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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the superintendent's role in protecting the religious liberty of students in today's public schools. The dilemma for superintendents is to find a way to step back, objectively and evaluate the activism in the community, and then move to a bonding leadership style when working with diverse religious issues. The paper opens with an overview of religion in schools, charting its influence from early America to today's public schools. The study's methodology consisted of structured interviews of three expert informants and structured interviews over a 6-month period with six superintendents who had experienced conflict in the public schools over religion-in-the schools issues and who had survived these conflicts. The findings indicate that the ability to find common ground in problematic environments is built on a certain knowledge base and a certain set of skills. Superintendents had to be committed to finding common ground, and this commitment had to include a desire to seek awareness, continuing education, knowledge, and skills. (RJM)

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**Protecting the Rights Guaranteed by the First Amendment Religious Liberty  
Clauses in Public Schools: The Role of the Superintendent**

by

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**Paper presented at the  
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We need to remind ourselves that First Amendment Religious Liberty clauses do not belong only to lawyers and judges; they belong to all of us. The principles of rights, responsibility, and respect that flow from the First Amendment are obligations of citizenship for *every* American (original italics). When properly understood and applied, these principles allow communities to go beyond conflict and achieve consensus on the role of religion in the public schools. (Haynes, 1995, p. 5)

The role of the superintendent of schools, the chief executive officer, in the context of religion-in-school issues has become a continuous, delicate balancing act involving varying, sometimes conflicting groups and organizations (Glass, 1992). Griffith's (1988) study indicates that superintendents themselves see their ability to function in these problematic environments becoming more complex and driven by the need to acquire relevant knowledge and leadership skills. In their own reflections superintendents share that there is far more criticism of administrators now than ever before, fewer people are happy with, or even tolerant of, administrators, problems and issues are becoming increasingly complex, and more groups and organizations outside the school are involved in the process. Although it is true that the chief executive officer of the public school historically has engaged in the management of the 3Bs of the schooling process—books, buses, and budgets—researchers such as Glass, (1992) and Estes, (1995), have documented that the job has drastically changed. New involvement with community and parent groups, specifically those involved in religion-in-schools issues, is calling for a superintendent leader that is *functionally flexible* in today's 3Cs of schooling—communication, coordination, and cooperation (Benestante, 1996). Many researchers (Arnsparger & Ledell, 1993; Blumberg, 1985; 1998; Haynes, 1990; Hord, 1990; Nord, 1995; Scribner & Fusalleri, 1996; Roberts,

1994) have questioned the current preparation of the school leaders and have suggested that a new preparation system for the superintendency is necessary, for they contend that the future of public schooling itself may be tied to the role of the superintendent and his or her ability to understand and work in the micropolitical and socially problematic environments in which the process of schooling takes place today. Thus, the overarching questions of the study on which this paper is based became: What role must the superintendent play in protecting the religious liberty of students in today's public schools, and is he or she prepared for that role?

Although there is an abundance of research that has addressed the superintendent as the manager of the school's daily activities, few outside the seminal work on religious liberty of Haynes and Thomas at Freedom Forum First Amendment Center, Vanderbilt University have written about the superintendent as leader in the current activists-filled environments. Understanding that the schools are the primary institutional means whereby community and national identity are reproduced and passed down to succeeding generation of Americans, and that they are the primary context for this activism (Guiness, 1990), I chose to determine, through a nation-wide qualitative study of six superintendent informants, what knowledge and skills were needed to prepare superintendents for the challenging role of protector of religious liberty. I sought to find out, from the superintendent's own perceptions, if there were any indicators in their background and training, their knowledge set, or in their leadership skills that had better prepared them to deal with controversy. Further as a researcher, I am seeking to advance recommendations that emerged from this study to influence not only preservice education, but the current service level superintendent, as well.

Although a comprehensive discussion of the historical underpinnings of the church and state struggles in the public school settings is not possible in a paper of this length, I feel compelled to begin with a brief overview of this unique history. I will continue with my study design, and conclude with a discussion of my findings and their implications for practice.

