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ABSTRACT

This is a report of a study conducted in two diverse school settings: a secular junior high in northeast Texas and a private, Jewish day school (preschool through secondary) in a large southern metropolis. The purpose of the study was to explore and describe the cultures of the two schools and the cultural values imbedded in their respective contexts. A major assumption that influenced the study is that organizations are social constructions. The field research for this study was conducted over a 10-month period, 5 months at Eastwood Middle School and 5 months at Hebrew Academy. Data were gathered through interviews, observations, and documents. This first stage of the study analysis involved "unitizing," or typing field notes and documents on cards. The cards were coded according to context and placed in provisional categories on the basis of "look-alike" characteristics. The next stage consisted of further exploration of the emerging themes. The last stage included the integration of the findings into two narrative reports, which allowed for a holistic description and analysis of each social unit. The study concluded that each school's leadership is uniquely defined within its cultural context. (KDP)

Revitalizing and Preserving Cultural Values: A Qualitative Study of Two Secondary Schools

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Running Head: SCHOOL CULTURE

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REVITALIZING AND PRESERVING CULTURAL VALUES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF TWO SECONDARY SCHOOLS

School culture is rapidly becoming a widespread term in education. There are cultural surveys, cultural audits, corporate culture conferences and consultants; in almost every administrative preparation and organizational theory text there is a complete chapter on school culture. Although "culture" is in vogue in educational circles and has virtually launched an industry, there are still conceptual problems including semantics, proper modes of research, and the relationship among culture, leadership, and educational practice (Sergiovanni, 1991; Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg, and Martin, 1985; Firestone and Wilson, 1985).

William Firestone and Bruce Wilson (1985) pose "the most problematic tasks facing researchers are (1) to identify the nature of school cultures and (2) to develop means for comparing them in terms of content, means of denotation and effectiveness as sources of social constraint on individual behavior." (p. 22) They further suggest that the answer to these problems may be found through the borrowing of conceptualizations and techniques from disciplines or areas of inquiry not usually relied on in the study of schools.

Purpose

This is a report of a study conducted in two diverse school settings: a secular junior high in Northeast Texas and a private, Jewish day school in a large southern metropolis (Harris, 1992; 1993). The purpose of the study was to explore and describe the cultures of the two schools and the cultural values imbedded in their respective contexts. A major assumption that influenced the study is that organizations are social constructions, symbolically constituted and reproduced through interaction (Smircich, 1985). This assumption has impact on the outcomes, especially those associated with culture, leadership and educational practice. One of the important contributions of this work to the field of education is the elaboration of social anthropologist Mary Douglas's

(1982) model for interpreting social order. Through this model I display the cultural values in each setting and demonstrate the pressure that each of these social environment's exerts on individual behavior and autonomy.

Organizational Culture

The term "culture" has a rich and controversial heritage in the fields of anthropology, business, and education. Much of anthropological study has focused on the diversity of human traditions, beliefs, values, customs, and practices that are collectively called culture (Plog and Bates, 1980).

A point of contention between cultural theorists is the degree to which leaders have control over culture. Central to this debate is the ambiguous nature of the term "culture". Some researchers suggest that culture should be conceptualized as part of what an organization *is* rather than what an organization *has* (Goodenough, 1971; Smircich, 1983). In other words, organizations do not *have* cultures, they *are* cultures, and it is extremely hard for leaders to manage or shape these cultures.

Others propose that organizational culture is in the realm of leadership control (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Siehl, 1985). They view organizations as value bound enterprises, and these values are what define and produce culture and hold the key to its management. Deal and Kennedy (1982) describe cultural values as the basic beliefs that are shared across the institution. They shape and control the way an organization operates and are the criteria by which one can judge the correctness of individual and group behavior. They articulate the essence of an institution's philosophy, provide a sense of common direction, and indicate what it deems important.

These values can be shaped and disseminated through icons, rituals and ceremonies (Firestone & Wilson, 1985); stories, myths, and metaphors (Deal & Kennedy, 1982); special language or jargon (Edelman, 1977); facility decor (Peters & Waterman, 1982); and an informal network of cultural players who reinforce and protect existing norms (Deal & Kennedy, 1982). From this

perspective, culture is viewed as a powerful means of implicit control over the organization (Siehl, 1985).

Can culture be shaped and directed? Or is cultural management out of the control of organizational leaders? Siehl (1985) offers one answer to the debate:

> It would seem that rather than striving for an unequivocal yes or no in response to the question of managing culture, a more fruitful approach would be to explore the conditions under which it would be more likely that culture could be managed. In other words, the question should be changed from "Can culture be managed?" to "When and what aspects of culture can be managed?" (p. 126).

Furthermore, a consistent message coming from the research on organizational culture is that the leader's *awareness* of the groups behavioral norms and traditions will make a difference in his/her effectiveness in having any impact at all on the culture (Smircich, 1985). This study offers a portrait of two schools. In one, the principal is aware of the school's culture and attempts to revitalize this culture. In the other, the principal seeks to preserve and perpetuate the vital dimensions inherent in the culture and its community.

Methodology

The field research for this study was conducted over a ten month period, five months at Eastwood Middle School in a rural Northeast Texas town and five months at Hebrew Academy in a large, southern, urban metroplex. Data were gathered through interviews, observations, and documents. Chief informants for both schools included teachers, students, parents, both principals, support staff, and community members. A tape recorder was used to record formal and casual interviews, and notes were written during or immediately subsequent to interviews and observations. Douglas's (1982) social order model was also incorporated to decipher the unique features of each social environment.

Through careful observation, many fine points were assiduously noted such as: details of classroom decor, teacher and student mannerisms, non-verbal exchanges, and intercahnge of students and teachers between class periods. Much

information was also gleaned through studying annual reports, accreditation documents, newsletters, handbooks, photographs, and Jewish Federation records.

Some degree of analysis occurred throughout the study. However, the constant comparison method (Glaser & Strauss, 1981) was the primary means for deriving (grounding) theory. The first stage involved "unitizing," or typing small units (ranging from one phrase to a paragraph) of information derived from field notes and documents on 3x5 cards (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The cards were coded according to context and placed in provisional categories on the basis of "look-alike" characteristics.

Propositional statements or labels were ascribed to each category. These labels changed over time, as the categories were continuously compared with others. Through this constant comparison I eventually began to observe emergent themes and category properties.

The next stage consisted of further exploration of the emerging themes. I discussed findings with informants and asked probing questions to further clarify or modify the findings. As the process of constant comparison and verification was repeated, modifications became fewer.

The last stage included the integration of the findings into two narrative reports, or case studies, which allowed for a holistic description and analysis of each social unit (Merriam, 1988). This reporting mode was chosen because: the case study provides a basis for transferability to other sites, it is suited to demonstrating the variety of mutually shaping influences, and it can portray local contextual values (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Over 30 informants from each school reviewed and critiqued the respective drafts and made written and verbal comments. Revisions were made, and the narrative reports in this paper are precise abridgments of the final case studies. Names have been changed to protect anonymity.

