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ABSTRACT
                This report describes four schools (two elementary,
one middle, and one senior high) whose administration and faculty
made longterm commitments to curricular and organizational change to
meet the needs of a diverse student population. Data sources included
observation of meetings; conversations with staff members; and
informal interviews with district administrators, teachers, and in
some cases, parents and students. Brief summaries of each case study
are provided in which changes in curriculum, instruction, and school
organization during the 1991-92 school year are discussed. Findings
indicate that power and decision-making authority are continually
negotiated and renegotiated among all participants, and that visions
of change compete as teachers, principals, and district officers
struggle to maintain control and permit others to participate in
shaping the short- and long-term direction of the school. Finally, in
order to maintain and expend the reform initiatives, schools are
developing an entrepreneurial focus. (Contains 21 references.)
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Cross Case Analysis

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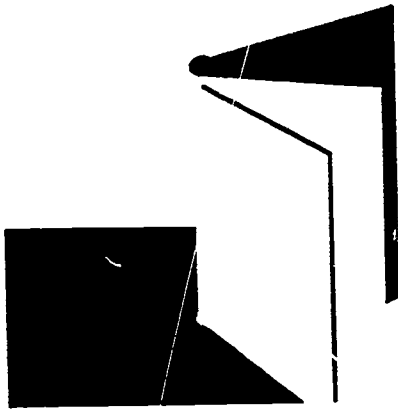# for
School Leadership

Project Report

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

College of Education

In collaboration with

The University of Michigan

MetriTech, Inc.

Cross Case Analysis

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Cases in Distributed Leadership
A General Introduction to the Study

In order to broaden our understanding of leadership in schools committed to reform, we selected four buildings which were committed to one of three types of educational reform: the network of Accelerated Schools (Levin & Hopfenberg, 1991), the National Association of Middle Schools (Quattrone, 1990), or the Coalition of Essential Schools (Sizer, 1988). Each of these reforms respects the contextual differences across districts; each of these reforms espouses a set of principles which are central to their thinking about reform; and each of these reforms values collaboration among teachers and administrators. We chose four schools in three states to collect information which could better inform us about the role of leadership in schools striving to make changes.

Researchers developed a case study report for each site after reviewing background reports; interviewing faculty, administrators (in some cases), students and parents; and observing meetings and classes. The case studies and the cross case analysis will enable the reader to

1) Examine and evaluate the warrant that each of the cases deserve the label "having made progress" toward their commitment to reform.
2) Explore the nature of leadership, including the process of distributing leadership, among the school participants.
3) Speculate upon the interaction between leadership, the schools' commitment to change, and the schools' culture.

The case study methodology allowed us to observe the schools' social structures and leadership structures within the context of one year in the life of the change effort. A variety of rich resources are available to the researcher who spends extended time at a research site thus, "permitting a holistic study of complex social networks and complexes of social action and social meanings" (Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg, 1991). Additionally, the time spent in the schools allowed for an historical overview of the change processes. Looking at the schools across cases offered the opportunity to look for common themes, theoretical underpinnings, and beliefs and decisions that guided the schools through their evolutions.

During Summer and Fall 1991, the NCSL research team met to establish criteria for site selection and systemize procedures for contact with each potential site. The selection criteria included four elements: a) the school must be publicly committed to a set of guiding principles for reform; b) the school must have local and, if possible, a state or nation wide reputation for having made progress toward putting these principles into practice; c) the school must be located near enough to a site researcher's home to permit regular visits to the school; and d) the school must agree to serve as a site. NCSL staff informally contacted school staff to determine possible interest in participating in the study while, at the same time, making inquiries into schools' reputations for making progress in their individual reform efforts. Schools were aware that they would be identified by name, but all staff members would be identified by pseudonym.

The NCSL staff ultimately chose four schools that met all of the selection criteria: Hollibrook Elementary School in Spring Branch, Texas; Dr. Charles E. Gavin Elementary School in Chicago Heights, Illinois; Cross Keys Middle School in Florissant, Missouri; and Roger L. Sullivan High School in Chicago, Illinois. Following the informal contact, the school principals were asked if they would like to be a site for a study of school leadership, defined broadly to include both teachers and administrators. In three of the schools, Hollibrook, Cross Keys, and Gavin, the principals agreed to participate after members of the school staff consented to become sites early in Fall 1991. At Sullivan the process took longer, in part because of a threatened teacher strike in the Chicago area. The principal initially agreed that an NCSL staff member could visit the school, but official permission to become a part of the study was not granted until early in 1992, once the school staff began to feel comfortable with the researcher's presence.

Data collection began in September 1991. During Fall 1991 site researchers visited the schools, observed meetings, sat in on classes, and talked informally with administrators and teachers. Data collection during Spring 1991 focused on semi-structured interviews with the school faculty, staff, and administration, and (in some cases) district administrators, parents, and students. Informal observations and discussions continued throughout the year.

The interviews were designed to accomplish two objectives: a) to gather information on participants' perceptions of change at their school, including their

own roles in the change process; and b) to identify people perceived to be school leaders, whether their leadership had anything to do with the change process or not. The informal observations and discussions served as points of triangulation (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) for information obtained in the interviews, and also provided insight into the current status of reform in each school.

The resulting data were analyzed independently by each site researcher and also by two NCSL research assistants. As data became available the NCSL staff coded fieldnotes and interview transcripts into seven categories. In monthly research team meetings, the site researchers and the NCSL staff discussed both the categorization of fieldnotes and the themes that might be inferred from the data. These discussions enabled all researchers to review and reformulate a collective understanding of themes relating to school leadership and school change.

Once all data were collected (April 1992), each site researcher wrote an individual, narrative summary of his or her school case. The entire research team met three times to share internal drafts of the case studies. Each draft was read, questioned, and debated by all team members. To prepare the cross case analysis, two NCSL research assistants reviewed the entire corpus of fieldnotes and interviews. Data for each school were categorized according to statements related to mission, change, decision making, administrators, teachers, instruction, psychological environment, district relations, and community/family relations. These data were then summarized in paragraph form for each school, followed by a discussion of trends across schools as they related to each of the nine categories. The NCSL staff then condensed the categories into the three areas discussed above: a) the warrant for progress; b) the nature of leadership; and c) the interactions among leadership and school culture. The third drafts were shared with two external consultants, as was the second draft of the cross case analysis. Following these external reviews, the cases and the cross case analysis were revised for distribution as technical reports.