### Religion-in-Schools: A Concise Struggle

Although religion has always played a major role in education (Scribner and Fusarelli, 1995, p. 283), understanding its place in the current schooling process is difficult without serious investigation into America's religious history and the continuous debate over the place of religion in the schools. Fenwick (1989) states that the apparent lack of historical knowledge continues to influence the actions of school board trustees who develop policy and school administrators who enforce it:

Fearing a violation of the separation of church and state, educators have generally opted to eliminate references to religion from the public school curriculum, and, as a result, Americans lack the historical knowledge necessary to understand the circumstances leading up to the enactment of the First Amendment. (p. 1)

### Religion in Early America

Understanding that the mission of the early settlers was to secure religious liberty for themselves at all costs, it is acknowledged that "these Christians" often repeated many of the atrocities that they had left behind in their native countries when they came to the New World. Under their new mandate, everyone was required to embrace Protestant Christianity, or they were not accepted as part of the "faith". By

the time of the writing of the first Articles of Confederation and the first drafts of the Constitution, the founding fathers, who had themselves been educated in schools sponsored by the church and received education filled with religious instruction, had seen death and destruction as a result of religious fervor, and many held their own personal strong feelings toward the Papists, Jews, and other religious minorities. They knew that the Puritans had even seen fit to brand, bore the tongues, or cut off the ears of presumed heretics (Nord, 1995, p. 100), and many feared this sort of repression, realizing that this new "experiment" would need to be different for its own survival (Haynes, 1990).

With this history as their foundation, it became apparent by the mid-1700s that the colonial politico were sensitively aware that the creation of any political system in the new colonies would have to be one that honored the practice of religion or non-religion, and that personal choice in the matter would have to be held as an inalienable right. This conceptual framework became the guiding principle for the "revolutionaries" who were adamant that a society, specifically one that they envisioned might someday represent multiple, diverse, religious viewpoints, should strongly support freedom of religion and freedom of conscience (Levy, 1986; Stern, 1975). They held constant that America's "First Liberty"--"freedom of the mind" would be protected by the Constitution because it is logically and philosophically prior to all other freedoms (Haynes, 1995, p. 3). Though apparent in the final constitutional

documents, this philosophy was not without debate when put into practice, specifically in the public school setting.

### Religion in Public Schools

From the first mandated law for compulsory education, “Ye Old Deluder Satan Act,” established by the Puritans in 1647 to fight “Ye Old Deluder Satan,” through literacy instruction of *The New England Primer*, which began with “A--In Adam’s fall, we sinned all” to the famous landmark prayer and Bible reading cases of *Engel v. Vitale* (1962), *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp* (1963), and *Murray v. Curlett* (1963), the debate continues as to the acceptance or denial of religion in the public school environment.

Today, two extremes, the conservative right and the liberal left, continue to challenge religion's place or role in public schools. On the one end of the political spectrum are those who want to continue the religious practices of their forefathers in the schools by continuing public schools that support a “Christian America” (Bradley, 1992); on the other are those who seek to exclude organized religious practices from public life entirely. Both proposals have violated and continue to violate the spirit of religious liberty established in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights (Haynes, 1996).

Thus, this challenge continues, and according to many, the very character of American as a nation may be threatened, with the public school at the center of the

battle. These battles are not being fought with conventional armaments and bullets:

ideologies are the weapons of choice (Morris, 1992). The controversies are based in

political and social hostility rooted in different systems of moral understanding. The end to which these hostilities tend is the domination of one cultural and moral ethos over all others. Let it be clear, the principles and ideals that mark these competing systems of moral understanding are by no means trifling but always have a character of ultimacy to them. They are not merely attitudes that can change on a whim but basic commitments and beliefs that provide a source of identity, purpose, and togetherness for the people who live by them. It is for precisely this reason that political action rooted in these principles and ideals tends to be so passionate." (Hunter, 1995, p. 42)

These basic commitments and beliefs about "who or what is right" are not easily compromised, and so the difficulty begins for the school community. For the superintendent the controversies that exist are becoming more and more divisive (Nord, 1995). While the cast of players has diversified—more than 3,000 religious groups found in America (Hayes, 1996)—the stakes have remained the same: whose ideologies are right and, ultimately, in the public school arena, who will hold the power (Kaplan, 1989).