A Social Matrix for Interpretation

Douglas (1982) has identified two social factors (grid/group) that are useful in interpreting unique features of diverse cultures and their varied value dimensions. The concept of "grid" refers to a dimension of individuation and is a means of examining and comparing the degree of autonomy in diverse social settings. The "group" dimension refers to social incorporation and is useful in interpreting the strength and values of the collective to which individuals belong.

The grid factor focuses on how a social system pressures or molds individuals to conforming behavior through role distinctions and social rules (high grid), or to nonconforming behavior where individuals exhibit unique value and autonomy (low grid). In a high grid social system there are sharply defined expectations, social rules, and role categories. Thus, individual autonomy is constrained. At the lowest level of grid a culture has few distinctions among its members, and individuals are esteemed more for their behavior or character rather than their ascribed role status. A way to illustrate this concept is to picture the rows of shelves in a roll-top desk. Generally speaking, the top row has numerous shelves for sorting papers and letters. There may be up to twenty or more categories, or "roles", assigned for filing (high grid). The lower rows have fewer categories. The lowest may have only two large shelves (low grid) for incoming and outgoing mail. (Lingenfelter, 1992)

The "group" concept deals with the holistic aspect of the social complex. It defines a collective to which individuals belong, especially in the context of corporate goals and values. In high group social environments there are specific membership criteria and explicit pressures to consider group relationships. Individuals must continually evaluate the collective as well as personal interest. The *sine qua non* characteristic of a high group society is the primacy of group survival.

In a low group social environment pressure for group-focused activities and relationships is relatively weak. Members of social and working subgroups tend

to focus on activities rather than long-term corporate objectives, and their allegiance to the group fluctuates and changes (Lingenfelter, 1992).

Based on the grid/group concept, Douglas (1982) identifies four distinct sets of social environments. The low grid/low group type is referred to as the "Individualist" social environment. The high grid/low group set comprises the "Bureaucratic Systemic" culture. The high grid/high group identifies a "Corporate Systemic" environment. The low grid/high group constitutes a "Collectivist" social setting.

Table 1
Types of Social Environments

High Grid	Bureaucratic Systemic	Corporate Systemic
Low Grid	Individualist	Collectivist
	Low Group	High Group

Douglas details an impressive set of criteria for interpreting a given social context (see Douglas, 1982, pp. 205-208). A summary of these social patterns is offered below:

Bureaucratic Systemic (high grid, low group)

1. In the extreme case, the individual has no scope for personal transactions.
2. The sphere of individual autonomy is minimal.
3. Individual behavior is fully defined and without ambiguity.
4. Little value is placed on group goals or survival.

Individualist (low grid, low group)

1. The social relationships and experiences of the individual are not constrained by group rules or traditions.

2. Role status and rewards are competitive and are contingent on existing, temporal standards.

3. Emphasis on social distinction among individuals is submerged.

4. Little value is placed on long-term group survival.

Corporate Systemic (high grid, high group)

1. Social relationships and experiences are constrained and influential by boundaries maintained by the group against outsiders.

2. Individuals identification is heavily derived from group membership.

3. Individual behavior is subject to controls exercised in the name of the group.

4. Roles are hierarchical.

5. The roles at the top of the hierarchy have unique value and power (generally limited to a small number of individuals) and there are many role distinctions at the middle and bottom runs.

6. The perpetuation of traditions and the survival of the group is of utmost importance.

Collectivist (low grid, high group)

1. Same as criteria 1 through 3 in Corporate Systemic.

2. There are few social distinctions other than fundamental roles as male-female or parent-child.

3. Role status is competitive, yet because of the strong group influence, rules for status definitions and placement are more stable than in weak group societies.

4. Group survival is highly valued.

The grid-group model has inherent strengths and weaknesses. As a four-part diagnostic matrix, it is complex enough to show variation and distinctions of value orientations among diverse groups, yet for the experienced researcher its explanatory power may be too simplistic to capture the vast historical and sociocultural diversity of human society. Lingenfelter (1992) further explains:

> This model is not intended to reduce social and cultural differences to a simple, four-variant social matrix, but rather to release participant-observers from the conceptual bondage of their own social environments by providing a means for contrast and comparison. The grid/group model provides conceptual glasses through which we may discover new perspectives on the people, the

> social activities, and the expressed meanings and values that are part of living and working.... (p. 33)

The application of the Douglas model is offered below. It should be noted that the two social contexts studied, Eastwood Middle School and Hebrew Academy, do not perfectly fit into the nice, neat analytical boxes of the model. Nonetheless, they are good representatives of the cultural expressions and value differences inherent in two of the four social environments described in the matrix.

Eastwood Middle School: Individualist (Low Grid/Low Group)

Located in the beautiful pine forests of Northeast Texas is Pryor, home of 22,736 people and the seat of Woodrow County. Pryor is a diversified farming and logging town which produces cotton, vegetables, fruits, and lumber.

On the outskirts of Pryor lies Eastwood ISD, a creation of several small urban communities that merged in the 1950s. Eastwood Middle School is comprised of grades six through eight, with approximately 400 students. Many describe the school as a "friendly, homey place" and "it is like a family here."

My first impression of the middle school, upon entering the one-story, double-winged facility, is how clean, orderly, and fresh the large, open hallways appear. There is no paper or clutter on the floor, and the bathrooms are free of graffiti. The lockers that border each side of the corridor are neatly closed with few security locks.

The ethnic make-up of the school reflects that of its community with 85% Anglo, 11% Black, 3% Hispanic, and 1% classified as "other". These students are from lower to upper middle income range and about 80% live in single-parent, broken, or non-traditional homes. A board member commented on the disadvantaged students who go to school each day:

> The teachers are very aware of those kids from lower socioeconomic and bad family backgrounds. I know of teachers who have given kids clothes to wear. I've never seen a bunch of teachers care more for kids.

Dr. Elaine Wetmore has been the junior high principal for two years. Her youthful appearance is tempered with an aura of self-confidence and professionalism. Until her arrival, the school, according to most of the 20 teachers and many community members, was characterized by instability and lack of direction. Wetmore has endeavored to change this image through a variety of means, including the development of a school mission statement. She communicates this through the acronym APPLE:

> We want to promote Academic Performance in a Positive Learning Environment (APPLE). One thing this means is instilling in each student a love for learning and providing an atmosphere in which each student can learn.

Generally speaking, all the educators at Eastwood Middle School approach their occupation with missionary zeal, and they believe they can make a difference in the lives of the students. Comments include:

> I really think I can make a difference; I really consider it a ministry. I just love kids.
>
> Through teaching I have the opportunity to touch the future.
>
> I feel I have a responsibility to talk about certain values to my students, such as, the value of family and respect.

