centered." There was, he argued, a critical difference to be found in the two approaches to teaching. "It was that difference" he charged, "that had split the faculty and townspeople." He believed he always looked out for the "interest of the kids." In doing so he contended he had gained the support of the community. Gillette made it clear that he never cared what the faculty thought of him.

In a separate conversation Ed Bentley volunteered a similar appraisal of Gillette's standing, "If the Clays and the Maders of this school were united by anything it was their mutual dislike for Mitch Gillette."

Ed Bentley was described by a fellow staff member,

Ed Bentley came from Cleveland and a liberal arts college and wanted the outdoors life of the mountain environment. He has found that such an environment includes the values and norms of the small, provincial, rural town. He has a difficult

time with that. Ray, on the other hand, has learned to cope with that and his genuine enthusiasm for kids has kept him going from day to day. It is an enthusiasm that hasn't rubbed off in the same way on Ed.

Bentley felt that one issue that had separated himself from the faculty was the question of whether or not faculty members should be involved in politics. He felt that his peers had a desire to "remain inconspicuous." He tended to view the faculty groups according to political philosophies and spoke of his irreconcilable differences with many of the staff members.

Of the Gifford group members, Bentley was the youngest and had put in the least number of years in the school, arriving in 1978. Gillette and Gifford went back together to the early 1960's. Ann Lang arrived in 1969 and Ray Lang a year later in 1970. Bentley and Gifford were from the midwest, Ohio and Illinois respectively. Gillette from South Dakota and the Langs were also from out of state, few were sure where.

Summary: The Gifford Group

It was not possible to select a person that was the leader of what was referred to as "The Group" or "The Local Radicals." This researcher frequently referred to it as the "Gifford group" simply because of the tie that was established with Gifford.

Each member of this group exhibited strong independent will and while each needed the support and comradely relationships of the other their needs for esteem from the remaining faculty were small if not nil. They had been bound tightly in a pactlike relationship in their effort to force Miller's resignation. That crisis had certainly intensified their interactions and provided extreme cohesion to the point where some members exhibited actual badges that read "The Gang of Four," during the height of the controversy.

Within this Gifford group there remained a recognition that each of the group members had a talent and specific skill upon which the others relied. Walt was active in electing school board members and had firm friendships with powerful elements of the community. Ed Bentley had strong political ties to local and state politicians. Ray Lang was recognized as the spokesman and the brain trust, while Mitch Gillette was able to mingle with the staff and had easy access to the principal and a great deal of mobility as a guidance counselor. Ann Lang held the reigns of the school's single most powerful department, the English department, and had established linkage with other influential staff members.

They considered themselves to be professionals, and each viewed the other as an excellent teacher. They felt they were different from other staff members in the means

they preferred to see used in encouraging discipline and academic growth. In focusing simply on ends alone, a viewer would not find this difference. Clay and Bentley would appear to be of the same philosophical foundation. Nothing could be further from the truth. Each held up to ridicule the other's methods and relationships with the students and their methods were indeed observed to be different.

The Old Guard

Members of this pyramid were loosely associated, or coupled. Descriptions of several key individuals are provided. Through the course of the field study these people revealed characteristics, demonstrated behaviors and were identified by others as being representative of sentiments and values that preoccupied teachers who loosely affiliated in a network referred to here as the Old Guard.

In the lounge during the first period of the day, Ellen Davis welcomed Nora Clay back to school, she had taken a rare day off due to illness. Clay said that her substitute was excellent and really "took charge to the point of threatening the lives of the students." She thought that was "great!" Student teachers who were present looked at each other in askance.

Clay had been on staff since 1954. She epitomized an attitude that students were to be seen and not heard, simply educated and disciplined. Administrators existed to maintain order and keep subordinates, teachers and students, in their places. Principals did their job and teachers did their's, teachers did not undermine the administrators: they did not seek to supplant the principals or usurp their powers. The affairs of the past two years had angered and frustrated her. She made it clear to the new principal that she was one of the few who appreciated Miller.

In a written workshop commentary on what an effective school constituted she made it clear to the principal, "You write the rules and have the backbone to enforce them. I teach." In her written comments to the researcher on her evaluation (LBDQ-XII) of the present administration she noted: "I hope they resist the efforts of those teachers who will try to take over their jobs, better than the last man did!"

Clay expressed the belief that both students and teachers should do as they are instructed to do. As evidence of that, when she completed the Kunz PZAI instrument, Clay took one long look at the format, observed the scales and immediately circled almost every "A" on the page, indicating that she would always comply with a principal's decision, regardless of the degree to

which it was unilateral, or the area his decision impacted. She made it clear to the researcher that she could see no other way for a school to operate effectively.

Clay was described in her evaluations as a "serious and professional educator" whose classroom "environment was well planned" and "facilitated." She provided a "climate for learning."

April Wills, a graduate of the high school in which she now taught, was in her sixth year of teaching. Wills's attitudes were similar to Clay's with regards to professionalism, the purpose of the school, and the functions of teachers and administrators. Like Clay she had no problem responding with an "A" for always on the Kunz PZAI instrument. She thought at first that the researcher was joking or that she had misunderstood the instructions. She then shook her head and observed that there really wasn't anyway that anyone could answer in any other way except to always comply with the decisions of the administrators.

When their peers seemed to challenge the principal's proposals these two teachers perceived that as a personal attack on the man himself. Each made that clear to him as they pledged their support to his efforts to institute new graduation requirements.

Clay and Wills formed a strong dyad or twosome. Clay

was Wills's mentor, a model the young teacher felt comfortable in following. They did not have any notable contact with other staff members. Each spent their day in the classroom and made occasional trips to the office.

While he was not aligned with Clay socially, Steve Mayer viewed himself as being to her side of the continuum in terms of discipline, values, and a sense of the school's mission. As an administrator he had valued Clay's approach with this praise: "She is quite strict in conducting her classes and I believe this results in better educated students. She is demanding."

Like Clay, Mayer believed the students should heed the adults of the school, and the adults should model a behavior and value system grounded in Christianity. A member of the Flint Valley Fundamentalist Church, he sported a large cross on a chain around his neck at all times.

The former administrator's behavior during the previous year had irritated some of those teachers who occupied the middle ground during the crisis. He was still viewed with suspicion by those who wondered if he would "get his revenge."

Although attention had centered around him in the past, Mayer was not viewed as a leader of any informal group. Instead he was viewed as a symbol of events that had occurred and were "better off forgotten." To some he

was a martyr, to others a relic: "a piece of our history." Rumors that he would leave at the end of the year were accepted as truth. He himself did little to deny those rumors and frequently spoke of opportunities in other fields, "maybe business."

To some Steve Mayer remained a friend. Those who had been his most devoted supporters struggled with the injustice they felt he had suffered. These teachers still had difficulty dealing with those faculty members responsible for Mayer's demise.

Susan Rogers and Ray Simms were two of those people who stood closest to Mayer as teachers and members of the Valley Church. There was concern that these people were struggling with the notion of losing Steve's informal leadership. The principal was one of those who observed, "As these people perceive Steve to be leaving they open new lines of communication and alliances."

To the left of Mayer, but still in the Old Guard wing in terms of his worldview and educational beliefs, but not classroom practices, was Fred Winter. He had been the sophomore basketball coach for a number of years and in that position worked under Mayer. When Mayer had asked for a meeting with the board to discuss Miller's evaluations of him, Mayer asked that Winter accompany him as a "jailhouse lawyer."

Fred maintained a high profile in the lounge and was

vocal in conversations that took place there. He was widely recognized among his peers for his ability to "go on and on about himself." There were many who did not listen to him or who would accuse him of being "full of bull." He would talk of showdowns that he had with past and present administrators. He talked about his firm discipline policy and his tough stance with students.

For all his tough talk, Fred ran a loose classroom in which students were allowed a great deal of freedom. He referred to his relationship with them as a "rapport." Other teachers were concerned that he had struck a bargain with the youngsters: He would not expect work from them and in exchange, he would have their affection and a sense that he was, as a result, popular with the students. As one teacher observed,

Fred wants to be associated with a Mayerlike position, and he talks a tough stance. He wants to impress people with those qualities. In fact, he is confused about his role as a classroom teacher. Observe him in the classroom and you will find that the kids are in charge.

Another member of the Old Guard who had slipped in the power structure of the school's formal and informal system was Ty Mader. Mader's power base in the local education association had eroded as a result of the past year's struggle. His efforts to secure the position of chief negotiator for the GEA had failed. His attempts to

influence the direction of the association were meeting with stiff resistance from a block of teachers within the high school and at other schools in the district. Like Fred Winter he was reluctant to admit that his days as a leader were numbered.

Mader had gained a reputation in past negotiation sessions as a hardline union man concerned with the "bread and butter issues of wages and hours." For some of his peers there was no better evidence of that than his "track record." "Look at Mader. He's been in and out of teaching twice. This is the third time he has tried teaching for a living. He'd rather be a rancher. It's the money he is interested in."

Mader, like several other staff members still maintained his ranch. At times the conflicting demands of the two jobs put a strain on his time. Staff members expressed a concern that the demands of his ranch had made him an "eight to three-thirty" teacher. His obligations at home made it difficult for him to arrive at school earlier than 8:00 a.m. or to remain after school for any length of time. Cattle sales during the schoolday were particularly difficult for him to schedule in.

With regards to the classroom, Mader was described in past evaluations as a "strong teacher" who "established a respectful atmosphere within his classroom that enhanced the learning environment." He was described as firm but

fair. The language used to describe him was similar in vein to the descriptions of Clay. He admitted he was "a bit of the school redneck" and preferred "the discipline of twenty years ago."

Summary: The Old Guard

While sharing some common concerns they were not always united and seldom came into contact with one another. Clay stood far apart from Mayer on the issue of the role of extracurricular activities in the high school. Clay was one of those who was deeply concerned that the sports program received too much emphasis and the academics, not enough. When Mayer's sophomore basketball program was cut from the budget, he could not have gone to Clay for support, as he did when his own position was on the line.

Clay and Mader did not choose to conduct classes in the manner that Fred Winter did. His methods of entertaining the students, providing treats and allowing large quantities of "free time" was antithetical to their own rigidly structured approach. His manner of winging it each day was an approach that Clay and Mader could not have tolerated. Their days were regimented, their lessons in order. They would teach, the students would learn.

A Member of Both Groups

One person who enjoyed membership on the periphery of the Gifford group and in the Old Guard was the head of the business department, Cheryl Ginther. She did not link the two groups. She simply communicated with influential members of each group. Cheryl made regular visits to talk with Ray and Ann Lang, and she would also engage Ty Mader in a conversation about association business. Ginther, a former GEA president was no longer as active as she had once been in the association. The tasks of recent motherhood had placed new demands on her time.

The Lounge Group

Tom Spencer had been on the staff since 1972 as an English teacher. When Tom had moments to socialize he frequently found the company of Reggie Dillon, Pete Blaylock or other elements of the lounge population. Tom's friends frequented the lounge and the corner outside the lounge during the passing periods. Their relationships were not grounded in any mutual professional intent, cause or attempt to establish influence with regards to district, GEA or school operations.

Spencer considered himself to be a professional teacher, but not in the mold of a Clay, Mader, or a Lang. Spencer clearly enjoyed and needed interaction with his

peers. The moments that he shared with his fellow teachers were important to him.

As a prominent figure in the lounge Spencer was an important cog in what one teacher called "a minor gambling operation." During the World Series and baseball playoffs the faculty bulletin board always displayed a gameboard that allowed teachers to put money down on predicted outcomes of the games. Spencer, Reggie Dillon and Trig Malone continued to generate game cards for college football games, pro football games, baseball games, and the various state high school championships if enough teachers were willing to "kick in."

"They should have a gaming license," one student teacher mused with another.

Those who participated in the gambling activities admitted it provided a "release" and "a break in the monotony."

These men would meet infrequently for a beer in Bluff and attend a college football game. Once in a great while they would ski or hunt together, but more often than not they regretted that they didn't didn't have more time to do those things.

"Horseplay" among members of this group began to occur in a rapidfire fashion from day-to-day and pervaded the halls and classrooms of the school. There was no place that was sacred when it came to "having a little

fun." Nor was anyone necessarily exempt. At a faculty meeting Dave Tanner finished his dialogue on items from the agenda, he sat down expecting the principal to begin speaking. Ted Callahan had risen unexpectedly to talk at the back of the room.

In his brief speech Callahan referred to the days when Tanner had been a teacher and prolonged meetings with his opinions and exchanges. Callahan now asked a panel of judges to evaluate Dave's first faculty meeting presentation. Six teachers seated along the side of the library, raised score cards reading 2.7, 6.0, etc. A roar of laughter filled the room. Tanner was obviously surprised.

Cheryl Ginther later concluded that this behavior was typical of Callahan and was his way of saying, "These meetings have nothing to offer."

Other Dyads and Triads

There were other less obvious and smaller social arrangements that the observer detected. Within the lounge group and interacting with Spencer and Dillon were several of the younger staff members.

PE teachers and football coaches, Steve Cash and Pete Blaylock were close friends and with Tom Spencer commuted to Grandview each day from Bluff. Marge Mason associated

with other single teachers and an alliance grew which included Pam Kuhl, Sandy Bennett, and Reggie Dillon. Once in a great while they would dine out, ski sometimes and go places together.

These groupings of teachers existed largely for social interaction. They enjoyed one another's company in the lounge, in the hallway outside the lounge and in the cafeteria. They entertained one another, exchanged barbs, and engaged one another in light banter that usually served no other purpose than to brighten the day. Their view of the Gifford group was that they were "too cerebral and antisocial." Their view of the Old Guard was that their approach was too strict and their concern for wages and hours overdramatized.

Isolates

In a very real sense, each member of the faculty was an isolate for large amounts of time during the day. The task of teaching and the physical confinement to a closed room took them away from contact with other teachers for much of the schoolday. But there were many among the faculty who, when time was available for interaction, preferred secluding themselves and seemed to involve themselves in a minimum of interaction with their peers.

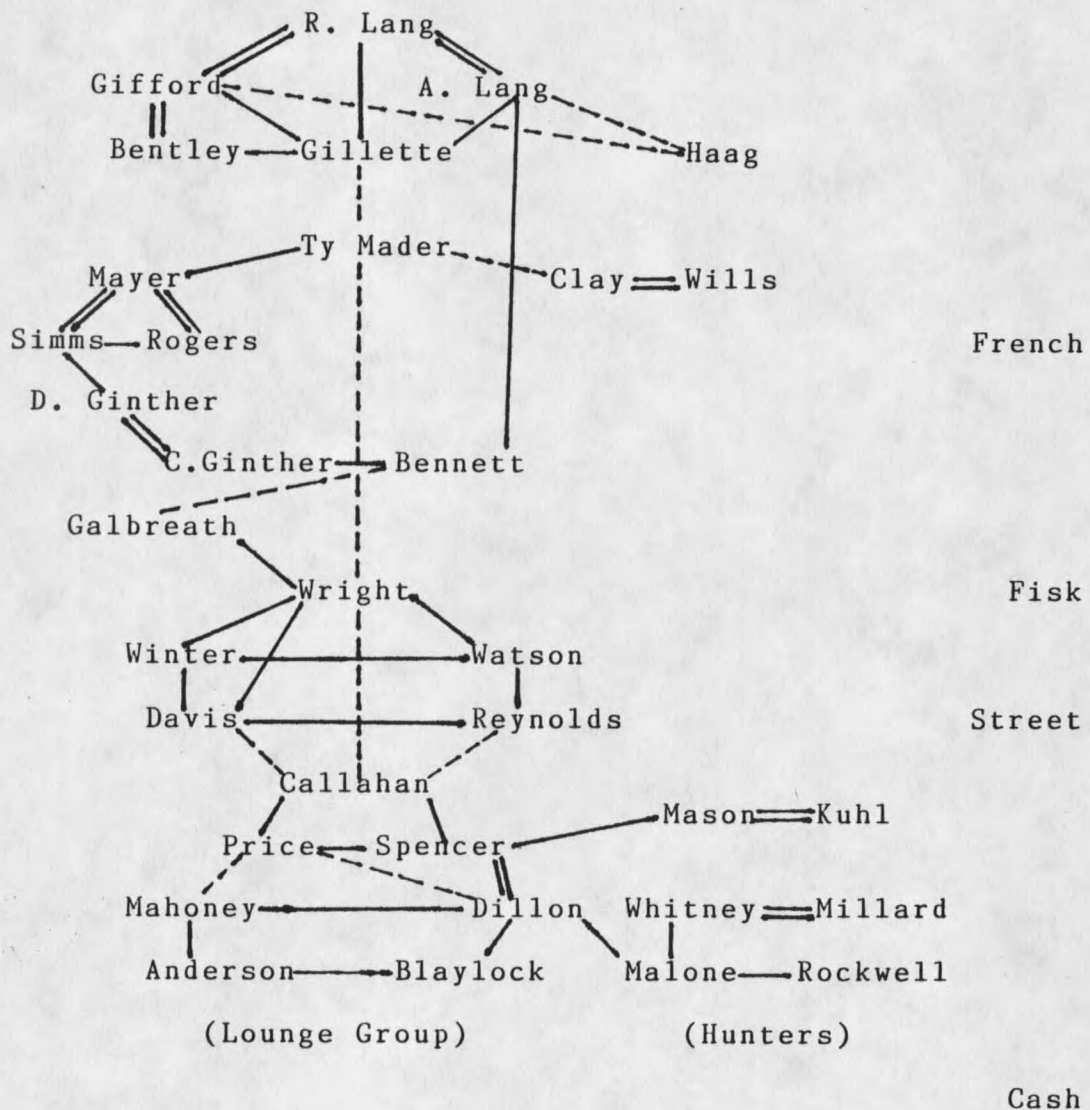
One woman obviously preferred to be alone and

isolated herself in the presence of others. She would sequester herself on a countertop behind a bookcase in the lounge. In the cafeteria she would eat alone despite the opportunity to sit with others. Her behavior was clearly antisocial and there was a deep look of retreat in her countenance. Her name was Susan Fisk and she was the past president of the GEA. Her behavior pattern had been effected by actions of her peers in the past, and will be further detailed at an appropriate place.

Albert Streets was equally isolated, but appeared more comfortable with that role. "He has operated like that since he came here in 1972," one teacher observed.

At a wrestling meet in December, Albert sat absolutely alone in the upper reaches of the gym. There was no one within twenty feet of him. Albert always sat with the cafeteria helpers at lunch or alone when they had to go back to work.

Steve Cash had become isolated as well. There was widespread speculation that the football coach's behavior could be attributed to a number of factors. Following two losing seasons in which his troops were able to win one game, those who had contact with him predicted he would resign. He made that official at the end of the football season. During one lunch period he offered Grandview football T-shirts for sale. Above his position on a bench was a sign which read "Going Out of Business Sale."



Double line indicates close relationship.
 Single line indicates a relationship.
 Dotted line indicates a limited communication only.

Figure 3

The Social Structure of Grandview

There were other teachers as well who maintained a social distance from much of the staff.

Staff Involvement in Board Elections

The Gifford group had clearly established a link with the school board in Max Wold. Superintendent Sumner recognized Wold's connections with the Gifford group. He was aware that, as the year progressed, Wold was spending an increasing amount of time in the school and with Gifford. But, Sumner felt that Wold was also establishing some independence from the Gifford group's influence.

Gifford and his friends were aware that their affiliation with Wold could "hurt Max's chances for reelection in the spring of 1985." While Gifford had been the board member selector for his group in the past, Gillette wanted Gifford to "lay low" in the impending elections. He felt their "support could hinder, rather than help a guy like Max Wold."

Sumner conceded that Old Guard forces were also successful in electing members of the board. He recognized the strength of the Flint Valley Fundamental Church in the influence process. He identified eight or nine high school teachers, who attended the church, including Susan Rogers, Steve Mayer, Ray Simms, Allen Able and Ty Mader. Sumner recalled that the church almost

ostracized board member Eric Huff when Huff voted to remove Mayer from his principalship. A present member of the board from that constituency, Deke Payton, was afraid the Mayer issue would come up for a revote and he did not want to be confronted with the pressures and consequences that such a vote could have brought with it.

Staff divisiveness revealed itself in the spring elections of 1984. Various factions of the faculty had been at odds with one another in seeking to elect members to the school board. There was no faculty cohesiveness in support of a particular candidate.

It was the contention of some that the addition of one more board member in 1985, with the support and sentiments of pro-Mayer faculty, would sweep Sumner out of office. It was predicted that Sumner had not heard the last of those who still regretted the elimination of the sophomore basketball program. Joe Watson was convinced that the proports and pro-Mayer groups had the muscle to drive the superintendent out of the district.

The superintendent did not feel threatened by a change in board membership. He felt he had been able to educate new members of the board as to the history of events that had transpired: "Once those people are on the board they tend to develop a mind of their own." Indeed, in the spring elections of 1985 a pro-Mayer citizen, whose son was on the basketball team, was elected to the board..

The superintendent and principal were both excited about the man's abilities and in private conversations spoke optimistically about working with him.

The Teacher's Association

The researcher was interested in establishing the formal as well as informal lines of communication used by the staff. One organ that had been vital in the past years, the local teacher's association, was now a far less effective tool for high school faculty members in their attempts to influence the direction of the school system.

Prior to the Miller years the high school faculty had provided the leadership of the local teaching association and had a strong voice in determining the issues and directions that the association would move in. The Gifford group had used their own positions as building representatives in the association to maneuver Miller out of the principalship.

The resignations of Fisk and Haag as GEA president and vice president created an opportunity for association leadership to transfer to another building in the district. The informal group struggles at the high school had so fragmented the high school staff that individuals there found it difficult to rally sufficient support to elect a high school teacher to any office.

This was apparent in the election of the replacement for Sheldon Haag as the GEA vice president. The position was considered an important one, as the bylaws of the organization required that the vice president become the next president. The election of the vice president was a subject of much concern to those who had made strong investments in the organization and wished to continue guiding the organization's direction.

Meeting in the lounge, Ty Mader and Sandy Bennett talked about the impending GEA election. When Fred Winter entered the lounge, Mader asked if he would be "going to the meeting?"

Fred shuffled his feet and admitted, "I should, I guess, to steer those youngsters in the right direction."

Mader expressed a concern that the GEA was going to die this year. He also pointed out that the high school control of GEA had been broken. Mader felt that the one hope remaining for the veterans of the high school was to sidetrack Lynn Fuller from winning the vice presidency. She was a second year teacher, youthful, and on the elementary school staff.

In the opinion of Cheryl Ginther these were all strikes against Fuller. Ginther added to her list of complaints an argument that "the girl didn't have tenure, would be easy to manipulate, and hadn't paid her "dues." Ed Bentley later revealed that Cheryl resented power

falling into the Middle School and elementary schools, because she simply looked down on those people.

Ty Mader reviewed the same "flaws" in Lynn Fuller and added, "Fuller doesn't know the ropes." He encouraged Winter and Wright to develop a plan for stopping Fuller and inserting their own person in that position.

At the next GEA meeting, Nancy Wright would nominate Ellen Davis. Fred would second that and they would "try to railroad Ellen past Lynn."

The effort ultimately failed. The monthly association newsletter revealed that Lynn Fuller was elected by the association to the post of vice president. She drew forty-nine votes to twenty-nine for Ellen Davis. The vice principal, once an active member of the association counseled Cheryl Ginther and Nancy Wright that "the leadership is no longer in the high school, and the organization is fragmented."

These same members who were concerned about Fuller's election were later relieved to learn that she would be marrying and moving to the east coast and resigning her faculty position.

"Fragmentation," "bickering," "in-fighting" were words frequently used to describe the meetings and nature of the association. Teachers sometimes wondered if other associations were plagued by such squabbling among their elementary and secondary high faculties.

Clarence Dayton indicated that he had been the head of the local association in Millwater and that they dropped their MEA connections and formed their own local.

Ranchers can't handle the union mentality in a small town. We did more for our image that day than any other single step taken. We also saved ourselves alot of money. We were paying a couple hundred dollars a year to support statewide services that we would never need. We couldn't afford confrontational strategies, we would have only doomed ourselves in the public mind. We wanted to move away from the us against them mentality that we had gotten into as a result of an increasingly unionized stance.

Clarence could see the present Grandview association heading in the same direction. He pointed to the squabbling and in-fighting that was still prevalent. The focus on bread and butter issues and contract language. Clarence indicated that he would not renew his membership in the next year if this perception continued. In the summer months of 1985 Clarence resigned his position in order to take a more attractive position in a distant state.

One observation that seemed to hold true was offered by Reggie Dillon. He concluded that one reason the high school was quieter this year was that the GEA leadership had slipped over to the Middle School. He expressed the hope that it would stay there. Everyone agreed that the high school was quieter this year. As Dillon had suggested the energy of the association now seemed to be focused on the problems of the Middle School.

At the end of one schoolday Taylor sighed, "Well, I knew it couldn't last forever. We've created our first real wave of the year." Scheduling and staffing difficulties at the Middle School required that several high school staff members teach a class at that school. Middle School teachers were also accepting additional activities and assignments.

In the monthly GEA newsletter with regards to teachers acceptance of changes in their working conditions, Sandy Bennett advised teachers to check with their contract before accepting changes that might otherwise be negotiated.

At the Middle School, when Principal Thompson asked teachers to assist in supervising students (due to influx) they agreed to help, and in doing so, violate the GEA contract with the district. When they were asked how they would respond to the high school faculty accusation that they were violating the contract, they gave a response indicating that it was not the business of the high school. In the eyes of Joe Watson, Nancy Wright and Ty Mader:

It is the business of the high school because when it comes time to negotiate we have given it away, and they will then expect more. It is our business because this year it is them and next year it will be us.

Ty Mader had been going down to the Middle School on

his breaks and encouraging teachers to resist the efforts of Thompson to involve them in extra duty without pay. Mader had received notes from Taylor cautioning him about that. He would leave the building without checking out and had been reprimanded for that. Thompson had reprimanded him for talking to staff about GEA business on company time. Taylor explained his generally relaxed approach to the problem: "Mader may hang himself if the faculty there resists his efforts." If he were to come down hard on Mader, Taylor felt he would be giving Ty an opportunity to cry harassment.

Superintendent Sumner was hoping that Mader's support would not grow and that the "strength of the Middle School principal would carry the day." Sumner expressed the belief that Mader was attempting to guide the GEA course towards the issues that are of importance to him: the wage and hours issues. He felt Ty was trying to bring unity to an organization that had rapidly lost membership and direction. He felt that Mader was trying to use his position on the P.R. & R. committee to fill the void in association leadership at the high school.

Sumner was aware that the Middle School staff and elements of the high school staff were negative in their response to Mader's attempts to influence the course of the Middle School. For that reason the administration chose to stay out of the GEA end of the conflict at the

Middle School. Sumner had not reprimanded Mader nor had the high school principal. Taylor had been unaware of Mader's activity at the Middle School until so informed by Middle School Principal Thompson. Thompson "collared Mader and advised him that he was not to impose himself on the Middle School faculty during their preparation time." Mader presented the argument that it was their free time and therefore he could make himself available to them for advisement.

Sumner recognized the shift in the power structure of the GEA from the high school to the Middle School. The Middle School GEA membership indicated that it would drop out of the association altogether if the other schools and state association did not allow them to chart their own course with relation to those issues effecting their immediate environment and position.

With this kind of atmosphere William Sumner recognized,

It would be easy to take advantage of the situation and increase my own power to the point of becoming a dictator. Such a move would be made even easier by the present passive nature of the school board.

Sumner did not wish to "break the association." He felt that a healthy association was necessary in strengthening the school climate and in improving the effectiveness of the schools in Grandview.

Research Question Number One

What was the intent of the principal with regards to influencing the actions and behaviors of the faculty?

The Principal's Intent

To determine the intent of the principal the researcher observed interaction between the principal, staff and other administrators, observed faculty meetings and talked one-on-one with the principal, as well as with the superintendent.

The new building principal was very much influenced by the events of the previous year and the state of the school program and staff. He was not oblivious to the schism that was very much a part of his faculty. Through his six month internship during the previous year, his residence in the area for several years, a close association with the superintendent, a transitional period working with the past principal, and extensive conversations with members of his staff during the summer months, Taylor had developed an awareness of faculty alliances, networks, leaders, issues and outside interests as well as issues that required attention.

He had the recent history of social dynamics in mind

when he addressed the local press in August and dedicated himself to the task of "providing a unified, cohesive and professional atmosphere." It was also his awareness of the turmoil of the past two years that prompted him to use caution in allowing this study to be conducted.

The Need to Rebuild Communication Networks

In several conversations over the course of the summer the principal had stressed the need to need to develop both formal and informal lines of communication. Taylor, a former college speech instructor and guidance counselor, was interested in two-way communication. "Feedback," "interface," "input" and "process" were but a few of the terms that described the communication network he envisioned for Grandview.

There was ample evidence that communication had been all but destroyed in the past two years. The Northwest Evaluation Report (1984), newspaper articles and private conversations with staff, administrators and public citizens revealed the many formal and informal lines of communication that needed repair.

The Northwest Evaluation Report (1984:48) suggested formal communication networks that had been neglected: staff meetings, department head meetings with the

administration, department meetings, community input, and the student council. Speaking in general terms the authors of the report recommended administrators, "Explore methods of improving communication among administration, staff and students" (1984:48). It was Taylor's intent to do that. In a department head meeting he used almost the same words in asking the staff to help him "explore new methods for improving communication."

Beginning with the administration, the report recognized the conditions spelled out by Sumner in the demotion of Mayer. The "personal war" waged by the former principals had divided the office and staff into two camps. The evaluators urged the development "of a cohesive management team." To restore "the overall education process" the Northwest Report (1984:2) urged "the implementation of plans designed to increase trust, cooperation and morale among district employees." In his first interview with the local newspaper Taylor had stated that improving staff morale was one of his first priorities. Trust and cooperation were words that were prevalent in both his individual dialogues with staff and in faculty meetings.

Addressing specific areas the Northwest evaluators recommended that staff meetings should be "held regularly with an established agenda to include positive reinforcement in an effort to improve staff relations"

(1984:2). It was revealed by faculty members that the past principal had essentially abandoned such meetings because "he didn't know how to run one, and they turned into fullscale riots."

When Miller found himself unable to work with the staff meetings he turned to his building representatives. The Northwest Report recognized that and suggested a need to "Expand the 'Building representative' group to represent a broader spectrum of staff to include, as an example, one representative from each department" (1984:48).

In focusing on the department representatives the 1984 Northwest Evaluation Team noted, "The title 'department head' seems to be in name only. There should be continued efforts to develop job descriptions to identify the actual responsibilities of the department heads" (1984:17). It was the intention of the new principal to implement that suggestion.

In specifically evaluating the position of the English department chairperson the Northwest Evaluation Report (1984:6) noted that role needed to be "better defined by the administration." Time must be allowed for the person to "fulfill his/her duties, and the person must be empowered to coordinate department business and facilitate better communications within the department."

Again, it was Taylor's intent to return to the

department head system: to increase their role and functions, to extend an opportunity for greater influence to them and to facilitate communication with the staff through these department heads.

The need to involve students in the communication process was repeated in several statements throughout the document:

Student Council should provide input into attendance policy, discipline policy, due process, etc." (1984:55).

Let students know where they stand with each and every teacher (1984:55).

The district was also advised to "investigate ways to increase parental and community involvement in academic areas of the school" (1984:2).

The statement that reoccured most frequently in the evaluation asked the district to "explore methods of improving communication among administration, staff and students."

In the heavily perused copy of the Northwest Report received by the researcher, many of the above statements had been highlighted in yellow by members of the administration. In responding to these critical areas in the formal structure the principal intended to

1. Schedule regular faculty meetings.
2. Establish a formal role and responsibilities for department heads.
3. Conduct regular department head meetings.
4. Mandate occasional department meetings, and

- encourage frequent department meetings.
5. Initiate the use of quality circles, or concern groups.
 6. Develop a Parent Advisory Committee to the high school.
 7. Reestablish the Student Council and increase its involvement in the governance of the school.

He was also cognizant of the need to not only establish these lines of communication but to encourage their growth and legitimacy as organs vital to the functions of the school's organization.

How I use these various groups will be more important than their mere establishment. It will not be enough to say to the department heads, "OK, let's starting meeting again." These people are leery of formal meetings. They have had some bad experiences. In reestablishing the formal networks I need to demonstrate effective leadership, and respect for the concerns of the staff. It won't be enough say "I want input," or "I'm listening," they will have to see and feel that for themselves.

That Taylor would reconvene the various neglected formal subsystems became immediately apparent. The first two days of the school calendar had been previously set aside by the superintendent as teacher workshop or PIR days. Teachers would report to work, but students would not be in the building until the following Monday. Those days were used for faculty, department and department head meetings. Such meetings continued throughout the year on a regular basis.