This, then, is the dilemma: How can the leader, the superintendent, the "keeper of the dream," step back and objectively assess the activism in the state or community, and then move to a bonding leadership style when working with the diversity of religion issues? (Deal, 1995) How can the superintendent leader survive the conflict and lead the multiple voices to consensus on this very emotional and difficult subject of religion in the schools? How can the superintendent leader work in today's environment and still be a productive part of shaping the future and protecting the religious liberty rights of students? This study was undertaken to answer these



pressing questions. Without addressing these issues, the superintendent who is central to the protection and survival to the process of public schooling will be ineffective in this eminent struggle.

### Study Design

Qualitative, rather than quantitative research methodology, was selected for this study, and the research approach was a cross-case analysis of six individual superintendents. Because I was seeking to determine the knowledge and leadership skills needed to address the new leadership context of religion-in-schools issues, as perceived by the interview participants themselves across the nation, and because the schools are complex organizations that are difficult to lead and manage, I felt that the activities that take place in these current controversial environments could only be understood through the words and stories of those on “the inside” (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stake, 1995). For this multiple case study, the informants were purposively, not randomly, chosen by using the process of *intensity sampling*. According to Patton (1994), *intensity sampling* consists of information-rich cases that are manifested in a phenomenon of intense interest.

The study was designed in two stages: Stage 1 consisted of structured interviews of three expert informants. These informants have demonstrated an intense interest and involvement in protecting and ensuring religious liberty in public schools. They were asked to help in the development of the protocol questions. Stage 2 consisted of structured interviews that occurred over a six month period with six superintendents who have experienced conflict in the public schools over religion-in-schools issues and who have either survived these conflicts by keeping their positions

as superintendents, lost their jobs as a result of the conflicts, or left their jobs due to these conflicts.

The incredibly vast amount of data that are generated in any qualitative study can be overwhelming, so I initiated the data reduction process from the researcher's field notes, observational notes, after reviewing the first taped transcriptions, and I began to facilitate the emergent design, grounding theory, and structure for later data collection phases (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 242). My analysis of data began as soon as the first transcript and field notes were reviewed.

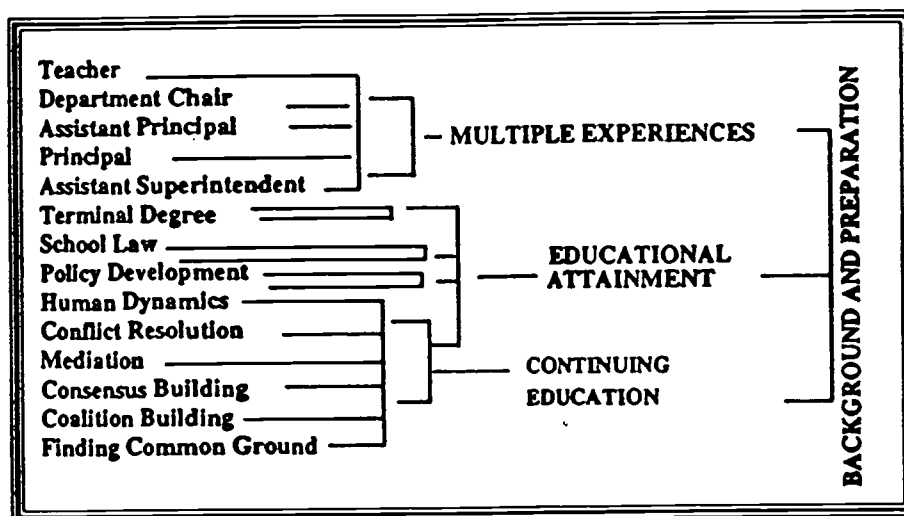
This process continued after each interview and while the six case studies were being compiled into portraits. These portraits, chronological narratives from a specific context, were written in the first person and provided thick and rich data of the individual superintendents interviewed (Lightfoot, 1983). Although unique in their content, the portraits provided contextual variables that became the basis of the cross-case analysis that was to follow (Merriam, 1988, p. 154).