Abstract

This report discusses four schools (two elementary, one middle, and one senior high) whose administration and faculty made long term commitments to curricular and organizational change to meet the needs of a diverse student population. Data sources included observation of meetings, informal conversations with staff members, informal interviews with district administrators, document review of mission-related materials, and formal interviews with administrators, teachers, and in some cases, parents and students. Brief summaries of each case study are provided in which we discuss changes in curriculum, instruction, and school organization noted in all the schools studied during the 1991-92 school year. In our discussion we note that power and decision making authority are continually negotiated and renegotiated among all participants, and that there is a strong indication that visions of change compete as teachers, principals, and district officers struggle to maintain control and, yet, permit others to participate in shaping the short and long term direction of the school. We also note that in order to maintain and expand upon the initiatives, schools are developing an entrepreneurial focus.

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The Background

Befitting its name, the National Center for School Leadership has long been interested in the nature of leadership in times of change. Although some attention has been given to the varieties of leadership across a range of theoretical perspectives (Mitchell, 1991), there are several themes or issues around which much of our research turns:

1) The culture of the school, not simply the behavior of the leader, is critical in understanding what occurs within it (Cohen, 1983).

2) Contextual differences between schools are critical in understanding what happens in them (Good and Brophy, 1986).

3) Site-based management is intended to provide considerable autonomy for the principal and teachers to operate, and it can be both liberating because of this new autonomy and also threatening because of no clear guidelines for judging best practice (Barth, 1990).

4) Transformational leadership (Burns, 1978) is valuable and effective when there is a genuine commitment to positive change (Gardner, 1988).

5) Schools with culturally and ethnically diverse student populations are informative sites in which to study transformative leadership (Maehr and Fyans, 1989).

6) Eventually, students benefit from the ensuing reforms in curriculum, instruction, and an achievement focused climate (Maehr, 1987).

The research by Martin Maehr, Carol Midgely, and their colleagues provides one framework to think about the roles of multiple participants as influential in motivating students. Maehr, Midgely, and Urdan (1992) argue that through influencing school-wide policies and practices the principal can promote a school climate which will enhance student motivation, thereby leading to greater achievement. They also note the key role teachers play in this process through implementing policies and practices which influence time allocation, student recognition and other conditions. Maehr et al. argue that principals and teachers must work together to create a positive learning environment for students. Our research investigated schools that made a public commitment to such shared leadership (including administration, faculty, and sometimes parents and students).

Our intention was to get a detailed, first-hand look at schools in the midst of conscious, concerted efforts to change. A case study approach was adopted to provide on-site, in depth analysis of the relationships among individuals engaged in the challenging, and often painful, process of policy making and re-making. Smylie (1992) has discussed the development of such working relationships from a micro-political perspective. We were influenced by his work and others (March, 1989; Willower, 1991; Clift, Johnson, Veal, & Holland, 1992) in that we examined the issues of negotiation, conflict, and consensus building that are inherent in schools seeking fundamental reforms.

As we looked at the data from the schools, we found evidence that a number of continua defined the schools' operations. Leadership style varied from strength in leader-member relations (influence) to position power (authority). Curriculum foci ranged from classical and academic orientations to child and experience centered orientations. The nature of shared understanding among staff traversed ground from a cohesive, supportive faculty group clearly committed to a common goal to a faculty clearly committed to debates concerning effective education in order to determine future changes. As we write this, the sites continue striving to realize their visions, although we can attest to the fact that these schools have indeed made progress toward structural and academic reform.

This process, in all sites, can be viewed as one of negotiating and renegotiating tasks, resource allocations, curricula, and assessment strategies. We have come to view leadership as a relational process that can include faculty, staff, administrators, parents, community members, and students. Each of the schools we studied manifests a different set of relationships, but all are striving to meet the educational needs of students who do not respond well to traditional forms of schooling. In the next few pages we briefly summarize each of the schools, but we urge readers to look closely at the entire set of cases.[1]

[1] Grant, L. (1993). Sullivan: Success by Exhibition. Technical Report. Urbana, IL: National Center for School Leadership.
Johnson, M. (1993). Redefining Leadership: A Case Study of Hollibrook Elementary School. Technical Report. Urbana, IL: National Center for School Leadership.
Polite, M. (1993). The Story of Cross Keys Middle School: Learning to Ask the Right Questions. Technical Report. Urbana, IL: National Center for School Leadership.
Diedrich-Rielly, I. & Zenz, K. (1993). Dr. Cha. Gavin School: A Case Study. Technical Report. Urbana, IL: National Center for School Leadership.

Hollibrook Elementary School: Negotiated Relations Among Leaders

Hollibrook began its change process under the leadership of a principal with a clear vision of providing effective instruction for students who had not been, and were not expected to be, active learners. In a school with 90 percent minority students, where 92 percent of the children receive free or reduced lunch, and a large ESL population, the challenge is great. When the challenge was accepted, Hollibrook ranked lowest in achievement testing scores in its district.

The principal, who has since left the school, was lauded by her staff as a visionary leader who brought the faculty and staff into the change process, listened to their ideas, and respected their professional judgments. The resulting legacy is a staff who accepts responsibility and accountability for the autonomy of the site-based decision structure that they helped to create. The faculty knows that they are now, "ultimately responsible," for their students' progress.

During the year of this study, a new administrative staff came to Hollibrook. The principal and his two assistants faced procedures and traditions that were unfamiliar to them and a strong staff imbued with a mission that they were determined to continue. The change in leadership has not been without challenges. The new principal was criticized by some staff as not having the vision of the former principal, and these critics believed that then former administrators had been responsible for keeping the Hollibrook vision alive.

The Hollibrook goal is to bring all children to grade level by fifth grade. This is accomplished by providing them with the experiences they have not had that prohibit them from competing with, "[ ] the rest of the kids. . . in [Texas], " and by teaching through accelerated instruction rather than remedial instruction.

The entire staff meets to make decisions which continue to move Hollibrook forward with regard to their mission. The steering committee, the representative decision-making body of the school, has met with the principal, but in his absence they do not hesitate to act and then to inform him of decisions made during these meetings. Staff decisions to hire substitutes to cover classes during meetings, assuming the tasks of meeting and providing tours for school visitors, and seeking

funding from corporate sponsors are just some examples of the authority exercised by the staff at Hollibrook.

Some decisions made at the building level have been overruled by the district. This is not to say that district administration has opposed Hollibrook's independence. The superintendent is cited consistently as a supporter of site-based decision making. What remains to be negotiated is the decision-making line between the site level authority and district level authority. The process is new, and the questions that arise concerning administrative prerogative attest to this.