The Principal as Leader
In Formal Meetings

How those subsystems would be facilitated and used by the principal also was in evidence. Although Taylor had been working in the district since the first of July, the new building principal was facing a formal congregation of the faculty for the first time in late August. For Taylor the faculty meeting provided an opportunity to accomplish several things: establish a tone for such meetings, establish a tone for the coming year, develop lines of communication, nurture an understanding of the direction he would like to see the school move, project an image of the principal as the leader, and allow the faculty to "get a feel for what the new principal is like in group situations." These points, and others, were already being pursued in his personal and daily contacts with staff. While it was not Taylor's intention to "bury the staff in these faculty meetings," he did see them as excellent opportunities to increase his visibility and establish himself as an authority in academic matters and as a person who could manage the system.

Taylor did not thrust himself on the group in his first appearances. The first morning session had been dominated by the superintendent and curriculum director. The principal was present but did not call attention to himself. The speakers stressed the findings of recent

"effective schools literature," and described a vision of what they would like to see occur in the district over the next several years. They related their goals and the plans they hoped to implement. Teachers were eventually dismissed for a lengthy lunch break.

In the afternoon session the principal convened the meeting by simply beginning to speak. There had been many conversations taking place and they eventually subsided as Taylor continued to talk. Taylor reflected on his personal philosophy and the school climate he wished to develop. He elaborated on the effective school concept that had been introduced in the morning session.

In revealing his personal philosophy he expressed interest in providing the best education possible for the students and identified that as the chief mission of the school. He reminded the faculty that his decisions would always take that mission into consideration. No one was surprised by that. His remarks had "all been heard before," according to one reviewer. Taylor himself admitted to the congregation, "What I am saying is not necessarily new, but in light of what you have been through I think you need to hear it repeated, and more importantly you need to see it effected."

Taylor expressed the desire to see staff and student morale rekindled. He understood that the past year had taken the focus of their efforts away from the students

and education: "We have lost a sense of what we are about." He felt that one way he could contribute to staff morale would be to exercise an "open door policy." Again he apologized for using "jargon that has been heard before," but hoped that in time they would see that his interest in two-way communication and being accessible was genuine.

As an example of seeking input, he invited the faculty to consider the present system of library fines and alternative plans. Enforcement of the present policy, which allowed for the withholding of grades was difficult and "legally questionable." With regards to policy in general he stated, "I can't stick my neck out on a policy we can't enforce." Taylor then encouraged staff to send input through the department heads. It was the first time that such encouragement had been heard in several years.

During his presentation Taylor briefly identified those elements in the "effective schools literature" that he thought were particularly relevant to Grandview High School. As he did so he made it clear that he was in agreement with the school board and superintendent and the direction they wanted to go in improving the district. It was not blind obedience, but a common commitment to quality education and a shared understanding of what constituted quality that aligned him with his superior. He demonstrated a personal knowledge base that allowed the

faculty to get a feel for his own independent thought, research and concerns for education.

The desire to explain his decisions was becoming apparent. In referring to "keys to the exterior doors," he mentioned that the locks were being changed in order to develop some accountability for locks and keys. He elaborated on the problem and explained his reasoning. For each item on the agenda he continued to explain his reasoning, the input he had received from faculty and the provisions of board policy or laws when they were applicable.

The assistant principal then addressed various discipline related issues. Words like "tardy," "absent," "excused" and "unexcused," "passes" and "disorderly behavior" crept into his conversation. He also referred to a "drug and alcohol task force" and impending changes that would result from that.

Like Taylor, Tanner announced an "open door policy," invited criticism, asked for ideas, and said he was "with you" (the faculty). He talked of "an alignment of intentions" and recognized the past devisiveness that had characterized Grandview High School. He spoke well of Bill Taylor and in an obvious comparison to the past principal, Tanner said: "Bill Taylor can and will make decisions. He is a decision maker and I think he has already demonstrated that he makes intelligent choices."

To some it was "fraternal backslapping," but it was intended to serve several purposes. An effort was being made to develop a cohesive team and that was especially evident as Tanner pledged that he would work closely with Taylor. He advised the staff, "What people tell me will also be told to the principal." In this manner Tanner was also taking his first steps in reminding the faculty that he was a part of the administrative team now. He was no longer a teacher.

Taylor returned to the front of the room and scored points by admitting that he was tired and assumed that they were too. Sensing closure, several of the faculty crept forward on their seats and prepared to head for the exits. Taylor expressed his appreciation for their time and attention. He added that he knew too well how tedious such meetings could be. At the same time he spoke convincingly of how vital this "interface" was.

"Considering we haven't had any for awhile!" Walt Gifford mumbled in the direction of Ed Bentley. Bentley was unimpressed.

Establishing Department Heads

The first two days of the schoolyear also included two department head meetings. Eleven faculty members joined with the principal in the conference room adjoining

the office, A-5. This group included:

Ann Lang	English
Ty Mader	Mathematics
Don Millard	Science
Nancy Wright	Social Science
Mary Galbreath	Physical Education
Walt Gifford	Industrial Arts and Art
Cheryl Ginther	Business
Sandy Bennett	Home Economics
John Rockwell	Special Services
Marge Mason	Fine Arts
Mitch Gillette	Guidance

Gillette and Gifford normally sat next to one another at these meetings. They would usually be found at the opposite end of the table from Ty Mader. Taylor used these meetings for several purposes: He sought input, items of concern, and full faculty meeting agenda items. He asked for announcements, questions, and complaints. He would ask for feedback: "How do you feel about this?" "What concerns do members of your department have?"

Taylor also used these occasions to explain how administrative details were to be handled. "These are the new attendance sheets, to be used this year. . . Let me explain why we have chosen this approach. . . Based on what you have told me. . .and this is how the system is intended to work." "I would like to take a moment to explain the new budget item analysis form. . ." Taylor would ask if his explanation was clear and if anyone saw any "glaring holes" in it.

When Taylor asked the heads of departments to take

some ideas back to their departments he "thought they would wave the association flag and say no." But he had become convinced that they were elated to have more responsibility.

When I first considered taking that step I was a little unsure of what the response would be. There was some risk involved in coming in here, facing ten department heads and approaching them with increased responsibilities. Some of these people led the palace guard in revolt several months ago. They are not compensated for the time they put into these meetings, but the response has been positive. They want a role to play in the process, and for the most part they want to see improvements.

In his first meeting of the year he was asked about his "open door policy" and the extent to which they could expect to really have access to his office. He reaffirmed that he was committed to the concept and that input would be not only welcome but sought.

In that opening meeting he observed that one issue that needed to be resolved with their input related to the "library fine situation." He asked the department heads to "take the matter up with their departments" and to let him know of any suggestions. He also asked for suggestions for ways in which time on workshop days could be used, and for ways in which communication could be improved.

Quality Circles

While the staff members had generated a host of ideas and suggestions within the structure of the faculty meeting and department meetings, another technique that Taylor had great hopes of employing fell victim to the recent history of the school. In his year of study, Taylor had been exposed to the merits of quality circles, and hoped to use small group efforts to generate ideas, and solve problems of concern to the teachers. When he brought the idea up in the department head meeting, it was met with swift opposition.

The concern of the faculty was expressed by Nancy Wright, and she repeated her remarks at the social studies meeting.

We told Bill that we are generally opposed to small group work at this time because that was one of our major problems last year. When faculty meetings fell apart, we went to small group work and in that situation it seemed each group looked out for its own interest. It was every group for itself. We ended up with a small group running the school. We told Bill we wanted to go with the faculty as a whole first, build some trust, and go from there.

Don Millard and Walt Gifford brought up the same issue at the department head meeting. Bill backed off the idea. Later, Walt made it clear to his department, that he had gotten that same message to Taylor and that the principal had backed off. In making his point Walt was

demonstrating to his department that he had influence with the principal.

Work with Individuals

Taylor was surprised by the fear that people expressed with regards to small group work, but understood where that fear was coming from. He was not going to dismiss the goal of having teachers eventually work in quality circles. He revamped his approach and timeline for developing quality circles. He recognized the need to begin building trust and communication with, and among the individual teachers first. From that foundation he hoped to move into groupwork. He also realized the need to demonstrate to the faculty that, unlike Miller, he could provide leadership in maintaining the structure. He felt he would have to demonstrate to the staff that the bureaucracy did not have to collapse under the weight and pressures of small groups.

The Faculty Perception Of the Principal

It was necessary to determine how the faculty responded to the principal. It was the intent of the researcher to determine the extent to which informal group interaction shaped teacher response to the principal's

attempts to influence the actions and behaviors of the staff. It has been revealed that the principal intended to open the communication lines with the staff, and reconvene the various subsystems that had been abandoned in previous years.

After one and a half days of faculty meetings most of the staff was browbeaten and physically exhausted. Taylor recognized this, and in establishing some credibility as an "input and process man" he had also paid a small price. The grumblings in the hall revealed that some people would have preferred spending their time elsewhere.

"My god! We sit through that bull every year," complained one teacher.

"That was a waste!" complained another.

"Nothing ever comes of that work. We do goals and objectives every year and they end up trashed. It's worthless."

Comments such as these revealed a feeling that history was going to repeat itself. There was a touch of nihilism in the most negative of the detractors. Their remarks were not of a personal nature. They were not meant as attacks on the principal, but the "sameness of it all."

There were also those who sensed that "this guy may be different." They were "willing to give him a chance."

"He seems to listen."

"He comes off intelligently enough. I'm not used to that in an administrator," remarked another.

"He has definitely been educated," added a second voice.

"I don't doubt his sincerity. I already trust him far more than any other principal I have dealt with in the past."

A third group of voices was also heard in the aftermath of the faculty meeting and collectively they expressed a "wait and see" attitude. Optimism was tempered by memories of past principals who, at first, seemed to offer hope for the future of Grandview High. They spoke in guarded terms and couched their hopes with reminders of the past principal.

"I won't make that mistake again. We should have rolled him (Miller) out the day he rolled in," Walt Gifford reminisced.

"I don't doubt Bill's intelligence, or concern for education. I only wonder if he has what it takes to make some of the changes that are needed in the staffing of this school," Ray Lang wondered aloud.

"The only question I have, at this point, concerns his personal ambition. Will he focus on the staff improvement this place needs, or will he refuse to make waves, build a name for himself and move on?" Cheryl

Ginther said with some apprehension.

There were also those who did not focus on whether or not they could live with the new principal. They were content to say that "the past is behind us and it is time to move on to better things." They assumed that everything was under control and they could resume their customary role as teacher. Life could get back to normal and "we can resume course." To these people it appeared that routine was important. Life on staff had somehow been interrupted in the past year and the situation had become unpleasant. It was not necessarily an expression of complacency. In fact, in some cases it was a confidence that "this superintendent isn't going to pick a loser, so let's give him some room."

Comparing Principals

Conversations among teachers revealed that some people could not assess Taylor without referring to Jack Miller or Phil Simon. Gouldner referred to this tendency as the "Rebecca Myth" (1954:79-83). The term was used to describe the tendency that some workers had to reflect on the memory of past plant managers. Gouldner derived the term from a Daphne DuMaurier novel about a young woman who married a widower and spent her remaining years listening to her husband extol the virtues of his first wife.

Gouldner suggested, "One may suspect that many a past plant manager is, idealized by the workers, even if disliked while present."

Assessments of the principals, past and present, and contrasts in their leadership attributes occurred in both formal and informal settings. In Bill Taylor's case, he benefitted from a comparison to Miller. While people could find some good in Miller, he had done far more to convince them that he had "risen to a level of incompetence."

In faculty meetings, department meetings and in informal conversations in the lounge and cafeteria, school personnel revealed their assessment of both Miller and Taylor. From teacher to teacher, there was a similarity in descriptions of Miller. Some were more ruthless than others in appraising the past principal. There was also a common thread that pervaded the descriptions of Taylor. What became most evident was the divergence found between descriptions of Taylor, on one hand, and Miller on the other. One teacher characterized that difference as the proverbial difference between night and day. Those characteristics which were most frequently cited as major areas of differences between Taylor and Miller included communication skills, intelligence, people skills, decision-making ability, and ability to take action.

A Difference in Personal Communication
And Commitment to Action

The new principal, Taylor, had been working in the district in July and August of 1984. He assumed his duties while Jack Miller was still in town and a transition period allowed him to become familiar with with the administrative tasks that would require immediate attention. He immediately initiated conversations with faculty members. Each member of the staff had an opportunity to meet individually with Bill Taylor.

"He extended a personal call to each of us and arranged a time when he could meet with us, just to talk and become acquainted," explained Winter. Other members of the faculty were making the same remark.

"He even met with the janitors", Fred added incredulously.

Lee Smith verified that he and his custodial team had met with the principal during the summer months. He reported that they were communicating and that in itself is a big improvement over last year.

For Lee Smith "communicating" meant that the principal was listening and responding. Smith reported that he could provide Taylor with input on something that needed the attention of the administration and the task would soon be accomplished.

As Smith talked, Bill Taylor came in and asked about

the boilers. The two men talked about repairs needed in the boilers, and several other items that needed to have requisitions. The principal said it was "taken care of."

As Taylor continued down the hallway, the custodian turned around and remarked, "see what I mean! The requisitions are done. Last year it was hard to get requisitions, and if you filled one out, there was no guarantee it would go anywhere. We're communicating!"

A Difference in Academic Orientation

As faculty members contrasted their new leader with the old, they talked about a perceived difference in intelligence.

"While Taylor and Miller were both nice people," Lee Smith felt that Taylor appeared to "at least have some brains."

His blunt statement about "brains" epitomized a concern that others also addressed. Ed Bentley stressed that "Miller seemed to ignore issues of education and academia."

Ty Mader could find "little evidence that Miller was able to involve himself in academics, or "anything connected to educational dialogue." Mader was sardonic when he expressed the hope that Miller "could complete a

task related to educational service this year on his new job."

What impressed people about Taylor were his references to the literature related to education, his awareness of issues and his willingness to talk about more effective schools. He presented his ideas with a variety of documentation and tried to explain his reasoning. He also gained some prestige in their eyes for "taking a year off to pursue a doctorate."

A Question of Autonomy

While it was too soon to tell about Taylor there was clearly a great resentment of Jack Miller's dependency on the central office and his inability to make a decision. Preoccupied with the superintendent's expectations, Miller had been unable to act with little regard for the expectations of many of the workers of his staff. He had been perceived by much of his staff as a "Rawls hatchet man" and lost credibility in his handling of Steve Mayer. Even Steve Mayer's detractors felt that Miller had done nothing more than carry out the will of the man above him, with little personal thought or concern. His focus on pleasing his superior officer caused some to question his legitimacy as the building principal and staff supervisor.

Lee Smith expressed concern that Miller wouldn't

stand up to the office downtown. On several occasions he approached Miller for "some small item." According to Smith, Miller would pick up the phone, and "call downtown to get permission to move." Reports similar to Lee's were commonplace.

The vice principal, Dave Tanner, revealed that he had cautioned the principal to involve the superintendent less in the high school decision-making process. He reminded Taylor, "One thing these people despised about Miller, was his need to always pick up the phone and check with Rawls. These people appreciate input, but they also want local leadership." Tanner thought it would add to the principal's credibility if he appeared to be his own man. He added, "I think Bill can pull it off."

Taylor was not oblivious to the concern for local autonomy. In a reference to the school's physical location and history he repeated for the observer, a statement he had made earlier in the week for Mitch Gillette:

One of the things that I have pointed out to Mitch Gillette is that these people are used to having their own island down here, cut off from the central office, and the board. Past principals have rallied the teachers and chosen to isolate themselves here. I'm not going to do that.

I want to maintain a relationship with the central office. Stripped of that ploy of circling the wagons to take a stand against the central office I have to resort to other methods to develop credibility here. One way to do that is to cultivate genuine relationships and use that approach to gain influence, build respect and trust.

Taylor preferred to model the beliefs, values and philosophy of the district superintendent. Both the principal and superintendent had arrived at those foundations independently. Taylor felt very comfortable working under Sumner and appreciated the commonality of their professional belief system.

The Impact of the Past Principal's
Performance on the Present
Principal

Principal Taylor had been hearing remarks similar to those being heard by this observer. The staff was vocal in expressing itself about the past principal's tendency to "say what we wanted to hear, but not do a thing." As a result of the past principal's failure to take promised or necessary action, the present principal was forced to dedicate large blocks of time throughout the day to listening and responding to his faculty and noncertified personnel.

In a conversation with this researcher, the principal identified one of the chief tasks that he felt was required of him.

The key now is to handle the problems of the staff as they come in, to deal with it and not put it off. Apparently Miller put staff requests off or did not attend to them at all. People would come in with their needs and problems and were seldom satisfied

with the results. Jack could "listen" and respond with verbal commitments, but he did not follow through with action. I have to not only appear to "listen," but I must give them some evidence that I have heard them, and am doing something now, not "later."

For his apparent lack of effort, Miller was facetiously referred to as "Action Jack." One way that Taylor felt he could establish credibility with the staff was by letting them see that he "can get things done." Recognizing that the power of the principalship had been eroded by Miller's upline focus, and a staff perception of Miller as "two-faced" and "wishy-washy," Taylor was eager to establish not only credibility, but ultimately, legitimacy.

Taylor's efforts were not going unnoticed.

One problem Taylor inherited from his predecessor was revealed by Mary Galbreath: "Miller screwed up my requisitions. Some items were never ordered, other unwanted items were sitting on the loading dock." Galbreath had altered her first order, but it never made it from Miller's desk to the district office. Taylor eventually "tracked it down," and found the order buried in the file cabinet. Taylor and Galbreath corrected the paperwork in July and "tried to unscramble what Jack had done, or not done!"

As the days wore on it became clear that Mary Galbreath was not the only one whose requisitions had been

"misfiled," "not filed," "not forwarded to the central office," or "forgotten." There were others equally frustrated and each pinned the blame on the past principal. Paperwork for computers, software, desks and other items had been lost or handled improperly.

As a result of finding his time being consumed in rectifying Miller's "slips and oversights," Taylor did not appreciate even a suggestion that he was in the same league with the former principal. Such suggestions did not surface frequently. If his behavior or terminology even resurrected the memory of Miller he was apologetic.

Taylor described himself as "hurt" at the beginning of the year, when members of the Gifford group suggested that they were remembering the initial days of Miller and wondering if they were going to have a repeat performance. Taylor could see no reason for such concern and it rankled him to think that people could even suggest a similarity in leadership style.

Communication: Teacher's Perception

As teachers took a break for coffee in a faculty meeting, Mary Galbreath reflected on her first impressions of the principal. She was impressed with his efforts and expressed the hope that "he doesn't burnout." She said that he seemed "to care about each and every faculty

member's input, not just that of a few powerful figures who had gotten his ear. It was her perception that, "In listening to everyone he is pleasing them and it is what we have needed." She shared her impressions of past administrators who listened "only to their favorites." What Mary appreciated most about Taylor was that "he is asking people what they want done and he is pointing out to them where he can and can't do what they want." She then repeated her hope that he could "keep that pace without burning out."

Nancy Wright reflected on her experience at a department head meeting as she chaired her Social Studies Department meeting. She emphasized to her peers that "Bill stressed the need for communication. He wants input from the staff." There was a pause and she then said with some excitement, "and he listens." She underscored "he listens" with a vocal inflection. "He wants us to suggest methods that would be effective in improving the communication process around here." She looked squarely into the eyes of each person as she talked. Her voice revealed an enthusiasm and a hint of disbelief.

Fred remarked, "That alone will be a major development!"

Wright then explained that Taylor wanted to develop some goals and objectives within each department. Several of her peers began a footdragging technique that she was

obviously familiar with. She seized the opportunity to get in some input and encouraged department compliance. She initiated a conversation about "some problem areas." In the discussion that ensued ten issues surfaced in a half hour conversation. The chairwoman promised to take each to the principal. Several of the issues involved the communication process of the past year:

1. Favoritism toward certain departments and some students.
2. Equal access to the principal was needed by all.
3. Communication with the public needed to be improved.

In the hour allotted for brainstorming at the autumn effective schools workshop several of the suggestions pointed towards improved communication. All agreed that a chain of command should be clearly established and followed. The situation created in the past year was described as untenable. Two-way communication was needed. Few of the teachers felt that they had been heard by anyone in the past several years.

Last year's communication process was variously described as "muddled," and often "nonexistant." "Muddled" in the sense that simple promises were made, consents or approval given, but nothing was delivered. Ben Whitney clarified that the problem came when Miller would promise one person one thing and a second person another. "Honesty" was also needed. The principal had to

be "up-front" with the faculty.

Bill Taylor was fully aware of the breakdowns in communication that had destroyed the formal structure of the school. He realized that department heads had not been convened by the principal in over a year. He knew that the student council had been disbanded after Ray Lang resigned as advisor. He had heard the accounts of faculty meetings that raged beyond Miller's control. He fully realized that many members of the faculty had not been heard by either of the previous principals: Phil Simon or Jack Miller.

Research Question Number Two

What was the intent of the faculty with regards to influencing the actions and decisions of the principal, superintendent and the school board?

Issues Brought by Teachers To the Principal

In analyzing the intent of teachers it was necessary to examine the issues that were brought to the principal's attention. In the first month of the school year those concerns were of a professional nature related to the specific needs of the individual teacher in the conduct of

work. Teachers were concerned about concluding old business, applying and interpreting new policy, and understanding "any new" or "changes in" procedures. The teachers were interested in clarifying and understanding what the new principal expected of them.

Discipline and Due Process

Not only was the new principal taking care of last year's business but he was also confronted with unresolved issues of the past year.

The decision to relieve Steve Mayer of his position as vice principal, was based to some extent on the issue of his handling of discipline problems. It was not the sole issue but a significant one.

During his first year as superintendent, William Sumner, updated the board, staff and community on the impact of court decisions and laws on student discipline. The term "due process" was becoming a part of the faculty vocabulary. There was some confusion among the staff and administrators as to what due process entailed. In reviewing the student unrest of the past year Fred Winter indicated that problems related to due process resulted when no one could define what due process meant.

Winter stated that last year's students were bright enough to realize the staff was going through dissension

and unrest, and that they learned to manipulate Miller. Winter referred to a 1983 tour of the Capitol taken by Grandview High students he and Kuhl chaperoned. Two students had missed the bus, stolen their family's car and then arrived drunk in Capital City. When Winter later turned the students in to the administration, both chaperones "got the run around" from Miller who spent an hour and a half with the kids and their version of the story. Winter was frustrated by the events and felt that he was on trial.

At the root of Winter's frustration was the feeling that he had somehow lost credibility with the administration. As one who was expected to maintain discipline, he felt stripped of his authority to do so. Miller's long deliberations over the evidence and his acute sensitivity to the "child's word" against his own caused a deep wound. Due process as practiced by Miller was handcuffing Winter.

He was not alone in his confusion and feeling of embitterment. Nora CLay expressed similar concerns in an office encounter with Dave Tanner.

She reported her suspicion that girls were smoking in the washrooms. Generalizing about women staff members she reported,

Several years ago we got into this with Gillette, when he was assistant principal. We got the run around and our credibility was challenged.

Did we see the cigarette? Was it lit? Was it in the mouth? Were we sure? The girls would get off the hook.

Clay then described how the women, "in mass," agreed that they would simply quit going into the washrooms. They wouldn't check them at all, and she added "I still won't, if we aren't supported."

Tanner's response recognized the point of lost credibility that Clay's remarks illustrated. "Bill and I have talked this over several times. This is a two way street, and of most importance to us is credibility. We want to stand behind our teachers on this issue."

Clay concluded, "Well, its this due process stuff. I don't want to build a courtcase."

The vice principal encouraged Nora to start the check of the washrooms again, as it "wasn't fair to the boys, if the girls didn't face the same surveillance." Clay agreed that she could do that with Tanner's promise of support.

Mader, Mary Galbreath, Ben Whitney, Steve Mayer, Albert Streets all expressed at various times a feeling that the last senior class pushed Miller at every turn and learned to manipulate him. Each suggested that a handful of senior lawyers would push incidents right to Sumner, with several teachers (members of "the group") giving them encouragement and "legal advice." Mader scoffed at some who "wanted to be buddy-buddy with kids."

In an early test of the new administration, Ty Mader sent a boy to the office because he had worn shorts to school. Tanner handled the matter by telling the student, "Tomorrow you will dress nicely." Tanner later approached Ty Mader in the hallway. He thanked Mader for sending the boy to the office and explained what he had done to handle the situation. Ty was pleased and commented to the observer, "Last year it would have entailed a two week trial, with all that due process shit."

In the lounge, as the day proceeded teachers continued to develop handouts that would remind students of the classroom rules in various ways. Pam Kuhl had a sheet of "rules" she said were couched in general terms that allowed some flexibility. She had "toned it down from the previous year," due to the change in administration: "Last year discipline was the issue and the problem that was uppermost in the conscience of the faculty." She felt a more relaxed tone would now be possible. She was confident that the new administrators would quietly, but effectively, deal with discipline. Kuhl cited the "kids in shorts" that Mader had forwarded to the office. She was impressed with the manner in which the incident had been "handled quietly and without commotion."

Rumors circulated in town during the first weeks of the school year. Those rumors held that the new building principals were not handling discipline: "Students were

getting away with murder, the halls were a disaster and learning was not taking place. Drugs were being exchanged in the corridor." The observer had been noting how smoothly students transferred from one room to the next and that a discipline policy seemed well underway. The administrators were miffed by the reports. School board member, Max Wold, visited the school on a personal mission to get firsthand information from Walt Gifford. Several veteran teachers suspected that Steve Mayer was responsible. The guidance counselor, Mitch Gillette, talked privately with the principal and provided him with details. The rumor had grown out of after-church conversations at the Valley Fundamental Church.

On several other occasions Mayer presented the new administrators with tests of their belief systems and procedures. As a vice principal Mayer had invited teachers to send their problem students to him. He now expected the new administration to function in the same manner. On three occasions within a two week period Taylor found himself handling a boy dismissed from class because he could not afford a bike, a boy dismissed from study hall for causing problems, two students from a P.E. class and several others for miscellaneous reasons. Each incident led to a conference and Taylor soon realized that the Old Guard was testing him at every turn and weighing his responses to these incidents. On one afternoon, after

dealing with another student sent by Mayer, Taylor called to his vice principal and quietly informed him,

From now on we document these cases where teachers continue to bury us in their discipline problems and we make it clear to them through the evaluation procedure that they are failing to handle discipline effectively. Perhaps that will motivate them to perform.

Taylor and Tanner wanted teachers handling discipline so that they, the principals, could become more involved in the supervision of instruction and curriculum development.

The Maintenance of Order

The maintenance of order was paramount. After a two year period of "warfare" there was an urgent need to "return to normal." According to members of the faculty the effort to establish that normal, or routine pattern would require a two pronged attack. Remarks in faculty workshop groups and informal lounge conversations revealed faculty concerns:

"From the top down the school would have to be administered effectively."

"School management must be "visibly improved."

"The building principals are going to have to be effective."

"Supplies should arrive on schedule."

"Students should be disciplined."

"The office should be cognizant of what is happening in the classrooms and hallways."

"The custodians should be maintaining the physical plant," and "order must prevail."

There was also wide agreement that everyone connected to the school must pull together and through teamwork confront the problems that have splintered the faculty in the past and conduct themselves "in a professional manner."

The analogy was made on several occasions of the school being a ship. A need was expressed to "keep it on course," to "maintain a steady course," to "keep an even keel," to "not rock the boat," and to "get everyone on board." Descriptions of past events often included words like "mutiny," "scuttle," "in a boat, by myself," and "a ship without a captain." The staff was referred to as the "crew" by administrators and teachers alike.

Faculty Assessment of the Principal

Faculty responses to the principal's leadership style have been discussed. The school had been in session for only several days and people were soon heard commenting on the new atmosphere that was developing in the building.

Visiting audiologists noted, "There was a feeling in the air that was different from last year."

The Rangerette sponsor noted the new climate in an exchange with Paul French.

"What is different this year?" she asked.

French responded, "I'll tell you what is different."

He then lauded the new administration and the absence of Miller.

Sumner disclosed that board members were commenting to him about positive community feedback they were receiving. Students were reporting back to their parents about the improved atmosphere at the high school and parents were relaying that information to the board.

Sumner felt that it was due in part to the tones set in the opening day speeches. Both the principal and vice principal had opened with warm remarks and talked about the great experiences that would be found during the year.

When asked if this approach was planned at the summer retreat, Sumner responded, "No, it's a result of the principal's philosophy."

Ben Whitney felt that Tanner and Taylor were ideal for the high school and were "cut from Sumner's cloth." He repeated that they had "human skills" and were "forthright in dealing with people." Mader liked the honesty and sincerity he found in Taylor and Tanner and thought it would more than make up for lack of experience. He felt the faculty needed a dose of what these men had to offer.

Faculty Impact on the Formal
Decision Making Process

While most of the staff appeared eager and enthusiastic about the new year and leadership, members of the Gifford group remained guardedly optimistic. They recognized the advantage of having Taylor instead of Miller, but there was still the longing for the authority with which Phil Simon ruled his staff.

The reluctance to "get on board" was explained by Walt Gifford, in a November encounter in his room.

After you have been here as many years as I have, you see principals come and go, and you begin to see a pattern. They have their ups and downs, they speak the language, and they make their efforts. Miller could speak the language to some extent, but his actions, over a course of time, indicated that he couldn't follow through. Bill can speak the language better than Phil Simon. But what I am looking for is action, a commitment to action that brings about the improvements this place needs.

Ray Lang also expressed the preference of his small circle of friends saying, "Some people need firm leadership. Some of us do not." Personally he did not like directive leaders. He explained that he enjoyed his work, knew his subject, and knew how to reach the students. He described himself as creative, and professional, "Not everyone is like that. Some people function better under leaders who are more directive." Ray then made the obligatory reference to Phil Simon, "He was a good manager of people. He was able to get a lot of

out some of the fence sitters, the marginal teachers." Lang described Simon as able "to rule with an iron hand if he had to."

Lang, was not blind to Taylor's dedication to developing education. He admitted, "Simon did not have Bill's personal skills with students and people in general." Ray Lang was afraid that

If Bill does not recognize the need to be a Phil Simon with some of the staff, we will lose him. I am afraid of what that could mean to this school, as the next person could be a dictator with little commitment to academic development and few human relation skills.

Taylor noted that some faculty paid homage to Phil Simon, but added, "Not all the teachers relish his memory. He could be abrasive and he ran a tight ship." The principal recognized that Gillette was one of those who would like to see that again: "But, it is not my style. I have told Dave that I was not brought in here as a hatchet man. I am a counselor and I will use that approach."

In several private conversations with the researcher, Taylor recognized the danger of using his counseling approach. He admitted that he could "become so involved in helping the person that he may fail to recognize incompetency when it is there." It would be necessary at times "to play the tough guy" and he hoped he "could rise to the occasion." He described his approach: "Even in the bureaucracy of the army, surrounded by all the trappings

and sanctions of power and authority, I chose to develop relationships."

In the creation of a proper course for staff development, the "tug-o-war" that was occurring between the principal's office and the Gifford group was influenced by several underlying variables: turnover among administrators, resistance to change, past principals leadership styles and practices, the law, and the history of staff strife.

The Effect of Administrator Mobility

As teachers reflected on political alignments, philosophical differences, the mission of the school in the future, and other school related issues they often revealed a stark realization that "there will always be new administrators." This notion was reinforced not only by the string of administrators teachers had witnessed but by the teacher's perception of a general and continual flow of administrators in the state; and by the personal characteristics of the present administrators. In turn, this perception had a limiting effect on the extent to which teachers would accept or comply with administrative policy or requests.

In the teacher's conversations there was always the constant reminder that they did not view administrators as

"fixtures that would be around for very long." Teachers referred to the administrator's "resumes," "credentials" and "moving on." They talked about "the trail of superintendents and principals who have come and gone," as if the stream was endless.

Teachers were influenced in their thinking about "the direction in which the leadership was moving," by this perception of how much time the principals and superintendent had committed to Grandview. They wondered if administrators were more career or place bound.

Indeed, neither the principal or the superintendent were viewed as place bound. It was agreed that "Taylor wouldn't be in the school for long." They predicted he would "move up the ladder to a superintendency somewhere." He was "too intelligent to stay around here." He was "too good for this place."

Cheryl Ginther revealed that, as a department head, she did not want to become involved in evaluating her department because: "After Bill is gone I have to live with these people. This community won't be able to pay him enough to keep him," she predicted.

In talking about the superintendent, Ed Bentley remarked, "He has moved eighteen times in his career. He can pick up today, and move tomorrow. What becomes of this place when he leaves? When Sumner and a half a dozen other administrators leave with him?"

That administrators might depart with the superintendent was a point made obvious by the administrators themselves. Steve Jarvis, an elementary school principal, and curriculum director Dick Austin had each updated his credential file anticipating that possibility. Each was on the verge of leaving prior to Sumner's arrival. They appreciated the present superintendent's style, but would not stay through a series of superintendents as the town had in the past.

Principal Taylor admitted frankly, "If William Sumner left, I would definitely consider leaving also." He felt that accepting mobility made it easier to be "straightforward with people, to lay the cards on the table and say this is what I would like to see and why."

The superintendent predicted, "Bill Taylor will not be long in the district," and added, "I certainly don't expect to be here in seven years." He recognized that the success of the healing process would be contingent upon Taylor's replacement and the tenure of future administrators. To bring the staff up to the level of excellence needed, would require steady leadership at the high school and district office.