As the portraits were being written, data were noted, collected, analyzed, and displayed through a method known as *clustering* (Feldman, 1995; Patton, 1990). Clustering is a process of inductively forming categories of things which are then sorted by code word and unitized data. These categories were closely interwoven with the creation and use of codes to help order similar patterns or characteristics. The clustering process helped me move to higher levels of abstraction. Figure 1 illustrates this process of clustering to determine the categories of salient issues that emerged from the study. After the portraits were completed, the 367 pages of verbatim transcripts were coded and the clustered data was entered into broad-based categories, as is seen in Figures 1–4 .

The broad emergent categories were focused by the original research questions, which included the theme of background training and preparation, salient issues, and current knowledge and leadership skills needed by the superintendent. A Case-Ordered Predictor-Outcome Matrix (Table 1) was developed for each of the categories that emerged from the clustering process. Also, by following the strategies suggested by the work of Haynes and Thomas for finding common ground, the question: Were there any factors that could be shown to better prepare the superintendent for working in the religion-in-schools problematic environment? was asked. By looking at a range of similar and contrasting cases, it became easier to understand the findings, grounding them by specifying how and where and, if possible, why they occurred as they did.

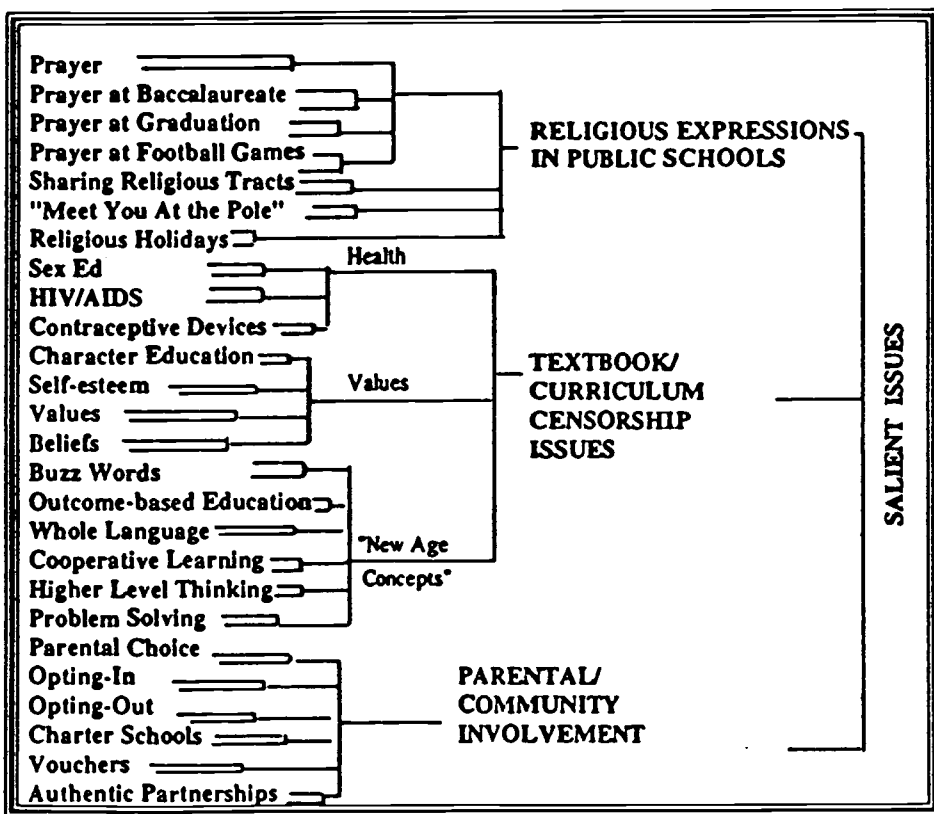
The trustworthiness of this cross-case analysis came from the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability used throughout this study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Credibility was ensured by the collection of data from several sources (Merriam, 1989; Yin, 1994). Triangulation (Patton, 1990) occurred in the study through the use of in-depth interviews, follow-up interviews, document review, transcript analysis of the audio recordings, field note analysis, and central office observations. Member checks and audits were conducted to support the credibility of the study's research findings. Transferability was supported by the use of a thick description that was in the form of a database consisting of audio recordings of the interviews, verbatim transcripts of these interviews, the six "portraits," or case reports, and field note transcriptions. An audit trail through the multiple sources of data helped to ensure both dependability and confirmability.