There are some core life skills the middle school educators strive to instill in the students. They desire them to be both good students and good people. They want students to "accept themselves", "acquire healthy attitudes toward life and learning", "respect others", and "be responsible, productive citizens".

Dr. Wetmore has instituted a weekly ritual that ceremoniously acknowledges students who demonstrate these and other qualities. She calls it the "Student of the Week". The superintendent believes that the "Student of the Week" is "one of the best things that goes on in the district. It makes kids feel good about doing good." Dr. Wetmore proudly explains the concept:

> To be "Student of the Week" the only criteria is that the student be selected by every teacher and, that he or she is an all-around good kid. It does not include being a straight "A" student, being captain of the football team, or being head cheerleader. We are particularly looking for unsung heroes, just your average kid who comes to school every day but goes beyond the call of duty. We

> try to catch them doing something good. Every week we select one from the sixth, seventh, and eight grades.
>
> When we select the student, we don't tell him or her, and we ask the parents not to tell their child. We invite the parents to come to school on the following Monday, and during the morning announcements, we inform the students who the three "Students of the Week" are. We have never had a situation when the parents didn't show. We've even had grandparents come.
>
> We have spent no money on this. We give them a little badge that entitles them to go to the front of the lunch line all week long. They get a certificate (they get one to take home, and we post one in the building). We also get coupons from community businesses. We get one from Burger King for a free Whopper, one from JJ's Video for a free movie, one for a free ice cream sundae at Hershell's. I always tell them they get a night out on the town, because they're a good kid. I always tell them "You make sure I would approve of the movie you see!"
>
> At the end of the week they bring back their badge so it will be ready for next week. At the end of the year, we take a picture of the past "Students of the Week" for the yearbook and newspaper.

The superintendent praises the efforts by Dr. Wetmore to give the school a positive image and direction:

> The things Elaine has done have given the board a vision for what we can do in the public school to help students be productive citizens. We want each teacher to have a vision for what these kids can become.

Dr. Wetmore endeavors to constantly shape the junior high's positive image and to convince the community of the cultural values and social benefits of the school. She is an avid spokesperson for the school, and she strives to convince others by words and actions to accept the school's goals and mission.

In her short tenure at the school a new educational environment has begun to evolve that is characterized by rigor, relevancy, and high individual expectations. The school currently offers a wide variety of curricular and co-curricular activities. There seems to be something for everyone and anyone to excel in. In addition to state mandated courses, students can choose to participate in choir, band, athletics, chorus, life management skills, vocational arts, advanced computer literacy, speech, art, and variety of other electives.

Content of subject matter is not slighted. The teachers are very concerned with giving students a proper academic foundation. However, there is an equal or

greater emphasis in process and application. The rapid rise in the average standardized test scores and decline in drop-outs over the last two years indicate that these emphases have paid off.

Another focus is to integrate value issues with the subject matter. One teacher gave a common response to the type of values education at the school: "I don't say, 'We are going to have a value lesson today.' We discuss things when they come up."

The teachers talk very freely about value issues in their classrooms but are careful not to "force feed" or push their beliefs on students. Whether the subject area is math, history, science or home economics, the teachers find creative ways to specifically integrate value lessons in their classes. Examples include the following:

> We have discussions on MTV, movies. Yesterday one of the students gave a speech on censoring music, and I really used that to discuss some basic issues about censorship.
>
> One of my student's mother died over the holidays. I had all my students write a sympathy card, and we discussed what it's like to lose a loved one.
>
> I have recorded some after school television specials for class use. They include teenage pregnancy, promiscuity, child molestation, etc. We watch them together and discuss them in depth.
>
> I race bikes and run in events that raise money for charity organizations. The kids always help sponsor me, and I tell them what all the money goes for that they donate. They love to help.

The school's cultural environment is characterized by few social and role distinctions. One teacher said, "In this school, kids are kids, their social background and race mean nothing to me." High value is placed on individual importance. Wetmore's constant message is that each child is "precious and priceless." Individual autonomy is also valued. Many students expressed that they "feel safe" and "free to be myself" in the school.

The principal, faculty, and staff strive to develop and maintain a positive environment characterized by mutual respect and clearly communicated expectations. There are school rules and regulations, but teachers are free to incorporate their own guidelines if they in the parameter of district mandates.

Although these classroom rules vary from teacher to teacher, the common denominators of respect and responsibility seem to pervade:

> I don't put my rules up in class. I just have these rules: (1) come to class; (2) bring your equipment; (3) respect me; (4) I respect you.
>
> I have a conduct system in my class. They know what they're supposed to do. I want them to know I care enough about them to help them do what they are supposed to. They have to learn responsibility.
>
> I just take each situation on an individual basis rather than having set guidelines. I try to make the right decisions, and I am not afraid to say "I'm sorry" when I make a mistake.

The faculty and administration speak often of the "developmental needs" of the particular age groups in the middle school. The progressive changes that students go through from childhood through adolescence are taken into consideration in the educational process.

> In this school, kids are kids, but the goal is to help them be responsible adults. It's a gradual progression, and the emphasis here is to understand the progressive, holistic development of children.
>
> They are given situations and given guidance in making responsible decisions. It is a progressive maturation process.
>
> The "wonder years" are so strange, and the kids are strange during these years, but they can't help it. It's their hormones. They may hear you one day and forget what you said the next.

Eastwood Middle School is a school unconcerned with group or corporate preservation. Rather the educators emphasize and strive to promote the individual growth of each student. There is a caring atmosphere. In all of my conversations with students, none of them spoke negatively of the teachers or administration. One of the coaches best described the ambience and the influence of the principal:

> If Dr. Wetmore ever leaves I will miss all the love she has for the students. Since she has been here, loving students has become the norm, not the exception. It's OK to care.

Hebrew Academy: Corporate Systemic (High Grid/High Group)

Hebrew Academy is a private day school nestled in the heart of Elmston, one of the largest cities in the U.S. and home of one of the largest Jewish

populations in the south. The school was founded in 1969 by a group interested in offering a distinctive academic and religious education to the entire Jewish community of Elmston, including conservative, reformed, and orthodox Jews.

After experimenting for several years with various forms of teacher-administrator strategies, Esther Feldman was hired in 1981 to be the sole administrator of the academy and has retained that position to the present. In the midst of a predominantly patriarchal social order where rabbis are key figures in all aspects of Jewish life, Feldman reigns as a prominent matriarch. She is highly respected as an educational leader and is viewed as a grinding force in the maintenance and preservation of Jewish values.

There are 275 students enrolled in the school -- 143 in grades pre-school through sixth and 82 in the secondary school. One hundred percent of those students are Jewish, coming from middle to upper-middle income families, and 100% of the graduates go on to college.