The Warrant for Progress. As part of the change process, Hollibrook became affiliated with the network of Accelerated Schools (Levin & Hopfenberg, 1991); one tenet of the Accelerated Schools philosophy is that students who are performing below grades should not receive remedial instruction; rather, instruction should focus on children's strengths and accelerate from their experiences. Prior to this affiliation, nearly 70 percent of Hollibrook students entered the junior high performing below grade. Now, most students achieve grade level by fifth grade.

The staff attribute Hollibrook's success to making the children the curriculum. Curriculum is dictated by the needs and experiences of the student population. This perspective on teaching has changed from teaching separate skills to expanding on the children's experiences and those experiences provided by the school. Hollibrook students now take a greater number and variety of field trips; listen to presentations by workers in the business, science, and technological worlds; and actively participate in community events. Children have responded to the changes in the school by showing an interest in staying in their classrooms. Attendance levels have increased, fewer children visit the school's nurse complaining of illness, and the halls are empty of wandering students.

The Hollibrook staff has devoted much time to continuing professional education. The former principal ran an extensive staff development program to allow teachers access to current literature and research pertinent to the Hollibrook experience. Teachers received research articles and attended workshops and seminars; the weekly staff meeting became a staff development program. This knowledge and information increased the feeling of power and control among the staff. Teachers

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used research and ideas from other educators to create units, lessons, and experiences that supported the Hollibrook vision. They contributed to others' professional learning by sharing these materials with colleagues. This led to changes in instructional formats to include team teaching and multi-aged grouping for instruction.

The many changes have attracted far more parents than were seen prior to the change effort. Over 200 parents volunteer on a regular basis at Hollibrook. They work in classrooms, supervise in the cafeteria, and participate in other arenas as needed. Opportunities available for Hollibrook parents at the school site are the Parent University, which offers exercise classes, sessions on tenants' rights, arts and crafts classes, and programs sharing information on parenting skills. Babysitting is offered at the school during these classes. Additionally, monthly luncheons are held for parents and teachers to meet on a social basis, and *Gente a Gente* brings small groups of faculty and staff into the community to talk with parents about the responsibilities incumbent upon parents to assist in their children's educational progress.

Additional markers of progress at the school are the publicity and numbers of visitors received by Hollibrook. Research teams from several universities have studied Hollibrook to try to capture the essence of its success. For example, a chapter in <u>Smart Kids, Smart Schools</u> (Fiske, 1991) was entirely devoted to telling the story of Hollibrook's rise from a school struggling with low test scores to a national exemplar. Because so many visitors are clamoring for glimpses of the school in action and the materials developed by the staff, visitation days are now limited to two days per week to decrease classroom interruptions.

<u>Hollibrook Distinctions</u>. One aspect of Hollibrook that is both unique and inspiring is the celebration of successes—both great and small. Faculty meetings are times for announcing student achievements, complimenting smooth transitions through changes, or even individual staff successes. The staff and faculty show support for one another and thereby acknowledges a common struggle through difficult times.

A majority of the school population is Hispanic/Latino, with some students and parents speaking little or no English. We have found examples that suggest

student progress toward bilingualism is rapid as some teaching teams are working to ensure that all their students learn both English and Spanish; during the year of our study, one team tested all of its students using both English and Spanish versions of the achievement tests. Bilingual signs direct parents to various school areas, and Spanish translators are present at parent-attended functions.

The successes at Hollibrook have been achieved through the development of a shared vision coupled with the collective scrutiny of practice in relation to that vision. Curricular and instructional changes that focus on a common mission give guidance to the staff so that, if derailed, they know how to get back on track. The reliance on vision and mission build a strong program for a student population that is experiencing a long overdue opportunity for a successful school experience. Shared leadership is essential to the realization of the school's collective goals to provide experiences for their students and assure their well-being.

Dr. Charles E. Gavin Elementary School: Family Relationships Among Leaders

Close to one hundred percent of the Gavin neighborhood is classified as living in poverty. The 1990-91 student mobility rate was 36.2 percent, and 94.7 percent of the Gavin families are welfare recipients. The proximity of Gavin children to drug dealing and other crime, along with the pervasive poverty of the area, offers a great challenge to the students and the school staff. The development of strong relationships among all Gavin school members seems to be one key to the success realized at this site. The Gavin principal was once a Gavin student and also a Gavin teacher. Many of the Gavin teachers were once Gavin students. Even though most have moved out of the immediate area, all feel a sense of loyalty and responsibility to the students who are now attending Gavin.

The opportunities for division and diversion outside of the school building are numerous. Teachers see many very young, single parents today who do not always support the academic efforts of their children. Teachers cited the need for parenting classes. To assist these families Gavin parents can join the Family Literacy Program, which offers parent support groups, vocational training, family workshops, adult education courses, and many special events. Childcare and transportation are offered free of charge.

The leadership at Gavin School is characterized by a, "quiet . . . probing . . . determined," principal with a staff who is central to the decision-making process at the school. Many described the flow of decision making as lateral. Decisions may begin at any point and can be taken to the steering committee, faculty, or principal. Typically the steering committee, the representative advisory group for the school, brings concerns to the faculty, who then democratically decide the outcome. The principal's position on the steering committee is equal to her teaching staff. The teachers set the agenda and alternate chairing the meetings. The principal listens to the questions and discussion and offers information that is needed to assist the steering committee in making recommendations to the faculty. The fieldnotes of steering committee meetings show a principal whose demeanor is that of a facilitator when necessary while accepting the decisions made by the staff.

Although described as quiet and unassuming, the Gavin principal is viewed as a tower of strength. Her determination is that Gavin School become a place of security for her students and part of a community support system. The principal leads not by pressure or coercion, but through expertise, knowledge, and developing interpersonal relationships. The affiliation with Illinois Accelerated Schools has brought a feeling of oneness to the staff; the shared commitment brings people together.

The Warrant for Progress. Progress at Gavin can be measured in many ways. Standardized achievement score testing, one concrete measure, depicts scores as fluctuating during the years of the change. The development of special programs has given the children life experiences they would not find in a neighborhood with few material comforts. Children may participate in the young medics program, plant vegetables in the garden plot in the back of the school, work in the school store, and attend any number of programs (during school hours, after school, and on weekends) designed to develop a positive self-image. The Gavin staff believe that if they can help children build positive self-images, then academic talents will accede to full potential. Academic success is only one part of Gavin's aspirations. The faculty feel strongly that the whole child must be developed. The staff hopes that the caring shown for Gavin students lets them know that they do have shelter from the difficult life in the community. One teacher describes their caring as familial, "And we tell our kids all the time, I'm your mother here at school."