Figure 1  
Clustering of Superintendent Background and Preparation



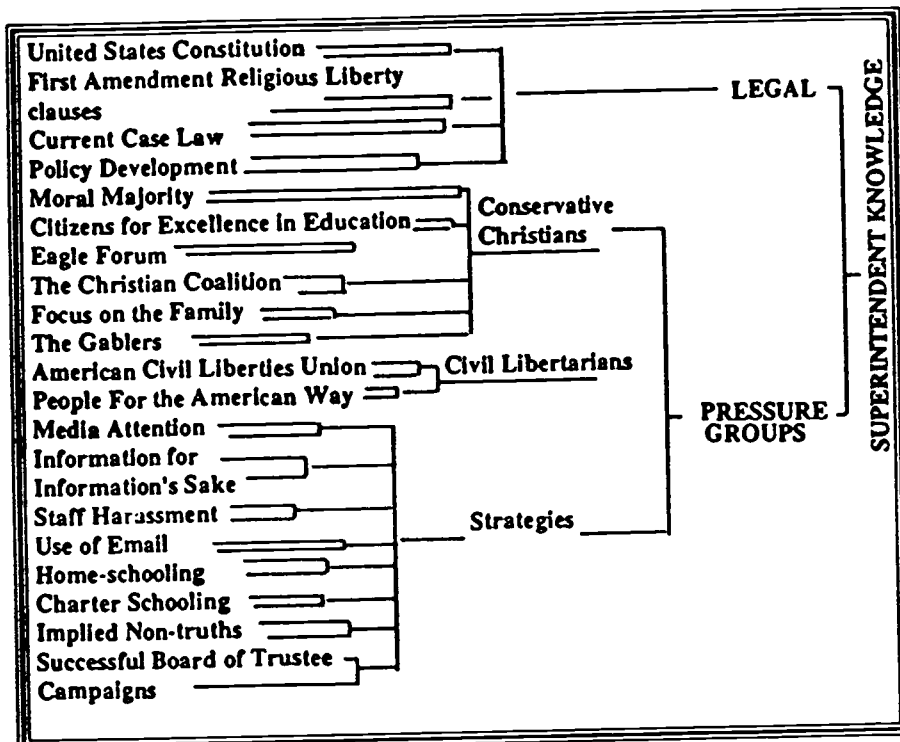
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Figure 2  
Clustering of Salient Issues