The academics at Hebrew Academy are divided into two basic components: general studies and Hebrew studies. However, elements of these two emphases are interwoven throughout the entire academic program. A common goal relevant to all departments, is "integration" of the various subjects. To that extent, Jewish history becomes part of the world history program and literature dovetails with its social studies counter-part in chronological sequence. Reading, physical education, language arts, handwriting, mathematics, science, social studies, and computer education comprise the general studies subject area.

The school calendar and curriculum include many Jewish holidays, each bearing its own distinctive and theological motif. The weekly Sabbath, or *Shabbat*, is consistently honored at the academy, and students are dismissed from school in sufficient time on Fridays to prepare for the observance of the holy day. The *Shabbat* is a very important part of Jewish culture, because it bears testimony to the existence of a Supreme Being who loves humankind and is concerned for its welfare. One rabbi explained that the *Shabbat* brings together

under its canopy virtually every Jewish value, including "spirituality, family, community, prayer, Torch study, ritual, and covenant."

Individual accomplishment and the perpetuation of Jewish life are central in the academy's mission:

> The Hebrew Academy is a private Jewish day school offering exceptional personalized instruction to all of its students from preschool through secondary school. The goals of the Academy are to equip students with the knowledge, the tools and the intellectual and personal skills needed to become the most that they can be and to develop their own personal commitment to the values of the Jewish people.
>
> The ambience is enhanced by informality, individuality, warmth and friendliness which only a small school can provide. The size of the school ensures that each student will enjoy the opportunity for achievement, recognition, service and success throughout his/her school career. Stimulation of growth and understanding occurs in the secular studies, and a similar guidance is found in the presentation of the Judaic and Hebrew curricula with the effect being the development of a commitment to Judaism's highest ideals and practices.

The social environment of the school reflects that of Elmston's broader Jewish community. Boys and girls are separated for religious classes and services, Jewish traditions and ceremonies such as bar/bat mitzvah rites of passage are celebrated in the school auditorium, and individual identity is strongly associated with Jewishness.

The school and community have an interdependent, mutually supportive relationship. The school is committed to serving all Jewish children in the area by giving them the opportunity to become educated, functional members of their families, community, and synagogues. Parents and other community members play an active role in the school by offering financial support, volunteering in classrooms, giving career seminars, and doing library work. One person commented, "There is a tremendous amount of parental involvement. That's sometimes good, sometimes bad. Many think that because they pay tuition they have more say than they would in a public school." There is a strong family influence in the school, and there are three basic qualities that attract families: (a) excellence in general education; (b) intensive Judaic education; and (c) individualized attention.

The community provides outside educational opportunities for the students by organizing field trips and inviting professionals to come in and speak. These events usually focus on the importance of preserving Jewish traditions and beliefs. On one occasion, a prominent leader in the community came to the school to explain the role of the *Chevra Kadisha* in the life cycle of the Jews. The *Chevra Kadisha* or "Sacred Society" is a group of men and women who assume the responsibility for preparing a deceased person's body (i.e. washing and dressing) for burial. The members of this society do not receive any remuneration for their services, and their deeds of loving kindness are regarded by Jewish tradition as among the holiest and most meritorious possible.

One of the prime examples of Hebrew Academy's interrelationship with the community can be seen in its association with The Jewish Federation of Greater Elmston, reverently referred to as "The Federation." The academy serves as an important arm of The Federation serves as an important support for the school through its financial, moral, and vocal backing. One teacher commented, "It is hard to separate the goals of The Federation from our goals. We are a part of the Federation and the Federation is a part of us."

In an attractive brochure entitled "A Report to the Community," The Federation outlines its primary purposes which include the following:

> WE ARE THE JEWISH FEDERATION OF GREATER ELMSTON, building community and providing a focal point for unified communal action by strengthening the shared purposes and values of Elmston's Jews. Central to the purposes and values is the development of a community based on *gemilut chasadim* -- righteousness, charity and social justice.
>
> The Jewish Federation acts to produce the resources, ideas, and commitment necessary to preserve and strengthen Jewish life; to contribute to the survival of Jews in Israel and throughout the world; and to fulfill our role as American citizens in strengthening and advancing the America democratic ideal.
>
> Our children are our future. Our destiny is in their hands. Their future is in our hands. Giving children the opportunity to become healthy, educated, functional adults -- active members of their community and religion -- is a *mitzvah*.

The Federation funds about 21% of the operating cost of the school, and the academy attributes much of it's success directly to being a beneficiary of the

agency. One of the reasons Hebrew Academy is able to get superior teachers is because of The Federation's financial assistance.

The community, The Federation, and the Hebrew Academy play mutually supporting roles in each other's success. Each depend upon the other for the furtherance of their common goals. The essence of this interdependence is seen in one brochure:

> We are Jews, bonded together through our common belief in Jewish continuity.
>
> We are Jews, working to ensure Jewish survival and growth in our community, in Israel and throughout the world.
>
> We are Jews, who believe that through *tzedakah* ['giving' or 'charity'], we can make a difference in the lives of fellow Jews.

Hebrew Academy is a special school for the Jewish community. The teachers, staff, rabbis, and administration work as a team toward desired goals. There is a healthy respect toward individuals and for the cultural and religious values that have bonded the Jewish people for over 4,000 years.

In my last group meeting with the faculty, several reflected on the uniqueness of the academy and its goals. Some examples of those reflections follow:

> What is so special about this school is that secular values are seen in a religious sense as well.
>
> We give the students a total education. The students understand that religious studies are not separate from general studies. They are getting a broad message.
>
> We don't teach values as a separate thing, because values are such an inherent part of their total education.
>
> Our goals are high. We try to give them a respect for Judaism and a loyalty and obligation to life. Whatever we teach them or give them that will make them stronger in their Jewishness is an achievement. I tell my students, "The last thing you want to be is an ignorant Jew. You want to be able to learn and know on your own and to have an understanding of what is going on in the general world and in the Jewish world."

Hebrew Academy is a place where Jewish students can find meaning and direction in life. They can find security in the close family atmosphere of the school, and they can get an extensive education within that environment.

Moreover, in understanding their rich past, they can better understand their place in the world today and find hope in the world tomorrow.

Cultural Values

The grid/group model classifies social environments in an attempt to draw special observations about the value and belief dimensions characteristic to those environments (Douglas, 1982; Ligenfelter, 1992). Using information from the above cultural profiles and from the original case studies, a comparison and a contrast of the salient cultural values of these two schools are offered below.

Eastwood Middle School: Cultural Values

Eastwood is a low grid environment primarily because of the few social roles and distinctions within the school setting. In actuality, role status and rewards are competitive in nature. A classic example is the "student of the week." Anyone from the athelete to the academic to the "average" student has a chance to be esteemed in this weekly ritual. The school is low group because of the little importance placed on group survival. The school itself may someday consolodate or even disperse. The emphasis is on individual accomplishment rather than group survival (see Table 2). Other salient values that put Eastwood in the low grid/low group category and give meaning to the educational process are offered below.