Student and neighborhood members must also feel this sense of commitment, the sense that Gavin School is there for them. Since Gavin joined the Illinois Accelerated Schools program not one school burglary has occurred, and the school remains graffiti-free. Not one grievance has been filed since the school became a part of the Illinois Accelerated Schools network. The principal believes that Gavin's affiliation with Accelerated Schools allows the staff to feel less confined; the staff acknowledges that they now feel that they have room to grow. Everyone is considered a professional, and the school administrator perpetuates this belief through her support of the faculty. She has faith in her staff and challenges them to push the limits of their experiences. Gavin teachers now routinely make presentations at conferences discussing their Illinois Accelerated Schools affiliation.

Gavin teachers govern themselves. All faculty members are aware of their mission and the problems faced by their students. A shared sense of duty--the understanding that they have a great responsibility and many obstacles to overcome--is evident in the interviews conducted for the study. Teachers recognize the academic need to provide an education that will place the children on grade level, yet they know there is so much more to be done. They are providing love and protection for their students, raising student self-esteem, and working to help the children overcome the pressures of the community to be drawn into drugs or crime. The teachers have made personal commitments to develop the whole child. One teacher explains her belief that she bears some responsibility for each of her students far beyond the year she spends with them in the classroom. "[I]f I look out there and I see a child that I've taught and that child is standing on the corner with drugs, or doing something that's illegal, I always feel that I was a part of it." The responsibility of teaching is shared equally among faculty. If a teacher is not performing to acceptable standards, other faculty will try to assist. Many times the faculty is aware of the problems that fellow teachers may face, but they are not judgmental--they find ways to provide support for their colleague.

Gavin Distinctions. The Gavin staff is an unusually close and supportive group. They report sharing in each other's life experiences, supporting one another during emergencies or life changing experiences, and listening to one another when a day has not gone well. The teachers speak repeatedly of their ability to express

an unpopular or differing point of view and yet remain professionally respected and friendly with one another. One particularly rousing faculty meeting caused some teachers to differ loudly and emphatically with one another. After the meeting the most active participants stayed to chat, renew the controversy, and tease each other about their behavior.

Gavin School and the community have built a partnership through mutual support. For example, one parent has had problems with drug addiction, yet she expressed an interest in volunteering time at the school. The Gavin principal was pleased to accept the offer with the only proviso being that the parent could not enter the school if she was under the influence of drugs. Parents know that the principal has ties to the local public aid office and that she will intercede if the system is overwhelming to those who feel disenfranchised.

The school has strong economic ties with the local businesses and the community. Area businesses donate money to run Gavin's Outdoor Education Program, provide funding to purchase books to supplement a literature based reading program, and give hours of free time to tutor Gavin students. Also, a local church has provided training sessions for teachers to gain computer skills.

Gavin has needed to turn to the community for help. Severe budget cutbacks caused several programs to be dropped at Gavin, and a November 1992 referendum was seen as a way to bring back these much needed programs. Gavin faculty campaigned long and hard for support, and the Gavin community was heavily in favor of the referendum and voted for its passage. The rest of the community responded in kind and passed the tax increase. Clearly the school supports the community, and when it can, the community supports Gavin.

Cross Keys Middle School: Leadership Relations Developed through Debate and Discussion

Located in the suburban St. Louis area, Cross Keys Middle School began a rapid shift in student population when school desegregation became the law in Missouri in 1975. One teacher explained that, "we were a middle to upper-middle class, largely white collar, 60 to 80 percent college bound type school district . . . and with desegregation that changed . . . [Now] we're middle- to lower-middle [class]

socioeconomic [district] . . . [with] a large percent minority, probably less than a third college bound." The Cross Keys principal explained the effect that this demographic change had on the teaching staff. "The game changed for teachers who [were] twenty year veterans. They got into [teaching] because they loved their content, but the kids changed and so did the community. Their preparation didn't prepare them. The school population changed to a 'needy population' with one in three in poverty, many bused over nine miles. What teachers got into teaching for changed."

When discussing its mission, the Cross Keys faculty does not refer to the National Middle School Association by name. Rather, a general goal of becoming a fully functioning middle school is incorporated into the principal's vision for Cross Keys. The impetus for this vision is the principal. There is a general agreement among Cross Keys faculty that the commitment to a middle school philosophy was synchronous with her arrival at Cross Keys. She is cited as the "prime mover" who prods the staff toward this goal. Her movement toward this vision appears to be a directed, conscious one. Students are the center of the course of this directed movement.

While most teachers interviewed spoke of a belief that individual student needs must be met, there is disagreement on how to meet those needs. Many Cross Keys teachers spoke of their "slightly different" foci and of the need to be individuals. Several teachers discussed the mission solely in terms of "my commitment" to the mission.

Cross Keys staff members report the presence of an important tension at the school. Such tension is not surprising when considering the scope of change that is underway. Some teachers are uncomfortable with any level of change; others are uneasy with what they perceive to be constant change; still others are impatient with those who have not yet changed or those who simply refuse to change. The staff openly debate differences, and teams disagree with one another about curriculum and instruction.

The principal is cited as the change agent who has the ability to bring faculty members along who might otherwise cling to the old paradigm. She ensures that the change process is the focus of the school. The Cross Keys principal expects

change among the faculty and supports them through the process; she describes herself as "an enabler." Staff development is designed to provide faculty with the latest literature and current research related to the Cross Keys mission of becoming a fully functioning middle school. Additionally, the principal provides ideas and challenges to her staff, yet allows them the professional judgment necessary to choose the instructional methods and organizational plans that will fulfill these goals. Teachers, counselors, teams, team leaders, and administrators are all identified as performing in leadership roles in the arenas of curriculum design, vision, and mission realization.

The Warrant for Progress. Evidence of student achievement gains, the development of an intensive staff development program, and the notoriety received by the school support the claim of progress at Cross Keys. The year the current principal arrived at Cross Keys, achievement data were bimodal. Presently, the data are skewed to the right with no loss of those performing at the high end of the achievement measures. Additional achievement data show that eighth grade students progress one stanine above their seventh grade entrance scores. The principal attributes this success to the elimination of tracking, the use of student learning styles information, and an integrated curriculum model.

Staff development has focused on keeping Cross Keys faculty abreast of current research. Monthly staff meetings have become staff development programs at which teachers receive current research and literature on topics such as adult learners, brain functioning, at risk learners, learning styles, and the writing of interdisciplinary units. The principal is credited with bringing these programs to Cross Keys. These staff development programs focus on the vision the principal has set for the school.