Turnover in administrators was perceived by faculty as "built into the system in this state. Administrators take their first positions as small school principals and superintendents and begin to move around the state, and up

the ladder." The staff was influenced greatly by that consideration. There was an ongoing struggle between the diverse elements within the faculty to maintain control, and to direct the "course of the ship" in the direction that best fit their requirements. "Whoever is at the helm has to give that some consideration," smiled Fred Winter.

In maintaining order and asserting their influence various elements were vying for a voice in determining the future of the school as they preferred to see it. All of this was capsulized at a January coaches meeting when Ted Callahan asked a rhetorical question of board member, Max Wold: "Isn't this proposal to deemphasize sports something temporary that Sumner is shoving off on us? When he leaves things will be able to revert back to normal!" Other coaches nodded approval and recognized that in the long run they would ultimately "win out."

Superintendent Sumner noted "a fear of change and a strong desire to maintain the status quo." There would be, he predicted, some resistance to the strategies required to improve education in the district. Those concerned about job security and those content in their present patterns and habits were expected to resist. Those who had accumulated some power were also expected to resist as they perceived that power threatened.

The Effects of Administrative
Turnover on the Gifford Mindset
And the Principal's Plans

Incidents of the previous year had given the Gifford group some hope that what they perceived to be Sumner's clean-up of the administration would be followed by a staff shakeup.

In talking about the possibility of high school staff improvement, both Taylor and Sumner, in separate conversations, referred to the process that had been employed to improve the administration.

In the midwinter of 1984, it became clear that the district administrative team was in the "throes of a shakeup." Sumner preferred to think of it as "building a team concept."

A combination of events made it appear to some, that Sumner was moving swiftly and "with a saber," in reshaping his administration. Among some at the high school he earned the nickname, "The Slasher." Lily Day had suggested that the 1983-1984 schoolyear could be her last as an elementary principal. Wade Faulkner, had not made it official, but was rumored to be "ready for retirement" from his principalship at the Middle School. When Faulkner became recalcitrant at midyear, "Sumner had to pressure him into making his resignation official, or 'get on the team and stay there!'" Faulkner made it official.

At the same time, the high school was experiencing "the revolution of the palace guard" and pressure was placed on Sumner to remove both Miller and Mayer.

To many it appeared that Sumner was adamant in his quest to build a team and guide the district in the direction of the vision he held for it. Bill Taylor served during that time as an administrative intern. Taylor had an opportunity to observe the superintendent, talk with him about his goals, discuss philosophies and observe his methods. During the third month of the 1984-1985 school year Taylor revealed that he "may have to employ the same methods William used in developing a team." Using the very words that Walt Gifford dreaded, the principal spoke of "weeding by attrition," developing high standards and expectations, and "making it uncomfortable for some people to stay here."

As an example of what he meant by "uncomfortable" Taylor picked up a copy of the local newspaper and pointed to a headline which read, "Limit on high school athletic travel urged." The article revealed the great expense that bus trips of seven hundred miles were costing the district. It was hinted that the school district was considering leaving the state conference system in order to develop a sports fiscal policy that made better use of the dollars available. The language was in keeping with the board's intent to de-emphasize sports. Taylor felt

that the language would cause some to re-evaluate their purpose for being in Grandview. "We may have some coaches who have to decide whether or not they want to continue their employment here."

Growing Concern for Staff Development
Among Members of The Gifford Group

Walt Gifford and Mitch Gillette had been "giving Bill some time," as they put it. They had been watching and waiting to see how he handled those they had identified as less than professional. It was the concern of Mitch that "Taylor, in becoming chummy with people, was setting himself up to be used" by those people. Gillette continued:

I have been watching Bill to see how he handles those who are trying to do as little around here as possible. They were afraid in the beginning, because Sumner had cut Mayer and Miller, and some of these people imagined that they might be next. Now they are beginning to gain some confidence, they are siding up to Bill and the manipulation games are beginning. They are testing in small ways.

Ray Lang also felt that some members of the staff had fallen into patterns that were hard to break.

Last year some of them got away with murder, abusing sick leave and personal leave days; arriving late and leaving early, leaving school for personal trips downtown, the list goes on. Those behaviors continue this year. They have learned to cut corners, compromise their effort and get by.

There was a pause and he asked, "Who is hurt by that?"

He answered his own question by adding, "The children and the image of the faculty are hurt."

The concern of Mitch Gillette and Walt Gifford followed a line of reasoning that eventually led back to their affinity for the style of leadership once exhibited by Phil Simon.

If Taylor really believes we are all equally committed to teaching and children, and equally professional, can he possibly see the "slackers", "late arrivals" and others?

If Taylor is blind to the bad habits that are resurfacing, how many more bad habits will develop?

If Taylor sees what is happening but is allowing some laxity to build rapport, how lax will this place become?

If he sees what is happening and is powerless to move, then how can we ever achieve the goals of effective education he aspires to?

Finally, "If he is doing something about it, we sure aren't hearing about it!"

"Phil Simon would nail your ass to the wall and everyone knew about it! You didn't mess with him!" Walt Gifford said with fondness.

Ed Bentley remarked to Bill Taylor, "I'd like to get on board your ship, but first I want to know in which the direction the ship is sailing." Bentley's reference to "direction" indicated his contention that a philosophical split remained among staff members. That split would, in

his opinion, linger and perhaps never allow healing. His remarks represented the view of the small Gifford group. While they were certainly ready for "a steady course" they were not about to blindly abandon the principles of their past crusade. From their perspective, their efforts in the past two years, while viewed by some as "not exactly aboveboard," were well grounded in legitimate principle. Their expressed professional concern was for "the education of the children." Bentley claimed his group tried to encourage growth in that area. If the new administration shared the Gifford group's concern and was committed to their course, then the group members were ready "to set sail."

Goal Displacement

Like everyone else, Walt Gifford wanted to see things "go smoothly." But his expressed fear was that "getting things to go smoothly will become the goal we seek." This goal would displace the goal of staff improvement and quality education.

If we get things to go smoothly again, then the community will perceive that all is well. For appearances sake, it would seem that the new administrators were doing a fine job. They could include that, and the fine praise they receive, in their resumes and begin moving up the ladder.

Gifford was concerned that, in his efforts to ensure

that administrators focused on staff development, he would be viewed as "the element that rocked the boat," a "rabble-rouser" and therefore: "off the team." "I want to stay out of things this year. I think William Sumner already pictures me as the kid's attorney and as having a desire to run this place. I'd like to ease up on that image," Walt insisted.

Gifford heard two concepts being talked about in the central office: "teampay" and "quality teaching." The fear Gifford was confronted with was that he and his friends would be leveled down or out, in order to make for a more harmonious team. A second possible effect could be that "We would have to tolerate and accept the violations of high standards by others."

Gifford scowled at the thought of that and bit his lip. As he glared into the observer's eyes, he asked rhetorically, "Why should I work my ass off and carry the burden, while others slack-off and get by with it? The only thing that keeps me going is the kids. They come first."

Walt then pointed out that Ray and Ann Lang, and Ed Bentley were getting frustrated this year as well. They wanted "a hammer as they had in the days of Phil Simon. They aren't getting it." Their concern was that what they would get would be a "weeding by attrition." They were afraid that they would become frustrated and leave as

casualties of the attrition process. Walt voiced a concern that Sumner may be hoping that the so called "radicals" leave. "It would be quieter here if we did and to many, quieter would be better. Better means improved, and improved means the administrators are doing their job."

Ray Lang spoke of the same fear that excellent teachers would burn out and drop out. "I am hearing my friends talk in frustrating terms," he started. He noted that Ed Bentley was talking about leaving: "It has a sound to it that suggests more than a bluff or complaint." He has watched Walt Gifford throw his hands up in disgust, suggesting that he may surrender his department head position, "something he dearly loves." Mitch Gillette "said the same and was talking about retirement." Ray also suggested that these people could be lost through attrition, "forced out by a mediocrity that they are powerless to change, and that threatens to swallow them."

Gifford Testing the Principal's
Willingness to Discipline Staff

Gifford had stopped in to see the principal about permission to use a personal leave day for hunting birds. While such use was not permitted by the teacher's contract with the board, teacher's did use the days for such

purposes. In a previous encounter with the principal, Gifford came away disturbed when he had mentioned that he would be using a personal day to hunt turkeys. Taylor had hedged and appeared ready to withhold the information from the superintendent as a favor to Walt. Walt did not want that favor as much as he wanted to hear the principal take a firm stand and address the superintendent.

On this second trip to the office Gifford told Taylor he intended to talk to Superintendent Sumner. With that announcement the principal alerted Walt to Sumner's view. He suggested that Gifford address it as a policy issue on a general level rather than personally relating to hunting birds. Gifford complained that he couldn't do that. He wanted to resolve it and hunt with a clear conscience. He didn't like the idea of lying about where he would be. If Sumner said "no" he would personally pay the substitute teacher. Bill Taylor prepared him for hearing a "no" and confided, "William might be expected to play that one by the book." He asked Walt to understand that Sumner had to deal with the entire district staff and wanted to treat all with the same regard and sense of fairness: "If he allows you to hunt on personal leave he will have others coming to him for the same reason." Walt recognized that as true.

Gifford then said to Taylor, "If you think I shouldn't go to Sumner, I won't."

Bill responded, "I won't tell you that, because it is clear to me that you need to talk about it. I want you to be able to live with yourself."

Walt later admitted to the researcher that he was testing Taylor to determine to what degree the principal would expect faculty to toe the line; to what extent the principal would allow faculty to bend the rules and to what extent Taylor would allow challenges to policy.

Stepped up Informal Group Pressure

A pressure for staff development, exerted by the Gifford group, began to surface in mid-October. Their period of "watchful waiting" had come to its end. Evidence of that surfaced as the observer arrived for school on the morning of October 23rd. Ed Bentley, Walt Gifford, Ray Lang, Mitch Gillette and Ann Lang were gathered in Ray's room. Earlier in the autumn, Ray and Walt had both talked of those "morning meetings last year, when we plotted our course and determined who would do what." Such earnest gatherings had not yet been noticed this year. The expressions on their faces indicated frustration. A last glimpse before entering the building was of Walt Gifford bringing his fist down into a desktop.

At lunch Mitch Gillette explained that he and Gifford

were both upset about an incident in the hallways before classes began.

Ted Callahan yanked a hat from a boy's head and yelled at him about wearing it in the hallway. It was done roughly and in anger. Dave Tanner witnessed the event and he and Bill Taylor brought the boy into the office.

Gillette was concerned about the boy and wanted to see Callahan reprimanded.

The observer had been in A-5, when Dave Tanner told the boy he "supported the teachers on this (removing hats in school) every time." He asked the youngster to "realize that you are upsetting Mr. Callahan with this behavior and when you see him take that hat off." He admitted to the boy, "Various teachers have different reactions to hats in school. Be aware of who they are." He then complimented the young man for having reacted as coolly to Mr. Callahan as he had. Mr. Taylor also complimented the boy, "You demonstrated great patience for Mr. Callahan's behavior."

It was this "Callahan Incident" that touched off the anger in the Gifford group. Walt was quick to point out, "It was a classic example of the kind of bullying that took place last year and led to all kinds of trouble with regards to discipline. That kind of teacher behavior has to be met head on." Members of the Gifford group three wanted to see Callahan "drilled for his conduct."

When Taylor failed to "nail Callahan's ass to the wall" there was disappointment among members of the group. They felt Taylor was "blowing opportunities to make a bold statement to the staff." During the day and the week that followed, the Gifford group interactions increased. With each passing day they were more frequently gathered in Ray's room. Before school, after school, and during the course of the day they continued to contact one another in more than a casual manner.

Gifford Group: Castigating Peers
Behind Their Backs

The school year was in its second month, and the observer had not heard one teacher make a public criticism of another. Individual teachers had expressed reservations about other teachers in the privacy of classrooms, and in some cases their criticism revealed a bitter resentment. Publicly however, at events like lunch, or in the lounge, teachers had avoided castigating their peers. This appeared to be within keeping of the norm: "We do not engage in backstabbing this year." When one teacher appeared to be critical of another it was often met with silence. For example, when one teacher reported, "Teacher X is a real zero!" other teachers ignored the remark and the conversation shifted to sports.

On October 29th, Mitch Gillette violated the "truce." He spoke openly, and in hostile tones about a fellow teacher. As he addressed the A-Lunch group his speech centered around the need to show the community a more positive side of the school. His audience included Nancy Wright, Cheryl Ginther, Andy Reynolds, Joe Watson and Clarence Dayton. He brought up several encounters with local citizens. Gillette dominated the conversation and used it as his forum.

Gillette later wrote a one page abstract summarizing the need for greater contact with the parents of students. He impressed upon Taylor the need to raise the issue at a department heads meeting and presented his paper at that time, referred to it in a verbal presentation and encouraged action.

Glimpses of a growing rage in the Walt Gifford group were beginning to appear. They were finding a cause for the year and it was now clear they wanted a "weeding of the staff" carried out. They did not want weeding by attrition, but through effective supervision, evaluation and firm leadership.

It was the assumption of Gifford, Gillette and Lang that the methods of Taylor were not going to bring about the changes needed at the pace they would prefer. Again, as he did in seeking the removal of Miller, Walt Gifford had a time line in mind for staff development. He thought

his time line was different from the principal's and that Taylor's was controlled by William Sumner.

Sumner admitted that some of the teachers Gifford and Lang complained about might indeed be incompetent, but that when they registered those complaints he exercised a great deal of caution and even suggested to them that it may be a matter of perception.

As Gifford and Gillette stepped up their pressure on Taylor it became necessary for the principal to admonish them to allow him to develop his own professional judgements. Taylor was also limiting the extent of their credibility.

Increased Interaction With the Principal

A second Gifford group tactic became evident. The group would seek to push Tanner and Taylor in the direction of a "staff cleanup." Their visits to the office increased in number and frequency.

On one occasion Walt Gifford asked Dave Tanner to come down to his room "to talk privately." Tanner made the visit and Gifford told him that "there was some rumbling about staff development. Some of the better teachers were concerned that the principals "do something about those who were slacking more and more." He also

told Tanner, "Those teachers who had taken advantage of Miller were beginning to do the same with Taylor."

In a closed conference with Taylor, Mitch Gillette urged the principal to "start beating some heads." He informed the principal, "Some personnel are arriving late, taking extended lunches and leaving early, while others are not in their classes, or not engaged in teaching."

Taylor then reminded Mitch that he (Gillette) had been in the district many years and had time to form his own opinions. He reminded the former assistant principal that he had only been with the staff for a very few months and wanted time to form his own opinions. He remarked that patience would be required of people like Gillette "who wanted changes now."

Gifford later informed the researcher, "One way we get a feel for where they (Taylor and Tanner) are going is by bouncing ideas off them. Their reaction helps us figure out where we want to go next."

When Walt Gifford approached Taylor with complaints similar to Gillette's and Lang's, Taylor reminded Walt, "I am running this place this year, not you!" He then advised Walt: "Allow me to make my own judgements about the quality of teaching based on firsthand observations, not word of mouth."

Teachers Monitoring Hallways

Ray Lang showed up at Dave's office saying: "I dropped this on Bill Taylor last night in passing and he referred me to you. This came up in class yesterday. The kids suggested that there would be less smoking in the washroom if more adults were patrolling the hallways."

A suggestion from a member of the Gifford group that teachers be asked by the principals to patrol the hallways had been made in the previous year as the initial step in Walt Gifford's plan to wrest power, influence and position away from the past principal. The researcher was curious as the days passed wondering what, if anything, would follow. Taylor was indeed interested in having some faculty members in the hallways. At the very beginning of the year the building administrators had encouraged teachers to maintain a high profile during the passing period. Teachers had been sporadically complying, some more diligently than others.

Lang and Gifford knew from their previous year of experience that if Taylor asked teachers to patrol the hallways, they would comply for awhile and then appear less and less each day. Again, what they were in effect doing was demonstrating to the principal the need to become more forceful in keeping teachers in the hallways. They "bounced their idea off of the principal and read his response."

The vice principal interrupted the principal as he sifted through the names of teachers who could be monitoring the hallways, "I'll tell you one person who won't do you any good in the hall: Ted Callahan. He'd kill us." The principal was quick to recognize that. In going through names he did not mention Vern Price, Tom Mayer or Ty Mader. Taylor proceeded to contact a few teachers and personally asked them to keep an eye on the hallway from time to time.

During the five minute breaks between classes, Gifford group members were more visible than ever and frequently encountering one another as they demonstrated their continued compliance with the "principal's request." Walt Gifford, Ray and Ann Lang were consistently in the senior hallway. They frequently walked together and circled the building.

Some teachers were more willing than others to comply with the principal's request to be in the hallways between classes. At the beginning of sixth period Swede Anderson remarked: "I better get out in the hall. I'll be right back." A student who came around the corner at that moment remarked, "Teachers are out in the halls everywhere!" A look down a second hallway revealed the stern visage of Nora Clay as she eyed young and spirited Tom Villano along his way.

After several days other teachers became lax in

responding, giving evidence that they needed to be prodded. In a private conversation with the researcher Ray Lang addressed that concern:

Not everyone responds to the personal approach that Bill likes to use. I know of several people that Bill has approached personally. He asked them to become conspicuous in the hallways. They responded several times by stepping out. It was not long before they were back in their rooms ignoring the call to maintain a high profile in the hall.

Some people will take advantage of that form of leadership. If he is not careful they will destroy him. He will be linked by the community to supporting those incompetent teachers and in effect, sanctioning their behavior. In a small town like this the people are very much aware of who is doing what.

Gifford group members were looking for the principal to exert pressure on teachers to keep up the vigilance in the hallways. The principals had a different perception of the faculty response and were taking a different approach to encourage teacher involvement as illustrated in the following scene.

In the office Dave Tanner reported to the principal that several students had left the school (despite teacher's warnings) prior to a pep assembly. The conversation between the two men revealed their concerns.

"Teachers are out in the hallways and really cooperating in terms of hall patrol," Tanner observed.

"Last week was just super," the principal agreed.

"This is a morale buster when a kid pulls this," reported Tanner. "People like French are shown disrespect

by these kids and I have to come down harder on stuff like this."

Later, in his office, Dave Tanner let the kid know the score: "I'm going to have to come down on you this time, this behavior is inexcusable."

By admonishing the student and applying visible punishment Tanner was making it clear to his staff that their compliance with the request to be in the halls was appreciated, and that their actions with regards to disciplining students had administrative support.

Formal Written Letters

By November, Gifford and Gillette were certain that Taylor was not going to be the tough dictator that Simon had been. Mitch Gillette had tried to convince Taylor through conversations that a shakeup was needed and Taylor had resisted. The guidance counselor was now resorting to formal letters. He displayed two pieces of handwritten material that he was working on. The first was a short paragraph that emphasized the purpose of the school in his view. The second paper included several pages which he intended to present to the principal. These pages encouraged Taylor to examine the need to help those teachers who were in need of remediation. The paper read in part: "In not dealing with those teachers the

administrators were in effect telling them that they were doing a fine job and reinforcing their behavior patterns." He likened it to "laughing it up with an alcoholic."

In an essay on the responsibilities of "Mid Management and Staff" Gillette noted the principal's "concern for protecting the staff from autocratic or overly bureaucratic administration." Gillette reminded the principal that the staff had a contract, a grievance procedure and the "protection of the negotiations process and tenure." He urged the community, superintendent and staff to "let management manage."

Gillette was becoming increasingly convinced that Taylor's management techniques were encouraging a continuation of past faculty practices of responding to what he termed the "body politic." Gillette reminded Taylor in his essay that Grandview had narrowly survived a period in its history when the administrators failed to manage the staff. "The staff soon realized that the authority did not rest with administration. Individual staff members or departments turned to select groups or individuals for support and direction." "To satisfy immediate pressures," Gillette continued, teachers sought the "friendship and protection of the powerful few and all at the expense of students and program."

The former administrator cautioned Taylor that when informal groups "take over the management of the school,

weak members of the staff will resist administrative direction and respond" instead to informal or "pseudo leaders." In such a system he contended, "evaluations become a meaningless exercise," "directives a joke," and "tenure a matter of rubber stamp procedure."

Staff Discipline

Mitch Gillette reflected on the need for staff development:

What these high school administrators should do is wade into this faculty and start cleaning house. When some of these Old Guard teachers step out of line, hang them out to dry, discredit them.

Taylor had been quietly meeting at great length with some of the teachers that members of the Gifford group had been concerned about: Ray Simms, Andy Reynolds, and Vern Price. The principal did not broadcast information about the process or conversations. He did not make it a point to let Gifford group members know that he was meeting with these teachers. Confidentiality and the right of privacy was of greater importance to him than scoring a few points with the Gifford group. The principal was also reluctant to allow anyone to get the impression that his conversations with these people were made in response to Gifford group pressure:

Walt, Mitch and Ray may be accurate in their assessment of staff members who need remediation. But I cannot rely on any one person's word, nor can I afford to make the mistake of being perceived as a puppet for any particular faction of the staff. Walt has wielded a great deal of power in the past and other staff members are suspicious of the amount of influence he and Ray have with the administration as a result of last year's events.

The principal agreed with the observer's note that Gifford group complaints about other teachers had an inverse effect: the more they complained about staff to him, the less he could afford to take action without giving them and others the perception that he was "in their corner."

Case Study Examples of Principal Interaction with Staff

Ray Simms had done his student teaching under Gifford and an informal mentoring relationship had existed there at one time. Simms had since come under the influence of Steve Mayer and had developed his ties with Mayer through the Valley Church and as an assistant to Mayer in basketball.

Taylor had asked Ray Simms into his office to discuss several policies Ray had been neglecting. Simms had been allowing boys to leave his shop without passes and those boys had been getting into trouble in the hallways. He had also been neglecting proper procedures in the

requisition process. The principal asked Simms to be careful in the future. He had been reprimanded by previous administrators for similar errors.

Taylor also reminded Simms that he had been absent frequently this year and the shop teacher admitted that he had been absent more frequently this year than in past years. He stated that he was burned out from having to teach six consecutive and identical classes with only a half hour break. Simms was not compensated for the extra class he taught.

Taylor suggested that Simms might be more effective with five classes. Ray argued that he had a "gift to teach" and that he wanted "to share that with the students." He did not want to "deny the students the opportunity to take his classes."

Taylor informed Simms, "Walt Gifford tells me, over and over again, that you are excellent with the kids." Ray was surprised and confessed that he was feeling increasingly alienated from Walt. That feeling heightened when Walt entered into his classroom to chastise him in front of his students. Following the conference with Simms, Taylor visited with Walt Gifford and "let him know, in a small way that Ray was feeling alone in the E wing and estranged from his department head." The principal allowed the department head to decide how to proceed from there.

Taylor told Simms that the points he was raising had nothing to do with classroom performance. "If it did, I would follow procedures with you that would require numerous visits to your room, observations and conferences. We are not dealing with that at this point."

Simms was defensive at times and some verbal sparring took place. The principal later informed the researcher that he felt Simms was feeling him out and seeking to categorize Taylor in order to justify in part his own actions; "At one point he wanted to write me off as a "puppet of William Sumner."

Taylor admitted to Ray that he had an allegiance to Sumner and the board, as they were his employers. He added that he also shared a belief in the goals and objectives of his superiors. He pointed out to Ray that he too had an allegiance to his head coach, Steve Mayer. Ray wrestled with the parallel and backed off.

At another point the shop teacher raised the issue of Christian ethics. To that issue the administrator also had a response. Simms found that Taylor could talk about the scriptures, interpretations of them and applications for them in schools. Taylor later divulged that "those teachers who are into fundamental religion have" tested him in that area and "backed off when they can assure themselves that I operate from a Christian base. It seems important to them to find out if I am a Christian or a

humanist." He confided that he does not like "to hit people over the head with religious beliefs or preach. I hope that my behavior and example is such, that people would not be surprised to learn that I call myself a Christian". He was also aware of the fact that Steve Mayer had become so aggressive in seeking to proselytize people that he had offended a large number of people.

During his conversation with the principal, Simms indicated that Steve Mayer spoke well of Taylor and was supportive of him. Taylor later admitted that he was taken by surprise by this. He had confronted Mayer earlier in the year about rumors circulating in the community that discipline had slipped from last year.

Taylor remarked that he was attempting to build trust. It would be a painstaking process. He was interested in building relationships with the faculty members. "It would have been easy to bring Ray in here, chew on him and let him go. By taking the counseling approach I learned more about him, his frustrations, and what makes him tick." Reflecting his awareness of those who wanted to see a more "dictatorial rule"; he concluded: "Phil Simon brought Simms in here and used that approach over a similar budget problem and it apparently didn't accomplish anything. If my approach doesn't work I can move to intensive counseling and remediation."

Following his conversation with Taylor, Simms asked

if he could come to Taylor directly in the future, and bypass Walt Gifford. He was told that if it was Walt's business he should continue to go through him, if it was a question he was invited to approach the principal. In the three days following that Taylor recounted that Simms had been in to visit him four times. Taylor had the feeling that Ray Simms was beginning to look for a support base that would supplant the base that he had built with Steve Mayer. With Mayer rumored to be looking elsewhere for employment, the principal suspected that Simms might be feeling somewhat isolated. He described Simms as: "seemingly self destructive for awhile, when he had to face that possibility. It was almost as if he had to be chewed up and ridden out of town on a rail so he could be in the same boat with Steve."

Vern Price

Reggie Dillon noted that Vern Price had lost favor with the administrators and board members over the years. Dillon did not elaborate. The researcher did not pry as he already knew the incident Reggie was referring to. Walt Gifford had already related the incident in which Vern Price had been involved in a barroom fight at the Bloody Bucket Saloon. Vern's opponent had been Larry Black, a school board member at that time. Walt Gifford

added with a laugh, "I can't fault him for that, I'd like to have decked Black a few times myself! But, it didn't help Price in the community."

That incident was summarized by the principal, Phil Simon. "Vern Price had too much to drink at the Elk's Club: a number of problems arose during the evening." "He was not aware of some them." Price was described as "belligerent, disrespectful, attempting to cause a fight." His actions were spelled out as "foolish and dangerous." Price would apologize to the people he had offended. He was aware that he had "put himself and the district in jeopardy." Simon concluded, "His ability to function as a teacher and a coach is in danger."

In a classroom evaluation of Price, that same year, Simon noted, "Price must also be careful in the community to enhance and project a professional image."

Walt Gifford had encouraged Phil Simon to dismiss Price for falling asleep in the classroom, neglecting students, arriving late to class, and a failure to teach. Simon was sympathetic with Price's plight, as his private life had also had "some bad turns in it." Price was removed from the shop classes that he preferred to teach and Gifford then created other classes for Price to teach: plastics and leather. Gifford had hoped that Price would be uncomfortable with those classes and resign his position. When that didn't happen Gifford was able to

work through Board Member Wold to engineer an elimination of the courses. At an "opportune moment" the "community" raised the issue of "teaching frill courses" at the high school and the shop program was "jerked in a different direction in response to that," having the effect of carrying out Walt's wishes. Price was shifted over to Cheryl Ginther's department.

Reggie Dillon suspected that Gifford also used Jack Miller in maneuvering Price out of his department: "Walt Gifford had Jack Miller in his pocket. Walt liked having that control. He used it to get Vern out of the shop and into the business department." Reggie remarked that move contributed to Vern's unhappiness.

Cheryl Ginther had visited Gifford earlier in the week and wanted to know how he "got rid of Price?"

Gifford chuckled, "Simple, I dumped him on you!" Much to her present chagrin, Ginther felt Price was "ruining the department."

He was dismissed from the shop by Walt Gifford and I got stuck with him. The school didn't get rid of him when they should have. Walt couldn't recommend him for tenure. He is never in his room. He is in the lounge or standing in the hall when he is supposed to be in class.

This behavior had been noted by the researcher several times; somewhat blatantly on the day following the previously mentioned conversation with Ginther. He engaged three of his basketball players in a conversation

for twenty-five minutes while his class waited for his return. Other teachers were quick to recognize that he was frequently five minutes late for his classes.

When asked what she as department head could do about Price, Ginther said she was "waiting to find out." She would "talk to Bill Taylor about it." Cheryl described herself as "sitting on a fence, waiting to see how Taylor handled evaluation and the weeding of the poor teachers." While she had a great deal of respect for Taylor's intelligence and demeanor she was concerned about his muscle. She added that she "was not alone."

Vern Price was the subject of administrative concern on several occasions in the fall of 1984.

On the first occasion the parent of a child visited with Dave Tanner complaining that Price had threatened to break the boy's neck.

Tanner spoke supportively of the teacher, "Mr. Price handles the study hall the way we like to see it handled. I will not have Albert sent up here everyday." Mr. Dent departed and Tanner and Price then conferred on how they could best handle Albert in the future. When finally alone in his office Tanner commented to his secretary, "That Price was as cool as could be with that angry parent." Tanner then returned to his desk to detail a report of the incident and how it was handled. The report filled one page, single spaced and was added to the

teacher's file.

In his second encounter with the administrators, Price met with Taylor to discuss the position of board members with regards to Vern continuing as the girls basketball coach.

Price had been the subject of some criticism in the community. Price tried to justify the manner in which he chose to coach. Like Simms, Price had adopted the position that Taylor was antisports and that Taylor got that attitude from Sumner. Price wanted the principal to state his support or lack of it for him. He wanted Taylor to take a position. Taylor avoided that and told Price that the events and complaints of the board were of a matter and a time that occurred before he arrived on the scene.

Taylor encouraged Price to take control of the situation. He provided Price with an insight into the attitudes of the board and cautioned the coach to take the offensive. He asked Price if he was place bound in Grandview, and unwilling to leave. He encouraged him to consider his options: "If moving was out of the question," he exhorted Price to "then recognize that personal growth would be needed to maintain your position as a coach."

One hour and ten minutes later they parted with the principal advising Price, "If you are going to stay in Grandview, commit yourself to making your mark here."

The observer suspected that Price would next visit with Reggie Dillon and Tom Spencer as they both had the period free and were in Dillon's room. Price walked into the room with a sullen look and slumped shoulders.

"What's up?" asked Reggie not suspecting that Price had been with Taylor.

"They want me out," was all Vern responded. He was quiet and cool in his demeanor.

Reggie and Tom were taken by surprise. Up until that moment their conversation had been bubbly and slapstick. They readily sensed the coach was miffed about something and they became immediately concerned.

"What?" Tom Spencer asked looking for some more insight into what Price was getting at.

"The board wants me out."

"Out of teaching or out of coaching?" the observer asked looking for clarification.

"Coaching, I think. At least, they haven't mentioned teaching."

"Who told you that?" Dillon asked.

"Bill, just now," the coach said softly.

"What did he say?" Tom Spencer added as each person took turns getting a pensive Price to open up.

"What did he say?" Price repeated. "He took an hour and ten minutes to tell me there was an unrest in the air, some rumblings from the board, from somewhere. He

couldn't tell me where or what. They couldn't list one thing that needed to be corrected. Just. . . in the air." He mused that "if they could just give some specifics I could correct, I would, if it didn't fly in the face of my philosophical beliefs."

Reggie Dillon wanted to know from whom in particular generated the criticism and they sifted through board members.

"I have offended a few of them over the years. Belding would be one. His daughter is on my team, I didn't play her as often as they would have liked. Dillon agreed that Belding would be a good suspect. Wold hasn't talked to me in over a year, we used to be good friends--but he won't talk to me. Nihart and Frey are, by nature, antisports."

Tom Spencer shook his head and muttered "it really doesn't pay to work too hard around here. They just don't appreciate it. Especially in sports. I would like to coach again, but not here. There is just not the appreciation of what a sports program requires." He then turned to Vern and said, "So what are you going to do?"

Price stared passively into space. He was confused. "I don't know. I have to think about whether I want to stay here or not."

The conversation shifted to how poorly financed the football program was. An item by item comparison was made

with other conference schools and Grandview was always on the short end.

Dillon noted, "Sumner is not known as a sports fan."

The comment was made "Well, you were the first coach ever tenured in a fifteen year history."

"Yeah," said Vern, "I thought that meant something when it happened but I guess not."

"Get your buddies from the mine to come and rearrange the board," suggested Spencer. Gallows humor set in as they went to their classrooms.

During the course of the conversation Price also revealed disappointment that his request for a leave to go to the state basketball finals had been denied by the superintendent. He couldn't understand that. He had done his homework on that one, searched the contract and agreements, and looked at past precedent. He mentioned the slough of recent travel arrangements approved by the board. He felt victimized.

In November a group of twenty students from Price' fourth hour class entered the office to lodge a complaint against him. They informed the principal that they "weren't learning," that Price "had changed the rules" in the middle of the game, the "grading system had changed," students were not being allowed to make up work; the grievances continued. "They were upset," Price remarked later and he admitted that he "was taken by surprise."

Price and Taylor sat down in the office to talk. Bill talked warmly, in a mild manner and an "even keeled voice," as Swede Anderson once described it. Taylor wanted to explore and make suggestions for improvement. He directed attention to the student's complaints; the change in class requirements and the perception that the kids have, that Price is inaccessible. With regards to accessibility, Taylor suggested that Price try a different room arrangement, walk around the room, spend less time at his desk and less time locked up in grading papers during class time. He encouraged Price to develop contacts with the kids, one on one; "ask them for feedback on the way things are going and how they are doing." He suggested that Price "give the students the feeling that you are listening to them."