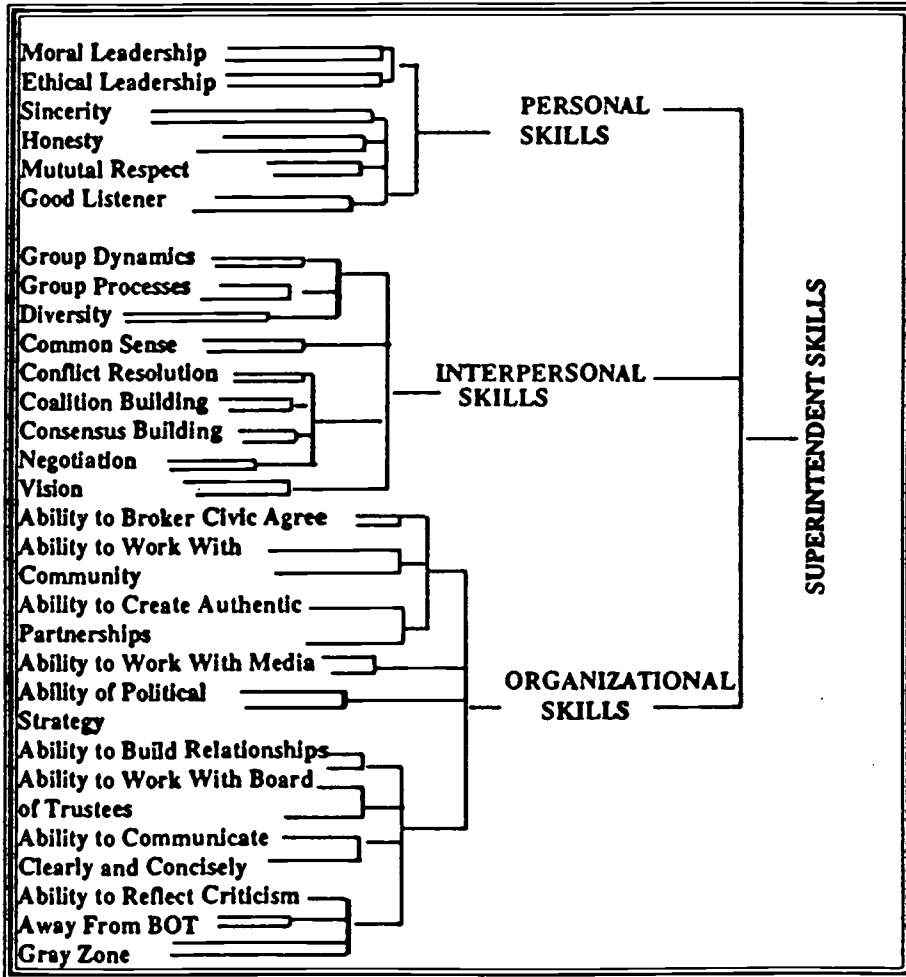
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Figure 3  
Superintendent Knowledge



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**Figure 4**  
**Superintendent Skills**



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Table 1  
Case-Ordered Predictor-Outcome Matrix  
for Background and Preparation, Salient Issues,  
Knowledge, and Skills

|                            | R. Jones                    | M. Markham                | M. Ryan                  | A. Black                      | J. Edwards                    | C. Schultz                    |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Multiple Experiences       | √√                          | √√                        | √√                       | √√                            | √√                            | √√                            |
| Educational Attainment     | Ph.D.                       | Ed.D.                     | Ph.D.                    | Ed.D.                         | Ph.D.                         | Ed.D.                         |
| Continuing Ed.             | Conflict Res. Comm Ground   | Conflict Res. Comm Ground | Pressure Groups          | Conf Res/Change Comm. Ground  | Diversity                     | Change Diversity              |
| Religious Expressions      | Prayer                      | Prayer Meet at "Pole"     | Prayer                   | Prayer                        | Prayer Religious Holidays     | Prayer                        |
| Textbook/Curr. Education   | Character Education         | Health Ed. New Age        | Health New Age           | Values/Health New Age         | Generally all Textbooks       | Values                        |
| Parental/Comm. Involvement | Autobiographic Partnerships | Parental Choice Pressure  | Parental Choice Pressure | Parental Choice BOT Pressures | Parental Choice BOT Pressures | Parental Choice BOT Pressures |
| Legal                      | For Amended. Pol/Cases      | For Amended. Pol/Cases    | Pol/Cases                | For Amended. Pol/Cases        | Pol/Cases                     | Pol/Cases                     |
| Pressure Groups            | √                           | √√                        | √√                       | √√                            | √√                            | √√                            |
| Personal                   | ALL                         | ALL                       | m/e List                 | ALL                           | m/e                           | m/e                           |
| Interpersonal              | ALL                         | CR/NCA                    | CR/PS                    | CR/NCA/PS                     | PS                            | PS                            |
| Organizational             | ALL                         | ALL                       | Comm/pressu/BOT          | ALL                           | S/C/Comm/BOT press            | S/C/Comm/BOT                  |