Cross Keys Distinctions. In keeping with its mission of providing nurturance, considerable effort is expended in placing Cross Keys students on teams with teachers and programs that will best serve each adolescent. The Cross Keys counselors make these placement decisions, and therefore must know the professional philosophy and personality of each team as they make decisions that place students in groups that will remain together for one academic year. One team may tend to become more "psychologically hooked with kids," and students needing this connection would be placed on this team. Conversely, students

needing a firm hand to allow for maximum achievement would be placed on a team that can work well with such students.

Students are viewed as "whole persons" rather than as bodies to be filled with content. The teaching team serves as a home base for Cross Keys students and provides an easier transition from middle school to high school. Students attend classes with the same team of students taught by the same team of teachers throughout an academic year.

The Cross Keys principal is active in the National Middle School Association (NMSA) and many Cross Keys teachers have presented at NMSA conferences. They share their struggles as they learn about effective teaching and nurturing in the middle school. They share the interdisciplinary units they have developed for their classrooms. They share their classrooms with other educators who have come to see Cross Keys in action. They do not represent themselves and their school as having all the answers. They share both struggles and their successes.

Roger L. Sullivan High School: Hierarchical Relationships Among Educational Leaders.

Sullivan High School, part of the Chicago Public School System, exhibits many of the problems that are common in our urban schools: lack of adequate funding, large class sizes, drug abuse, gang activity, transient students, a high drop-out rate, low parent involvement, and union problems. These problems have become challenges to the Sullivan staff who are seeking new teaching strategies and forms of leadership to overcome these obstacles to meet the needs of a very diverse population of students. Fifty-five percent of the Sullivan students are of African-American descent, 26 percent are Hispanic/Latino, 10 percent are Asian, and 9 percent are White. In addition, there are more then 30 languages spoken in students' homes.

Sullivan's principal, who has been at the school since 1977, is viewed as an effective leader by his staff. He is described as approachable, involved with the faculty, honest with the staff, and innovative. This is high praise for someone who replaced a well-liked principal and then brought sweeping reform to the school.

In 1984 the principal was given a mandate by the Superintendent to begin the Paideia Program and to choose the faculty to teach this challenging program. Today, Sullivan staff support their principal's belief in the Paideia Program and cite him as the visionary leader who brought needed change to their school. The head administrator's faith and pride in the program is obvious; he has reorganized the school to conform to the Paideia strictures. Such change requires the guidance of a strong leader, and this principal has shown himself to be one. He is the instructional leader at Sullivan. The daily chores of discipline, programming, attendance, and the other non-academic duties are left to his assistants.

The discussion of teacher empowerment and leadership at Sullivan must begin by recognizing the bureaucratic structure of the Chicago Public School System. The steering committee, Sullivan's representative decision-making body formed through their affiliation with the Alliance for Essential Schools, is trying to begin the restructuring of the decision-making process at Sullivan. Teachers have expressed their support for this effort. The actual power of this representative body is uncertain. The power of the steering committee appears to be strained due to the other groups that vie for authority within this system. The parameters of power among the Sullivan steering committee, the Local School Council, the school board, the teachers' union, and the Chicago Public School system are unclear.

An assistant principal heads the steering committee. She sees the Alliance as offering teachers an opportunity to express their thoughts on change and to make decisions which directly involve the school site. Committee members meet to discuss ways to meet the needs of the Sullivan students and faculty. While this is a beginning, it is clear that the committee does not yet have the power to effect any real change. It appears that there is a provision for Alliance schools to seek waivers for decisions made at the site level that are not a part of system-wide policy. The steering committee has not had success seeking these waivers to implement their change efforts; in fact, the committee does not seem to be aware of the waiver application process.

Sullivan's preoccupation with the powers of the district office, school board, union, and local school council is understandable. The bureaucracy of the third largest school system in the country is often formidable. Teachers complained

bitterly about the paperwork necessary to receive supplies and to request funding. We saw evidence that the steering committee found this bureaucracy impenetrable and was therefore unable to fulfill its mandate to effect change at the school site level. The optimism brought by Alliance affiliation, the chance to build a school that works for its unique population, is thwarted by the overarching control of the central governance system.

The Warrant for Progress. Two objectives of the Paideia Program are to teach students to be thoughtful discussants and to learn to take active roles in their educational lives. A close look at Paideia seminars shows how these objectives can be accomplished. These sessions begin with open ended questions, or in Paideia terminology, an essential question. The teacher need not be the questioner. A seminar can begin with an essential question from a student. This was observed in an advanced placement English class. One student opened class by quoting a text passage, and other students began to discuss their interpretations, ask questions, and challenge the comments of others. This class discussion-- generally guided by the teacher--moved form text interpretation, to questions of its applicability to daily life, to questions of morality, and back to text interpretation. Another classroom observation of an all-school Paideia Seminar indicated the traditional teacher initiation--student response--teacher evaluation format was not in evidence. Typically, students controlled the discussion by responding to one another. The instructor interjected comments and questions to clarify terms and to bring the discussion back on track. Although the two observations did not show all students taking an active role in their learning, the method of instruction offered was innovative and did stimulate thoughtful discussion.

An exciting change for the Sullivan teachers has been brought about by their affiliation with the Paideia program. The Paideia training has brought teachers back to the classroom as learners once again. They report great changes in their teaching, their interactions with colleagues, and in their lives outside of Sullivan. Talk of once again exchanging ideas, feeling reinvigorated in the classroom, and falling in love with learning are sentiments echoed by many faculty members. The Sullivan principal believes that the ability to run a Socratic Seminar makes the faculty feel more like teachers, and reading primary works changes something very basic in them--their daily conversations with one another at school. One

teacher concurs. "We have conversations about very heady issues, from Aristotle's politics to the value of zero."

Sullivan distinctions. Changes in curriculum at Sullivan have brought growth to both students and faculty. The Paideia Program requires intensive teacher preparation for effective implementation, and Sullivan's principal has taken charge of preparing the faculty by arranging for on- and off-campus training for the teachers. As an added support he teaches once per week in the classrooms of Sullivan's new teachers until they feel comfortable employing the Socratic Method--a hallmark of Paideia. Additionally, the principal co-teaches with the continuing Sullivan faculty. He will spend three consecutive weeks in one classroom running a Socratic seminar which consists of the reading and discussing of a primary work (the Paideia term for classical literature).