Vern remained calm and talked in a controlled manner. He explained what he was attempting to do in his classes. He wanted to know who some of the kids were who brought complaints. He asked if Shawn Thomas was the spokesman. Taylor admitted he was. Price was involved in trying to figure out where each of the ringleaders was coming from. He engaged in a justification and rationalization process. It was "a bad group," a "tough class," he's an "unruly kid," a "firm hand was needed," and a "tougher policy was required."

The principal cautioned Price that "the problems are

so small I don't want to magnify them." He suggested Price go one on one with some of the more adamant students in terms of building a rapport. He repeated, "There is an indication things aren't right" and warned the teacher that in "such situations it is easy to consider retaliation, I would avoid that and avoid punishing the group. That would be a kiss of death." He encouraged Price to consider other approaches to problem solving.

At lunch time Vern was late in coming in and joined the B-lunch group. He seated himself between Spencer and Mason. The conversation around the table, was the usual banter, with some teasing of Marge. She turned her attention to Price, who had been eating quietly, while others continued to talk. Vern explained his plight to Marge. She was sympathetic but did not provide any indication that she was going to take sides, cut anyone down or build anyone up. Spencer caught the drift of the conversation and asked "Are they coming down on you?"

Price nodded in the affirmative and continued eating. Referring to Vern's reputation as a mining town fighter, Spencer said, "They better not come after me next, because I've got Vern Price on my side." He left with his tray.

Price looked perplexed and asked, "What's that supposed to mean?" He then hastily devoured his spaghetti and exited from the cafeteria, attempting to get to his next class. "I had never before seen him move so quickly.

It was a new Price," remarked one teacher.

Taylor indicated to this investigator that he could not pledge support to his teachers in every instance. There were going to be times when they would get themselves into situations that they were going to have to handle. He would listen and provide counsel, but he would not always be able to defend their actions or protect them.

It would have been easy to promise Vern that I would sure go to bat for him. That is one way to win favors, build rapport and staff allegiance; to play 'us against them'. I can't do that. I find myself in agreement with central office and the direction it wants to go.

One teacher later expressed a concern, "What can they do though? Price is tenured. It is going to be hard to do anything with a tenured basketball coach."

The administration was being candid with Price. There was indeed a growing concern among board members about allowing him to continue as coach. The situation came to a head in the spring of 1985. In a back alley fight behind a Grandview bar, Price had "wasted the sheriff's son." Within a month the board voted 7-0 to relieve him of his coaching duties. The principal felt it was to the credit of the board that the most recent fight was not even mentioned in the discussion of Price's continuance as coach.

The principal who had been called upon by Price to

take a stand in his defense in the autumn was now called upon by the board to provide evidence as to Price's competence. As he had done with Price earlier, the principal now told the board that he could only make statements based on his observations over his own tenure as principal. He refused to comment on any other previous "evidence." He did recommend that Price be removed from his coaching responsibilities.

Price was irate and claimed that he never had an inkling that his continuance as a coach was in question. He threatened court action and again complained to his friends that he was getting "the shaft." In the week that followed the board action there was some concern among those who visited in the lounge that Price had been treated poorly and that they could be next.

The principal was surprised by the response of some faculty members, outside of the Gifford group, who had been clamoring about the ineffectiveness of Price. Some of those people were now Price's strongest defenders. "It is a classic example of 'You're Damned if you do and you're damned if don't,'" Taylor reported wistfully to the observer.

Andy Reynolds

Rumors had been circulating among the staff that Andy Reynolds had been brought in on the superintendent's carpet. The vice principal's remark, "Andy told me Sumner reamed him up one side of the office and down the other," revealed the manner in which the information had reached the assistant principal.

Reynolds had been fighting the equity in girl's sports issue and "didn't believe the superintendent with regards to the court decisions that were coming down." Tanner observed, "Andy was finally beginning to realize how those decisions are going to effect his job." Taylor responded that William Sumner wanted to come by that afternoon to conclude plans for bus travel to the girls basketball tourney; "William is still concerned about the equity issue."

That the superintendent had become involved in bus travel was evidence that Reynolds's "gadfly technique" was giving the administration headaches. The term had been coined to describe his "flight pattern." He was one of the most frequent and persistent visitors in the principal's office. The technique he used was predictable. He would persistently enter the office with "something to think about." In Tanner's words, "He comes to us without recommendations. He gives us the facts and tells us 'here you decide.'"

Tanner had suggested to Reynolds, that he "make a decision and then run it past the administration for approval." Reynolds's response was that he didn't want his decisions to be held up to "that kind of scrutiny." Tanner had told Reynolds that "modification was a normal part of the decision making process. There was nothing wrong with having a decision held up to the light." Reynolds did not understand that the administrators "aren't expecting perfect decisions from him, just something to start with."

The pattern had become predictable, the athletic director floated an idea past Tanner because he knew him. He expected the vice principal to carry it to the principal for approval. Tanner concluded, "Then Bill has to go to Sumner and pretty soon the whole town is involved in a simple decision that could have been made by Reynolds."

Tanner then asked if it was evident that Reynolds was "in Bill's office about one hour of every day?" When assured that his observation was accurate, he replied, "I am lucky to have an hour a week with Bill." His observations corroborated the observer's. The vice principal was obviously troubled by that.

Further evidence of how Reynolds's performance had consumed administrator's time was apparent. After describing his frustration with Reynolds, Dave Tanner

became involved in interviewing Steve Mayer about arrangements for the state tournament. After getting the head basketball coach's input Tanner came out of the office and smiled at the researcher. He mused, "It is amazing how quickly I can get some people to talk just by suggesting that I might disagree with Bill Taylor or William Sumner on this. It seems to give some people the room they need to express themselves. I'm not sure yet about the ethics of that, but it sure works." He then glanced back at me and said, "That should have been Andy's job."

As the year progressed it became increasingly clear to Andy that the new administration would be expecting more, not less effort from him. He admitted at lunch that he was now considering retirement at the end of the year. He had previously spoken of retiring at the end of the 1985-86 schoolyear. His friends quietly hoped that he would do that as they perceived him to be uncomfortable in his job. When he did announce his retirement in the early spring there were many who felt that the principal had been effective in persuading but not pushing Reynolds to take the step. "Bill is effective in gaining one's trust and in helping people to think through a situation. That combined with his talk of high expectations has facilitated the retirement of several staff members," one teacher observed. Paul French who also made his talk of

retirement official and Albert Streets was rumored to be giving retirement serious thought.

The Principal's Model for Staff Development

What Gillette was alluding to was a model of staff development that Taylor had been promoting in a quiet, nondirect manner. As a part of his counseling technique Taylor was moving in several directions. He was modeling a behavior that he wished to see in others. That behavior projected concern for excellence in education, a caring for children, compassion, consideration, professional conduct beyond reproach, and commitment. Taylor was also talking with staff about their personal and professional ambitions, and encouraging growth in those areas. Finally, he was encouraging those teachers recognized informally as the best, to model the behaviors of a professional teacher for others in their departments.

The Gifford Group's Concern About Taylor's Model

In a private conversation with the researcher Ray Lang expressed his reservations about Taylor's approach.

Bill has told Cheryl Ginther that step one in helping people like Vern Price is for her to model the behavior of the excellent teacher. He has told her

that as the behavior is modeled others will pick up on that and begin to exhibit the same behaviors. She has gone to him twice asking for help in developing her staff; and she is told to model the desired behavior, and her department will come around! This woman has modeled professional behavior during her entire career on this staff.

Ray Lang was convinced that it was going to take more than "Bill's suggestion that she model behavior" to help Cheryl Ginther strengthen her department. It was his conjecture that if she was in a department where four of the five teachers modeled professional behavior, there would be a chance that the fifth teacher would also make an attempt to at least rise to a level of mediocrity where they would be comfortable in the company of the other four.

Lang suggested that In Cheryl Ginther's case, "She is the only one in that department who exhibits the behaviors Bill is after." He concluded, "The other four reinforced in one another a tendency toward behaviors not reflected in the effective teachers literature we have been referring to." He surmised that

If model teachers numbered at least forty percent of the staff, it might be enough to influence those who are presently marginal. At present we may have twenty percent who are doing effective work. That is not enough to influence the marginal teacher, or counterbalance the larger force of those who reinforce those behaviors that are less than professional.

He described the old habits that have developed, and the ruts that people have fallen into. He argued that each teacher reinforced the bad habits of others. Ray then gave

as an example the case of Ray Simms, who was in Walt Gifford's department. Simms did his student teaching under Gifford. Lang pointed out, that "Walt is recognized as an excellent classroom teacher." Simms, however, has escaped Walt's influence and has "fallen in with Mayer and his group."

What behaviors does Simms exhibit? He used sick leave three times in two weeks to work downtown. Within the Mayer group that is permissible, and expected behavior. It is the kind of behavior Walt disdains. Walt is presently powerless to do anything about that.

It takes commitment and dedication to want to excel. In many cases the commitment is not there. Go back to the shop and look at the difference between a Sheldon Haag and a Ray Simms. Sheldon is committed to this profession. He reflects the attitude of Walt Gifford in many respects. Simms does not have the same sense of purpose.

As Ray talked he revealed one device that he used to measure the worth of a teacher. Walt Gifford and Cheryl Ginther were "yardsticks" against which other teachers must be measured. If a teacher appeared to be following the example set by Walt Gifford or Cheryl Ginther, then that teacher was perceived by Lang as more professional, than one who may be in league with Mayer.

Lang also spoke of a "sense of purpose" that he looked for in teachers and he felt that Haag possessed that. Haag had a vision of what it meant to be a teacher and that vision was more in line with the Gifford group sense of mission. Members of the Gifford group did not see a sense

of mission in many of their fellow teachers. As Pam Kuhl summarized it, "If you do not share their vision, then you are, supposedly, without vision."

Lang continued to consider the sense of purpose that he felt was vital in his profession and turned his attention on those who frequented the lounge.

Look at those people who go through the lounge. There are those who move through there momentarily and exchange information pertinent to their jobs, and there are those I call "Lounge Lizards"--they move in there to bask, recover, withdraw, and entertain one another. When the bell rings they emerge, and move back to their rooms with an attitude that suggests they have to force themselves to teach for the hour.

In his mind Lang viewed the professional teacher as one who did not have time to waste. The primary purpose of interaction was for the exchange of professional information. His personal needs to socialize were, by his best friends estimate, minimal. Lang judged his fellow faculty members by that standard.

Ray revealed that he was very much aware of the community's watchful eye. He drove home his major complaint about the slow remediation and evaluation process Taylor espoused: "The community already has a perception of the kind of mediocre teachers employed here. That perception is firmly planted in their head and cannot be easily changed."

If a teacher is downtown working on a construction project when everyone knows he is supposed to be in the school, the word gets out. If

teachers are hunting or fishing on a school day it, gets out. My gas station attendant was harassing me the other day about that very thing. He wanted to know what was being done about Mr. Z.

Lang then tied together the loose ends of his stream of thought, "If something isn't done, then the community assumes the principal is in league with those the community recognizes as incompetent." Lang was afraid that Taylor would be viewed as "guilty by association."

Those who were looking for strong staff development were limited in their understanding of the kind of evidence and time it took to move a teacher through remediation and possible termination. If they were aware of what that process required, their patience for that process was limited. They were also dealing with a fear that, "What we are seeing may be a footdragging process on a more sophisticated level than Jack Miller was capable of."

Responding to Informal Group Pressure
The Principal's Perspective

Taylor spoke of the need to educate his staff as to what was entailed in the process of terminating tenured staff. The district had already been involved in a courtcase, in which a school psychologist sued because he felt he had been terminated improperly. Taylor did not want a second case. He expressed a desire to "go by the

book." "The staff does not understand that many evaluations, remediation efforts and second opinions; and a lot of paperwork is required, before one can terminate a tenured teacher."

Members of the Gifford group were not the only ones putting pressure on Taylor to "clean house." He indicated, "There have been moments where the board has created pressure. I have had to explain to them that legally, we can't begin terminating immediately." There are several teachers that board members have identified as expendable. "They want those teachers gone tomorrow. They are used to having that power. They do not understand due process."

Taylor was convinced that effective evaluations would lead to a clearer picture in his mind of where mediocrity existed. He was also convinced that it was the only way in which to legally and ethically proceed in staff development. Taylor felt that it would take two school years to go through the proper procedures of evaluating, identifying marginal teachers, providing intensive assistance or remediation, and developing effective teachers or building a sufficient case to dismiss those who did not become effective.

Limitations: Past Practices

Taylor found himself "hamstrung" by the fact that past principals did not have what he could "even call a system of evaluation." The superintendent agreed, "The district does not have a good evaluation system. It would be difficult at this time to build a case against anyone." He speculated that it would take seven years to bring the staff up to the level desired. Sumner added, staff improvement would "require a departure and replacement of certain personnel with some excellent staff selection and a supervision of instruction process like the school has never seen before." He would trust Taylor "to develop the high school staff; to chart his own course."

Past Evaluations

The Northwest Evaluation (1984:2) noted the inadequate system for evaluation. The report's first two and strongest recommendations encouraged the development of a

comprehensive and sytematic plan for evaluation of staff to include: improvement of instruction, professional growth, pre- and postconferences, remediation and closure procedures, and a formal instrument.

Gillette talked with the researcher about teacher evaluation and mentioned, "It had not occurred effectively at Grandview High School for some time." He felt it was necessary, "if we are going to get rid of mediocre

teachers."

After studying past evaluations the principal became cautious in listening to Gillette's complaints about the need for a tough evaluation process. Gillette had evaluated teachers for ten years and there was little evidence that he had been "tough on teachers." Gillette admitted to the researcher that as vice principal he was limited by the people under whom he worked.

A review of evaluation forms from the past seven years revealed a pattern of forms and comments that demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the evaluation system. The 1980 form simply read "Teacher Evaluation Form." The remainder of the page was available to the evaluator for comments. In 1983-1984 the form was "improved" and spaced equally on the page were five categories in which the evaluator could describe "Lesson Implementation," Classroom Atmosphere," "Subject Matter Competency," "Overall," and "Teacher Comments."

Dates recorded on the evaluations of tenured teachers indicated that observations were made in February and March, one month apart. One teacher remarked, "Evaluations were handled in a perfunctory way. They were handled in a way that suggested that they had to be done by a certain date." Those evaluations done by Simon and Gillette tended to read like job descriptions written in the third person:

The athletic director is responsible for the

scheduling of and transporting of students to events, for purchases related to the needs of athletic teams and other student activities. He is charged with the responsibility of. . .

When a composite of each teacher's evaluations of the past six years were looked at a pattern of redundancy revealed itself. Not only phrases, but entire paragraphs began to reoccur. The present principal, Taylor, remarked that it was "as if the author took out past evaluations and simply rewrote them with a few minor changes."

The principal further noted the comments on each evaluation read "like high school yearbook autograph pages." The researcher noted the term "good" was used extensively: "good job," "good teacher," "good rapport," "good speaking voice," "good atmosphere." Page after page was filled with statements referring to "nice bulletin boards," "good inflection," and "good speaking voice."

The teachers Phil Simon considered to be the very best were referred to as "top notch." Included in this number were people like Ray Lang, Sheldon Haag, Gene Mader and Vern Price. Mader and Price were teachers that Gifford wanted weeded out of the system because they were allegedly inept. All other teachers were rated from good to excellent.

In several hundred forms completed by past administrators there were few negative comments: two evaluations mentioned teachers who had difficulty with

filling proper forms, a third reminded a teacher to enhance his public image and a fourth scolded a teacher for her lack of commitment to the profession. That teacher eventually announced her resignation and received the highest praise as a "top notch" teacher in her final evaluation in which the principal concluded she would be "an excellent addition to any staff."

On several other evaluations there were hints that what may have been a past problem had been straightened out. For example, "No discipline problems this year that had to be sent to the office." On another: "Teacher Brown knows her strengths and weaknesses and continues to improve." In each instance there was no greater detail to be found in previous evaluations to indicate what the "discipline problem" had been in the previous year(s). Teacher Brown's weaknesses were never presented to the reader. In effect, as noted by Taylor and Sumner, "there is little or no documentation."

The reason for that lack of documentation was explained by various staff members. When Tex Rawls was superintendent the board always reviewed the evaluation forms. Phil Simon was writing for an audience that extended well beyond the teacher/principal relationship. Knowing that minor comments could become major items of gossip, Simon couched his evaluations in mild to superlative terms. He saved his stronger criticisms for

private conversations. Teachers thus knew where they stood with Phil Simon, and were at the same time protected by him from the scrutiny of the board.

William Sumner informed the present administrators that in the future the board will only receive recommendations from the principals. The evaluations would not be seen by the board this year as they have been in the past. It was hoped that this would reduce the tendency of past boards to sit in judgement on faculty members and to "hold closed door sessions at every turn with regards to personnel." Dave Tanner sensed a board desire to have evaluations be "a little less superlative."

The question that Taylor found troublesome was, "How does one approach teachers who have been called 'top notch,' 'excellent,' and 'good' and inform them that they are instead mediocre?"

It was widely recognized by the faculty that several teachers could stand improvement, and there was some consensus as to who they were. The past evaluations of those who were "mediocre at best," read as well, if not better than the evaluations of those teachers recognized as "the best."

Several examples of that came to light. One staff member, widely criticized by the staff was never subject to personal criticism in his evaluations. He was commended for several attributes and it was suggested the "department

needed improvement."

Teacher White who had been declared by an archrival, Teacher Green, and others, to be the epitome of the unprofessional and uncaring teacher, was highly touted by Simon as one of the best on staff. The reviews of White read in terms as sterling as the words found on the evaluation of his harshest critic, Teacher Green.

Teacher White is a strong teacher who has an extreme rapport with his students. It is easy to see that he enjoys teaching and enjoys a close relationship with students.

He has a respectful atmosphere in his classroom that enhances the learning environment. A genuine understanding of young people. . . He is firm but fair. . . conscientious and student oriented. He is doing an outstanding job. He is top notch.

Teacher Green, who felt he was the antithesis of Teacher White was described in equally respectable terms:

Teacher Green has an excellent rapport, and is receptive to all students. He is fair, considerate and consistent. He works well with fellow teachers, cooperates with the administration. . . has the student interests at heart, does an excellent job.

The principal privately expressed a desire to make an effort to develop some professional leadership through evaluation. He wanted to make a contribution in this area and earn the respect of those who expected a principal to be an instructional leader.

He looked "forward to getting into the evaluation process because it allowed a professional relationship to develop." "Up until now," he reported, "it has been good

old boy stuff."

Taylor employed a three phased process of evaluation with preconferences, onsite evaluations, and postconferences. Teachers had been asked to write three to five objectives. Each teacher would be expected to meet their goals and objectives during the year.

When talking about the evaluation process with staff, the principal assured them that all evaluations would be formal and announced. He also said he would be coming into rooms on an informal basis to simply keep in touch with the classroom experience.

In private, Taylor recognized, "My particular method is not going to work as swiftly as some would like."

Faculty Resistance to Goals and Objectives

Administrative requests for the teacher's goal and objectives was met with some reservations by staff members.

One paragraph in the GEA monthly newsletter summarized the association position on the need for teachers to submit goals and objectives. Bobbie Gifford reminded tenured members that the contract stipulated that they did not have to do so and that they could submit a grievance if pressure were put on them to do so.

With regards to the evaluation process, Taylor had

stated privately that those teachers who failed to write objectives would be asked in the preobservaton conference to identify those behaviors or methods that they were seeking to improve or wanted feedback on.

Taylor anticipated having some difficulty with "veteran teachers who were set in their ways." He expected them to take the attitude, "try and show me something new."

Just such an attitude was referred to in a luncheon conversation between Dave Tanner and Ted Callahan. Callahan remembered a science teacher, Lindstrum who served the district for decades as a noted teacher. Lindstrum informed a new principal, Jeff Bruner, "The minute you walk into my room to evaluate, I walk out and you can teach the class." Callahan wondered why a man reported to be one of the best in his field would resist evaluation. Tanner explained that in those days evaluations at Grandview were few and far between, and the process was usually associated with remediation. For that reason a stigma has been attached to evaluation.

Callahan preferred the style Phil Simon incorporated as a part of his presence in the school. Simon would seldom announce an intended visit. He was in and out of the room at his choosing. Taylor's policy of preconferences and announced visits preturbed Callahan. He admitted, "Some teachers perform that one hour like they're supposed to and never teach again. They save their best

lesson for the hour the principal shows up."

In anticipation of his evaluation Fred Winter said slyly, "I have a nice lesson that I use when I know the administrators are coming in. I'll have to get it out and polish it up. It covers the Federal Reserve System."

The conference room, A-5, received heavier use as Taylor started to meet individually with teachers for a discussion of goals and evaluation. He began with new teachers and one-by-one went through the three phases he had outlined for the staff. After working with several of the recent staff additions, he expressed a real joy at having new teachers to work with. He found them to be "flexible, and eager to improve."

The Effects of the Principal's Daily Schedule

Taylor's plans to conduct thorough evaluations and to develop his staff were feeling the effects of the limited hours of each day. It was becoming increasingly clear to the principal, as he considered the length of his working day that he was spending as much as sixteen hours a day on various school related tasks. From his arrival in the morning at 7:45 to his departure for home at 10:00 p.m. he was engaged in a myriad of tasks that consumed small fragments of time, continuously, through the day. His

schedule left him little time to enter the classroom.

His open door policy and efforts to respond to the needs of the staff had been keeping him busy. The number of encounters that Taylor was having each day with staff members reflected the degree to which he was maintaining his "open door policy." As several teachers had noted in their private conversations on opening day, "Open door policies have existed here in the past, and if you didn't have the key to the office you couldn't get in." Those people were referring to past principals who heard only their "chosen disciples."

Taylor realized that the pattern around his offices had clearly established itself: "Some people are much more frequent in buying my time." As a result he felt conscious of other faculty member's eyes as they walked by and saw Gifford or Lang "getting the principal's ear." He did not wish to "fall into the trap of being viewed as under their influence."

As the initial demands of the new school year subsided in October he commented that he would be "put to the test in the next two months, with evaluations and budget processes to take care of." In his September meetings he had announced the intent to evaluate in October and November. In late October the principal talked about evaluating in November and December.

Administrative tasks had intruded on the time he had

hoped to spend in the improvement of instruction. "If I could escape the 'administrivia' I would really enjoy this work." The crush of time was effecting his ability to conduct effective evaluations, increasing the perception of some that the job was not going to be done at all, and staff development would not occur as the principal intended. This provided further ammunition for those who contended that the only way to improve the staff was to "dictate to the mediocre."

Gifford confided to the observer in mid-October that he was deeply preturbed that Taylor had not been frequenting classrooms. "He tells me he wants to form his own opinions," Walt Gifford recanted, "but, how can the man develop firsthand information if he is not getting into the rooms?"

There was, among the Gifford group, a desire to see the school become "a lighthouse for education." They were in agreement with Sumner on that. There was a concern that "the rhetoric had run deep enough." Decisive action, as Simon would have used, had not been used enough to convince this small group that leadership would take necessary steps to "remove the deadwood from the staff."

English Department Conflict

The Gifford group's interest in policing the staff of Grandview High School was best illustrated in its attempt to block the efforts of the administration to incorporate Ben Whitney's Chapter One reading program within the English department and to allow Chapter One credits to count for graduation. Department members and administrators had earlier agreed that the meeting was necessary to clear the air with regards to a matter that remained as "fallout from the past year, and previous administration." When the issue first resurfaced this year at a department meeting on a late September workshop day it caused some tension. It was Bill Taylor's fear that "if the meeting was not held soon the lid could be blown off the teakettle."

Several days after the first meeting, Ben Whitney conferenced with Taylor. He informed Taylor that he had received word that trouble had rolled out of the English Department meeting and that his (Ben's) name was at the heart of it.

Taylor explained that "it could be a cloud of smoke" and that "one of the hazards of the democratic process is this sort of exchange." "What we need to do is sit down together and nip it in the bud."

Ben wanted reassurance that he had not "screwed up."

"Absolutely not. No way," responded the principal.

As the English department meeting got underway, the principal was present, with the Director of Special Services, Pat Moffitt, to his left. Pat's presence was explained by the conversation that ensued. Ann's desk separated her from Taylor and to her right was Ray Lang, Ben Whitney, Tom Spencer, Susan Fisk, and Ed Bentley. As later explained by the principal, and department members, this meeting had a three fold purpose:

1. Get out the anger from last year and heal some wounds.
2. Illuminate the principal as to what was "happening."
3. Come up with a plan that would allow the Chapter One program to be incorporated into the department curriculum.

At the center of the issue was Ben Whitney. In the previous meeting it had been suggested by some that he was ineffective. He was hurting from this. Prior to this meeting he had gone to both Ray and Ann Lang and revealed his goals. He told them what he was attempting to do with his program. He had been coached by Bill Taylor in a previously mentioned private meeting in the principal's office.

The issue of Whitney's "ineffectiveness" did not surface until 4:15 p.m., when Ed Bentley announced: "I'll say what I am going to say and that will be the last I say: I wonder how effectively those kids are being taught." Ed then looked at the clock and departed as Ben attempted a

response. Up until that point others had skirted the issue, although everyone knew it was a reason for the meeting. Those who had been critical of Whitney in the previous meeting had been sitting quietly.

When Ed Bentley questioned whether effective teaching and learning was taking place in Chapter One as presently handled, Bill responded: "That is my concern with all programs that take place in this school and with all classrooms. I hope that I will be given time to decide that issue through the evaluation process, not only with regards to Chapter One but all classrooms." The answer appeared to be intended for all to consider with regards to the growing pressure to develop the staff; a pressure exerted largely by some members of the English Department.

Ann Lang was offended when it was repeated by Moffitt that she "had an opportunity to give her input in the spring."

"Not all of us did," replied Ray Lang.

"I was expecting all of you, I don't know what happened. The superintendent and I were expecting all of you!" Pat exclaimed.

Ann informed Moffitt that Miller had not invited everyone, that he had come to her on a fourth hour free period and told her "the decision to give credit for Chapter One had been made and their input was desired."

"At that point", she continued, "it was not input we

were being asked to give," and she resented the perfunctory nature of her involvement.

Ray indicated that those events left him with a bad taste in his mouth that he still carried. He looked directly at Bill and entreated, "I hope that in the future such handling will not reoccur."

Taylor recognized "the need to get the bad feelings out with regards to the process used last spring." He preferred "they leave that aside and focus on how to improve the here and now." He reminded them that he was "coming into the problem from a sidedoor, because" he did not have "the benefit of being there in the spring." He indicated that in the future he would like be involved in dialogue and kept informed on such matters.

As the meeting proceeded, the principal was stage managing part of it either directly or in a nondirective approach. Initially, he kept the conversation going by prying into Ben Whitney with questions about the Chapter One Program. He had reviewed some of these points earlier with Whitney in his office. The questions allowed Ben to demonstrate the usefulness of his program. The principal then backed off and invited others to speak.

He later explained that he deliberately let it drag on so as to get it out of the system. He was trying to create a "cathartic experience from which they could then proceed into the here and now." When the meeting

adjourned it was not clear that people were feeling any better. It was clear to Taylor that the process Miller had used "had been" handled poorly." As a result "the department felt used."

In the privacy of his office Bill Taylor later expressed concern that he was losing the support of the very wing that had been his first support base and had lobbied the board to hire him. Dave Tanner reassured Bill that those people like all others can be volatile in their support and while they may show a hostile side still had a great deal going for them.

On the following day, Walt Gifford revealed his concerns about the inclusion of the Chapter One program in the English Department. He felt it was ineffective. He indicated that he thought Whitney spent entirely too much time in computer instruction: "He has fourteen kids in there all day and has them on rigid computer programs that is supposed to improve their reading skills." Gifford did not see that as effective teaching.

Gifford was convinced that Whitney had "sold Sumner a bill of goods and had risen to a level at which he did not belong." He referred to him as the

"fair haired boy, who had been singled out for special recognition, not because of the quality of his classroom teaching, but because he had convinced people that he was doing a good job. He knew how to snow people and bullshit them. He had cozied up to Moffitt and Sumner and yet, when you look at what goes on his room. . . it's ridiculous. Ask the kids.

They'll tell you. They want to talk about effective teaching and they send him out as the model of what we're after. He has fourteen kids all day, he uses computers, and now they want him to tell others how to improve teaching methods?

There was no doubt that Ray, Ann, Walt, Ed and Mitch Gillette had reinforced in themselves the notion that they were "the best damn teachers in the place." What they found in themselves they also expected to find in others. They were beginning to feel alienated and and unsure of the present course. The types of behavior they saw receiving tacit approval were not the behaviors of the professional educator they envisioned. Bentley termed Taylor's and Sumner's present talk about effective schools as "pure bullshit, without some effective action taken here at the high school to purge this place of some of these people who have been masquerading as teachers."

Bentley was directly at odds with Whitney. Bentley was consumed with a passionate dislike for computers. He had been quick to share articles in Harper's Monthly; articles that challenged the place of the computer in our schools. He felt they were entirely inadequate for teaching reading and writing skills. He saw teachers turning the tasks of teaching over to computers and kicking back as if the machine would do a better job than they could. He viewed the teacher putting in time to develop programs not children.

Whitney admitted as much in a conversation with Taylor in the principal's office saying: "I have been so busy on this district computer development and on developing programs for my classes that I have probably neglected the kids. But, there's only so much time in the day and it has to come out of my schedule somewhere."

Walt argued that "Whitney should be working with those kids first. They are last with him right now, because William has signaled him out as the chairman for developing computers in the district. Since that move was made he has been neglecting the kids. William doesn't see that. We do."

At 2:20 in the afternoon the researcher encountered Ben Whitney in the hallway and asked him how he felt after last night's meeting.

I was ready for that. It was a little of last year coming out and it was also take a shot at Ben time, the fair haired boy who has risen. It's the Grandview mentality coming out. Let's bring everyone down to a given level. . . leveling downwards. Pat stayed afterwards and absorbed some of the hits for me. I have to work with these people everyday. I'd rather we could get on with things somewhat peacefully. I'm willing to look at ways to improve things. I've laid that out in my goals and objectives. I've shared that with Bill and with them. There is still some of the old bitterness here.

At 2:35 Whitney stopped in to see the principal and asked, "Have you got any orders for me? Any suggestions? How did we do last night?" The principal had been

sympathetic to Whitney "hanging in the wind alone", but that had not been "too obvious" at the meeting. He complimented Ben for staying cool during the attempt by Ed to verbalize his doubts about the effectiveness of what was taking place in the classroom. Then Bill added, "Ed was upset because those who had been most vocal at the first English Department meeting, sat quietly last night."

Earlier in the day when Ed Bentley entered Taylor's office he could barely contain his anger as he expressed himself. His voice carried into the office and he frequently started sentences over Bill's own remarks. Bill remained calm and continued to talk through Ed's interruptions. At times they were both talking. Without becoming louder Taylor simply continued on each time Ed interrupted. As a result Ed would become more patient in waiting for an opportunity. His voice continued to penetrate the exterior walls of the outer office, something that was difficult to do.

When the principal would yield the floor, Bentley did not surrender it easily. He would repeat his statements for emphasis. Bill made it clear without scolding that he did not appreciate Ed's early departure from the meeting. Ed explained that he felt that Pat Moffitt had virtually called him a liar. He felt that Pat was distorting the events of spring in a way that even Whitney was not willing to recognize as truth. "It was a rehashing of

last year and I didn't need to sit through it a third time. Everybody in there had already heard all of that," Ed concluded.

"There was one person who hadn't heard that exchange and needed to, and that was me Ed," the principal reminded the reading teacher. I hope you will give me time to fit pieces together. The decision has been made, the process was apparently bungled but we have to move on and I would like to do that with some harmony."

Ed wanted to ensure that Taylor would lead the faculty in a new direction: "We were asked for input last year and you can see what happened with it. The decision had already been made. That is insulting and makes a mockery of the process."

Bill said that he could see the opportunity arising for small groups and administrators of the school to go back to the days of divide and conquer. He expressed a strong interest in avoiding that.

In a later conversation with the observer Taylor recognized that some of Bentley's frustration was with the reluctance Anderson and Spencer exercised in the department meeting with Whitney. Taylor recognized Anderson as one who is loyal to his department and superiors, who frowns on insubordinate statements and has trouble with jumping on people publicly. While Anderson was one of the most concerned with Whitney, Taylor noted

that he handled it differently than Bentley at the English Department meeting. Swede approached Ben in private and they went over Swede's concerns. Ben Whitney wrote an answer to Anderson in which he expressed a concern for "the manner of communication the English Department still exhibits."

Gifford Group Push to Deny
Tenure to Two Teachers

In the spring of the year the principal recommended to the board that two teachers be given tenure: Pam Kuhl and Marge Mason had finished their third year of teaching. The Gifford group had adamantly opposed the principal's intent to grant tenure. They were described as vociferous in their objections. The Lang's threatened to resign their positions in protest. Members of the Gifford group viewed the granting of tenure as a confirmation that mediocrity was acceptable and announced that they could no longer buy into the principal's staff improvement plan.