Tabe 2
Value Profile: General

	Individualist (Eastwood)
	(low grid, low group)
Grid Characteristic	Importance of individual
	Considerable autonomy
	Students "compete" for role status
Group Characteristic	Group success (temporary)
	High allegiance to individuals
	Values derived from context; tension among value differences

The organizational values at Eastwood are generally expressed qualitatively rather in quantitative terms. For example, the mission of the junior high is "to promote academic performance in a positive learning environment." It is not a narrowly defined notion, such as, "to increase everyone's achievement scores by one grade level." The basic mission conveyed in the acronym APPLE serves as an umbrella for more specific values.

The principal, faculty, and staff strive to develop and maintain a positive organizational culture characterized by a mix of mutual care and respect and high individual expectations. One way this is exemplified is in the value the school places on a safe and orderly environment. The expectations for student behavior and the consequences for misbehavior are clearly communicated, yet both teachers and students have a degree of freedom within regulation parameters. The students are not oppressed by the guidelines, but, on the contrary, appreciate the visible rules that keep them from hurting themselves and others. One student expressed this security: "It makes me feel like they are enough about me to make me do right." The junior high is not void of disciplinary problems, but it minimizes

them with clearly established, enforceable guidelines, and when problems occur they are handled in a positive manner.

Value is also placed on communal relationships within the school. However, there are no pressures to have specific relationships or to conform to relational norms, and students are free to choose their friends, girl/boy friends, and acquaintances among any of those inside or outside the school. One person commented that the school itself "is like a family." The caring atmosphere provides the context in which all activities are carried out.

Eastwood values the importance of the individual. The principal put it best: "Each individual human being is precious and priceless." The teachers model and convey respect for each student in their actions and words. Allowances are made for individual learning styles and behavior in classroom experiences. The emphasis is on the value of individual differences within an open system. Individuals are recognized by their character and behavior, rather than their role distinction (e.g., cheerleader, athlete, academic, etc.). Furthermore, no particular role is given distinctive value over other ones.

The idea of respect is important. Respect for authority is seen throughout, yet the administration and teachers are not authoritarian or autocratic figures. Although their are differences in power, knowledge, and perspective between teachers and students, the relationships along all levels are intense and deep. Respect for property is another norm demonstrated by the clean, clutter-free, graffiti-free facility.

Another core value is the belief in recognizing and rewarding success. Moreover, there are many avenues, including curricular and extra-curricular activities, whereby individuals of differing ability can competitively strive for and achieve a measure of success. Appreciating and recognizing the students, faculty, and staff for their efforts and accomplishments is a high priority at Eastwood, as is indicated in the various assemblies, newspaper clippings, and other formal and informal communication conveyances.

The primacy of learning is an important value. One emphasis of the mission statement is the importance of "instilling in each student a love for learning and providing an atmosphere in which students can learn." Along with this belief are the values of preparing the whole person for life and developing the basic skills necessary to be intellectually competent. The progressive changes that students go through from childhood through adolescence are taken into consideration in the learning process. Furthermore, relevancy, self-discovery, process, and application are emphasized in all subject areas. The teachers are very concerned with giving the students a lifelong academic foundation and with providing the learning experiences that will give them that solid base.

The institution instills a belief in individual achievement and in being the best one can be. Prominent posters in the hallways proclaim, "I'm just moving clouds today, tomorrow I'll try mountains," "Believe with all your heart, work with all your might," "Eastwood is the heart of Texas." A board member at Eastwood commented, "A person can be successful in whatever he does."

The teachers individually indicated that there are certain values they strive to convey, including the value of enjoying life, the value of accepting oneself and having self-confidence, and the value of acquiring healthy attitudes toward life and learning. A recurring value that I observed everywhere, from classroom situations to parent-community assemblies, was that of responsibility. If the "three R's of a traditional curriculum are reading, "riting", and "rithmetic," the "three R's" of the values-educational process of Eastwood are respect, relationships and responsibility. (A comparison of Eastwood Middle School's and Hebrew Academy's salient cultural values and beliefs can be seen in Tables 4, 5, and 6.) The essence of the core values at Eastwood Middle School is summed up in the principal's comment:

> We want to train students to be community citizens who are productive and giving, not self-centered or looking for what they can get, but rather what they can give.

Hebrew Academy: Cultural Values

Hebrew Academy's cultural expressions fit more closley in Douglas's Corporate Systemic, high grid/high group category. It is high grid because of the emphasis on role and status, and individual identification is heavily derived from group membership (i.e., from being a Jew). The roles are basically hierarchical. The rabbis are undoubtedly key figures in the school and Jewish community; the principal, herself, is a prominent matriarchal figure. The strong emphasis on group survival and the perpetuation of Jewish life place the group in the high group classification (see Table 3). Other values and characteristics are discussed below.

Table 3
Value Profiles: General

	Corporate Systemic (Hebrew Academy)
	(high grid, high group)
Grid Characteristic	Importance of role status
	Limited autonomy
	Strict insider-outsider rules
Group Characteristic	Group survival (permanent)
	High allegiance to group
	Values derived from Judaism; little tension among value differences

The core values of Hebrew Academy are inextricably linked to Jewish religion and its inherent values. The school brochure clearly states, "The Hebrew Academy provides a system for learning moral and social values inherent in Judaism and necessary for ethical dealings in the larger world which students

will eventually enter." Judaism, in its large context, is the lens through which life and reality are perceived.

Central to all values at the school is the concept of *mitzvah*. The Hebrew term *mitzvah* (plural *mitzvot*) connotes duty or service to God. It means much more than just law, commandment, or good deed. By performing an act of *mitzvah*, the Jew attests to the continual vitality and force of God's convenantual love in the totality of his or her life. Inherent *mitzvot* are the obligations to abide by God's law and the duty to observe the responsibilities and commitments put forth therein. The *mitzvot* shape human character, mold the personality, and color the Jew's world view. The *mitzvot* are applied to everyday duties, responsibilities, relations and all life situations. Service, then, is a primary value in the school, and all other values are subsumed under the concept of *mitzvot*.

Another major value in the school is the importance of the Jewish life cycle, including birth, *bar* or *bat mitzvah*, miarriage, death and mourning. These concepts are inherent in both the formal and informal curriculum. The synagogue is taught to be one of the central institutions serving the social, educational, and spiritual needs of the community. The school auditorium, where all festivities and celebrations take place, symbolizes the centrality of the synagogue in Jewish life. Prayer is another important aspect lying at the very foundation of Jewish faith and at the heart of Jewish convictions. Furthermore, a Jewish student is taught about his or her place in the historical-cultural context of the Jewish people as a whole.