This practice keeps the principal in Sullivan classrooms between 10 to 20 periods per week. He finds that his presence in the classroom is not threatening to his faculty, and in fact, "after a while they're pulling to get you into their classrooms." This level of involvement allows him the opportunity to know the instructional content in Sullivan classrooms and to know and understand the students and teachers in ways not possible for most secondary school principals. Such leadership through Paideia is visible, active, and continuous. When asked about leadership the administrator did not discuss the Alliance for Essential Schools since this affiliation was forged to assist in the restructuring of Sullivan; this principal's focus is clearly academic and his comments regarding the Alliance were confined to his support of the Diploma by Exhibition.

As at the other sites, supplementary funding is necessary for implementation and continued realization of the exemplary program available to Sullivan students. The Sullivan principal has been extraordinarily successful in seeking grant money to educate staff, obtain the necessary program materials, and pay the teaching staff for the hours spent in curriculum and program planning.

Changing Relationships Among Education Participants

In all of the schools the principals are attempting to meet the demands of teachers who have exciting ideas about change in school structure and who want to find

time to work with one another to create, adapt, and assess new forms of curriculum and instruction. But meeting these demands often requires modification of state policy, district policy, negotiated contracts, and various combinations of all three. This forces attention to one of the dilemmas of site-based management and school-based decision making. For whom does the principal work? The teachers? The students? The district? The community? Self? How does one balance the needs of those who have become committed to change and have shaped school-based professional agendas with the needs of those whose visions of change are somewhat different, but who hold great power over both the financing and the future of reform?

In addition, many of the schools' initiatives require money for new supplies, for off-campus learning opportunities, for continuing professional development, and for meeting the demands of interested visitors who have heard of the schools' successes. Principals seldom have large discretionary funds to allocate throughout the year. The principals in our cases were all heavily involved in a search for money to support progress. Writing grants for curriculum development, forming partnership arrangements, lobbying for additional state or district funds, and seeking local donations have assumed great importance in the lives of these schools and the jobs of these principals. Hollibrook has formed a cadre to focus on financial concerns and, possibly, to market the school's curriculum products.

But money is not the only form of support identified as important by the four schools. Both Hollibrook and Gavin are actively searching for volunteer talent within the school community. Hollibrook approaches this by establishing within-school opportunities for the immediate neighborhood. Gavin does so by enlisting the aid of former graduates, former community residents, and local community institutions. Sullivan and Cross Keys, while acknowledging the importance of community support, have devoted more of their time to accessing information and ideas provided by national figures within the networks set in place by their respective commitments. In other words, each of the schools acknowledges the importance of many minds and many hands as they revise local notions of schooling. This has direct implications for the principal, who must become actively involved in searching the talent pool and the idea pool so that the school can take advantage of both.

And, therefore, teachers' work is similarly undergoing change as it too becomes more consciously political, entrepreneurial, and tentative. There is a sense of professional safety and security in closing one's door and working in a one-to-class relationship. Working in teams to develop interdisciplinary units, to negotiate cross-grade activities, to redesign school structure, or to renegotiate policy does not fit the more familiar image of a Mr. Chips or even a Miss Jean Brodie. What has traditionally been considered teacher leadership--that of organizing and implementing classroom curricula--is becoming only one facet of teacher leadership in these four schools. At the same time, decisions that may have once been autonomous are now subject to public scrutiny and negotiation from peers and from outside visitors who come to learn from the school.

Both Mary Polite (1993) (site researcher at Cross Keys) and Marlene Johnson (1993) (site researcher at Hollibrook) have offered typologies for describing this phenomenon within their cases. Polite discusses *prestigious leaders* who have influence on the behaviors, opinions, and values of others; *instructional leaders* who shape curriculum redesign and redevelopment; *positional leaders* who hold designated leadership positions; *visionary leaders* who develop and disseminate models of the futures; and *resistance leaders* who serve as a reality check for the others. Johnson differentiates between *instructional leadership*, with a focus on improving instruction; *professional leadership*, with a focus on becoming aware of and adapting knowledge made available through research and related literature; and *organizational leadership*, with a focus on maintaining the health of the school. We find their distinctions, especially with regard to teachers' leadership opportunities, across the four schools.

As we discussed above, the impetus for reform (or vision of reform) did not originate with teachers in any of the four schools (although this should not be interpreted to mean that this cannot occur). The visionary leadership originated with someone in an administrative position, and because these people were also positional leaders, they held sufficient power to demand teacher attention. But attention by itself does not necessitate commitment. There are people whose professional opinions hold great importance within the four schools. In an almost tacit acknowledgement of both these prestigious leaders and any potential resistance leaders, three of the four principals were allowed to facilitate staff transfers for those who did not want to become a part of the change initiative.

Similarly, commitment does not guarantee action. The instructional leaders are especially important in making sure that the talk, the rhetoric, and the vision are followed by concrete actions. At the same time, the organizational leaders maintain an infrastructure that can accommodate the important oxymoron of stable change. Once concrete actions begin to occur, the resistance leaders can become very important to both the change effort and the overall health of the organization. As many curriculum researchers have noted, evaluation is often the forgotten element of reform. Those who resist by demanding tangible proof that the effort is worth the sacrifice act as internal forces for evaluation. Perhaps this is best exemplified by the tension present at Cross Keys Middle School (the one school that could not accommodate staff transfers) as those who resist moving toward fully integrated academic curricula demand to know why it is superior to a more traditional curriculum.

If we are correct that there are many forms of leadership within our schools, then we would add that one person may exert more than one form at any one time--or at several points in time. One example of this can be found in the Sullivan principal. He was appointed to the school (positional leadership) and, at the same time, told that the school should become committed to the Paideia curriculum (instructional leadership). At the time he was hired, his individual vision did not guide initial reform. He was given the opportunity to hire his own staff, thus minimizing initial resistance from others, but he also needed to overcome his own resistance. Today, the Sullivan teachers agree that he is someone who keeps the vision alive and fresh. He continues to exert instructional leadership, but now his goals and values supplement and enhance that leadership.

But the school would be in disarray if it were not for his assistant principals, other instructional leaders who work with the Paideia curriculum, the external support for both Paideia and the Essential Schools, and the local school council and Chicago district office. While the principal is aware of the entire school organization, he has only a limited amount of energy and, thus, can only focus on so much. While we would not argue that the principal is of minimal importance in the building, we would argue that there are limits to his leadership, both within the building and within the district. Although much research on school leadership has focused on the role of one person--the principal or the superintendent--who

brought a vision of the future to the fore of the educational agenda and who supervised progress toward that vision, at Sullivan and the other three schools in our study we found that the principal leads in relation to others. To put it another way, the term "leader" may connote a person, but "leadership" connotes a relational process.