The Gifford group was convinced that Taylor would not provide the leadership needed to bring about an effective staff. As a group they corralled the vice principal in a classroom and redressed him for the administration's incompetency. They entreated him to take up their cause. As he had once been "one of them" it was their assumption

that Tanner would recognize the truth in what they were saying.

On the following day the vice principal commented to his peers, "When I took this job I promised you my head, today I promise you my heart."

Taylor found himself confronted with an angry Walt Gifford and recalled how the two men closed themselves into the school's walk-in safe for a frank exchange, "It's the only place with walls thick enough to conceal the type of dialouge we were engaged in," Taylor said wryly.

Mayer Resigns as Basketball Coach

On Friday, April 26th, newspapers across the state announced Steve Mayer's resignation as varsity basketball coach. The announcement came only several weeks after his team had won the state tournament. The Great Falls Tribune quoted Mayer as saying, "I want to sit back and watch my boys play" basketball at Bluff State. The paper then pointed out Mayer's disgruntlement with Grandview administrators:

Despite the success of his teams, Mayer often has been at odds with school officials. The school board removed Mayer from his position as vice principal at the high school last spring and also dropped funding for the sophomore basketball program - a move Mayer strongly opposed.

"It [sic] would have had a lot harder time making this decision if I had gotten better support from the board and the superintendent," Mayer said. "There have been more rerstrictions [sic] from the

time I came here. I'm tired of the hassle of trying to run a quality program without any support."

To those who had been predicting Mayer's departure the move made perfect sense. His devotion to his sons had always been evident. He was a proud father and there were few places in the state that could offer him the proximity to Bluff State that Grandview offered. At the same time he could use his resignation as a device to stir up some discontent with the present superintendent and continue the intrigue that was a part of his relationship with his superiors. There were some who believed that he intended to make good his promise of several years earlier to outlast Petry, Rawls and the then incoming superintendent, Sumner.

Winter Doldrums Bring Unrest

The principal's optimism and the feeling of buoyancy that characterized his personality in December was markedly reduced in April. The months that had lapsed were beset with morale problems on the staff and increasing bitterness among the Gifford group members.

The games that had been played by members of the lounge contingent had resulted in some hurt feelings. Teachers who had been the target of "abuse" complained that the situation was getting out of hand. Others were

shocked at the immaturity of some of their peers. The principal's written communications were being corrected for errors and returned to his desk for remediation.

In a full faculty meeting the principal leveled with his staff and expressed his feeling of discontent. He acknowledged that winter doldrums seemed prevalent in schools but encouraged a professional demeanor. He also encouraged teachers who had acted in a manner to hurt others to offer an apology. His request was complied with.

Superintendent's Insight

Midway through the schoolyear, Sumner reported that he had not had one teacher visit him with a complaint. He attributed the lack of visitors to the personal leadership style of the present administrators: especially their willingness to listen, their demand for input, their visible use of/or response to that input, and their attitudes towards people: students and staff alike.

He felt it was also clear to the staff that this was his handpicked administrative team, not one he "had been saddled with upon arrival, as in the previous year." He assumed, "People were therefore more likely to go through the normal bureaucratic routes to accomplish things for awhile." He admitted that he missed the contact he had

with teachers last year, as it was a vital form of feedback; but added, the kind of feedback and problems he listened to last year were not missed.

The superintendent also revealed that teacher's calls to school board members were not occurring during the 1984-1985 schoolyear. Sumner attributed that, in part, to the administrative turnover and to the education of the board. Sumner reported that he had to train his board in some respects. As a result, board members were less visible in the school. Max Wold still frequented the office of Walt Gifford, and Ella Frey paid small visits, but intrusions in the classrooms and hallways had halted. Sumner indicated, "The board has also been increasingly reluctant to meddle in the administrative affairs of the school and less responsive to faculty members who come to them with a personal grievance."

Having handpicked his own administrative staff Sumner felt he had further increased his leverage in developing his vision of what the public school system of Grandview could look like.

Research Question Number Three

How did the political/socialization process take place in the given system (Grandview High School faculty)?

To determine the answer to question three it was necessary to explore the professional norms of the various faculty members. Those norms became apparent in the daily interaction patterns of the staff members.

Faculty Norms with Regards
To Using the Lounge

From the very beginning of the year the pattern for social interaction in the lounge unfolded in an almost predictable manner. Who would visit in the lounge for a moment and who would stay for an hour was soon established. Who would not enter the lounge was also established in time. What conversations those who interacted would participate in and with whom, became readily apparent.

Nora Clay would not enter the lounge. On one occasion, she waltzed up to the threshold of the lounge door and stopped with her toes just short of the entrance. She peered into the room, asked if anyone had seen Myra Hook and then departed.

"If she had been a long jumper she wouldn't have scratched," remarked one teacher.

"I have never seen her in here. She has worked here over three decades and I have never seen her in the

lounge," remarked Susan Rogers.

An attitude similar to Clay's was held by Ed Bentley, who viewed himself as the antithesis of Clay. Ed would walk briskly by the lounge, seldom looking in the direction of the people who occupied the room. He shunned the lounge "because of the conversations there," which he referred to as "mundane." "People go in there to waste time," he contended. He then pointed out others who shared his opinion: "Walt, Ray and Ann--you won't see them in there. They want to work alone. They stay in their rooms." Ed could have mentioned Nora Clay and April Wills, but dreaded to think that he had something in common with them.

Those who were seldom seen in the lounge reported it was "because of the atmosphere." Prinipal Taylor recognized that people were avoiding the lounge at the beginning of the year. He had concluded, "The lounge was a source of negative waves in the past year and some people want to avoid it for that reason."

Several teachers remarked that they hated to see people waste their time in the lounge engaged in idle gossip. They cited the lounge as the source of backbiting. When asked, at a PIR day, to draw a picture of the one thing that upset them most about teachers, a large number of them drew pictures of stickmen sitting in the lounge engaged in idle gossip. Others drew pictures

of people walking around with daggers in their backs.

While some teachers held a deep aversion for the lounge, for other teachers social interaction was clearly a reason for being in the lounge. Teachers enjoyed having adult company. This need to interact was recognized by the department heads when they met after school with the principal. Mitch Gillette admitted, "When we go into the lounge townspeople think we go in there with arms full of papers to work, they would be shocked to find out what goes on in there."

Conversations and behavior patterns in the lounge often revealed a need to "relax," "escape," "put some distance between me and the kids," "mix with adults," "let myself go," or "be a degenerate for awhile."

The Master Schedule, Norms and The Use of the Lounge

What teachers could be expected during each hour of the day depended in part, upon the physical sprawl of the building and the master schedule. Teachers who had "free periods" were more likely to occupy the lounge than those who had "prep periods." There was an important distinction to be made between the two terms. Those who viewed their time without classes as preparation periods tended to use that time to work in their rooms, if they

had a room to work in. Those who viewed that time without students as "my time" were more likely to visit with others in the lounge.

Those who did use the lounge for the social interaction that it provided, sometimes brought work with them and casually paid attention to conversations around them. If they found the conversation interesting, they could easily put their work aside and enjoy the moment. If the work they had before them was important enough, and the conversation distracting, they could easily shuffle their papers together and return to the quiet of their rooms. In many instances no words were even spoken, the person's change in demeanor indicated that they had to "get something done."

For some people it was not important to work during the hours that they did not teach. If their lesson plans were "ready to go" and they knew what they would be doing for the day, they could easily spend the hour visiting. Occasionally teachers who were supposed to be with classes meeting in their rooms would also take a break in the lounge.

There were also those teachers who lost possession of their rooms for a period or simply did not have a room to begin with and therefore, had "no where else to go." In some cases, as with Ellen Davis and Tim Mahoney, their classrooms were occupied by another teacher for the

period. Each was "dispossessed," and did not have the luxury of being able to leave the lounge. Joe Watson, the driver education instructor did not have a room. He had been overlooked in the process of making room assignments. As a result he frequented the lounge during his prep periods. He did not appreciate the inconvenience.

Lounge Conversations

The researcher was interested in learning how the informal interactions of these teachers impacted on the formal decision making process of the school system. How, for example, did they effect decisions related to curriculum development or graduation requirements? These were two matters being discussed in the district. During the course of the six month observation the researcher paid close attention to the patterns of interaction, the tone of conversations and most importantly the subject of conversations.

During the first days of the new school year the lounge air was filled with a light banter about being "tired by noon," "getting use to the routine again," "getting in shape again," and "waking up to the alarm clock." Legs were reported as "tired," eyelids as "heavy," throats "dry from talking," voices "shot." This held true for many during the day as they talked of

getting "back in shape for the year."

In the weeks that followed conversations in the lounge often involved talk of sports or hunting. "It is amazing how these guys can talk about the elk they have missed!" exclaimed Spencer. "They can go on for one half hour about just stalking elk."

"If it isn't the hunting season," added Sarah Rockwell, "they talk about the materials or permits that they hope to be getting in order to hunt."

Spencer's observations about hunting conversations were accurate with regards to conversations in the lounge, at lunches, in the corridors, classrooms and everywhere else that a "hunter" encountered someone else.

Cheryl Ginther noted that the lounge conversations had changed in the past fifteen years.

One could go in there when I first started and talk school issues, association business and education. A new generation has taken over and they talk hunting and fishing. I can't do that. I refuse to. That's crap. Once in awhile it would be fine but there is too much of it. I don't mind people socializing now and then but it has taken the place of education. Look at Vern Price. He is typical of how the lounge mentality has impacted on the very process of educating children.

Cheryl also noted that the only time education was a topic in the lounge was when the teachers chose to become critical of the "the kids."

Walt Gifford observed that it had always been difficult to get staff to talk about anything related to

school: "Anything but school is the norm."

A few teachers had initiated conversations in which they tried to talk of politics, the election year or the economy. Such attempts were frequently rebuffed.

On one morning the observer entered the lounge and found Don Millard and Fred Winter. Fred was talking about the elections and explaining the importance of local and state issues. The observer listened for awhile and when there was a lull asked Don what he had been up to lately. He responded by saying, "Listening to this bullshit."

Don then took ten minutes to talk about bow hunting and the various animals he was interested in "harvesting this year." It took several minutes alone to talk about a turkey he had missed the previous year. That scene repeated itself during the course of the semester.

Ty Mader regretted that that it was "hard to get anyone into an intellectual conversation around here." Mader was one of two veterans who continued to frequent the lounge and made attempts at influencing staff members in conversations centered around education. Mitch Gillette was another. They represented what some considered to be the opposite and extreme ends of the spectrum, both in terms of politics and education. As one teacher noted, "Those two tend to talk at people, rather than with people." Their lobbying efforts often fell on deaf ears. Both men had also lost a large degree of

credibility and influence with the staff as a result of their remonstrations and actions over the past several years.

Walt Gifford and Cheryl Ginther each identified former teacher Bill Breed as a cohesive force who held the faculty together at one time. "He was one person who could influence the level of a conversation in the lounge," each had agreed. With his retirement and Dave Tanner's resignation from teaching, Cheryl felt the tone of conversations had suffered. She also noted that Ray Lang's influence in the lounge was "zero" as he chose not to go in there.

Principal's Attempt to Influence
Conversations About Education

One person who was trying in subtle ways to provide information for conversations about "the concerns of education" was the new building principal, Bill Taylor. From the very beginning of the year Taylor had placed a policy manual on the center of the lounge table. At the opening day exercises he directed teacher's attention to its placement in the lounge. During the next several days the observer noted that, "for the most part, the policy manual has remained unopened and untouched."

On one occasion an infrequent visitor thumbed the

cover of the book and asked, "What's this?"

He was told, "It's the district policy manual."

"More bullshit rules! Who needs them?" He put the book up on the refrigerator and it remained there for several months. It eventually supported a growing collection of old newspaper and lunch trays.

In one faculty meeting Taylor mentioned that the minutes of the board meetings would be left in the teacher's lounge in order to "improve communication."

Teachers tended to ignore these minutes or glanced at them quickly. If they referred to them at all it was usually in a search for scrap paper.

Taylor also placed two research articles on the table in the lounge. One paper discussed professional literature related to effective schools; the other related to effective teaching. They were ignored and buried under the newspaper flyers from K-mart. One paper had been corrected and graded for spelling and punctuation.

Taylor's efforts were not totally in vain. The mere presence of such papers at least left people with the impression that the man was concerned and earnest in his interest in education.

On yet another occasion Taylor left a note on the blackboard. It was a reminder that two new policies had been put in writing: One revealed the philosophy of

education espoused by the board, the other policy dealt with truancy. The policy book had been brought down from its place on the refrigerator. After several hours a teacher placed it back on the refrigerator and buried it beneath a stack of day old food trays.

Another man who exhibited some influence with regards to the tone of two-way conversations was the vice principal and former teacher, Dave Tanner. As the year progressed Tanner became more comfortable in places like the lounge and with faculty groups at lunch. He had established his distance from the staff as vice principal and reported that he often felt alone and insignificant. He had missed the comradely relationships he had once enjoyed. He had few opportunities to visit with the principal and was becoming isolated. He was confident that he could continue to function as an administrator and still maintain an easy rapport with the faculty.

Tanner began dropping into the lounge to read the paper in late November. His presence was enjoyed and as his visits continued the tones and issues of conversations were effected. The same had been noted as true at luncheons. He enjoyed the light banter and also proved capable of defending and explaining administration and district policy and actions.

The principal, on the other hand, would not come near the lounge as he wished to allow the staff at least one

spot where they could get away from him and talk freely if they so desired. In all the moments the observer was present in the lounge the principal was never the subject of ridicule. If anything the remarks were complimentary.

Interaction at Lunch

The lunchroom also offered an opportunity for teachers to interact with one another. Again, as in the lounge, interaction was limited by the physical design of the room, the den of noise created by students, the amount of time available for interaction, the master schedule, the teachers preferred lunch site and companionship.

Lunch Groups

At lunch the faculty members went in divergent directions.

In the lounge during A-lunch, Swede Anderson, Trig Malone, Tony Roland, Tim Mahoney and Kate Willow would frequently gather. Myra Hook would seclude herself in a corner of the couch and have a cigarette with her sack lunch. Talk seldom strayed from hunting or sports.

A-Lunch in the cafeteria often found Cheryl Ginther, Joe Watson, Nancy Wright, and Mitch Gillette.

During the break between A- and B-Lunch, Steve Cash

and Pete Blaylock ate lunch together in the cafeteria, after monitoring the first lunch period.

At B-lunch Tom Spencer, Marge Mason, Reggie Dillon, Sandy Bennett, John Rockwell, Pam Kuhl and Vern Price were likely to join together.

Walt Gifford and Ed Bentley would have lunch in Walt's room. They frequently talked about birds at lunch. Walt kidded about the importance of hunting in his life by remarking that "teaching gets in the way of my bird hunting."

Haag and others from the E wing frequently gathered in the boiler room for lunch. Again, conversations could easily turn to fishing and hunting.

Some teachers slipped away to their homes for lunch.

The Limiting Effect of Time and Norms Related to Lunch

Teachers would seldom arrive in the cafeteria with the flood of students. They were usually delayed by conversations with students in their classroom, putting materials away, getting materials out, running to the office or being sidetracked by a friend.

When teachers first congregated for lunch in the autumn many compared their schedules. If a lunch period was either followed or preceded by a preparation period,

"you're lucky." If the lunch period was sandwiched in between two classes that was "too bad."

By the time those teachers, who were not lucky, got their lunch from the kitchen they usually had fifteen minutes in which to eat. There was a sense of urgency in their approach to eating. They would sit quietly and methodically attack their tray of food. At regular intervals they would check their watches or utter, "What time is it?" to their nearest neighbor.

Some of these teachers had learned to talk while they were eating and generated an energy level that suddenly crashed with the realization that "the bells about to ring!" These people would often return a half eaten meal to the kitchen and regret that they "didn't try the vegetables."

Conversations among these people could be classified as light banter. When a topic became too heavy the group eye contact shifted away from the person who introduced the topic. For example, when Marge Mason wanted to talk about the elections, Reggie Dillon asked why anyone would want to talk about that. Vern Price brought up the city basketball league and attention focused on local sports.

Time was but one factor that inhibited conversations. Some faculty members preferred to talk about anything but shop talk at lunch. They wanted to escape their work and relax for a moment. Light banter was all they sought.

This desire was expressed by Reggie Dillon as he considered some of his fellow staff members: "Some are always so serious! They have this vision of how teachers are supposed to behave. Life doesn't have to be so serious!"

There were several teachers whose schedules did not require that they press off to other things, but who chose to "run."

Andy Reynolds would consume a sandwich and a glass of milk in several minutes. He would usually utter a few words quickly and excuse himself to "take care of business." His friends would observe that Reynolds preferred to appear busy.

Those whose schedules were "lucky" tended to relax and enjoy their meal. They communicated with all members of the group during the meal, and "heard" each other. They tended to talk to each other rather than past each other. They responded to one another and the conversations frequently evolved into professional conversations concerned with the climate of the school, the discipline of the students, school policy or association business. They were seldom concerned with time and would ignore the bells that ended the lunch period. They would frequently enjoy their coffee and continue a conversation.

Having lunch at home was permissible. Extending

beyond the allotted twenty-eight minutes was frowned upon, but had become a practice in the past several years among some teachers. Those teachers watched the new principal closely to determine the boundaries he intended to enforce with regards to lunch. Those who resented the practice of extending lunch at home were also watching with the hope that enforcement of the lunch period would occur.

The practice of extending a lunch period was found among all social arrangements of the faculty. It occurred in various ways. Teachers could remain at home beyond the time limit. They could remain locked in a conversation in the lunchroom if they did not have a class to run to. Teachers who did have a class to teach could arrive late to class or allow the class to start while they visited with someone. Those who stayed at home to visit with a spouse saw little difference between that and staying in the cafeteria to visit with a fellow teacher. Others found that practice to be abhorrent because of the "community perception" that resulted from such practice.

While teachers were aware of who was engaged in the practice of extending the lunch hour at home, they felt powerless to do anything about it. Some teachers operated on the assumption that those people were professional enough to use that time as they pleased, or that those teachers were lucky to have the opportunity. During the second semester one teacher rejoiced that his schedule had

changed, allowing an extended lunch break at home. A friend teased him quietly about his new practice. In the exchange it was clear that the friend was more envious than ridiculing. The teacher who was extending lunch shrugged off the topic by admitting, "Yeah, it is nice to have lunch in a more relaxing atmosphere."

The Impact of the Administrators
At Lunch

Dave Tanner remarked that he enjoyed having lunch with the teachers as he could get some insight into their problems and keep that line of communication opened to them. Conversation did not become stilted when he arrived, nor did it change directions. He was accepted as a lunch group member. Teachers used the opportunity to approach him or to gain insight into what was happening. Tanner mentioned that those who had a serious point to raise with him would usually wait longer at lunch to speak with him. Cheryl Ginther would always take advantage of his presence.

On one occasion the bell rang and teachers began to fade away. The group was down to Clarence Dayton, Cheryl Ginther, and Dave Tanner. Tanner later admitted that he anticipated that, as Cheryl had some "unfinished business she wanted to wrap up." She was so intent on making her

point that she ignored her husband, Dan, as he approached the vice principal. Tanner was never able to address Dan as Mrs. Ginther continued to make her point.

"Did you see that?" Dave later exclaimed. "Did she even look at him?" The point that Cheryl was persuing involved the future job description of her husband.

Norms Related to Teacher's Usage of Time

During the schoolday how teachers made use of their time, depended in part on what they considered to be personal time. Definitions of what constituted company and personal time, varied from group to group and from teacher to teacher within groupings. Variations in the usage of time depended upon past traditions, the professional contract, the informal group norms and the extent of each teacher's psychological contract with the institution and the principal's ability to influence that contract.

Lunchtime

Lunchtime was clearly personal time regardless of the teacher's affiliations. At an autumn faculty meeting, the vice principal suggested that he would need help during the day lining students up for photographs. While the

A-lunch group was eating in the cafeteria, Tanner came in and asked for help. No one batted an eye. His request was tentative and didn't have the sound of a command.

Joe Watson's response summarized the attitude of the teachers, "I'm on lunch break now. I was happy to help last period during my preparation period, but this is my only chance to eat."

Tanner strolled away easily, knowing Joe's point represented the attitude of the others. He was touching on a "sacred cow" and he knew it.

Bill Taylor's attitude towards the use of lunchtime was reflected in a response to a question by Nora Clay at a faculty meeting.

"Do we have to have permission to leave the building if we are going home for lunch?" Clay asked.

"When you go home for lunch that's your time, you do not have to check out at the office. I respect that as your free time," was his simple response.

The faculty nodded its approval of that statement. But with regards to leaving the building at any other time Taylor made it clear that he wanted people to check with him. "I want to know where you are if I have to reach you. The community does have its eye on us; if we are out of the building they do notice. We have to monitor that, making sure that we are not using school time for personal use."

Personal Use of Time

Leaving the building for personal use had been an issue in recent years. Ed Bentley and Walt Gifford recounted how two teachers presently on staff would arrive late for school last year.

One of two teachers had the first two periods off last year and arrived just in time to teach his third hour class. The other teacher had first hour free and "often came in at the beginning of second hour." Gifford indicated that Miller allowed them to conduct themselves in that way. "Hell! That's why they liked Miller so much, they could get away with murder. They had it made with him. Now they're worried about these new guys, they may have lost some freedom, some liberty."

Gifford glanced out his window, furled an eyebrow and quietly complained, "They still come in late sometimes. It's not blatant but just watch," he advised. "They will be stretching it as the year goes on. They will test the administrators. Phil Simon would tell them to get back in their damn room!"

Private Industry on
Public Property

Mitch Gillette told of a former teacher who was in the habit of taking two hours off at lunch to work on a

construction project. Several teachers had reported the teacher's misuse of time to Gillette when he was the vice principal. He was compelled to investigate. He found the man working on the construction site, earning extra income during his preparation period.

It became increasingly clear during the 1984-1985 schoolyear that second jobs consumed school time. It was acceptable behavior among some to earn extra money on the premises, and on "company time," using school property and materials. The behavior was often justified by the "poor wages we are paid." Therefore, "To feed our family we have to do these things."

On one afternoon Dave Tanner directed the observer's attention to Paul French, who was on the telephone.

He is selling alot of insurance on our phone. I stuck my head in there one day after he had tied up the line for ten minutes. I asked him if I could use the phone to call a parent regarding a student. He sort of sheepishly backed out of there and said, "Oh, yeah."

On another occasion the principal welcomed the researcher into his office and stopped speaking in midsentence to watch French enter room A-5 to use the phone. He listened carefully and bemoaned the fact that he had been trying to "break Paul of the habit of using school time and the telephone for his personal sales."

Steve Mayer used twenty minutes of his prep time to show a catalog sales organization that he had become

involved with. He demonstrated the value and use of the products, showed the sales book and offered an idea of what a person could earn in "the business." He used his preparation periods to approach others with the concept and made occasional trips to teacher's rooms to show the merchandise, deliver a package or show the plan. He also made occasional trips to the post office for "personal business," always checking out with the secretary first. Mayer also sold items from his catalog to members of his team at no apparent profit. When asked about a possible conflict of interest he said the issue had not been raised by anyone.

Ed Bentley pointed out that Mayer also used the school facilities to raise funds to send his boys to Europe. In the summer he would sponsor basketball camps to raise funds for himself after paying a rent on the gym. This was verified by Winter, the sophomore coach.

In response to employee use of school property and materials for personal gain, a district-wide policy was drafted by the administrators and submitted to their building staffs for "feedback." The document was implemented in its original form by the school board. In part the policy announced that

School facilities, equipment and supplies. . . are intended for the purpose of direct or indirect benefit to students. . . Therefore, shall not be used by employees for financial gain except through Board

approved . recognized programs. . . . School-owned supplies shall not be consumed for personal reasons.

Use of Sick Leave Days

Both Haag and Gifford noted, in separate conversations, that Ray Simms was taking his third sick day in two weeks to work on a project downtown. Gifford found this deeply disturbing but was at a loss as to how it was going to be handled by the office. "Phil Simon would stop at your house to see how sick you were and then nail your butt to the wall for all to see. Word would spread quickly."

There was, among some an expectation that a teacher use their sick leave days. Gifford said there was "no doubt about that" and gave an example: "Mader told my wife I was a damn fool for not using more of my sick leave. I have used zero days of it. Mader thinks I'm a damn fool!"

In summarizing a prevalent attitude about sick leave days one teacher remarked,

We are given twelve sick leave days and many of us will try to use them. There is an attitude that has developed that says those days are part of our benefits. Those sick leave days are accepted as payment for working here. I am at this point on the salary schedule and have this number of sick leave days to boot.

In effect, by allowing a maximum number of sick leave days, the contract language created a minimum standard of

behavior. Taylor pointed out that one concern the superintendent had was that of the excessive use of sick leave days. He mentioned: "Sumner is looking for ways to reduce that. Last year 240 days of absences were accumulated by teachers at the high school alone: seven days per teacher."

Absence from Profession
Related Experiences

Grandview teachers were allowed two association leave days in addition to personal and sick leave days. District policy required that teachers either attend a state convention or remain in the building for those two days. A sign up sheet was posted on the counter top in the office and teachers indicated where they would be found during those days. In a department head meeting Mr. Taylor revealed that policy and said no more. He did not promise to investigate teachers whereabouts on those days. He operated on the assumption that he was dealing with professionals and that was implied, not stated, in his remarks.

In a conversation about the convention in Morgan, one teacher indicated he "would sign up for the Morgan meetings and take a day in the mountains."

Others talked of calling in sick on PIR (workshop)

days. Such behavior was considered acceptable by many and those who found it unacceptable did not sanction those who did "skip." Those who skipped a PIR day were often referred to in envious tones by those who "showed up." This seemed to reinforce the notion that it was not only okay, but "smart" to miss these workshop days.

This acceptance of skipping on a PIR day indicated the degree to which some staff members reviled them. It also reflected a notion that "skipping on a PIR day is not as bad as skipping on a day when students are in school." Walt Gifford enunciated the latter point when talking about using a personal leave day to hunt turkeys. "I would never miss on a day when students are in class. I have to hunt those birds every year, every chance I get. I prefer to use a PIR day to do it."

Attitudes towards PIR days revealed a sense of frustration as to what such professional development days had evolved into over the course of years. Many teachers felt that such days were "wasted." In the privacy of Walt's office, Ed Bentley reviewed the activities of a particular PIR day and proclaimed, "It is all bullshit." He then asked rhetorically, "What have we accomplished?"

As PIR days approached there was a sense of foreboding that crept into peoples voices as they tried to guess what might be on the agenda for those days. The best kept secret in Grandview High School, seemed to be

the answer to the question, "What are we doing with our PIR days?" That question cropped up frequently as those days for professional use approached.

In each exchange the attitude of the people asking about the agenda for PIR days was similar, reflecting a bored anticipation. Those who had an inkling of what to expect learned of it from department meetings.

There were some on the faculty who tended to view the PIR days as "days off." Among these people there were two attitudes that flowed: "I need that PIR time to work," or, "I need that time to relax."

The first attitude indicated a strong desire to use PIR days to "catch up," "get things done" and "spend some time in my room."

Such an attitude was expressed frequently.

Susan Fisk could not take fifteen minutes of the day to fill out a Kunz PZAI or Stogdill LBDQ form because of "all the work piled up" in her room. Overhearing that reasoning Rowdy Thompson confided to the researcher, "These people really have no where to go. They want to look busy, and act as though they have a hundred things to do. It makes them feel important."

Nora Clay wrote a critical hour by hour analysis of how time was used by the new administrators during the first two days of the school year and lambasted them for depriving her of valuable time in her room.

A second attitude toward PIR days revealed a sense of having "deserved some time off." PIR days were looked upon by a small number, across the social stratum, as a benefit of being a teacher. For these people the school calendar consisted of 180 work days, and nine additional "days off": seven PIR days and two association days.

Personal Leave Days

Ray Lang reported that his wife, Ann, stepped into the lounge once and was chastised for not using her personal leave days. If Grandview teachers did not use their personal leave days they were "lost forever." Lang reported that was not of great importance to his wife.

She wants to teach. She doesn't want to have to use those personal days unless she absolutely has to. She was told that she was making the rest of the faculty look bad. Many of them use those days religiously, as well as their sick leave days. A person who uses a sick leave day may cost the district \$100 a day. If we used 240 days last year we cost the district \$24,000.

How people use their days may not be my business, but it effects everyone of us in the spring when we go into negotiations. Those figures and abuses are brought to our attention. In that regard it disturbs me deeply and effects me personally. There are people on this staff who deserve three times what they are making and some who deserve nothing.

Preparation Periods

The preparation period at Grandview High School developed in the days of Mel Treudt. The principal wanted

the students to have greater freedom in selecting courses. One way to allow greater flexibility was by spreading the schoolday out over an additional period.

"What we did with that extra free period was our own business," one veteran reported. There were no written rules, no policy statements, just an unwritten law that teachers could do as they wished with that period.

Bill Taylor did not call them free periods, he called them prep periods. How teachers used their "prep period" was watched closely by other teachers. To some it served as an indicator of professionalism and commitment to teaching. Those who spent a great deal of time in the lounge were held in suspect class by those who spent that time with their "noses to the grindstone."

Teacher Presence in the Classroom

There was also some disagreement on whether a teacher should always be present in the classroom. Some teachers were ridiculed for being late to their rooms, but ridiculed by other teachers who were also late to their rooms, now and then. Teachers who left their rooms while students were present in the classroom were held up to scrutiny by other teachers who also left their classes while students were present. It appeared that teachers

generally believed that teachers should be in their room when students were present. But each teacher then exempted him/herself with an "in my case."

Teachers who were out of their rooms during class time were not reprimanded, nor was the reason for absence asked for by the principals. It was assumed that the reason was professional. Teachers have had autonomy of discretion for two years in this regard. During the 1984-1985 schoolyear teachers were observed sitting in the lounge, talking about purchase orders with the principal, talking sports on the telephone, talking association business, meeting with their athletes, and accomplishing other personal tasks while their classes were in session.

In one instance, a teacher was engaged in a coffee conversation at 3:00 p.m. and remained there until the final bell at 3:15. No one asked if the teacher was out of class. The researcher walked past the classroom and discovered students swarming over the teacher's desk in an apparent reenactment of the battle of Iwo Jimo.

Phil Simon would apparently chase people back into their rooms if they were out of a classroom with students in it. "Some of these people needed that," Walt Gifford lamented the fact that the present administrators had not come down with such force when they had the opportunity to do so: "The faculty would have responded and they were expecting it." He said now they were "stretching their

bad habits to the limits and they still haven't been called on it."

At what point did absence from the room become a problem? As one teacher remarked, "That will be decided when one of us lands in court in a negligence suit."

In a November school board meeting the district administration demonstrated that it was aware of personnel who used school time for personal reasons and responded with a policy that addressed the issue.

Employees cannot be absent, nor be excused from the building for personal reasons. . . [which] include hair cuts, beauty appointments, coffee breaks, car servicing, or any other activity related to the personal needs of the individual.

The policy allowed for emergencies, and the discretion of the principals. It requested that employees make an effort to minimize conflicts between medical appointments and the performance of obligations to the district.

The principal showed Walt Gifford the policies that had been revealed at the staff meeting the night before. He expressly pointed to the one dealing with staff leaving the building. The principal was hopeful that this would add some meat to his attempts to crack down on teachers who misused school time.

Volunteering Extra Time
to School Efforts

In a shop meeting, Sheldon Haag was encouraging his fellow faculty members to sign up for a supervision time at the float building. Haag wanted 100% participation. He and Walt Gifford signed up. Ray Simms resented the intrusion on his time after 4:00 p.m. He bristled at the very thought of it and made no bones about being an "Eight to Four man."

They wanted me to conduct basketball practice before school and I said no. Mayer wanted me to practice peewee basketball on Saturdays and I said no. What do I care what his team looks like in ten years? I have to find time for myself and my family.

Gifford responded, "I have seen you put in extra time working with kids on their engine blocks, and you didn't have to do that."

Simms answered, "I just don't think I am paid enough to take work home with me."

Sheldon Haag entered the argument. "I see it as part of the job. I think if it has to be done, it has to be done. It comes with the territory. I come in on Sundays to put stuff away. Thompson and I were both up here."

Walt pointed out to Haag, Simms and Thompson that teachers didn't have to volunteer for float duty if they didn't want to. They were not obligated to do that. He

was going to "let Dave know that staff could not be pressured into that."

Tanner and Haag's efforts to drum up support included a note on the blackboard, asking teachers to sign up for float duty. A sign up sheet was posted on the GEA bulletin board. Names of teachers already signed up were there for others to observe. That was important to some, who wanted to make sure they didn't sign up for a time slot with someone they could not tolerate.

Time to Leave for Home

Perhaps the most sacred time during the school day was the time to go home. In this regard many of the teachers were not unlike the students they taught. When the magic minute arrived they were ready to depart. There was a sixth sense about them, that allowed them to realize that departure time had arrived. Coats were donned and feet placed in the starting blocks for the run out the door. Conversations could be dropped in midword. This was especially true on Friday afternoons, when even sacred elk stories could end, to be continued on Monday.