Hebrew Academy values a holistic approach to teaching and learning. The philosophy of the school centers on equipping students with a sound academic and religious base. General and religious studies are integrated in such a way that students receive "a total education." The students understand that religious and general studies are interrelated. Values are not taught as a separate entity, because "values are such an inherent part of their total education."

There is also an explicit belief in the importance of learning. One teacher said, "What's important is that kids walk out of here knowing that learning is important." A second teacher said, "I like to get students to think about things they never thought about before, to get them to expand their minds." And another said "[I tell my students] the last thing you want to be is an ignorant Jew." The academy values both the process and product of education. Content is emphasized in all subject areas. However, the process is just as, if not more, important.

The school values a safe and orderly social climate. Guidelines for conduct are communicated and enforced. Most of these guidelines are governed by religious considerations, neatness, and cleanliness. The rules are adhered to by the student. One student commented he did not mind the guidelines because they "help set a good tone." A value related to this orderly atmosphere is discipline. The scheduled prayers, the dietary laws, and other aspects of the Jewish faith require an element of discipline that is valued and vital.

Respect is a key ingredient in the value of the individual and life in general. Faculty members speak highly of one another, the administration, and the students. The students show a high degree of respect toward their peers, administration, and teachers. One rabbi, said, "We try to give them respect for Judaism and a loyalty and obligation to life." There is a healthy respect toward individuals, for property, and for the cultural and religious traditions that have bound the Jewish people for centuries.

Family and communal relationships both within and outside the school, are also valued at Hebrew Academy. Ms. Friedman referred to the school as a family where there is a sense of community and participation among students. A student commented, "They treat you more like one of their kids than a student." There is pressure on for students to have close relationships, especially in marriage when the time comes, within the Jewish faith. Some students did not even know anyone who was not a Jew. Many times the students act more like siblings than classmates. The larger Jewish community is also a part of this family. The

academy and the broader Jewish community have an interdependent, mutually supportive relationship. The school is committed to serving all Jewish children in the area by giving them the opportunity to become educated, functional members of their families, community, and synagogues. Ms. Feldman's focus is on the development of people. The development of relationships among people is viewed as a vital dimension in the educational process.

The school places a high value on responsibillity. The school brochure defines an educated person as "one who has the knowledge and skills necessary to be a contributing member of his or her society and the capability to participate wholesomely and fully in life." Responsibility is a key element in *mitzvot*, and it is complementary to the concept of discipline in the observance of Jewish holy days and dietary laws.

Other values mentioned either explicitly or implicitly include the following: gemilat chasadim -- righteousness, charity, and social justice; giving children the opportunity to become "healthy, educated, functional adults -- active members of their community and religion;" parental involvement; Jewish continuity and survival; quality teaching; and those values inherent in certain observances such as *Shabbat* -- "spirituality, family, community, prayer, love, Torah study, song, ritual, and covenant." (A comparison of Eastwood Middle School's and Hebrew Academy's salient cultural values and believes can be seen in Tables 4, 5, and 6.)

Table 4
Value Profiles: Educational Objectives

Individualist (Eastwood)	Corporate Systemic (Hebrew Academy)
(low grid, low group)	(high grid, high group)
Personable learning environment: "To promote individual academic performance in a positive learning environment"	Personable learning environment: "To provide an imaginative curriculum in a happy atmosphere... with the effect being the development of a commitment to Judaisms highest ideals and practices."
Secular curriculum derived from state	Integrated seculur and sacred curriculum derived from state and religious traditions
The primacy of individual learning... "to instill in each student a love for learning."	The primacy of learning for benefit of both individual and group..."Students should have an understanding of what is going on the general world and in the Jewish world."
Respect for all individuals	Respect for all individuals and Jewish traditions; respect for role status
Emphasize the linking and synthesis of concepts, critical thinking, and problem solving	Emphasize the linking and synthesis of concepts, critical thinking, and problem solving
Teaching is designed to facilitate natural unfolding of students' potential	Teaching is designed to facilitate natural unfolding of students' potential

Table 5
Value Profiles: Community and Family

Individualist (Eastwood)	Corporate Systemic (Hebrew Academy)
(low grid, low group)	(high grid, high group)
Family and communal relationships primarily within school	Family and communal relationships both within and without school
Moderate influence on families outside school	Major influence on families outside school
Large body of students from small community	Small body of students from large community
Family education for students is based on temporary societal norms	Family education for students is based on permanent structures of religion
Heterogeneous Community	Homogeneous Community
The school is a family	The school is a family
Relationships are vital dimensions of the educational process	Relationships are vital dimensions of the educational process
Principal is maternal figure	Principal is naternal figure

Table 6
Value Profiles: Service and Responsibility

Individualist (Eastwood)	Corporate Systemic (Hebrew Academy)
(low grid, low group)	(high grid, high group)
Goal: Productive, giving community citizens	Goal: *Mitzvah* -- service to God -- central to all values; applied to all life situations.
Responsibility to self, others, community.	Responsibility to God in every day duties.
	Responsibility to Judaism: e.g., teaching of Jewish life cycle including birth, *bar* or *bat mitzvah*, marriage, death and mourning.
Service and responsibility are competitive features of school	Service and responsibility are inherent features of school

Manifestation and Dissemination of Cultural Values

This case study portrays the manifestation of institutional values of two schools as a holistic dimension embedded in each school's culture. In Hebrew Academy, Judaism, in its large context, is the lens through which life and reality are perceived. The goals of the academy are to equip students with the intellectual and personal skills necessary to be successful and to be committed to the perpetuaiment the Jewish people and their traditions. In both schools, the cultural mores are made obvious and conveyed to the people of the school and community by both direct and indirect means. The teachers model them; slogans and day-to-day practices incorporate them; rituals and ceremonies embrace them; and the cultural players carry them throughout the entire school.

Every faculty member plays an active role in the dissemination of the cultural values. However, the principals focus direction and allow the teachers freedom in the educational process. The one way both schools dramatize and reinforces culture values and beliefs is through rituals. In the rituals, the administration, faculty, and students come together, bonding with each other and with core values and shared symbols. The daily positive physical affection between teachers and students and administration is an example of a ritual that symbolizes the values of family and communal relationships. The weekly "Applause" section in Eastwood's community newspaper is a ritual that expresses the importance and recognition of individuals whose accomplishments and actions reflect what the school deems as valuable. At Hebrew Academy, the daily *davening* is an example of a ritual that symbolizes the values of prayer and communal living.

Closely associated with the rituals are ceremonies. At these events the culture of the school is put on stage to be experienced, celebrated, and transformed. The "Student of the Week" might be considered both a weekly ritual and ceremony. It is an occurrence that symbolizes and encourages almost all the values that the school embraces and provides a forum where anyone can succeed and be recognized for "being an all-around good kid."