Personal Skills  
Moral/Ethical (m/e)  
Mutual Respect (mresp)  
Listening (list)

Never      Often      Always  
√            √√            √√√

Organizational Skills  
Conflict Resolution (CR)  
Negotiations (N)  
Visioning (V)  
Broker Civic Agree (CA)  
Political Strategy (PS)

Org. Skills  
Staff (S)  
Comm (c)  
Media (press)  
B. of Trust (BOT)

\*Did not reference as pressure group.

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### Summary of Findings

After nine months of intense study during which I reviewed the literature, designed the study, traveled across the United States and Canada, and collected and analyzed the data, the findings certainly suggest that the ability to find common ground in problematic environments is built on a certain knowledge base and a certain set of skills. The premise from which all discussion of this issue must begin is that in order to develop the required knowledge and skill set, the superintendent must first desire to find common ground. Without this desire and a commitment to it, nothing else that was determined by the findings can be accomplished. This commitment requires seeking (a) awareness, (b) continuing education, (c) knowledge, and (d) skills.

#### Awareness

The superintendents in the study clearly suggested that the ability to be cognizant of the obvious issues is necessary, but that the ability to look beyond the obvious to what underlies the controversy is imperative in working in these problematic environments. The superintendent needs to realize that the conflict may not be resulting from the issue at hand, but may be resulting from a clash of values and may be cloaked as other issues; i.e., reform issues, outcome-based issues, or “New Age” issues.

#### Continuing Education

All of the superintendents felt that in order to learn how to address the many religion-in-schools issues, the superintendent’s education must involve continuous, life-long learning, specifically in the areas of law and human dynamics. The respondents indicated that this continuing education should not only be sought at the university level but from extension courses offered by experts in the field, as well as

through networking with persons who may have experienced these issues.

Specifically, the data indicated that training from experts in the field was imperative to success, specifically the training from the First Amendment Freedom Forum.

### Knowledge

The study participants felt that knowledge of the historical underpinnings of the First Amendment Religious Liberty clauses and the current legal interpretations of these clauses was invaluable because, in these matters, as the social construction of an issue changes, so does its interpretation. The superintendent needs to be able to use the case findings to link local policy to the law. Finally, the respondents felt that superintendents need to understand that there are groups in today's communities that apply pressure to schools to achieve their objectives. Moreover, school leaders need to know that the mistrust of the school by these groups is built on certain historical data that must be considered.

### Skills

First and foremost, the superintendents indicated that the successful superintendent must be a moral, ethical, and sincere persons, who has the skills necessary to create an environment where shared visions and civic commitment occur. The superintendent must be able to demonstrate his or her ability to work effectively in group situations, using conflict resolution, coalition building, consensus building, and negotiation skills, because these skills are imperative to the resolution of problematic issues.

The study participants stated that the superintendent must be able to broker civic agreement established in the First Amendment using the principles of rights, responsibility, and respect. This civic agreement, based on the belief that all persons

necessary, and keeping constituent involvement going were all prescriptions for finding common ground.

#### Further Considerations

Because this study was to determine the knowledge and skills needed for superintendents to address religion-in-schools issues, further consideration must be given to four issues: (a) needs and positions, (b) educational elitism, (c) power and control, and (d) training.