On one Friday afternoon, Spencer and Callahan were both aware of the time and date.

"It's 3:15 on Friday and time to go home," said Spencer.

"We leave with the animals," chimed Callahan.

"No reason to stay any longer than necessary, let's go," Spencer encouraged his carpool of student teachers.

The principal realized that teachers had a tendency to "clear out of the building at the appointed minute." He admitted that for many the life of the teacher had become the job of teacher. To stay after school, to even think about improvement and goals was a job in itself. He suspected that the dissension, turmoil and the general loss of academic focus had caused some to stop teaching and look upon the experience as "a job."

Other school related formal faculty meetings also met with impatient responses from teachers who wanted to leave. Walt Gifford was trying to conduct a formal department meeting. At the very beginning he acknowledged that Dan Ginther had to leave early. Dan stood by with his coat in place and one eye on the clock. At several points Gifford acknowledged Dan's need to go and tried to speed things up. Beland finally departed when he sensed closure. The urgent task that required that he leave: with the heavy rain received during the day he suspected that the trout would be rising on the Flint River near Bailey's bridge.

Faculty Meeting Seating Arrangements

In faculty meetings seating arrangements tended to follow a pattern from meeting to meeting. One arrangement included members of the E wing, the industrial arts and arts departments. Members of this wing were seated in single desks along the east side of the library. Seated next to Walt Gifford, the head of the Industrial Arts Department, was Ed Bentley. Mitch Gillette was seated to the other side of Gifford. Ray and Ann Lang were usually seated nearby at a larger table.

The remainder of the faculty occupied chairs that were arranged in groups of six around library tables. A second arrangement included Ty Mader, Mary Galbreath, Fred Winter, Nancy Wright, April Wills and Nora Clay. Steve Mayer and Susan Rogers sat off to one side of this group. During the course of the study these patterns tended to repeat themselves with minor changes in who was seated next to whom. Teachers tended to gravitate towards areas of the library that were "their territories."

Faculty Attendance at Staff Meetings

In observing interaction at staff meetings the researcher gleaned a wealth of information. Faculty

members were interacting in a formal meeting, and in a "mandated" exchange. The principal had convened this meeting, it was not a matter of choice. Teachers either complied and appeared or risked being sanctioned for being absent. As no one was absent it appeared that no one wanted to risk an early confrontation with the new principal.

It was also clear that teachers had no where else to go. Athletic practices were not yet in full swing and other school events did not provide excuses for teachers to miss these meetings. As the year passed by teachers became more notably absent from these meetings. Athletic practices, family and business obligations and other reasons were used by those "unable to attend."

The topic of a goal development meeting: "How do we improve Grandview High?" had been dictated to the staff. Compliance with the request that one participate in the process was sometimes difficult to detect. A teacher could sit quietly and not write a word on a card, as one teacher did. Teachers could also refrain from participating in one's group. To control for that factor the principal instructed the groups to "go around the circle and allow each person to offer a suggestion. Do not allow anyone to pass." Certainly groups could ignore that instruction. The group the observer had joined did not. In a later session one young teacher informed the

observer that his group was spending its time talking about the success of their private businesses: insurance, catalog sales and carpentry.

As faculty meetings continued through the year teacher nonparticipation became more obvious. Ed Bentley would not hide his distaste for the process. His head was always bent over a magazine and he seldom lifted his eyes from the pages. Ted Callahan would slump his head into his hands and stare just as intently into the floor. Other teachers would bring their papers to be graded into the meetings and make no secret of their intent to get some work done.

Even among those who appeared to be paying attention it was apparent that there were often some who were often mentally absent. Glances at the clock and groans when someone became long winded revealed a desire to "get going." Remarks about the vice principal's past tendencies as a teacher to prolong meetings served as a reminder to other staff that they shouldn't keep us all here with their dialogue.

The behavior of these people did not go unnoticed by the principal. While they were relatively few in number there was little or no pressure put on these people to "pay attention." Peers did not attempt to remind these teachers that they should pay attention. Members who were noticeably absent were not asked to account for

themselves. The principal was preturbed and did not wish to enter into a parent/child relationship with such staff members and lamented the lack of enthusiasm these people displayed. As the year proceeded his irritation increased and in private conferences with these teachers he did express his chagrin with their "immature behavior." The behavior did have its effect however as the principal made an effort to keep monthly meetings brief.

Assimilating New Teachers

One question which this research sought to answer asked "How are the values and norms of the faculty enunciated in the new members of the staff? It was assumed, for example, that the informal conversations and interactions of the teachers would impart to new teachers expected modes of behavior, information about the system and answers to queries that new teachers might have.

In order to ascertain answers to the question the investigator observed three new full time teachers, several student teachers, and consulted several teachers who were working toward tenure in the system. Of the three teachers on the staff, Clarence Dayton and Tim Mahoney had each taught before. Rowdy Thompson did his student teaching in Grandview, under Allen Able, in the

previous year. When Able decided to take a leave of absence to give ranching his full attention for a year, Thompson was hired as his temporary replacement.

The Experience of a First
Year Teacher

Rowdy Thompson had just purchased a home, secluded on a ridge eight miles west of town. He had been active in the summer rodeo circuit and taking care of a cattle ranch that he held an interest in.

As he talked in his office Thompson admitted that he walked into the job "blind." He had not prepared for his first year in terms of developing lesson plans, objectives and materials that could be used in his classes. In retrospect he wished that he had had some guidance in doing so. With other tasks to care of he concluded that even if there had been some guidance he would not have had time to prepare.

Thompson admitted that he had been naive in his assumptions about students both in terms of their respect for teachers and the amount of work that they could be required to do. "Those seniors in my class, who were used to Allen Able, and worked with him for three years, know that I am only here for the year. They are pushing me a little. They aren't behaving the way I would like to see

them behave."

He reflected on his first classroom experiences as a student teacher. Going into that room for the first time he thought that the students would automatically grant him respect. He had some trouble and vowed it wouldn't happen again.

"When I came here I thought that I'd have no problem by virtue of being a teacher. I thought I would, at least, start with respect. It hasn't worked that way," Thompson mused.

He wanted this to be a good year and reported that he stayed up until 10:00 p.m. each night working on school plans. He expressed amazement at how quickly his classes finished what he thought would take them the period to do.

Help from other shop teachers appeared to be out of the question:

"Simms works with small engines, Sheldon with woodshop. They are kept pretty busy each day and the subject area isn't that familiar to them." There was little time during the day to visit with other teachers, and he observed that for the most part he was on his own. He had talked to the principal and knew he could get help there.

Thompson took occasional walks to the front office during his preparation period and consulted with the secretary on procedural matters. It was also in the

office area that Rowdy made most of his contacts with other staff members. He did not visit the faculty lounge.

Third Year Teacher

In a lunchroom conversation, Pam Kuhl mentioned that she was not given any help during her first year. She was literally on her own. Miller was "useless" to her and assumed she "knew what to do."

Pam recollected that Nancy Wright once offered to provide her help, but the physical distance between their rooms made a rapport difficult. She said that while Sandy Bennett was across the hall there was little time for contact and little that they have in common in terms of subject matter.

Pam reported that help was available from other faculty members, but seemed contingent upon her social relationships with the faculty. Walt Gifford and Ray Lang had been more than willing to give her advice. But when Pam began developing relationships with other teachers, closer to her room, she felt Walt and Ray dropped their interest in helping her. She regretted that they had taken that approach and regretted too that support from such faculty members seemed contingent on following the rigid standards of "their group." She found herself appreciating the quality of teaching they reportedly

accomplished, but felt they were closed to all other perspectives but their own. She did not wish to become tied to any one particular group, but wished to grow as a teacher by keeping herself open to more than one "party line."

Teachers with several more years of experience than Pam's reflected on similar experiences. In several cases these teachers had broken all ties with a previous mentor and established relationships with people despised by that mentor. Roy Simms had done his student teaching under Walt Gifford, was essentially hired by Gifford and had been under Walt's tutelage. Simms had shifted out from under that influence and became a friend of Steve Mayer. From that point on Simms felt estranged from Gifford.

That Pam had fallen out of favor with members of the Gifford group was evident in the spring of 1985 when Taylor had determined that he would recommend Kuhl for tenure. He was met with a barage of criticism from Gifford group members. The Langs threatened to tender their resignations in retribution.

As a result of her efforts to seek help Pam was viewed by some as a weak teacher. The assumption was made that she must not know what she was doing. Pam's efforts to talk about the process of educating students was viewed by some of the school's most effective teachers as a weakness, rather than a strength.

Reports that Pam was becoming disenchanted with teaching filtered through the grapevine during the semester. She indicated that she was considering dropping out of the profession. She felt she could be more productive in other capacities. She also indicated that she was close to leaving last year when Miller and the school climate became unbearable.

Pam supervised a student teacher during the first quarter. During B-lunch Pam talked with the researcher about the young man's progress. Pam expressed concern for his classroom control and her perception that he was trying too hard to be buddy-buddy with the students. As a result, she felt he was taking some ridicule from the students. It was clear that Pam believed in maintaining a social distance from the students. Through her experience of working with Todd, Pam was beginning to come to grips with a personal image of what she wanted to be as a teacher.

Student Teachers

At the beginning of the schoolyear when Todd was observing only, he had worn his suit and tie. He remarked: "I have to look respectable to get their respect, until I start teaching." It was reminiscent of Rowdy Thompson's comments about respectability. He had

since taken on the role of teacher and wore sweaters. Todd had assumed that the mere act of being the teacher would command respect. He was surprised to find out that it was not enough.

He had concluded that Pam was just getting a feel for where she wanted to be; that she was still pretty much on her own with little chance to see other teaching styles and materials. That concerned him as he was about to enter the profession. He wondered why teachers were left to "make it on their own." He sensed that his teacher training and classroom experiences would not be enough to prepare him for being the teacher he would like to be. From what he had observed of Pam's plight and the Grandview faculty he was concerned that future growth as an educator would be "on his own."

When student teachers were present in the lounge the veteran faculty members would level with them about what they considered the low income that typified their positions. Checks were displayed in a condescending manner and student teachers were referred to the salary schedule posted on the bulletin board, "You can see for yourselves that you are in the wrong profession!"

When Pam Kuhl had to borrow five dollars to make it through the weekend, Nancy Wright was glad to be of help. Pam was pained to have to ask but added, "It has come to that."

"It is as if she has entered prostitution!" one peer observed.

"And we are professionals," another teacher laughed.

Two Veteran Teachers, New to Grandview

For Clarence Dayton, a veteran educator, the tendency of Grandview teachers to allow newcomers to "make it on their own" created a different variety of problems. He was confident in his professional abilities but admitted that beginning in a new location brings new problems. He was anxious to do things properly.

Dayton entered the lounge to run a quiz off for his class.

"First year is always the hardest. . . getting things going," he remarked in the direction of Sheila Miller.

Miller sympathized.

Noticing the coffee pot for the first time he was obviously thinking about taking a cup of coffee with him.

"Is it okay to take coffee to our rooms?"

Sheila : "Sure."

Clarence: "I wasn't sure about the rules around here. It takes awhile to learn them."

In learning the rules Clarence, like Rowdy Thompson, was visible around the desk of the office secretary, Phyliss. She was far more valuable to them than the

faculty members. On one occasion Dayton informed the secretary, "It takes a while to get into a new place."

Early in the year Dayton had already impressed people with a mathematics and computer knowledge base. Much of his time was consumed in his classroom work and in developing computers for use in the school program as well as a computer curriculum. It did not take long for the word to spread to people like Ray Lang that Clarence Dayton was apparently an excellent teacher. Students and faculty alike who interacted with him found him most informative. Because of his willingness to make an extra effort and work "overtime" with the kids he had received a caution from his department chair, Ty Mader.

Mader came to me and told me to figure out what I would need to be paid for doing the math and science club. I told him it wouldn't take an income for me to do it. I enjoy doing those things. It's not work. He told me to at least put it in writing for next year so as to protect myself from getting in deeper than I presently want to. In other words, if I find out it is going to take more work than I initially thought I should have a stipend in mind that I could ask for next year. I told him that was unnecessary.

Aside from that one encounter he reported that there had not been any attempt among the faculty to influence his behavior. He did enjoy brief interaction with Gillette, Cheryl Ginther and Fred Winter at lunch and from those conversations gained information. In the process of encoding that information he frequently made reference to

similar events in his past at other high schools in which he had worked.

Tim Mahoney's experiences were similar to Dayton's. He noted a lack of faculty interaction both in terms of a professional and social nature. He did not mind that lack of socializing as he considered himself a family man who did not require interaction with his peers away from work.

Like Dayton he wanted to do things properly, and make as few waves as possible. Tim picked quiet moments to make his points with the researcher. He was careful in expressing himself in the company of others. He revealed a reluctance to irritate members of the local "union" as well. He had been approached to join GEA and he would probably join, because he was in his "first year here and didn't want to antagonize anyone." As the year went by he became more and more articulate with others.

Mahoney admitted that he had difficulty identifying faculty norms. He sensed instead a lack of cohesion and began operating on the assumption that he was on his own. He was the only one of the new teachers to frequent the lounge and did listen to discussions among other teachers. Like Dayton he frequently pieced this information into his history of experiences as a teacher. In doing so he was prone to making comparisons between Grandview and his former home in Wisconsin.

In his first weeks he had always begun his classes

on time. He was always seated at his desk when students entered. In November he was becoming socialized to the ways of Grandview High. "Teachers aren't as prompt about being in there room here, as they were in Wisconsin," he noted.

Summary: Assimilation of New Members

There was very little evidence that new teachers were being approached by their fellow staff members with any type of information that could be described as the "norms of the staff," the faculty "value system," the "ropes around here," or the "way things really work around here." An informal network of communication did not process that type of information. Occasional displays of anger or discontent did occur and opinions were expressed from time to time. Such expressions were not necessarily intended to influence new teachers although they may have had that subtle effect.

Informal mentoring relationships had not been established in recent years. Evidence indicated that where such relationships had existed, new teachers found themselves confined and operating in a restrictive relationship which they found suffocating. As a result new teachers found themselves on their own.

Those who had joined the staff in the past several

years had high praise for the office secretary and recognized her as someone who had been extremely helpful to them. Those who were in their second or third year at Grandview reported that the past principals had not been of any help to them. Those same teachers and first year teachers found the present principal of great help, although they expressed concern that his availability was extremely limited by other demands on his time.

Helping Relationships

Don Millard mentioned at the first PIR day that he objected to the wording of one goal statement because it was not broad enough. The phrase he wanted to expand read as follows: "Effective teachers help students." He wanted that to read: "Effective teachers are willing to provide help to all." He then articulated his point, "There are many ways in which we could provide help for each other."

Millard was seated in the small group that the researcher was working with. His words caused several in the group to discuss his point. They quietly agreed that some teachers were much more generous than others in terms of both professional and personal help.

Personal help: a few quiet words, an inquiry, some shared understanding, an expression of support and a word

of encouragement; typified the relationships and patterns of those to whom human interaction was important. In providing personal help teachers exercised caution in becoming too melodramatic or overly concerned. "It is difficult," the principal noted,

We are each adults and yet we do require some mutual support and help. The person providing that help has to be wise enough to extend enough, but not too much help and concern. I sometimes withhold advice or compassion, simply because it may be out of place or overwhelming.

As March approached the principal informed the superintendent that he "could provide counsel to his staff twelve hours a day, in terms of helping them with personal problems." He was stunned by the amount of time he was putting into that helping relationship.

While there was evidence of help among some teachers in terms of problems related to their personal and family life there was less evidence of support and sharing in terms of professional growth. Faculty members who cooperated in wood gathering, dressing out an elk or in moving furniture or other items, were not observed sharing professional literature, ideas, or assistance. Teachers who were alert to others moods and personal problems were comfortable talking about physical health and family stress, but were seldom heard discussing academic concerns, teaching strategies or seeking advice. Commenting on that, one teacher recognized that

there is a norm at work, an unspoken one, that people who seek help are somehow inferior to those who appear to not need help. No one wants to admit that they require help. That is tantamount to admitting that you need remediation and assistance. If a teacher is interested in building a professional reputation, and acquiring some status and prestige, that teacher does not go looking for help.

Other factors also appeared to limit professional help and support. The amount of time allowed for interaction, the location of sites for interaction, teacher autonomy, the unwillingness of teachers to interact with certain other teachers, the open hostility that existed between some teachers and the very diversity of norms and values as opposed to a cohesive system made it difficult for a helping network to function. Perhaps most significant was the degree to which the attitude of independence within the staff reflected a similar attitude found in the larger culture of Grandview itself. "It's the pioneer spirit," one teacher vocalized.

Individual Action More Significant
Than Informal Group Action

In talking about the development of curriculum over the years Nancy Wright admitted that individuals simply created a course and offered it. It was a matter of individual initiative. The researcher found over the course of the study that this pattern of individuals

acting alone predominated the Grandview system. With the exception of the Gifford group there was not a great deal of collaboration or cooperation among teachers.

The network of teachers was loosely coupled at best, if at all. There were many instances where no linkage occurred at all. Faculty interaction did not process matters related to curriculum, instruction, general education or even classroom discipline. Teachers made few attempts to influence the professional actions or beliefs of other teachers, and were seldom observed discussing them. Within this system teachers had acquired a great deal of autonomy with respect to their classroom tasks and general conduct. They frequently acted alone and each established his or her own methods of "making it through each day." In gathering information the observer became impressed with the divergent approaches taken to being a teacher. On one hand there were entrepreneurs who were trying to singlehandedly offer the best courses for their students. At the other extreme there were blue collar teachers: businessmen and sportsmen for whom teaching was a second job or one of two jobs.

Blue Collar Teachers
Exchange Behaviors

The behavior that Taylor had found disturbing in midwinter had been evident among individuals of the staff during the course of the study. Many teachers appeared to weigh their output and consider the return they were receiving. They were conscious of a give and take. It may have been that they were dissatisfied with teaching or had found other tasks more satisfying. Teachers who had become dissatisfied with the income earned in teaching looked upon time and effort as a commodity of exchange.

Fred Winter had a note from Dave Tanner complimenting him on his willingness to ride the fan bus to Renton. Tanner wrote: "In this day it is getting harder and harder to find volunteers for these activities. I appreciate your effort." Fred was proud of the note and indicated to that he had several more at home from past principals and even some parents.

Dave Tanner described Fred's spirit of volunteerism: He'll volunteer for anything. He wants to be liked.

Fred revealed a different motivation: "I've already ridden the pep bus to Laurel so I've put in my time. Monte owes me a few now. They can find someone else for dances."

In assigning rooms for the schoolyear, the drivers training instructor, Joe Watson, had been mistakenly

forgotten. The vice principal was apologetic and tried to assign Joe to various rooms for each period of the day that he required one for classroom instruction. Having been neglected, Joe carried some resentment for the remainder of the semester. He moved his materials through the corridors on a push cart and made small jokes about the inconvenience it caused. The vice principal was aware that Joe had allowed conduct in his study hall to slip and realized that it was Watson's way of expressing his frustration.

Commenting on the frustration of monitoring study hall Vern Price reported that the only way to escape the assignment "has been to do such a poor job that they relieve you of it."

Entrepreneurs at Work Building a Program

"Body snatching" was a term used in a Social Studies Department meeting.

The term referred to the process whereby teachers recruited students for their classrooms. It was explained that in the past, teachers with low enrollments, especially in elective courses, would move through the building recruiting students for their classes. There was a time when students could be "talked into dropping one

academic class and adding another."

"Teachers would sweet-talk the kids, play salesperson, make promises and paint a rosey picture of the advantages of taking their classes, and cutting down the class the kid was enrolled in." Some teachers "promised A grades to compete, conjoled and humored the kids, promised little work, and an easy credit," according to several teachers.

Joe Watson argued: "All the choices students can make and the democracy allowed in terms of choosing courses, brings advertising. It's a market place."

There was a recognition that teachers were promoting more than the value of the academic subjects they taught.

"Some of these people talk about "heightening the awareness of the kids and the value of the arts, and the need for culture, and the enrichment in one's life. . . the bottom line is job security and status."

As the only vocal music teacher, Mason was a specialist without a department. The band teacher was on his way to retirement at the end of the year and Mason was "now in charge." In her quests for funds, and materials she was alone and had no one to report back to. Other department heads could leave the office, and report back to department colleagues, brainstorm in groups, develop strategies for influencing the office and use their sheer number as "a force to be recognized."

Mason had developed her own support groups and style in order to develop her department. She accompanied a choir of local residents that she worked with in the evenings. The group included the wives of the assistant principal and superintendent.

"If you don't think that doesn't help!" one teacher observed.

In addition to her county chorus contacts with the wives of influential men, she also socialized with the business manager and his wife, and other influential citizens.

In December, Mason sought to elevate the status of the fine arts program by encouraging the inclusion of a required fine arts credit in a core curriculum proposal that would effect the high school. In a January community forum the music teacher's presence was felt and her supporters heard from. In addressing the issue of grade point averages and the courses that should impact on them, a noted citizen suggested that only the academics should be reflected by grade point averages.

Mason was quick to interrupt and ask, "Darren, what do you consider to be included in the academics?"

The businessman replied, "I think we had the bookwork type courses in mind."

"There are some who consider the fine arts to be academic," Mason started.

Realizing that the spirited music teacher was defending her domain Darren diplomatically sidestepped a possible argument, "Ultimately, the board would have to decide." This brought a roll of laughter as all present realized that the two parties were verbally fencing around a subject dear the music teacher.

Several minutes later another influential citizen addressed the audience and spoke eloquently of the need for a fine arts program and required credit. Mason smiled appreciatively.

With regards to low enrollments, Walt Gifford admitted the low numbers did bother him. He was aware of the attitude that some teachers had about course offerings such as his. He pointed out that many of those teachers had the luxury of teaching classes that were required for graduation. Therefore they had big enrollments. He did not feel the need to do any heavy recruiting and arm twisting as some did. He would not lower his standards to make the class appear like an easy credit, or give a hard sell to kids. He made the point that the master schedule created conflicts in the students plans and required classes come first: "A lot of good kids go into other classes, at times when mine are offered. There's only so many hours in a day. What I will do though, and people look at me like I'm goofy for it, but I will arrange to have kids come in here on my prep periods or their study

halls to take a class that they can't otherwise have."

Walt admitted that there was a time in the past decade when he was able to demonstrate a need to expand the size of the department by recruiting students into his classes, and enlarging class size. He was the shop and art teacher. Gifford was able to get more funds, and the effort eventually lead to the construction of the new E wing. His staff increased from one person to five. He reported, "Academic teachers resented that flow of cash away from their programs."

A newsreporter marveled at the physical sprawl of the shop area, the numbers in the department and the depth of the shop curriculum. Only the English Department offered more than the twenty one courses offered by the shop. The reporter asked a district administrator how this had happened and received this response: "Politics. Ask Leon Hart and Walt Gifford." Leon Hart was an influential member of the district who had pushed for the expansion of the shop program. "Anytime anyone raises a finger to touch the shop, Leon intervenes."

A second voice suggested that Gifford was also aligned with Board Member Wold and used that to his advantage in recent years. It was also made clear in other conversations with faculty members and by his own admission, that Gifford, an established artist, had close allies among a local colony of jet set artists recognized

throughout the world.

Certain teachers have wielded an immense amount of power over the years. Look at last years offerings. One hundred and twenty-one courses were offered, and one third, forty-three courses, were offered by either the shop or English Department. That alone makes Gifford and the Lang's powerful people.

The teacher making this observation pointed to a list of the past year's offerings and was accurate. In the academic, "bookwork," courses there were twenty-eight offerings. The fine arts program offered another fourteen courses.

These teachers have built there own little fiefdoms. What makes the English Department so sacred that we require four credits, while only requiring two for math and science? Do you realize that we are debating whether or not we should require another credit of math, science and social studies and for years we have accepted speech, theater, and oral interpretation as fulfillment of four required credit in English?

When the principal entered the lounge this same teacher repeated his question. Taylor responded that it apparently reflected the emphasis put on reading and writing skills. When Taylor left another teacher who was sitting quietly said, "Suck. It really comes down to who has it, and there are a few around here who have had it."

Making the Overall Plan
More Visible

In referring to those who were pushing for staff development Principal Taylor remarked, "I have had to ask those people for patience. I am also going to have to make clear to them that I am operating with a plan: That what they're seeing is not a series of disjointed, helter skelter maneuvers."

It was December. Sumner, Taylor and Tanner met in conference room A-5 to discuss changes in graduation requirements. There was a suggestion that these changes should be presented to the faculty at a staff meeting. Both Taylor and Sumner were "less than eager to face the crowd with this one." They anticipated some difficulties.

"We'll definitely take some shots, raise some eyebrows, and alienate some folks."

They then surveyed the faculty and identified those they anticipated would be most vocal and what their concern would be.

Vice Principal Tanner suggested that in dealing with teachers, the administrators should have some tradeoffs and items they are willing to give up as part of a strategy of negotiating.

Reflecting on the Community

As they talked about graduation requirements they focused on the perceived needs of the community. They were concerned about what was expected, what would be tolerated and what the high school staff would accept. There was also a concern about what students needed in the world beyond. Superintendent Sumner was not fond of the notion that schools necessarily had to prepare students with entry level job skills. He declared, "We are doing a disservice to children in leading them to believe that they would be fully prepared for the world of work on leaving Grandview High." He did not think the school could continue to provide those skills required in a drastically changing job market.

Bill Taylor noted that the local level economy was no longer capable of absorbing the graduating population. Students were now going elsewhere for employment.

At one point Sumner stated that the community had neglected education for too long. The fault was in the leadership. There had not been a moving force in the community that recognized the need for improvement. The teachers had carried the ball, but in the climate of Grandview had been limited in how well they could do and were expected to do. The superintendent attested: "It hurts to tell them they are only doing a mediocre job. They are defensive about that. But the evidence has been

coming in lately, and every indication is that we have been doing a mediocre job." Sumner and the high school administrators agreed that the mediocrity reflected community standards.

Taylor thumbed the pages of the graduation requirements and articulated, "The community attitude is that we are doing an okay job, we have the facilities, staff and successful sports teams."

Taylor expressed a fear that "despite the best efforts to improve the district we could possibly not see evidence that supports the contention that we are making improvement."

Sumner agreed, "Such evidence may not occur for some time to come."

The principal was also concerned that "the next administrators to come along could undo all that we attempt to do."

Staff Input with Regards To Graduation Requirements

Sandy Bennett, Cheryl Ginther, Walt Gifford and Mitch Gillette asked to meet with the principal to discuss graduation requirements. The issue according to Walt: "What effect would raising graduation requirements have on the kids who were already pressing to meet present

standards? Another year of math or science could stop some of these kids; and who is to say that one course would be more vital than another?"

Ray Lang came in to see Taylor prior to the full faculty meeting with the Superintendent. He raised several issues that were of great importance to him. He also mentioned that he had talked with Ann Lang, Walt Gifford, Mitch Gillette and Cheryl Ginther. They were concerned that "the input being sought was a sham job." It was suspected that the graduation requirements worked out by the subcommittee were more than likely written in concrete, with little chance for alteration. Speaking to that point Ray said, "I'd be more supportive if it weren't written in concrete." He was interested in reducing teachers interpretations of prearrangement. "For people to buy into it they have to have a feeling that it is of worth."

William Sumner was perceived by the group and by other faculty members as being too well organized to not have this just as he would want it. Ray pointed this out, "He is so well prepared, you can see that in his board meetings." People had the notion that he was prearranging things and that "input is then, after the fact." Taylor recognized that William was well organized and added, "One thing wrong with floating the ideas out on paper is that it does look prearranged. It eliminates brainstorming and

the feeling that we have started from scratch."

He then clarified his own position for Lang:

William has given me some liberty with this and I am receptive to input and as far as I am concerned this plan is not written in concrete. I don't believe I am a puppet or pawn. I'm sensitive to that, but I don't want to be looking over my shoulder. I've been given some free reins.

Later in the meeting he again stressed the point that what people had before them was by no means final and open to revision. Not everyone was quick to buy that. Many had adopted a wait and see attitude.

In talking with Taylor, Ray appeared ready to be helpful. He had no objection to improving the academics. He was concerned that an effort was also needed to improve teaching. He was discreet in approaching the subject, "There is an implication in what we are telling kids when we say take these courses. . .".

Taylor interrupted Lang:

I know the direction you are going, Ray, and I want you to know I am aware of that need and agree with you. Although I am still a novice around here I am gaining a sense of where we are mediocre and what steps need to be taken. I agree that our staff can be strengthened. It is a point that Mitch Gillette addresses adamantly, almost obscenely.

Taylor reassured Ray that he had a plan in mind but cautioned him that those steps could not be taken over night and that he would be following the letter of the law in evaluating staff, providing assistance for improvement

and doing whatever is necessary to improve or relieve staff. "In the mean time--Do we strip kids away from those teachers, create alternatives, or confront teachers with the fact that they aren't cutting it?"

Ed Bentley felt Principal Taylor had not been vocal enough in stating his position with regards to staff development. It was Ed's concern that the simple increase of graduation requirements would not mean improved education. He surmised that students had not been taking the world history course because "that teacher is not attractive to those who want to gain something from the time spent in class."

Lang identified that same problem in the principal's office. He mentioned that students frequently came to him for counseling in terms of what they could take if they want to go on to college. He told Bill that he does listen to what they have to say about various instructors and through the years he has come to a point where he does steer students away from some classrooms. "A lot of what I tell them is not based on course content, but the quality of the teacher available." He added ruefully, "As a teacher I am limited in what I can do."

Ray pledged his support to the administration in its staff development efforts and encouraged a concerted effort be made in that regard. The principal then admitted that he didn't mind that kind of pressure as it

was in a direction that he wanted to go. In that regard Taylor pointed out that he would like to develop "some strong, caring leadership on staff, with a positive direction." He again rebuked "strong armed methods" to get that.

Lang cautioned, "One can be oversensitive."

After raising his concerns in private with the principal Lang added that he would be making some of the same points tonight. Taylor encouraged that. Ray reiterated that there were a number of the faculty who "suspected that it was already cut and dry." He hoped that Bill Taylor was correct in assuming that it was still an open process. He encouraged the principal to do whatever possible to assure others that it was.

Doubts About the Effect of Input

An A-Lunch conversation provided this example of a growing feeling among faculty that the input process was "eyewash."

"They want our input but what gets me, is that when they make a decision affecting me in particular, I am not allowed in on the conversation." Vince was referring to a decision having to do with his driver's education program requests. His face was flushed as he talked. At one point his fist came down into the table top.

Andy Reynolds was devouring his sandwich and occasionally found a moment to mutter a "that's right!"

"We're getting hung up on process around here," Mitch Gillette sputtered. "It is bringing the district to a stop. Education as come to a standstill in Grandview."

Nancy Wright was caught up in the emotion as well. Her head strained forward over the table as she added "That's really true, I know!"

Mitch Gillette fanned the flames by throwing his own occasional complaint and explitive. The consensus of opinion was that the administration was asking for input, input, input, but that when it came to decision-making teachers were not being involved.

On December 5, A bulletin for the day read "Special meeting of the faculty today, at 3:15, with the superintendent."

Ted Callahan remarked to Don Millard: "What's the meeting about tonight?"

Millard didn't know.

Skeptical once more, Callahan guessed, "It will probably be snowing inside the building. We're in for another snow job, whatever it is."

Don wasn't so quick to agree with Callahan saying, "Some of the things being done are of great value to me."

The principal had people like Callahan in mind when he was in the office talking with one teacher. He

remarked, "There are always going to be people who come out of the weeds and claim that they have seen this before, or for twenty years and that they don't need it. . . ." He added, "There are some who claim they are burned out on that stuff but I agree with the person who once noted that in order to be burned out you have to have been lit in the first place."

In, addressing the faculty as a whole, Bill Taylor did not mention Ray's visit to his office. Nor did he mention his conversations with Gifford or Gillette. He often mentioned the visits and concerns of individual faculty members. He frequently recognized the value of their conversations with him and thanked them at these public gatherings for expressing their thoughts and concerns to him. For example, he did mention a visit paid by John Rockwell and mentioned that John was concerned about the demands on special education students that new requirements might make.

Those who were most vociferous in inspecting the requirements included Ed Bentley, Sandy Bennett, Nancy Wright, Ray Lang, and Cheryl Ginther. Many others sat quietly looking upon the scene with mixed emotions. When Ed Bentley was attacking William Sumner with leading questions, Swede Anderson leaned over to Ty Mader and whispered "shades of last year." When asked if the faculty meeting was typical of last year's meetings; Swede

said "no, last year's were different. They were worse."

Superintendent Sumner and Assistant Superintendent Dick Austin were both present and provided answers to some of the questions directed toward the administration. The question most pursued was first offered by Ray Lang and then Sandy Bennett: "Who was contacted in developing these requirements?" The principal's response was that the subcommittee of the board had pieced the requirements together after consulting with community members, looking at the results of a needs assessment survey, and consulting with some teachers. The question left unanswered was "which teachers?" An attempt was made to leave people with the feeling that in his various conversations with teachers the principal had sought input from some.