The *bar/bat mitzvah* ceremonies also provide a forum where all can see the meaning of one embracing Judaism. The ceremonies bring together the cultural mix of the school and community to dramatically illustrate the school's values. Individuals can see the school as a cultural and educational center that emphasizes and imparts the social values that strengthen the community.

The rituals and ceremonies bring to the fore the people, the "heroes" and "heroines", whose thoughts, deeds, and personal qualities represent the core beliefs of the school and community. These heroes and heroines exemplify the values of the culture, but they direct attention to emerging values as well. For example, a student might think "If so much attention is given to him or her for being *bar mitzvah* (or being "student of the week"), then that must be what we value." At the schools, the criteria for achieving recognition is such that many people can meet them and move toward hero status.

Discussion

It is difficult to comprehensively discuss school culture and neglect such specific issues as leadership and instruction. However, because of the overriding assumption that schools are symbolically constituted social constructions, the traditional cause-and-effect jargon concerning leadership and instruction does not have a nice, neat "fit" in this study. Smircich (1985) points out that this "symbolic conception of culture represents a fundamentally different mode of understanding organizations...and our work in them" (p. 58). Furthermore, there is little evidence that principals have a direct effect on instruction; Firestone and Wilson (1985) contend that while the potential for influence is there, to date "it has been largely unrealized" (p. 21).

It is my contention that school leadership and instruction are inextricable, symbolic expressions found in a complex culture and derive their unique meaning and significance within a particular social setting. With this view in mind, exploration of the singular, dichotomous principal-instruction relationship appears misguiding. Instead, the focus should be expanded to include a variety of interrelated factors, values, beliefs and understandings within multiple and often particularistic contexts. The transfer of the

interpretation of occurrences in settings uncovered in this study may be possible and should impact principal-instruction links as well as other cultural expressions. Consider the following questions as a starting point in the exploration of these expressions:

- What is the meaning of leadership found in the culture?
- What in the culture promotes successful educational practice?
- What forms, symbols, stories or other expressions found in the culture carry out its content?
- What are the cultural roles of leaders, teachers, and other players in these expressions?

In Eastwood and Hebrew Academy, leadership is given meaning through human interaction and personality. The administration in both schools place a high emphasis on a total educational program. Both Dr. Wetmore and Ms. Feldman are motivators, encouragers, and facilitators. They are positive maternal figures and their roles are recognized and respected. The coaches, superintendent and other male figures at Eastwood highly respect Dr. Wetmore, as do the rabbis and community leaders highly regard Ms. Feldman and view her as the pre-eminent leader of the academy.

The personalities of the two figureheads differ. Dr. Wetmore is more the cheerleader type, the one who claps and sings in the assemblies and motivates and leads by her own energetic example. Ms. Feldman prefers not to take a front row seat during religious rituals and ceremonies, but perceptively oversees and energizes the school and its activities "from the sidelines," much like a coach. Nonetheless, she, too, leads by positive example and exudes enthusiasm. Both are strong, competent leaders who openly demonstrate warmth, affection, and guidance in their own way. They both set the tone for developing their school's vision and create and promote the arena for rituals and ceremonies in their school.

Leadership is also defined in each school through the roles that each principal plays in her respective context. Douglas's (1986) model was useful in displaying the differences in the two social settings. Eastwood was an Individualist, low grid/low group environment. The cultural values of the school were comparatively latent and underdeveloped. There was little cultural continuity, and more attention was given to individual autonomy and

accomplishment than to group survival. The principal's basic role was that of revitalizer; one who strives to resuscitate the latent cultural vitality.

Hebrew Academy fell in the Corporate Systemic, high grid/high group category because of the emphasis, among other things, on role status and group survival. The principal's role was much different in this setting. Her job was to help in the maintainance and perpetuation of traditions and values that have been central to Judaism for four thousand years. *Suscitating* (not *re*-succitating), group norms, traditions, mores, and ritual is, and continues to be, a primary function.

This role difference has implications for the previously mentioned contention among cultural theorists concerning the degree to which leaders have control over cultures. Can leaders effect culture? Because each culture has unique characteristics and individual/group dynamics (Douglas, 1982), each unique culture would address this question differently. The members would view the answer to the problem through their specifically colored cultural lenses.

Ms. Feldman, although extremely successful in her context, would not have the same cultural role at Eastwood. The same can be said for Dr. Wetmore and Hebrew Academy. At Eastwood, manipulation of the cultural symbols is important. If resuscitation is not expedient and timely, then those cultural values that give life and meaning to the educational process will continue to lie virtually dormant and latent. Whereas, at Hebrew Academy, culture is conceptualized more as what the school *is*, rather than what it *has*. Education, ritual, religion, and culture are inseparable and unified.

There are some likenesses between these two schools, but there dissimilarities abound. Both are southern, secondary schools, yet Eastwood is a public, rural, secular middle school; Hebrew Academy is a private, Jewish day school in a large urban city. Both have competent female principals and fine faculties, and each school strives, through its cultural members, to impact the value dimension inherent in their respective cultures.

Many of the same educational emphases and values are manifested in each school. They both emphasize the linking and synthesis of concepts, critical thinking, and problem solving. In both settings student-defined needs and

interests are important, and emphasis is placed on developing a personable learning environment. Both are settings where students can develop intellectually, socially, and emotionally; teaching is designed to facilitate the natural unfolding of students' potential, and relationships are the vital dimensions of the educational process. In both schools safe, regulated environments can be found, and personal discipline and responsibility are high priorities.

Although there are many overlapping value themes in the two schools, there are vast differences in the theoretical foundations that underlie the respective value systems. The most obvious difference is that one is a secular school, the other parochial. The Hebrew school can openly proclaim that its values are derived from Judaism. The religious writings of Jewish religion, especially the teachings of the Torah and rabbinic oral tradition, serve as the foundation for Jewish education. The significance of the concept of Torah and oral tradition (as well as prophecy, covenant, and mitzvah) cannot be overestimated. They constitute the very building blocks of the Jewish faith and the fundamentals of Jewish living.

The theoretical foundation at Eastwood is more complex. It is hard to overestimate the influence of Dewey's, Kohlberg's, and Piaget's educational theories in any contemporary public school. The strong Judeo-Christian traditions that prevail in Northeast Texas also have laid groundwork for the community beliefs in that area. The tension in this type of social atmosphere (which characterizes most public schools) is in seeking to serve the needs of a diverse community while trying to respect individual differences as well.

The tension is much less in the Hebrew school because there is no pretense to serving all of humankind. The religious base serves not only as a foundation but also as a screen. To be part of the student body at Hebrew Academy, one must openly express a commitment to Judaism and its inherent values. These value structures are obvious and have been developed over the centuries. One either explicitly commits to Judaism or seeks another educational institution.

At Eastwood the school culture is comparatively latent and undeveloped. Moreover, one does not have to explicitly accept the system to be a part of it.