Leadership and Change

Time spent in reforming school organization, curriculum, instruction, and relationships within the community ranges from eight years at Sullivan to three years at Gavin. While the individual cases, even more than the brief summaries discussed above, document that each site had made progress, participants across the four schools indicated they had not completely realized their goals. We found that each school could point toward areas of frustration with lack of progress or, in some situations, a reversal. In this section, we summarize the similarities in change efforts across the schools and examine the impact that these changes have had on operations within the school. We then discuss the evolving conception of school leadership within the four contexts, focusing on the relationships among educators within the schools, the district, and the external affiliations with national reform initiatives.

Why change?

One obvious factor that prompted change within the schools was association with the stigma of low standardized test scores. In three of the four cases reform was seen as a means to improve upon their relative standings within their districts. We quickly note, however, that discussions of reform did not include any consideration of teaching to the test. Rather, these schools have begun investigating methods of teaching to prepare students better for academic success and, presumably, improved test scores will follow. The participants are united in their attempt to educate all students by providing a wide range of intellectual experiences. The challenge, they feel, is to enable students who might be labeled educationally "at risk" to develop academic competence and high self-esteem.

The community populations at each of the sites are comprised of people who do not make much money, who do not have high levels of education, and who are not able to provide the experiences that many schools expect students to have. This is a second factor related to the perceived need for change. In all cases, the

community inhabitants are no longer members of the middle class, a change that has evolved over generations; in three of the four schools, the immediate environment includes drug-related commerce, gang activity, and violence. For the elementary schools in our study, even more than the secondary schools, school change focused on providing a safe, comfortable environment for children, something that the teachers and administrators believe is a necessary precursor to academic achievement.

At the same time, each of the schools is under public scrutiny as test scores are published in newspapers and as policy makers push districts and schools for more evidence that they are, indeed, educating their students. In all of our schools, the participants spoke of the relationship between changing demographics and changes in curriculum.

A third factor promoting change was the belief that traditional forms of instruction, especially concepts such as remediation, were not sufficient to meet the challenges posed by the students. In all of the schools the faculty have and continue to engage in work sessions in which new forms of instruction are discussed and research related to teaching and learning is shared. While we note that there are differences in how this is accomplished across the schools, we found many examples of teachers and administrators who also labeled themselves as learners.

What has Changed in the Schools?
In our interviews we asked open-ended questions regarding perceived changes within the schools, including specific information about their individual responsibilities for and reactions to change. Responses can be grouped into three categories—those related to curriculum, those related to instruction and those related to school structure.

Curriculum. A major change in the curriculum has been to reformulate the curriculum to meet the needs of each school's unique population. What had been done in the past, the traditional school curriculum, did not work for the students at these sites.

At Hollibrook and Cross Keys, faculty meetings have served as staff development opportunities to gain the knowledge necessary to write curriculum that meets the

needs of their students. In both of these schools curriculum planning is a group effort. Teachers are encouraged to work collaboratively and to share their products with others. At Sullivan the Paideia Program has been the instrument for curricular change and for changes in instruction. The Sullivan principal observed that, "a teacher who has to go into a classroom and has to learn each time he or she has a class is a very powerful person. That is what a teacher is--not a person who passes out worksheets for fill-ins and true-false."

An emphasis on a curriculum incorporating many subjects into each lesson is emphasized at all of the research sites. At Cross Keys a structure for subject integration is in place. Although there is considerable variation among the teams with regard to implementing interdisciplinary units, each team has experimented with such units. One of the teams has invested so much time and energy into curriculum development that they have become a resource for others within the building--and across the nation.

Instruction. The participants in three of the four schools emphasized changes in forms of instruction. Hollibrook has designed lessons to fit the children's experiential background to both complement their experiences and fill in the gaps. Cross Keys teachers continue to develop instructional units that emphasize an interdisciplinary approach to teaching and which meet children at their levels of understanding. This is known as "entrancing" and is a focus of Cross Keys instructional methods. At Sullivan teachers and administrators now teach many of their classes using Socratic dialogues instead of teacher monologues. Sullivan participants remain frustrated, however, that they have not yet made the structural changes that would facilitate greater integration.

We noted a difference between the instructional focus in the elementary schools and the secondary schools, perhaps because of the different affiliations with national reform efforts or perhaps because of the difference in students' age. At both Gavin and Hollibrook, discussions of instructional change were linked with discussions of children's well-being and development. The elementary schools, therefore, have sought a strong and visible relationship with the adults living near the schools and have partially defined their instructional purpose to include parent education. Hollibrook, for example, has defined school structure to include a Parent Center for volunteers, a Parent University for language instruction, and a

day care center to care for the young children of volunteers. Gavin participants worked to mobilize the community in a recent bond referendum, one of many efforts to rouse the area's residents to action in support of their children's education.

We also noted that in all of the sites many participants expressed their appreciation for a general attitude encouraging innovation, risk-taking, and sharing. At Hollibrook people noted that mistakes are viewed as opportunities to learn and thus are accepted as a natural occurrence within the school year. Gavin teachers noted the threats to safety posed by the surrounding community and the importance of developing and maintaining a staff-wide commitment to caring for the whole child. At Cross Keys, participants who attempt innovative instruction reported that the principal would always find the resources to make that innovation possible. At Sullivan members of the steering committee work to understand the structural changes needed to reorganize high school operations, while at the same time working to understand how to operate within the larger educational context set by the district.

School structure. At each of the four schools, participants reported more involvement in the decisions related to instruction since they began focusing on reform. At Gavin the system for school-wide decision making was described as "lateral," meaning that teachers have both formal committees and an informal communication system available to them through which they can provide input and feedback. The Gavin participants described their work environment as having become more family-like and emphasize that the members function interdependently. They note that since their switch to more interdependence and greater sharing of issues and decisions, no grievances have been filed, nor are they likely to be filed. Teachers we interviewed remarked that their principal had become much less authoritarian, much more inclusive.

The teachers at Hollibrook operated more formally than do those at Gavin, both within grade levels and teams and within the school as a unit. Our interviews and observations documented numerous formal faculty meetings in which ideas were debated and discussed--a change in school operation begun and supported by the former principal. The emphasis on open debate has had both positive and negative

consequences. At times, those who were uncomfortable with decisions reached by seeming consensus sought to have them overturned by the district administration.