What was becoming a matter of concern to people was what constituted input? Have teachers been asked to suggest requirements for graduation or have teachers been asked to react to the requirements devised by others? There was a difference, and important difference. The perception was growing that teachers were not being allowed in on the policy development stage. Instead they were being asked to give a stamp of approval to the work of others: specifically, the superintendent and board.

This feeling was expressed earlier in the week by Steve Mayer when he suggested that "the athletic

committee, of the board, puts together what will be, without consulting us. They then hand us a mandate: 'This is how it will be done.' Lately they haven't even invited Andy Reynolds to their meetings. Max Wold has become the athletic director."

Through most of the meeting Ed Bentley again had his nose buried in a book. Steve Mayer and Roy Simms were off at basketball practice, as were a few others. Bentley finally lifted his face from the pages before him to challenge the need to mandate these courses. He was especially uneasy with the required social studies course. He became locked in a bitter struggle that found him raising his voice and saying, "You can't "mandate education". It was a phrase that Walt had used the day before in a private conversation and had used only several minutes before in talking privately with the researcher. It was a term that had evolved in their private conversations.

Walt Gifford was visibly upset at the meeting but could not bring himself to address the group. On several occasions he leaned over and quietly made remarks to the observer, remarks that were critical of the proposed changes. He commented that "this reminds me of shutting the barn door after the horse is already gone."

Nancy Wright expressed a concern that her third and fourth year German classes would be affected because of

schedule conflicts that students would have. Paul French and Walt both nodded their heads in agreement and whispered, "That's the smartest thing that has been said all afternoon." Each agreed that Paul's band and Walt's shop classes would die. Sandy Bennett was equally concerned about what this would mean to her home economic classes and addressed her concern publicly.

Sumner expressed his feeling that teachers would have less to worry about in terms of class enrollments if students were moved from the study halls into the classrooms. He expressed his unhappiness with the fact that study halls took in around a thousand students a day. He was also unhappy that a student could take three years of weightlifting and get three credits toward graduation.

The principal suggested that people might want to look at the PE requirement of one hour instead of two or react to a required vocational hour. He suggested to some that they might want a foreign language credit required of all.

Feedback: the Following Day

The tenor of that meeting was such that some faculty members felt that the principal was personally under attack. They perceived the proposal as a part of him. The next day they were openly sympathetic and expressing

their support for him. He was being approached by people who had sat silently at the meeting. They expressed their dismay with the attitude of those who were vocal. They pledged their support.

Bill Taylor commented in private,

The one bright move I have made this year was that prior to that faculty meeting I shared the graduation requirements with Walt Gifford, Ray Lang and Mitch Gillette. They had the plan for several days and had time to react to it. They provided me with some valuable input going into that meeting. I recognize Walt as the vocational head, Ray as the intellectual, and Dave as the counselor/former administrator wiseman. [There is some return of credibility to these people.] In fact, Ray was very straightforward with me in sharing his concerns. He told me the points he intended to make at the meeting that night. I encouraged it.

Taylor commented that while Lang and Gifford had "loosened their leadership reigns they were still very much interested in influencing the principal and the direction of the school."

Taylor observed that the resistance he was getting from Lang, Gifford and Gillette going into the faculty meeting was "somewhat dissipated following meetings and sessions with each." In past years the faculty was not given information preliminary to a meeting and thus, they saw it for the first time when it was dropped on them like a bombshell. In showing it to these few he felt he had "defused a bomb." They had time to digest the proposal and express themselves. He felt they had adopted the plan

as there own. As a result, the climate at the meeting was less volatile and less explosive.

Taylor reiterated that those three had been applying pressure for a clean up of the staff: "Mitch wanted people gone today. He has little patience with anything that seems like a delay in handling that concern." Taylor acknowledged that these men had not realized that there was a bigger picture. Taylor recognized that the superintendent had just realized that he needs to "paint that bigger picture." The administrators were implementing a plan that is representative of the Bud Scarr plan for the Lake Washington district. Taylor acknowledged that Sumner had various pieces of the puzzle in motion and needed to clarify how they're interrelated and part of that master plan.

It was Taylor's observation that when Gillette and Gifford realized how these small steps were interwoven they began to appreciate the direction Taylor was trying to move. Taylor pointed out to them that he had to have a base from which he could develop expectations against which he could objectively evaluate the individual teachers performance. He pointed out to Mitch that for the past five years teachers have been receiving superlative reviews that make it sound like the teachers are "walking on water." He couldn't possibly become critical or exact more without first raising the standards

and level of expectation.

In January the principal was convinced that Lang, Gifford and Gillette were student centered in their approach. Other teachers were described as "more concerned about their about their own comfort and suspicious of change." Some teachers know how to talk the proper language with "concern for the kids," mixed in; but they have other motives driving them.

One teacher has come to me and asked that her course not be required in the core curriculum. This person speaks of not wanting to force students into something they do not want. In discussions around here, other teachers have surmised that her opposition stems from a desire to keep students out of her room who do not want to be there. It is a luxury history teachers do not have. There is an elite structure there that allows a teacher to cull out the best students and work only with them.

Research Question Number Four

What impact did the physical facility have on the informal group dynamics?

Faculty Interaction

Faculty interaction allowed for the formation of informal groups and relationships. In Grandview High School observable interaction took place chiefly in the lounge, lunchroom, hallways and office area. Private

conversations also occurred in the individual teacher's classroom.

At one time each wing had its own teacher workshop. For example B-2 had been a lounge, and B-9 the workshop for that wing of the building. The C and D wings also had similarly separate lounge and workshop arrangements. The workrooms became classrooms when more space was needed for teaching and storage.

The present lounge in the B wing was so far away from some rooms that many teachers did not use it. Mary Galbreath was isolated in the girl's end of the gymnasium, separated from female staff members and therefore: "seldom seen in past years." Pam Kuhl was similarly separated from the lounge. Sheldon Haag remarked that the lounge was too far from his shop in the E wing and for that reason he too would not be seen in the lounge very often.

The lounge received its heaviest use from B wing faculty members like Spencer, Dillon, Anderson, Wright, Fisk, Davis and Mahoney. But even some B wing teachers did not enter the lounge: Wright referred to Ed Bentley, Ann and Ray Lang. Several other faculty members made frequent use of the lounge and in some cases (Winter and Callahan) did not allow physical distance from their own classroom stand in the way of enjoying the lounge.

With access to the lounge difficult for the people of the E wing, they developed their own informal meeting

place in the boiler room. They gathered in the very kempt atmosphere of the head custodians tool and office area. Like the people of the lounge they had their own coffee pot and a few chairs to allow for comfortable conversation away from the noise of their shops.

The area by the teachers mailboxes provided an informal meeting place where chance interaction prevailed as teachers approached the principal, office secretary, or their personal mailbox. Conversations there were normally brief, but could be easily extended when teachers "hit upon an interesting topic": usually related to social life, family life, sports program, recreation or private enterprise.

The hallways themselves provided sites where teachers interacted with one another on their way to or from the office, lunch, or other locations. Teachers who had developed a rapport could easily encounter each other, exchange pleasantries, brief stories, make plans and move along.

As noticeable as the exchanges were in the corridors it was also readily apparent that the hallways were wide enough to allow district personnel to pass one another without so much as a glance. Teachers who had little to share with one another, and wished to keep it that way, could easily do so. There was no compunction to speak.

Getting together with friends on the staff was often

difficult for teachers. Time and distance made it often impossible. Yet, there were several teachers on the staff who maintained close relationships despite the distance between their rooms. Ed Bentley regretted that the physical plant left him feeling removed from his closest friend, Walt Gifford. Ray Simms was similarly separated from Steve Mayer. Despite the distance these friendships were maintained on a daily basis.

In a Social Studies Department meeting Joe Watson commented on the sprawl of the building: "It creates cubbyholes where people are isolated. The building design affects communication. Departments like this one are broken up by the floor plan. It's ridiculous!"

Pam Kuhl was in complete agreement and quick to ask Nancy, "When can our department be centralized? I feel so isolated from the rest of you! I never see you people?"

"I know," Nancy blurted. "Those five minutes between classes would be good opportunities to get together now and then, but you are too far away now!"

Kuhl suspected that the physical layout of the building with its wings and a maze of hallways, discouraged rapport and staff communication, and helped lead to the factionalization of the staff. "There are people I never see," she lamented.

Jane Pruitt expressed the same regret in a workshop conversation, "I haven't got the slightest notion what

some of the staff does. I would really like to be able to observe them and develop an awareness of what this school as a whole offers. It would help me as a teacher."

"I feel like a cog in a machine and I really don't know what the machine looks like or what kind of product it creates," another teacher observed.

Another teacher contemplated the design of the building and concluded that it was designed by a bureaucrat who wanted to make damn sure that the left hand didn't know what the right hand was doing, and that the two never got together as one."

As the semester progressed the new principal was becoming more and more frustrated by the impact that the physical plant had on communication and faculty interaction. He found it difficult to establish relationships with those people who were largely confined to their rooms or unwilling to interact with others in the lounge. Taylor addressed his concerns in a faculty meeting:

I'm having a hard time finding a central place to get information to the faculty, only certain people use the lounge and certain people use the library study area. As an example we have these policy statements that need to be available to teachers, before they are enacted, so that you can respond to them. I've put these policy statements on the bulletin board in the lounge, but not everyone makes use of the lounge. Is there some place where they could be put so that you would be able to respond to them?

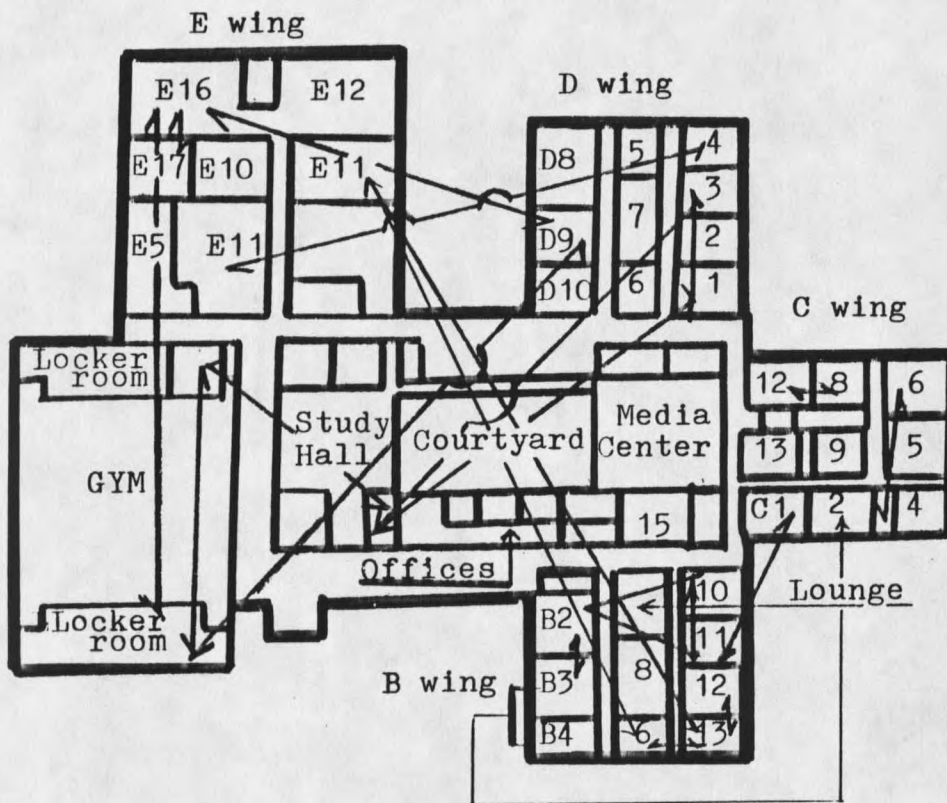


Figure 4

The Facility Floor Plan and Informal Interaction Patterns

A second problem for the building principal arose from this lack of a specific meeting place or area of interaction where all teachers were sure to congregate on an informal basis. Taylor initially assumed that the lounge was such a place and was quick to discover that it was not. At several faculty meetings he addressed the teachers with his observation and the problem it created.

Don Millard, Head of the Science Department, admitted that he did not always get information back to his

department. In this case it was suggested that each teacher should receive a copy of the statements in their mailbox.

Taylor later confided to the observer that while he appreciated the professional nature of those who were businesslike in their approach to teaching, the behavior had an adverse effect in that it cut those people off from fellow staff members and short circuited the informal grapevine that he had hoped to develop for the dissemination of some information and the initiation of education centered conversations.

Affects of Lounge Arrangements on Faculty Interaction in the Lounge

While the location of the lounge in the building inhibited its use by some members of the faculty, the positioning of the furniture in the lounge also acted to inhibit conversations.

The lounge was approximately twenty by twenty five feet square. It was arranged with sofas facing each other at one end and a large oak table that seated six to eight people at the other end. Smokers tended to confine themselves at the end where the sofas were placed, nonsmokers congregated around the table.

Whether one smoked or not effected to some extent who

they were able to interact with. Smokers, like Myra Hook, Nancy Wright, and Susan Fisk tended to seclude themselves. Hook seldom, if ever, had an exchange with any of the nonsmokers gathered at the table. Fisk was reclusive from the beginning of the year and secluded herself on a countertop behind a bookcase, effectively cutting off interaction with almost everyone.

During the tenure of a past principal, a copying machine had been placed in one corner of the room and a thermo copier in another corner. Some claimed that it gave the room greater legitimacy as a "teacher's workroom." That was not important to those who used the area as a lounge. They had no problem with the notion of "having a place to relax." The copier was loud enough however, to be a major source of irritation to those who were trying to converse. "I think it was planned that way. They didn't want us in here talking to one another," offered one teacher.

There were some teachers who only came into the area to use the copiers. They would run off the number of sheets they needed and just as quickly vacate the room. A bookcase that extended from the floor to within two feet of the ceiling separated the copiers from the remainder of the lounge. This arrangement of furniture allowed some teachers to enter the lounge, duck behind the bookcase and walk over to the copiers without great visibility to those

engaged in conversation.

In some instances where teachers cut behind the bookcase, one teacher suggested, "It is that person's way of saying that there is a stigma attached to this place and those of us who occupy it. He/she is "expressing a revulsion with the masses."

That revulsion was reflected in the usage of the term "lounge lizard" by members of the Gifford Group. They used the term to describe Grandview teachers who frequented the lounge. A "lounge lizard" was defined as "a teacher who entered the lounge to bask in the warmth and to rest, before sluggishly moving back to the classroom."

The Observer Administers the Kunz And Stogdill Instruments

In January of 1985 the researcher met with his adviser and determined that it would be appropriate to conclude the participant observation phase of the study. It was felt that daily observations would not lend to any further refinement of the research questions and hypotheses. The observer had established a number of contacts among the faculty and administration and could remain in touch with personnel for the purposes of following any events.

As part of a faculty meeting the researcher asked that each teacher complete the Kunz PZAI and Stogdill LBDQ XII. An explanation of the instrument was made and questions about the instrument answered.

The researcher was hoping to use the instruments to see to what extent quantitative data could be used in predicting patterns of relationships among other things. The event that unfolded during the administration of the instruments was the singlemost significant event during the six month vigil.

Ray Lang was seated next to his wife, Ann, at a library table. Two seats away, at a single desk sat Ed Bentley. Next to John was Walt Gifford. John and Walt could easily observe Ray as he examined the PZAI. Ray was within "earshot" of Walt and John. Ray had been uncomfortable with the Kunz PZAI from the start. He examined it thoroughly and found it impossible to do. Ann, seated next to him, was having an equal amount of difficulty. Walt Gifford soon complained to the observer that he could not complete the instrument. He argued that he simply could not respond to the items as he had not come to know the principal well enough to answer any of the items. Ed Bentley was a little more terse, "What is this bullshit?"

The observer acknowledged Walt's point and encouraged him to go with his gut feelings. Bentley and Gifford

looked at each other and agreed that the instrument could not be done. They occasionally glanced at the Lang's. Ann and Ray had given up on the PZAI and focused their attention on the LBDQ XII. Ray soon expressed his distaste for that instrument by quietly exiting from the room. The Kunz and Stogdill instruments remained unmarked and resting on his tabletop. Ann soon shuffled her papers together and walked briskly from the room. Walt was now shuffling his papers together and preparing to leave. Ed Bentley was hastily scrawling a note on the back of his PZAI. His message was simple:

The most flagrant educational malpractice that has occurred and is occurring in this building has been that the administration has not concerned itself whatsoever with what is going on in the classroom and whether teachers are effective or not. These questions (PZAI) presuppose that this is happening, therefore, I refuse to answer them.

In departing Walt promised the researcher that he would give the instruments some thought and try to respond. Later, in the privacy of his room he explained his frustration with the instruments.

The observer was not the only one to notice the like manner in which Gifford group members responded to the administration of the PZAI and LBDQ XII. Several teachers conversed with the researcher before departing the library and commented on the "performance." One teacher noted: "It was typical. If it isn't their idea they can't buy

into it." Another assured the observer, "That's Walt. He always has to be contrary." While still another pointed out: "That's how they get their kicks. They have to come off as cerebral. To do that they can't allow themselves to respond as the rest of us would."

During the administration of the two instruments Mitch Gillette operated independently from the Gifford Group. He continued to answer each item, although seated two seats away from his group members. He did not voice a complaint about the instruments and complied with the observer's wishes to "fill it out as best you can."

Research Hypotheses and Quantification Data

It was the intent of the researcher to use the twelve LBDQ-XII subscales as independent variables in a regression equation with professional zone of acceptance as the dependent variable. Each of the twelve subscale elements were to be examined to determine what proportion of the variance of the teacher's zone of acceptance each subscale accounted for. Due to the number of teachers absent from the sample, refusing to take part in the sample or failing to return instruments this aspect of the study was terminated.

Analysis of Hypotheses Testing Kunz
and Stogdill Data Against
Empirical Evidence

The author was also interested in testing the degree to which information generated with the Kunz and Stogdill instruments corroborated or conflicted with data gathered through onsite observation. To test that relationship ten hypotheses were tested.

The ten hypotheses seeking to establish the degree to which the Kunz and Stogdill instruments corroborated empirically generated data were subject to the following scrutiny. Scores for each teacher on the individual subscales were arrived at and protocols and matrices were perused in order to ascertain the degree to which empirical evidence was in agreement with subscale information. For that reason it was necessary for each teacher's Kunz and Stogdill information to be identifiable.

Hypothesis 1: Teachers who identify the principal as low in consideration and structure on the LBDQ-XII, will be observed to be engaged in hindrance activities, and expressing negative sentiments about the principal's attempts to influence the staff. "Low" in consideration and structure was determined as one standard deviation below the mean. Mean for consideration= 4.2 with a standard deviation of .42. Mean for Structure= 4.04 with a standard deviation of .54.

There was only one person who rated the principal as both low in consideration and low in structure. That

person consistently rated the principal low and was the only faculty member to register scores that fell one standard deviation lower than the mean for all variables. This person had become disaffected with the teaching profession and had already made it clear that he intended to resign at the end of the schoolyear. It is the suggestion of this researcher that his LBDQ-XII scores reflect that attitude of resignation, rather than a low opinion of the principal.

Hypothesis 2: Teachers who identify the principal as high in consideration and structure on the LBDQ-XII, will be observed to be supportive of the principal's attempts to influence the staff, and will express positive sentiments about those attempts.

Tom Spencer, Swede Anderson, and Nancy Wright were three teachers whose LBDQ scores on consideration and structure were both one standard deviation above the mean. All three were observed expressing appreciation for the style of leadership demonstrated by the new principal. Wright encouraged her social studies department members to cooperate with the principal's request in the Autumn. Spencer and Anderson repeated their appreciation for Taylor during the semester in their lounge conversations. Furthermore, Anderson, Spencer and Wright were extremely derogatory in assessing past principals, Petry and Simon.

Hypothesis 3: Teachers who identify the principal as high in structure and low in consideration on the LBDQ-XII, will be observed to be in compliance with the attempts of the administrator to influence them, but will express some reservations about his leadership style.

No one recorded such scores.

Hypothesis 4: Teachers who identify the principal as low in structure and high in consideration exhibit calculative behaviors, and utilize personal digression with regards to accepting the principal's influence while considering possible sanctions that could be used against them.

One teacher rated the principal as low in structure and high in consideration. His score of 2.6 for structure fell more than two standard deviations below the mean of 4.04. This same person was one of the Gifford Group and made it clear to the principal that he felt the structure of the school was being ignored. He often complained that the principal was being "too nice" and needed to be more of a "Phil Simon." Thus, on the variable--consideration, this teacher rated the principal extremely high: 4.6, a standard deviation above the mean. If other members of the Gifford Group had completed the instruments a similar trend may have presented itself. Their comments during the semester certainly reflected this possibility. As they did not complete the instruments it is mere speculation.

Hypothesis 5: Teachers who identify the principal as high in Representation will be observed exhibiting greater support for the principal than those who rate him low in representation.

Reggie Dillon, Tom Spencer, Swede Anderson, Myra Hook, Nora Clay, Nancy Wright, and Fred Winter each gave the principal marks that were more than one standard deviation greater than the mean of 3.88 (s.d.=.56). Judy Rockwell, Ray Simms, Joe Watson, Ty Mader, Paul French and Steve Mayer recorded scores that were one standard deviation less than the mean.

Each of those who gave the principal high marks for representation were observed giving support to the principal during the first semester. Again, Spencer and Anderson were vocal in their praise. Hook made frequent visits to the principal and sought his support and advice. Clay was adamant in encouraging the principal to resist those who might usurp his authority. Wright was vocal encouraging her department to give the new principal a chance. Winter and Dillon had each retained coaching positions they had sought and were content to stand in support of the principal during the first semester.

On the other hand there was evidence that each of those who gave the principal low marks in representation had felt alienated from the system. Mayer for example had

been relieved of his position as vice-principal, Simms was closely associated with Mayer and his encounter with the principal was outlined in the fourth chapter. Judy Rockwell was a part time teacher who spent her first hour of each day in the teacher's lounge. She had little interaction with fellow staff members and seemed estranged from the flow of day to day life in the school. French was readying himself for retirement and had become disillusioned with teaching. He maintained a low profile during the schoolyear. Joe Watson had been deprived of a classroom and frequently expressed frustration with the manner in which he was being treated. Finally, Ty Mader had several encounters with district administrators and demonstrated a defiance of administrative requests and district policies.

Hypothesis 6: Those teachers who rate the principal as high in Demand Reconciliation and Integration will be observed demonstrating support for the principal. Those rating the principal low in those categories will be observed expressing negative regards for the principal.

Swede Anderson was the only teacher who rated the principal as high in each area. He was frequently praising the principal and the existing school climate. It should be added that Swede was the only teacher who consistently rated the principal one standard deviation

above the mean for each variable.

Gillette and French were the only two teachers to record low scores in these two areas. Gillette's open attacks on fellow staff members and his attempts to stimulate the principal to go in Gillette's preferred direction have been outlined. French's low scores are consistent with his pattern throughout the LBDQ-XII of recording scores one standard deviation below the norm.

Hypothesis 7: Those who rate the principal as high in Role Assumption and high in Superior Orientation will be observed going through the principal, in the chain of command, to secure their needs. Those who rate him low in those areas will be observed seeking alternate routes to secure their needs.

Teachers frequently expressed frustration with items that related to superior orientation. These items required the teacher to assess the principal's interaction with his superiors in the bureaucratic structure. As the superintendent was seldom observed in the building and teachers were seldom in a position to observe interaction between the principal and the superintendent they frequently chose to leave these items (superior orientation) unanswered. One third of those LBDQ-XII instruments returned left these items blank.

Hypothesis 8: Those who rate the principal as high in Tolerance of Freedom, Tolerance of Uncertainty, and low in Role Assumption will exhibit negative sentiments about the degree to which the principal opens the decision-making process.

No one recorded such scores.

Hypothesis 9: Teachers indicating a narrow zone of acceptance of the principal's influence on the PZAI, will be observed engaging in hindrance activities and expressing negative sentiments with regards to the principal's attempts to influence them.

Those who recorded scores one standard deviation below the mean PZAI score included Callahan, Simms, Spencer, Malone, Gillette, Millard and Mader. Mader, Callahan, Simms, and Gillette were observed to have their own agendas and established patterns for conducting themselves. While they did not frequently direct their negative comments toward the principal they did engage in negative criticism of the board and superintendent. Malone and Spencer were never heard to be critical of the principal and Millard was high in his praise of the principal. It is the suggestion of this researcher that PZAI scores may be greatly affected by the personality type and gender of the teacher.

Hypothesis 10: Teachers indicating a wide zone of acceptance of the principal's influence on the PZAI, will be observed engaging in supportive activities

and expressing positive sentiments with regards to the principal's attempts to influence them.

Those who recorded scores one standard deviation above the mean PZAI score included Mahoney, Wills, Hook, Davis, Clay, Wright, Streets, and Mason.

The most striking aspect of the PZAI high-low split was that everyone of those who recorded low PZAI scores was a male, and with the exception of Mahoney and Streets, those recording high PZAI scores were female. A high score indicates a wide zone of acceptance of the principal's unilateral decision. Mahoney and Streets each indicated in private conversations, a preference for the military bureaucratic style of management, of submitting to the will of superiors. The implication of this outcome: that women readily submit to the principal's influence, while men tend to be far less willing should be further analyzed.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SummaryStatement of the Problem

The initial question which prompted this study was: How do informal groups of teachers in a rural public high school, seek to support or hinder the purposes, plans, and actions of the administrative staff of the high school? The researcher was interested in determining specifically, how, why and when the faculty responded to the new administrator's attempts to influence them. In seeking answers to those questions many other questions evolved. Rather than narrowing, the scope of the study expanded as new variables and patterns revealed themselves.

Significance of the Study

It is imperative that we understand how teachers actions and interactions are shaped by those working conditions and how those same teachers reshape those conditions to meet their own personal and professional

needs. This study contributes to an understanding of how informal group networks function as a force with which administrators must both contend and collaborate.

This study is significant in that it encompassed a rural public school in a remote part of America. Characteristics of the site selected added greater significance in that the narrator has described a work organization/social system that experienced upheaval and entropy.

This study is also significant in that it attempts to blend both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

This qualitative study is significant in that the committee and the researcher have detailed the procedures through which data was gathered, analyzed, and through which conclusions were drawn.

Research Questions

The following preliminary research questions evolved from the statement of the problem and provided a focus for the collection of data and continuing analysis.

1. What was the intent of the principal with regards to influencing the actions and behaviors of the faculty?
2. What was the intent of the faculty with regards to influencing the actions and decisions of the principal, superintendent and school board?

3. How did the political/socialization process take place in the given system?
4. What impact did the physical facility have on the informal group dynamics?
5. To what extent did data gathered quantitatively corroborate or contradict data gathered as a participant observer?

General Procedures

The internal validity of the participant observer design was enhanced by implementing a detailed description of how the collected data would be analyzed (Miles and Huberman, 1984:22).

The analysis stage of this empirical study consisted of three inseparable activities: data reduction, data display, and conclusion-drawing/verification.

Data reduction methods included anticipatory and interim data reduction. Anticipatory data reduction incorporated methods for focusing the collection of data, while interim data reduction methods provided an ongoing means to correct for "excessive prefocusing" (Miles and Huberman, 1984:25).

The following anticipatory data reduction devices were used:

1. A conceptual framework was developed to orient the research. This framework specified the aspects of behavior subject to observation (Lutz, 1969:119).
2. Research questions derived from the conceptual framework provided a more explicit definition of what the researcher wanted to know.

3. The researcher limited the bounds of the study by sampling one school and establishing criteria for that school site selection.

4. Finally, in determining how data would be collected and recorded the researcher furthered the focus of the data collection/analysis process.

The following interim methods, suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984:25) were also used:

1. Contact summary sheets allowed the researcher to capsule a site visit on a single page. Protocols for each day were summarized on these sheets.

2. Coding of protocols, filed notes, summary sheets and the information within them facilitated data retrieval for analysis (Levine, 1983).

3. The creation of a computer disc file employing the usage of keywords.

4. The creation of a hardcopy chronological text and hardcopy subject file notecard system facilitated data retrieval.

5. Memos were developed which provided a brief insight, puzzles for consideration, a category for further consideration, a possible explanation, a significant event, or striking deviant case (Glaser, 1978).

6. Site analysis meetings with third persons, including university faculty and district personnel, provided opportunities to step back intermittently to review the flow of data and the direction of the study.

7. Interim site summaries of ten to twenty pages, provided a synthesis of findings at the site, and revealed the "robustness of supporting data, or the lack of supporting data (Miles and Huberman, 1984:25). These summaries also provided an agenda for further data collection.

8. Post data collection reduction was carried out in the data display, and conclusion-drawing and verification phases of analysis.

Conclusion-drawing and verification involved the researcher in drawing meaning from reduced data. The researcher noted patterns, paradoxes, and deviant cases; alignments and configurations, explanations and causal relationships which were verified and further scrutinized for validity and plausibility (Miles and Huberman, 1984:24).

The conclusion-drawing process began immediately in the empirical study, and was interwoven with the data collection and analysis process (Miles and Huberman, 1984:27). In bringing meaning to events and patterns observed the researcher engaged in a somewhat vague conclusion-drawing process that was taken lightly at first. The process became "increasingly explicit" as it became grounded in and supported by gathered data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Miles and Huberman, 1984:26).

Conclusions

The research began with the premise that faculties are social entities dependent on adherence to some minimum common set of values, norms, beliefs, expectations, rules and sanctions. Evidence gathered failed to conclusively support that statement. Instead an abundance of data indicated that teachers were uniquely different,

autonomous individuals with a great deal of freedom to determine how they would conduct themselves personally and professionally. There was not a consensus among the staff on how one should teach, relate to students, maintain discipline, maintain the role of teacher, make use of time, or obligate one's self to the profession. In fact a schism had occurred among staff members which reflected great divisiveness, rather than cohesion, over professional norms.

The hypothesis that there were then two groups and that each had its own values, norms and beliefs was also difficult to substantiate. Further evidence seemed to indicate that there were teachers who did not fit into either cluster. These teachers were either isolated from the staff or formed dyads and triads that were obviously separate and distinct. Even those who could be identified as holding some common beliefs, for example: Gifford group members, frequently engaged in behaviors that reflected a lack of consensus among the Gifford group regarding appropriate teacher behavior.

It also became apparent that an effective network of faculty members did not exist within the school. To further define that statement the social system of the faculty was not elaborate, teachers did not often assume roles in more than one informal group, if they even related to one group, nor did a pattern emerge that would

allow for predicting what groups they would belong to if they did belong to more than one informal group. The pattern of events outlined in chapter four indicate that the lack of an efficient network caused a myriad of problems for the principal.

There were informal groups operating within the school and there was a great deal of evidence to support that statement. These groups were not bound to one another in a network, nor were members within a group bound to each other by a common value system. Coupling among teachers was indeed loose if it existed at all. This diversity and the divergent nature of the staff became a focal point in the development of a model of the structure.

If there was any consensus among the staff it was found in the minimal statement: "We are here for the kids." Beyond that, the differences became readily apparent and each teacher's definition of that statement reflected philosophical disparity among those who were student oriented and those who were subject oriented. Collegiality was not obvious, teachers had become increasingly disengaged from the system, the dynamic social structure one would anticipate finding had become inert and entropic.

The professional or work related values system of each teacher was intertwined, entrenched in and sometimes

secondary to the personal values of the teacher. Some hunters, for example, had elaborate codes that were vital and important to them in the hunting activity. These codes, the rewards of the hunt, and the related tales were more visible at work than any professional related values and beliefs that these people might hold. Furthermore, the hunting activities, conversations, and reading of magazines often consumed time that was intended not only for preparation, but for teaching as well.

Evidence also revealed a large number of teachers for whom teaching was only one source of income, or preoccupation. Coaching, ranch related activities, architecture, insurance sales, security guards, hunting and fishing guides, and tasks related to food and firewood gathering were but a few of the other tasks and roles that were also of great importance to these people. Time was taken from the schoolday for these activities and in some cases district property was consumed. These people tended to approach classroom teaching with an ambivalent attitude.

Still other teachers were deeply committed to the teaching profession and focused their energy on the task of teaching and allowed the occupation to consume large quantities of their time. For these people it appeared that work related subjects and tasks were life related as well. Their subjects were of great interest to them and

they drew the same tremendous satisfaction from developing a music program, photography class, or novel that the hunter found in his or her pursuit of an elk or antelope.

This is not meant to imply that one group of teachers was more noble in their profession than another or that these teachers even formed distinct groups. They did not. Teachers who were also hunters, did not necessarily associate with one another. Nor did teachers who were consumed by their work necessarily interact with one another. Some teachers combined within themselves elements of the hunter and the professional teacher. Still other variables intervened to make each teacher a unique collection of values, beliefs and attitudes.

The faculty social system was a microcosm of the community, which also reflected divergent elements. Grandview was an uneven blend of native sons and newly arrived out-of-staters. There was on one hand a population seeking to protect a heritage, environment and way of life--the status quo, and another element seeking to introduce progress and new ideas.