#### Needs and Positions

One of the primary findings of this study was that without the desire to find common ground, none would be found. Along those lines, it became obvious to me that those who became embroiled in the issues were not cognizant nor appreciative of the fact that generally the issue at hand was not one that “just appeared out of thin air.” They could not see, or refused to accept, that there was a history that surrounded the controversy, and the objections and mistrust that existed were not based in the issue but in a need or interest that was underlying the complainant’s position. As Raider and Coleman (1994, p. 13) suggest in their work on resolving conflicts, “distinguishing between positions and needs and learning to identify needs are critical to effective collaborative negotiation.” Probing in a nonaccusatory way as to the underlying reasons for the counterpart’s position took time but proved effective. Establishing need and understanding the background of that need were essential in the resolution of the conflicts discussed.

#### Educational Elitism

Further discussion is needed on what I call “educational elitism,” which inhibited the effectiveness of several of the superintendents. The findings indicated

that the superintendents who took on an “educational elitist” air by assuming because of their education or experience that they knew what was best for the other person or groups, in fact did not. Because these superintendents felt that they knew what was “best” for all concerned in the controversy, they could not establish common positions on the issues.

On the other hand, the effective superintendents were able to use their educational knowledge and skills as a starting point to begin dialogue. They were able to work in tandem with others, using the other party’s knowledge and skills to work toward resolution.

#### Power and Control

Along these same lines, a distinguishing factor between success and failure in these problematic environments was how the superintendent approached the underlying need for power and control. More than once the superintendents suggested that the “issue” at hand was nothing more than a facade for “who would control” the school district or issue of the moment. Those superintendents who successfully demonstrated the ability to survive the controversies were those who held the belief that power was earned through collaboration, not demanded by position. Those who failed to survive the controversies believed that their position granted them power. One said that he felt he had the “right” to make a certain unpopular decision because he was the superintendent. The old adages that “to lead one must have followers” and “the person in the leadership position must be given power by the followers in order to have it” both held true in this study.

### Training

Three of the superintendents admitted that they found themselves caught up in controversy without really knowing why. One talked of “being blind sided.” Another felt that although his district had done everything it could to meet demands, “everything still went wrong.” Five of the six superintendents revealed that at times they felt like they were caught unprepared for the “attacks” on their actions.

One suggestion to eliminate this feeling of isolation was that the opportunity must be provided for future leaders to learn these skills at the university level, in educational preparation courses. At present, there is minimal dialogue about how to face frontal attacks from outside pressure groups. Training in team building, conflict resolution, and negotiation skills must be provided. After instruction takes place, time for modeling and practice of this newly acquired knowledge must be given in order to allow the prospective administrators opportunity to fail before facing “real world” situations. Time to discuss these issues with others who have experienced them likewise should be included, because most people learn from others’ mistakes and successes.

State and national associations for administrators and school boards must provide forums where information can be gleaned about how to address these issues. These forums should include examples of failures and successes, with time given for dialogue and analysis.

And finally, the successful superintendents themselves took the initiative to continually seek out information about how to create a climate of collaboration and trust. For some, although the idea of collaboration was new, they felt that it was elemental in dealing with these highly emotional issues.

### Concluding Remarks

As I began this discussion, I stated that I undertook this task to provide current information for today's practicing superintendent to aid him or her to effectively protect and ensure the precious and unique American gift of religious liberty in the public schools. As the superintendents are considered the "keepers of the dream", I feel strongly that the superintendent leaders must arm him or herself with whatever knowledge and skills available to withstand the continuous internal and external pressures they face daily. As a practicing superintendent, I am continuously reminded that I must seek common ground on the pressing issues, specifically those that are emotionally and culturally-laden. The joy of this work is that I am given the opportunity to use my findings from my research and am able to put them into practice. I must thank all those who have gone before me, who have shared their knowledge, insight, and emotional trauma, and I know that I must facilitate all those that will come after me by sharing with the knowledge I have acquired. I take the words of my mentor very seriously when he states: "You must be working to lead." I am thankful that I am working, for I have the knowledge and am acquiring the skills to protect the religious liberty rights of those I lead.

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