However, there must be an implicit acceptance at some operational or behavioral level. That is, there must be an outward conformity to some standards and ideals, whether one endorses these or not. A significant aspect of Eastwood is that there is not only an acceptance of behavioral ideas and standards but a widespread adoption of those ideas and standards as well. At the same time, individual autonomy and significance prevails.

In both institutions organizational values are made obvious and symbollically conveyed by both direct and indirect means. They are modeled by administration and faculty, and they are manifested in the rituals, ceremonies, and the informal cultural networks of the respective schools. In each context these symbols are seen as inherent dimensions of the total educational process.

An obvious display of each institution's values is found in those that they each adores as its heroes. These heroes and heroines exemplify the values of the culture and direct attention to emerging values as well. For example, the prominent heroes and heroines of Eastwood are the students of the week who exemplify outstanding citizenship and are "just all-around good kids." The heroes and heroines at the Jewish academy are those that pass through the rites of *bar* or *bat mitzvah*, assuming the responsibility of their own moral and religious behavior, as well as the other privileges and obligations of being a Jew. The principals and teachers (including the rabbis, particularly) are heroes and heroines in their own right, representing the authority figures that guide students through the respective rites of passage and into the knowledge and wisdom they will need for life.

The heroes and heroines in both schools personify the values the schools want to have shared throughout the system. Although curricular and extracurricular emphases are not slighted, the image and reputation of either school does not seem to rest on academic or athletic stars, but rather there is a broadly expressed concern for developing "good human beings," "good citizens" who grow up to be "responsible adults." The heroes and heroines demonstrate the epitome of a successful person. Moreover, they show that the ideal of success is well within human capacity and, thereby, these heroes motivate others to emulate their success.

Public recognition is the key in evaluating mere mortals to hero status. The rituals and ceremonies of each school provide the avenues to celebrate individuals and values. Dress, for example, is a ritual in each school; however, the dress codes are markedly different. If a young man does not wear a *yarmulka* in the Jewish school, or a student at Eastwood wears a shirt with an inappropriate insignia, then this may suggest a rejection of some value inherent in the dress code. The rituals and rules at both schools are connected directly to the expectations and pressures of the individual social context.

The comparison of Eastwood and Hebrew Academy suggests that there are specific cultural value themes that are common to each school. However, the strong religious base of Hebrew Academy obviously supports different emphases and motives in its educational program. Nonetheless, both schools illustrate various ways in which administrators, parents, teachers, community members, and students can combine to form a social environment that encourages and enhances the educational process.

In his book, The Principalship: A Reflective Practice Perspective, Sergiovanni (1981) presents two metaphors that could be applied to Eastwood and Hebrew Academy. In the metaphor of growth, the school is seen as a greenhouse where students will grow and develop to their fullest potential under the care of a wise and patient gardener. There are many varieties of plants, and the gardener treats each according to its needs, so that each plant is nurtured to meet its own inherent potential. This metaphor is expressed as a concern for the primacy of individual development and growth. Student-defined needs are paramount, and schooling is conceived as an enriched setting within which students unfold into intellectual, social, and emotional maturity. However, attention is also paid to the individual so that he or she will come up to group standards. Many of these aspects would apply to the schools I studied and perhaps more to Eastwood than to Hebrew Academy. However, the passivity implied in the gardener-teacher analogy does not apply to either.

The second metaphor possibly has more overall relevance and would especially apply more to Hebrew Academy. In the metaphor of travel, schooling is viewed as a route over which students must travel under the leadership of an

experienced guide and companion. Each traveller/student will be affected differently by the journey, depending on his or her intelligence, interests, and intents. However, these variabilities are desirable and wondrous. Therefore, effort is not made to anticipate the effects on each traveller, but great effort is made to plot the routes so that the journey will be as meaningful as possible.

In both schools the teachers are the central guides. The principals' primary influence on instruction is through hiring good teachers, allowing them to teach, and promoting a clear vision that gives primacy to learning. Furthermore, they enable the teachers/guides by placing them in situations in which they can best serve. They nurture relationships and provide the teachers and students with opportunities that make it possible for them to flourish. They empower the teachers by giving them the authority to meet their responsibilities. They make important decisions that allow and promote the manifestation of cultural values to permeate the cultures of the individual school. They model and personify the values the schools desire to have shared throughout their respective systems. And they draw attention to these individuals who exemplify worthy cultural expectations.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore and describe the cultures of the two diverse schools and to examine the cultural values imbedded in the context of the two schools. I contend that in these two schools leadership is uniquely defined within each cultural context. Subsequently, the answer to the question, "Can culture be managed?", is also contextually bound. One of the unique contributions of this study was the use of anthropologists Mary Douglas's (1982) work in comparing cultural values and in presenting the interrelationship of culture and individual autonomy. For further research in the area of culture and leadership, I recommend the following.

Focus on the Mutual Simultanious Influence of the Individual and the Group

In the research of school leadership and culture, it is important to clearly grasp the relationship between the forces of social environment and

educational practice, and to understand how issues of social relationships and symbolic construction play a crucial role in the transformation of school culture. Values and practices relating to educational objectives, group vision, service and responsibility, and the communal aspects of a school are inextricably linked to the order of social relations, personal identity, and educational practice. A focus on individual and group relationships are important because the teachers' and learners' identities are formed and played out in the organizational community where the daily routines that supply the substance of and meaning to educational life are conducted.

Focus on Cultural Discription

There is a need for more thick description of school cultures and what life is like at schools. Causal ordering among variables should be avoided. Rather, an emphasis should be placed on the meanings of "leadership," "teaching," and "learning" within a given context. A holistic description of a social unit is necessary because it provides a basis for transferability to other sites, it is suited to demonstrating the variety of mutual shaping influences and it can portray salient contextual values that give meaning to the educational process. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) Within this thick description it is important to carefully identify the roles of the cultural members, especially the roles of the principal, teacher, and students. Firestone and Wilson (1985) point out that while it may be fairly simple to describe concrete actions, it is more significant to identify meanings that are given to actions by the various participants:

> A fuller understanding of the potential impact of the principal will be gained by intensively studying events and behaviors and trying to understand how principals, teachers, and students interpret them (p. 24).

Focus on Symbolic Constitutions within the Context

There are perennial questions that could impede organizational research and practice. For instance, can culture be defined? Is it manageable? Does it have generalizable qualities? A focus on symbols, rather than organizational culture, can promote progress in the field, Smircich (1985) writes:

> Culture does not exist separately from people in interaction. People hold culture in their heads, but we cannot really know what is in their heads. All we can see or know are representations or symbols (p. 66, 67).

Meaningful questions are: What are the symbols that make organizational life possible? How are these symbols manifested? What are the constructs that legitimate, coordinate, and realize organized activity in specific settings? (Smircich, 1985)

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