The divergent values systems had existed in the school and community for some time and a loosely coupled (if coupled at all) social structure had evolved. This potpourri of disparate beliefs flourished within the school as supervision became nonexistent through the decades: divergent personalities entered the system,

administrators entered and exited from the district, the relationship between board and teachers eroded, the teacher association broke down as a unifying force, and teacher autonomy surfaced as a fundamental ingredient in each teacher's perception of what it meant to be a teacher.

As the researcher further examined the divergent nature of the staff, the element of teacher autonomy was scrutinized. It became clear that teachers, for the most part, saw themselves as individuals first. Group membership as it related to professional concerns was of secondary importance, if important at all. Teachers had been free to develop their own style and classroom approach. This was a cherished right. As a result, one teacher would seldom offer another teacher help, even when it was clear that help was needed and sometimes asked for. As a result teachers were seldom heard exchanging information related to the improvement of instruction, sharing ideas or designing new approaches together.

That each teacher had this right to develop a personal style was clear, even to the student teachers who spoke of finding the "right mix" for their classroom conduct. Yet, these same student teachers and other new teachers were also hampered by the lack of help and surprised by the obvious lack of profession related conversations. When help was offered some new teachers

also found strings attached, strings they suspected would bind them over to the teacher offering tutelage. As autonomy was of greater importance to these young teachers they preferred "going it on their own," rather than surrendering to someone else's codes.

Where groups were important to teachers it was evident that social affiliation was a chief reason for interaction. The stronger a teacher's needs for social interaction the greater the number of affiliations they conducted. These interactions did not necessarily reflect pecking order behavior, power distribution or deference. They did reflect a need for entertainment, escape and a light moment to make the day more pleasant. Teachers tended to interact with others with whom they were comfortable and not at all with those with whom they were uncomfortable.

The members of the staff who had been most influential in the community, with the board and administration had the fewest number of interactions with their peers. For the members of the Gifford group, interaction within the group became most apparent when crisis situations arose. The occurrence of a crisis or perception of a pending crisis brought unity and cohesion to these people. The group was bound by the issue and by mutual interests. This had been especially true in the previous year as they acted to remove the previous

administrators from their positions. It became apparent during the observation as they interacted with the new principal and encouraged him to engage in a firm disciplining of the staff. These teachers, however, seldom interacted with staff members not on the fringe of their own tight knit group. Nor did Gifford group teachers affiliate with each other to any great extent, away from the school. Ty Mader, who assumed the role of union steward, was equally withdrawn from many social exchanges though he did maintain a presence in the lounge and hallways.

This tendency of teachers and groups to isolate themselves from one another was explored and data gathered indicated that as individuals may move from maturity to immaturity and vice versa, so also do the personalities of groups. In refusing to interact with members of the lounge group the members of the Gifford group would give several reasons which indicated that they did not appreciate the level of maturity demonstrated by elements of that social circle. Yet, in not interacting with those people the Gifford group demonstrated what others considered to be a "childish immaturity." The Gifford group had, in effect, ostracized the remainder of the faculty.

Ostracism was the severest sanction that teachers had within their immediate grasp. But, once the sanction had

been used there was clearly no other measure a teacher could take to try to induce or influence others to accept a group's norms. As there were several informal arrangements that one could interact with ostracism was not a problem. If a teacher was ostracized by one group that alone would provide ready acceptance to another group. Ostracism was also ineffective as members of this staff were, in a sense, people who had chosen isolation as a way of life. Grandview was isolated from the state, and the state isolated from the nation. Many of the staff were rugged individualist who, as one teacher put it, "didn't give a damn about social life or societal norms and that crap."

Ostracism had a negative impact on the staff and quality of instruction. Teachers who would have appreciated working with others who had established excellent classroom reputations and gained recognition as achievement oriented teachers, were repulsed by the lack of affiliation those same teachers demonstrated.

A Lack of Collegiality

The daily experience of the Grandview teacher was such that large amounts of time were spent working independently, out of sight and frequently behind closed doors. The researcher assumed, at first, that the work

conditions limited the organizational power of the faculty. The cohesiveness and vitality of the Gifford group demonstrated that a faculty informal group could endure and exert strong influence in the course of the school's life. The mere existence of the Gifford group became all the more significant when one considered, in addition to the normal routine of the teacher, the distance that separated them and the small amount of time available to them each day for conversing. It was not then, the routine of the day or the distance from room to room that necessarily acted to limit the strength of the faculty informal group network, although those factors did impede efforts.

Instead, norms for interaction and conduct had evolved in the system and acted to impair collegiality. With the exception of the emphasis on independence, these norms were not even universally accepted. Faculty members could not describe their staff as close and did not talk of working together. These teachers did not expect to participate in shared discussion, shared decision making and shared work. They were not accustomed to collaborating, cooperating, planning together, or designing together.

Teachers did not engage in frequent and continuing conversations about classroom practices. While they spoke fluently about community demands on the school,

administrative decisions and problem students they did not develop a shared language related to their roles as instructors. Nor did they observe each other in the role of teacher, either within the classroom or at staff meetings.

Just as damaging to the success of informal group networking was the manner in which some teachers discounted interaction with peers as a "waste of time."

The recent history of the school had been such that the several past administrators did not encourage interaction, professional collegiality and conversations centered around education. Staff involvement had been limited in scope.

Informal Groups Influencing the Principal

The researcher was interested in determining the extent to which informal groups acted to influence the principal. In part, the previous description of the informal arrangements provides evidence that the efforts of groups were not as significant as the efforts of individuals. This is only partly true. With a staff of more than forty teachers, one could say that a majority of the staff approached the principal with individual requests and needs. One cannot ignore the preponderance of evidence that illustrated how the Gifford group

approached the present principal or operated in the past. Members of this Gifford group could act in a singleminded manner and worked closely in their efforts to prod the principal to follow their preferred course of staff development.

On only one occasion was the principal observed to be approached by more than one teacher at a time. On that occasion the athletic director introduced a track coach who was confronted with a problem involving his program. Individual teachers did occasionally consult other teachers before or after approaching the principal. In consulting with staff members teachers would seek information, tacit or expressed support, or marshall a force of individuals needed to procure success in implementing whatever proposal they were pushing. Even when subjected to "pressure to improve" teachers found little support among their peers, or a willingness to become involved in the issue. In such instances the norm, "What happens in your classroom is not my business," came into play.

Even the Gifford group approached the administration as individuals. Their approaches were more carefully choreographed and their communication network more effective than that of any other elements in the faculty. Yet, these members also often acted without consulting or seeking the approval of one another. Autonomy was still

important to these Gifford group members.

The Administration's Influence
With the Informal Groups

The Gifford group did eventually impress upon the principal its earnestness in wanting staff improvement. In December the new principal began sharing his ideas, holisititc plan for the school, and outlined his plans with these faculty members. He engaged in this behavior with other staff members from time to time and was not acting exclusively for Gifford group members. Yet, he did recognize the importance of convincing them specifically as a group, of his intent. As he engaged in these behaviors, the principal felt that he was able to gain their support and that they were able to buy into an ownership of the overall plan and/or elements of it.

As the members of this group were able to demonstrate a return to "aboveboard behavior," after the past years' revolt, they gained greater credibility with the new principal. Their influence with the central office continued to wane as the superintendent purposely held these group members at arms length, and reduced his number of visits to the school (with the intent of allowing the principal to assert himself there).

Other staff members were less cohesive, and the

principal also recognized this. It was the principal's intent to facilitate teacher interaction and encourage the growth of a network. It was his hope that consensus would evolve if teachers were able to engage in purposeful common activities. The principal was surprised by the lack of trust teachers had in groups or group activities. He found himself beginning at a grassroots level, working with each individual teacher as a preliminary step to working with groups. Much of the principal's time was spent in relationship oriented activities.

The principal was also confronted with elements of immaturity that remained from the infighting, and lack of supervision in past years. Child state behaviors in individuals and groups persisted and required attention. Immaturity was demonstrated in a variety of ways and could be seen in the manner in which people ignored one another, behaved, handled teaching responsibilities and obligated themselves to the school. This is not to say that some teachers were always immature, or that all teachers were at times immature.

The principal himself, admitted that he found it necessary to enter a childstate from time to time. He recognized it as an essential ingredient in maintaining a healthy overall personality. Yet, he became frustrated by elements of his staff who exercised childlike behaviors at inappropriate moments or in a manner that reflected poorly

on or interfered with the mission of the school.

Issues of Importance

Evidence provided in chapter four indicates that those issues that were brought to the attention of the principal reflected individual problems as opposed to group problems. Teachers confronted the new principal with problems that demonstrated a concern for order and for the conduct of their particular jobs. Searches for lost requisitions and items, inquiries into new forms or procedures were commonplace.

Only the Gifford group members chose to confront the principal with demands that held vast implications for the school and its staff. Members of this group did not subscribe to the norm that what goes on in other teachers classrooms is "none of my business." These teachers were able to defend their interest in the conduct of other teachers behavior under the rubric, "What's good for the kids?" as well as "What is good for the image of the school?"

For the building principal the establishment of credibility, the return to order and the facilitation of staff morale was paramount, not as ends in and of themselves, but as foundation stones in a larger master plan that envisioned the eventual development of an

effective school.

Faculty Support and Hindrance

General faculty support for the principal was verbalized in informal conversations among teachers, expressed to the principal by teachers, and found expression in the behavior patterns of the teachers. The new principal benefitted from the faculty perception of the past principal, the series of events that had occurred and the need among staff to experience a return of order.

Specific issues did arise which caused individual teachers to work in a concerted effort for their own self-interests. A change in graduation requirements, a reduction of budgeted funds for a project, a scheduling conflict, a policy that impacted on a teachers normal pattern of behavior could all cause an individual teacher to combat the administrations efforts.

When individual teacher's wishes were denied they might choose to voice their complaint to a group of friends assembled for lunch or in the lounge. Aside from a word of encouragement these exchanges would not result in any further attempt to pursue the cause. Teachers who lost in an effort to make gains could easily enter an angry or destructive child state and for a short time work to subvert the system. Examples of the frustrated band

teacher, basketball coach and drivers education teacher illustrate this point.

The lounge group was a sportsminded group and when further cuts in the athletic program seemed likely they found it difficult to do anything more than voice a few complaints in the lounge and engage in an a sporadic and unconnected dialogue with the principal and school board athletic committee chairman. Their efforts might lead to a singular letter in the paper signed by one teacher, but seldom would the effort extend beyond that.

Only the Gifford group could maintain a concerted effort and apply continued pressure in an effort to move the administration in a direction that was in accordance with their wishes. In that effort seeking staff development they were "pushing" the principal in a direction he wished to move anyway. Their need to push resulted from a fear that the need to have a smooth year might prevail over the need to have a more effective staff (goal displacement). It also reflected a concern that the new principal would leave before taking on the task of staff development. The Gifford group actions in the previous year reflected the depths to which they would engage in a struggle in a win-lose manner over issues in which they felt a deep professional commitment. Other groups lacked this commitment and felt it unethical to engage in challenges to authority.

At no time did teachers or groups seek to circumvent the authority of the principal by going over him, around him or behind his back to gain the approval of the superintendent or board. This was attributed by teachers, administrators, and board members to the perception of the administrators as a unified team. Occasional appeals to the community occurred as individual teachers sought to develop a community support base for their individual causes, for example: funding sports or music programs.

The Principal's Influence

As Bill Taylor assumed his office and began performing in the role of principal he believed that his position would allow him to establish norms for professional conduct, encourage greater effectiveness among his staff, and improve collegiality among teachers. He was hopeful that he would be able to facilitate educational practices and engender conversations about them. To accomplish those ends he announced and repeated his intentions, enacted or modeled the norms he expected to find in others, counseled and sanctioned teachers whose behavior was noticeably counterproductive and supported and protected those teachers whose efforts facilitated his own attempts to improve the staff.

The extent to which the principal was able to

exercise influence with the individual teachers was contingent on a variety of factors. This was revealed in both quantitative and qualitative data generated in the course of study.

The principal's communication skills, academic background, demeanor, body language, and personality all intertwined to enhance his image among the staff. His initial emphasis on relationships won many immediate supporters. At the same time he spoke of his concern for creating a more effective school and made it evident that task was also important.

Among members of the Gifford group the new principal's willingness to establish relationships with all was an act of giving tacit approval to some incompetent or mediocre teachers. Gifford group members were fearful that this meant that the principal was a "soft touch." They were expressly concerned when some teachers appeared to be engaging in conduct that was immature and/or unprofessional.

The principal was handicapped by a lack of familiarity with the professional conduct of his individual staff members. He did not have the advantage of working with these people in the past, past evaluations were inadequate for any purpose, and he found it difficult to immediately access the classroom. Initially the principal operated from a Theory Y viewpoint and assumed

that each teacher was a competent and professional, self-actualizing teacher. It was that approach that concerned the Gifford group.

The principal was also non-directive and utilized a counseling approach in his professional relations with staff members. He seldom gave orders or issued directives. Instead he sought input, conversed with staff, and encouraged growth. While he wished to encourage a greater amount of freedom among the staff but found that some essential conditions did not exist or existed only to a limited extent: Not all members of the staff were ready to assume responsibility for decision-making, they did not necessarily agree with the processes required to arrive at specific or general goals, and in some cases did not agree with the goals themselves. Furthermore, not all teachers had high needs for independence. Many teachers were resigned to the model of bureaucracy under which they had worked for years and assumed that the principal was the decision-maker and they were the followers. Their experience base did not allow the state of readiness required for greater participation in the decision-making process. In some instances the issues they were asked to respond to were of little interest to them. This was illustrated by the continued inability of the principal to find anyone who would care to suggest a manner in which the library fine situation

could be resolved.

While the new principal wished to maintain high expectations of his staff, he realized he would first have to adapt to their present behavior patterns. He was fearful that a rapid change would produce more irresponsibility rather than initiative among the teachers. He was patient in his approach and allowed time and new experiences to effect a change in behavior among teachers. He also required the patience of those who were pushing for a directive, Theory X approach in leadership.

It became apparent as the observation continued that Barnard's (1938) conclusions about the existence of informal groups in industrial organizations also held true in the school organization. Faculty member interaction was most obvious at formally convened meetings of the staff. But Barnard argued that the geography of the plant explained variations in informal group patterns and membership. This observer found that the facility only impeded informal group relationships. There was much evidence to support the conclusion of Simon (1950) that membership in an informal group was catalyzed by the issues at hand and the formal organization's handling of specific issues. Those for whom power was important (Gifford group members) were able to overcome the geography of the building, interacted frequently, and not only responded to the administration's handling of issues,

but created issues for the administration to handle. Members of the Old Guard were less likely to convene outside of formally called meetings and the degree to which elements of this pyramid coalesced depended upon the issue at hand.

Barnard's conclusion that the aggregate of informal groups in a work organization does not have a joint purpose was also observed to be true in this study.

Barnard's contention that the informal groups do not impact on formal decision making was not corroborated in this study. As this study continued the observer noted that the principal was constantly subjected to various pressures and demands on his time and efforts. He was constantly under scrutiny and well aware of that. His perception of the staff was constantly being shaped and reshaped through his interaction with the faculty. His actions and decisions reflected a consideration of the input he had been receiving. His conversations frequently revealed input from others as well as insight as to how he anticipated staff members would respond to his decisions and requests.

This study confirms Barnard's belief that the informal and formal organization are interdependent and that "if one fails the other disintegrates" (Barnard, 1938:122). It is the conclusion of this researcher that the lack of cohesiveness and the lack of more than a five person

informal group in Grandview High School could be attributed to the "disintegration" of the formal leadership in the principal's office during the past several years. It is the contention of this researcher that the building principal and district administration played a pivotal role in determining the health of the informal group organization within the district's and high school's staff.

The principal was a loci for interaction and a focal point for the staff. The manner in which he conducted himself determined the patterns of interactions among staff members. Phil Simon's posturing and demeanor had created a unique environment, as had Jack Miller's. Their pattern of behavior had acted to discourage interaction, suppress informal groups and led to a disturbance within the system. Bill Taylor was now using his own skills as a facilitator to encourage interaction. He was becoming both a formal and informal leader of the staff.

The effectiveness of the informal groups in the high school, in terms of their impact on the formal organization, was dependent upon close contact with with the formal organization. Those teachers who had strong ties to the school board were recognized as carrying "a good deal of clout." Close ties to the superintendent were more difficult to secure as he was only in his second year and had not yet established enduring lines of

communication. There was certainly a sibling rivalry for his attention when he was present. The principal while accessible to all was cognizant of the lack of cohesion among his staff members and reluctant to allow any one group to appear to be in his favor at the exclusion of others.

It is the conclusion of this researcher that the lack of faculty cohesion on this rural high school staff may be attributed in part to aforementioned outside interests. Within the Gesellschaft environment of the school and working day one might expect teachers to create an informal, Gemeinschaft network to create more comfortable working conditions. However, teachers were able to develop satisfactory Gemeinschaft relationships with community members who were not linked directly to the school system. Through their hunting, fishing, and other non-school related pursuits they were able to find companionship and socialize to the extent necessary for self satisfaction.

Recommendations

The Model

The situation in Grandview High School, prior to the arrival of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Tanner, has been described

as entropic. Staff relationships were obviously declining, morale was low and faculty interaction was minimal and in the assessment of the staff: communication lines had become clogged with negative messages.

This environment had evolved through the years. It was due to more than the unrest that had been created during the Rawls/Miller/Mayer debacle. Community attitudes toward education, years of neglecting the school system, a feeling among staff members that education was being ignored and teachers unappreciated, all contributed to the demise of the system. As support and dollars for education became scarce and talk about the complete shutdown of the railroad continued, teachers jockeyed for position, power and influence in seeking to tighten their own job security and bring quality to their own particular program. Competition among teachers replaced any notion of cooperation that may have previously existed. Cooperation was in evidence only when two people could each see that they would mutually benefit from a concerted effort.

The high school had functioned as a separate entity for years as a high school district. That fact, combined with the presence of the high school on an island had created a situation in which staff members perceived themselves to be separated from the community and other district offices and faculties. The past administrative

leadership of the high school further enunciated this isolation through conflicts with past superintendents. However, internal conditions and strife made it difficult for teachers to bond to one another. Teachers found themselves seeking to escape the reality of their working conditions, including that staff strife. The external world offered that opportunity for escape. The scenic beauty, wildlife, and the Gemeinshcaft relationships of the community became a focal point for these teachers.

The present principal entered this atmosphere intending to rebuild faculty morale and trust. He hoped to improve student discipline and procedures related to it, to improve instruction and curriculum, and to revamp the decision making process teachers had become accustomed to.

In his attempts to proceed toward those ends the principal found himself encumbered by administrative paperwork, demands on his time, past practices, a history of neglect, and the aforementioned disintegrating faculty "network." The human relations posture of the principal allowed him to develop trust and communication with his staff, but that same approach also allowed teachers to use the precious time that had become a scarce commodity. At the same time teachers were developing trust they also maintained a suspicion that their trust should be guarded pragmatically. They were aware of human relation

leadership styles and leery of both the principal and superintendent.

This suspicion evolved through the decade of revolving door leadership and leadership styles. It also emanated from a failure of the administration to clearly map out the holistic plan for school improvement. When the plan was outlined there was an additional failure among some teachers to grasp the implications of such a plan. Through the first semester of seeking input the principal had absorbed a great deal of information about his faculty's needs and attitudes. This decision making approach did not generate communication among faculty informal groups to the extent that the administration hoped for. What appeared to be lacking was a definitive statement by the principal in terms of issues and policies. It is offered as a hypothesis for further study that informal group communication networks will become more active as administrators offer substantive proposals for faculty's to consider.

It appears that in this particular entropic situation substantive proposals and more directive leadership behaviors are needed in order to facilitate faculty growth. The faculty may be viewed as an entity in much the same manner as an individual teacher. As teachers may vary in their performances, from unsatisfactory to marginal to excellent, so may staffs. As the individual

teacher may be targeted for remediation, so may an entire faculty. The principal in such a situation must analyze the health and vitality of the overall organization. While collaboration with individual staff members may be possible collaboration with and among the general staff may take years to develop.

Results of the Kunz PZAI measurements revealed a diversity among staff members as to the amount of influence teachers were willing to extend to the principal. This evidence suggests that in entropic situations principals may find that there are many among the staff who have chosen to do as told by the principal (ambivalents), while others have taken advantage of the years of unsteady leadership to increase their own power and influence and as a result, are far less willing to surrender to the influence of the principal.

The principal is faced with the problem of encouraging those who are ambivalent to become more involved in processes related to the improvement of the school and in dealing cautiously with those who have established previous power and seek to influence the principal and decision making process. A dilemma clearly arises if the principal appears to be going in a direction espoused by a power group within the faculty as other faculty members become suspicious of that group's influence. This problem can be solved if the principal

has boldly stated an overall plan for school improvement, outlined his thoughts, restated those thoughts, and continuously promoted his overall plan. The faculty then has something substantive against which it can respond. Even if the response is negative it generates communication among the staff and engenders the much sought after input the principal seeks. It is necessary for the principal to separate self from the issue and to allow staff to understand that it is not the principal but the plan that is under scrutiny. As teachers respond to the thoughts of the leadership and interact with one another informal group linkages will grow, reflecting the attitudinal differences (Homans, 1950).

Principals must understand the pivotal role that they play in the life of the faculty informal groups. The principal and the school benefit from a vibrant and healthy network. Collaboration is not otherwise possible. The principal must encourage interaction and provide opportunities for staff to interact in collegial relationships (where collegiality implies profession related interactions). The principal can in fact become the focal point of informal interaction and the leader of the informal network as well. Such a position may allow the principal to engender conversations about education, effectively model behaviors consistent with excellence in education and stimulate overall staff maturity and growth.

Efforts to impede informal group networking (as attributed to Phil Simon) in the attempt to "make teachers work" in their classroom appears to force teachers to align themselves and socialize with members of the external community and further alienate those teachers from the ongoing life of the school.

Observations of Grandview High School reveal that small, rural school administrators must accept, to some extent, the influence of the community on the staff mores and norms. But the administrator should by no means surrender his or her powerful position as a leader in education and as a person who can generate greater expectations for teachers, students and the community. Again, collegiality among staff members appears directly tied to the administrators clearly announced expectations and overall plans. Where these are not stated the faculty will act on its own perceptions and conclusions.

An Assessment of the Attempt
To use Quantitative Data

The chief concern of this researcher was to conduct an ethnographic study and the brunt of this volume reflects that intent. The researcher was also interested in utilizing quantitative data. That attempt is discussed here for the benefit of others who may also pursue this

method of analysis.

The actual implementation of the Kunz and Stogdill instruments was hindered by the absence of eight faculty members from the faculty meeting and by the Gifford Group's general refusal to complete the instruments. Roughly one fourth of the faculty was not involved in this analysis. Having observed the faculty for six months the researcher was able to better understand how the Gifford group interaction impacted on the attempt to collect Kunz and Stogdill data. The absence of that data was critical however. The researcher had hoped that statistical data would reflect the divergence of attitudes that separated the Gifford Group from the remainder of the faculty.

When the author wrote the ten hypotheses that have been discussed in previous paragraphs it was with the intent of locating a commonality of attitudes and observable behaviors among faculty members. Would a group like the Gifford Group share a similar assessment of the principal, one distinctly separate from the remainder of the faculty? The Gifford Group refusal to complete the instruments hindered the development of the quantitative information.

The ten hypotheses were also generated to determine if observed teacher behaviors reflected the assessments teachers made of the principal. Each of the ten hypotheses have already been discussed and it is the

summary opinion of this researcher that in addition to the number of missing data, the attempt to develop these hypotheses was hindered by the very nature of each statement of the null hypotheses. The researcher did not foresee that the nulls would have the effect of creating profiles of individual teachers rather than clusters of teachers.

The researcher recommends that a future attempt include identifying distinct informal groups within an organization and an analysis of variance treatment to determine if the variance in PZAI scores may be accounted for by group membership. It is further recommended that a study be conducted which identifies personality traits among individual teachers and determines the extent to which those traits contribute to variance in PZAI scores.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

STOGDILL: LBDQ-XII INSTRUMENT

DIRECTIONS

- a. READ each item carefully.
- b. THINK about how frequently the leader engages in the behavior described by the item.
- c. DECIDE whether he (A) always, (B) often, (C) occasionally, (D) seldom, or (E) never acts as described by the item.
- d. DRAW A CIRCLE around one of the five letters (A B C D E) following the item to show the answer you have selected.

A = Always
 B = Often
 C = Occasionally
 D = Seldom
 E = Never

- e. MARK your answers as shown in the examples below.

Example: He often acts as described A **(B)** C D E

Example: He never acts as described A B C D **(E)**

Example: He occasionally acts as described A B **(C)** D E

-
1. He acts as the spokesman of the group A B C D E
 2. He waits patiently for the results of a decision A B C D E
 3. He makes pep talks to stimulate the group A B C D E
 4. He lets group members know what is expected of them A B C D E
 5. He allows the members complete freedom in their work A B C D E
 6. He is hesitant about taking initiative in the group A B C D E
 7. He is friendly and approachable A B C D E
 8. He encourages overtime work A B C D E
 9. He makes accurate decisions A B C D E
 10. He gets along well with the people above him A B C D E
 11. He publicizes the activities of the group A B C D E
 12. He becomes anxious when he cannot find out what is coming next A B C D E
 13. His arguments are convincing A B C D E

A = Always
 B = Often
 C = Occasionally
 D = Seldom
 E = Never

14. He encourages the use of uniform procedures A B C D E
15. He permits the members to use their own judgment in solving problems A B C D E
16. He fails to take necessary action A B C D E
17. He does little things to make it pleasant to be a member of the group A B C D E
18. He stresses being ahead of competing groups A B C D E
19. He keeps the group working together as a team A B C D E
20. He keeps the group in good standing with higher authority A B C D E
21. He speaks as the representative of the group A B C D E
22. He accepts defeat in stride A B C D E
23. He argues persuasively for his point of view A B C D E
24. He tries out his ideas in the group A B C D E
25. He encourages initiative in the group members A B C D E
26. He lets other persons take away his leadership in the group A B C D E
27. He puts suggestions made by the group into operation A B C D E
28. He needles members for greater effort A B C D E
29. He seems able to predict what is coming next A B C D E
30. He is working hard for a promotion A B C D E
31. He speaks for the group when visitors are present A B C D E
32. He accepts delays without becoming upset A B C D E
33. He is a very persuasive talker A B C D E
34. He makes his attitudes clear to the group A B C D E
35. He lets the members do their work the way they think best A B C D E
36. He lets some members take advantage of him A B C D E

A = Always
 B = Often
 C = Occasionally
 D = Seldom
 E = Never

37. He treats all group members as his equals A B C D E
38. He keeps the work moving at a rapid pace A B C D E
39. He settles conflicts when they occur in the group A B C D E
40. His superiors act favorably on most of his suggestions A B C D E
41. He represents the group at outside meetings A B C D E
42. He becomes anxious when waiting for new developments A B C D E
43. He is very skillful in an argument A B C D E
44. He decides what shall be done and how it shall be done A B C D E
45. He assigns a task, then lets the members handle it A B C D E
46. He is the leader of the group in name only A B C D E
47. He gives advance notice of changes A B C D E
48. He pushes for increased production A B C D E
49. Things usually turn out as he predicts A B C D E
50. He enjoys the privileges of his position A B C D E
51. He handles complex problems efficiently A B C D E
52. He is able to tolerate postponement and uncertainty A B C D E
53. He is not a very convincing talker A B C D E
54. He assigns group members to particular tasks A B C D E
55. He turns the members loose on a job and lets them go to it A B C D E
56. He backs down when he ought to stand firm A B C D E
57. He keeps to himself A B C D E
58. He asks the members to work harder A B C D E
59. He is accurate in predicting the trend of events A B C D E

A = Always
 B = Often
 C = Occasionally
 D = Seldom
 E = Never

60. He gets his superiors to act for the welfare of the group members A B C D E
61. He gets swamped by details A B C D E
62. He can wait just so long, then blows up A B C D E
63. He speaks from a strong inner conviction A B C D E
64. He makes sure that his part in the group is understood by the group members A B C D E
65. He is reluctant to allow the members any freedom of action A B C D E
66. He lets some members have authority that he should keep A B C D E
67. He looks out for the personal welfare of group members A B C D E
68. He permits the members to take it easy in their work A B C D E
69. He sees to it that the work of the group is coordinated A B C D E
70. His word carries weight with his superiors A B C D E
71. He gets things all tangled up A B C D E
72. He remains calm when uncertain about coming events A B C D E
73. He is an inspiring talker A B C D E
74. He schedules the work to be done A B C D E
75. He allows the group a high degree of initiative A B C D E
76. He takes full charge when emergencies arise A B C D E
77. He is willing to make changes A B C D E
78. He drives hard when there is a job to be done A B C D E
79. He helps group members settle their differences A B C D E
80. He gets what he asks for from his superiors A B C D E
81. He can reduce a madhouse to system and order A B C D E
82. He is able to delay action until the proper time occurs A B C D E

A = Always
 B = Often
 C = Occasionally
 D = Seldom
 E = Never

83. He persuades others that his ideas are to their advantage A B C D E
84. He maintains definite standards of performance A B C D E
85. He trusts the members to exercise good judgment A B C D E
86. He overcomes attempts made to challenge his leadership A B C D E
87. He refuses to explain his actions A B C D E
88. He urges the group to beat its previous record A B C D E
89. He anticipates problems and plans for them A B C D E
90. He is working his way to the top A B C D E
91. He gets confused when too many demands are made of him A B C D E
92. He worries about the outcome of any new procedure A B C D E
93. He can inspire enthusiasm for a project A B C D E
94. He asks that group members follow standard rules and regulations A B C D E
95. He permits the group to set its own pace A B C D E
96. He is easily recognized as the leader of the group A B C D E
97. He acts without consulting the group A B C D E
98. He keeps the group working up to capacity A B C D E
99. He maintains a closely knit group A B C D E
100. He maintains cordial relations with superiors A B C D E

APPENDIX B

KUNZ: PROFESSIONAL ZONE OF ACCEPTANCE INSTRUMENT

PROFESSIONAL ZONE OF ACCEPTANCE INVENTORY

below are listed descriptions of broad areas in which your principal may make unilateral decisions. This questionnaire asks you to describe, as accurately as you can, knowing your principal's methods and areas of expertise, etc., your probable frequency of compliance with the decision.

DIRECTIONS

- A. READ each item carefully.
- B. THINK about how frequently you would comply with a decision described.
- C. DECIDE whether you would comply always, often, occasionally, seldom, or never.
- D. DRAW A CIRCLE around one of the five letters following items to show which response accurately describes your probable behavior.

A=Always
B=Often
C=Occasionally
D=Seldom
E=Never

Your principal has made a specific policy decision within each of the following areas:

I WOULD COMPLY WITH THE DECISION:

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. The change and modification of existing curricula | A | B | C | D | E |
| 2. The evaluation of success of the instructional program | A | B | C | D | E |
| 3. The methods of conducting parent conferences | A | B | C | D | E |
| 4. The selection of equipment and supplies related to specific course work | A | B | C | D | E |
| 5. The methods to be used to discipline students in a classroom | A | B | C | D | E |
| 6. The evaluation of the success of individual subject areas | A | B | C | D | E |
| 7. The degree of student proficiency needed to pass each grade and subject | A | B | C | D | E |
| 8. The determination of time allotments for remedial help. | A | B | C | D | E |
| 9. The grouping of students for classes. | A | B | C | D | E |
| 10. The determination of specific course content. | A | B | C | D | E |
| 11. The evaluation of the success of the curriculum | A | B | C | D | E |
| 12. The implementation of new curriculum offerings. | A | B | C | D | E |
| 13. The methods to be used for evaluation of pupil progress | A | B | C | D | E |
| 14. The rules governing desirable methods and techniques within the classroom | A | B | C | D | E |
| 15. The nature and extent of in-service educational requirements. | A | B | C | D | E |

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE FORM: DIRECT OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

Date of observation: Sept. 07, 1984
Subject of observation: Allen Dibble

Protocol #2
Page 1 of 2

Site of observation: cafeteria
Mode: observation
Time: A lunch
Documents: none

As I have become familiar with the staff I have noticed that one person in particular prefers to be alone and has isolated himself from the staff. He sits alone in the teacher's workshop\lounge and pours over the materials for the next class. As he enters and leaves the lounge he ignores others who are present and appears to have no eye contact with anyone. There is a brooding nature to this person. In the cafeteria he sits alone despite the opportunity to sit at various tables where other adults have gathered.

I discovered today the person is Allen Dibble, a past president of the GEA (Grandview Education Association). I was seated at a table with Roger Mayo, Dave Whorley, and Rita Thomas. Dibble was secluded in a far corner of the cafeteria. Mayo asked Rita "what's with Allen? He's behaving like a child this year. I could understand if this was the middle of last year, but it ain't."

"He's bitter about something," replied Rita.

"About what though?" asked Whorley.

"I don't know. I used to be friends with him, but this year he has not talked with me," answered Rita. "I'll give him a call this weekend."

The one person who has had contact with Dibble is Myra Flint, but it appeared to be a professional contact, more than personal.

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