The change in school administration may have made negative outcomes related to differences of opinion more visible. We documented a slight division in the staff related to support for the former principal and to support for the new principal. Our data support the inference that some teachers perceived the new principal as being less comfortable with open debate than the former principal; there was some concern expressed that he might prefer less teacher involvement than his predecessor. At the end of the year, teachers were uncertain regarding his commitment to teacher led decision making.

Tension related to open debate concerning school-wide issues was very apparent at Cross Keys, even through the administration had remained constant for several years. According to the principal, this tension was a crucial component of the school's mission. While this feeling was shared by some teachers, others felt disturbed by lack of consensus. Unlike Gavin and Hollibrook, there were no faculty meetings devoted to airing concerns. Rather, teachers were encouraged by the principal to talk with her individually. School-wide decisions at Cross Keys were not shared by teachers and administrators. Team decisions, however, were shared among the instructional team members. Each team was in charge of its own curriculum and methods of instruction. The only caveat was that, if a decision was made that could potentially harm a child, the principal reserved veto power.

Sullivan's Alliance of Essential Schools steering committee and their local school council offered formal opportunities for discussion and debate, but during the year we observed more discussion over how decisions might be negotiated and who had what authority to make which decisions than actual decision making. Many curricular decisions are directly affected by the Paideia model; many organizational decisions are on hold until authority for making and implementing such decisions is determined. In contrast to Hollibrook and Cross Keys, tension at Sullivan was caused by the uncertainty of not knowing how to proceed as opposed to disagreement concerning changes that were already in place.

Commitment to Future Change

We have already noted that participants reported they were not satisfied with resting on past accomplishments. All hoped the future would enable them to build on their efforts in ways that would be visible both to the general public and to the participants themselves. At this point, affiliation with a national effort has provided visibility for the schools and has secured greater legitimacy for current change efforts. In addition, the external programs have brought participants into contact with people who share their concerns and who are making similar attempts toward reform. One positive side effect of such sharing is the perceived enhancement of pride and esteem among school participants--both staff and students. In many individual cases, teachers began to speak out freely about ideas for innovations within the classroom, the school, or even the district at large. At this time there are no efforts to discontinue such affiliations.

All of the schools reported difficulty with adequate funding. Changes that increased opportunities for collaboration were negatively affected by budget cuts in which planning time was eliminated. Opportunities for curriculum development to meet local needs are restricted by limited budgets for instruction. We found that participants in each of the schools actively sought alternative resources to those provided by districts. Some form of entrepreneurship and fund raising is common in all four schools. Individual teachers at Gavin solicit funds from local businesses and from Gavin graduates who have become successful. In Hollibrook and Cross Keys marketing cadres consider school products that may be sold to other schools. In all four of the schools, individuals specialize in grant writing, with Sullivan taking the lead in terms of outside dollars attracted to fund school innovation and improvement.

In addition to searches for dollars to supplement district funds, each of the four schools is involved in one or more programs permitting the school some room to operate outside of district regulations. Gavin's affiliation with the Illinois Accelerated Schools has brought an exemption from district mandated texts. Hollibrook's reputation for success has resulted, in part, from the administration and staff creatively interpreting exemption from district and state curriculum mandates. Cross Keys is permitted a high degree of freedom and autonomy with regard to curriculum. At Sullivan, involvement with the Paideia Program has

permitted a high degree of control over staffing and curriculum. It remains to be seen how much their affiliation with the Alliance of Essential Schools offers an opportunity to change school structures--including definitions of the teacher's work day.

The question of how much autonomy any school is granted is, at this point, an open question. At Hollibrook we saw evidence of school decisions being overturned by district administrators; the Gavin, Cross Keys, and Sullivan principals are in continual negotiations with their respective districts regarding local decisions. The principals of the four schools considered here hold unique positions in that they are designated leaders in schools which are trying to move away from traditional conceptions of school leadership. As such they serve as the intermediary between the schools and the districts at large. As one of our principals noted, it is often difficult to deal with top-down directives and as one attempts to deliver them to an empowered staff.

In addition each of the principals has an individual notion of what he or she feels is best for the students. This is sometimes at odds with the teachers' beliefs, leading to conflict which the principals must attempt to resolve. This is a difficult task, especially when one has made a public commitment to sharing such decisions. As people who are charged with keeping the reform vision alive and with conveying the school's image to the outside world, the principal is accountable for continuity among practice and rhetoric. The principal is still a key figure in school development, but the nature of that role seems to be changing in relation to changes in teachers' roles.

Who Leads Toward What Ends?
We conclude this analysis by returning to one of the assumptions guiding our study--the selection of schools with reputations for having made progress. Our cases have documented that participants feel that considerable change has occurred as they have made conscious commitments to meeting the psychological and educational needs of their students. Teachers feel that they have become an important part of the schools' decision-making process; administrators show off accomplishments; classroom instruction has moved from a reliance on worksheets to demonstrable evidence that teachers and students are actively engaged in a diverse array of instructional formats. Still, some might argue, this is not sufficient

proof that the schools have wisely invested their time, energy, and the taxpayers' money.

In all of the schools there is some evidence from standardized test score data suggesting that these changes have had an effect on student learning. But such data are problematic. In Texas, for example, both the date and the form of testing have changed. At Sullivan, the drop-out rate between ninth and twelfth grade suggests that test data are far from a sufficient measure of effects on students. And, with all of the methodological problems, one could question whether standardized tests are accurate reflections of either change of leadership outcomes the staff desires for students or the curricular change in place at each school. It is also possible that they are not related to what is measured by current assessment measures.

And so, as researchers and practitioners, we are left with a quandary--what counts as progress? what counts as proof? Educators, parents, policy makers, and interested parties in other fields such as business are divided with regard to this question. If we view leadership as a process, not as a person, we suggest that the answers to these questions must be negotiated, not mandated. Those who would be involved in leading such negotiations cannot rely solely on the power of policy to provide a simple measure of success; those who would lead in examining progress cannot rely solely on the reliability of multiple choice response forms to inform policy.

In other words, questions of education are inherently questions of value. In the cases discussed here, school leaders value academic progress, but they also value the social and emotional well-being of the children and adults who come together every day. In the past year we have focused on the school through the voices of (predominantly) adults. In the coming year we will shift our focus to the children, foregrounding their responses to the adults who care for their well-being. From these data we will speculate on possible connections among forms of leadership and forms of learning. Thus we will inject the voice of students into the discussion--a voice that we have come to view as missing from discussions of both leadership and value.

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