AN UPHILL BATTLE: SOCIALIZATION OF A NOVICE FEMALE ELEMENTARY PRINCIPAL

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"Writing a dissertation is an experience shared by two friends--one a professor the other a student".
Hill, AREA, New Orleans, 1988

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

"Mrs. Shackelford, what kind of principal will you be? Mean?"

Travis, student at Lincoln School

That was the question directed to me in the spring of 1987 by one of my remedial reading students who had just learned of my recent appointment to an elementary principalship. My immediate reaction was to respond to Travis (and myself) by reassuring him that I would be a nice principal, not a mean one. Upon further reflection, however, I began to question whether it would be possible to be the kind of principal I hoped to become. I asked myself:

What kind of principal will I become?
Can I become the instructional leader I want to be?
Will I have to modify my vision of leadership?
Will I be forced to become a mean principal?

This reflective process resulted in a myriad of concerns and anxieties about my new role. Unfortunately, even after considerable reflection, responses to those questions remained unanswered. What did result, however, was the realization that my vision of a leadership style did not fit the stereotypical image, and, in order to influence students and school culture, I would have to effectively convince others that my vision was appropriate. Soon

I learned that vision is a shared phenomenon. I couldn't become what I wished to be by myself. I would be dependent on a multitude of significant other people. Together we would define my role as a principal.

Statement of Problem

"Mrs. Shackelford, how do you get to be a principal anyways?"

Steve, Student at Westside School

This question, posed by an inquisitive fourth-grade student during the first month of my first year in the principalship, was important to me because I had been grappling with the same problem. Although the pupil probably had the selection process in mind when he asked the question, I was dealing with the same issue as a process by which a teacher with administrative credentials is transformed into a real, authentic building-level administrator.

The purpose of this study was to describe the nature of the socialization forces which influenced a novice, female elementary principal during her first year in this position. Another major purpose of this study was to delineate the adaptive strategies used by the principal either to neutralize or succumb to the socialization influences. A secondary issue was the examination of gender as it interacted with the socialization forces and selected coping strategies.

Background

Description of Socialization

Socialization is a broad term used to identify the process during which changes occur in persons as they participate in organizational settings (Ortiz, 1982). To satisfy their need for continuance, all organizations socialize newcomers to requisite role behaviors (London, 1985). In order to function in their new role, novice principals are socialized to learn the knowledge, strategies, and mission of the educational organization (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). Socialization consists of a series of experiences during which newcomers are tested to determine whether aspirants can conform and adhere to cultural norms and meet performance expectations (Schein, 1971).

The socialization process influences the role elementary principals learn and assume. First, through the process of anticipatory socialization, administrative aspirants inform and create perspectives of their role. Their visions of an effective principalship, role expectations, beliefs, and assumptions are developed as a result of the learning obtained through experience as educators and students of education administration. Second, the on-the-job socialization process, applied within the parameters of the school culture, actually shapes the role behavior and influences the image which principals project. Role expectations are communicated through written documents, stories, and events in both an implicit and explicit manner (Van Maanen, 1976).

> Uninspired custodianship, recalcitrance, and even organizational stagnation are often the direct result of how employees are processed into the organization. Role innovation and ultimately organizational revitalization, at the other extreme, can also be a direct result of how people were processed. . . . organizational results are not simply the consequences of the work accomplished by people brought into the organization; rather, they are the consequences of the work these people accomplish after the organization itself has completed its work on them (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979, p. 255).

Successful socialization depends upon the principals' ability to correctly interpret and perform the expected role behaviors displayed by the school culture (O'Brien, 1988). Newcomers to an organization conform, retreat, or rebel as they adapt to new role requirements (Merton, 1938). Typically principals respond to the socialization process by gravitating to either a custodial or an innovative position (VanMaanen and Schein, 1979,). Novice principals are often compelled to relinquish preconceptions and socialized to fit role prescriptions. The literature suggests that most principals prefer the custodial more expedient option. Greenfield (1985a) indicated "socialization theory predicts, and available research appears to support a notion that educational administrators would assume a custodial orientation to the new role" (p. 110).

Interaction of the Socialization Process with Gender

From the moment a baby girl is wrapped in a pink blanket, the culture begins to communicate continuous stereotypical messages to

teach socially acceptable behavior and socialize females throughout their lifetime. Ortiz and Marshall (1988) have indicated the patterns and outcome of socialization vary according to gender. Further description of the ways the socialization process interacts with the female gender to both nurture and impede development of instructional leaders will follow.

Bernard (1981) writes that not only do women and men experience "the world differently but also that the world women experience is demonstrably different from the world men experience" (p. 3). Studies of women administrators tend to confirm the view that women occupy a world, in addition to the one in which white males live, that provides them with experiences and approaches to life that are different from those of men (Shakeshaft, 1987a). As a result of their early socialization as children and adolescents, women administrators have acquired a world view which guides their patterns of behavior. The female culture has developed an ethos focused on relationships and resulting values of duty, love, and care (Rogers, 1989). Specifically women have learned to cooperate rather than compete; to empathize with others rather than manipulate them (Rogers, 1989); and to express feelings rather than ignore them (Loden, 1985).

> The ideal principal must now cultivate all the virtues that have always been expected of the ideal woman. Women have finally lucked out by having several thousand years to train for jobs where muscles are out and persuasion is in! (Bach, 1976, p. 466).

The female world exists in schools and is reflected in the ways women work in schools. Although the activities school administrators

perform in fulfilling their job responsibilities are primarily the same, analysis of female approaches to administration indicate they do a number of things differently than males (Shakeshaft, 1987b). From a collection and synthesis of research on women in school administration, Shakeshaft (1987b) presented a portrait of the female administrative world. She observed that female administrators entered teaching with clear educational goals supported by a value system that stresses service, caring, and relationships. Women are focused on instructional and educational issues. Women monitor and intervene more than men, they evaluate student progress more often, and they manage more orderly schools. Their communication and decision making styles stress cooperation and help to facilitate a translation of their visions into actions. Women demonstrate, more often than men, the kinds of behavior that promote achievement and learning as well as high morale and commitment by staffs.

This information supports the notion that the socialization process works toward the advantage of women administrators. It appears that female administrators have naturally developed characteristics of instructional leadership and are well prepared to function and lead in the manner described by reform literature (Rogers, 1989). Unlike their male counterparts who possess administrative career goals, female educators are socialized to remain in the classroom where they naturally develop the characteristics suitable for roles of instructional leadership. Shakeshaft (1986a) confirmed the female advantage by stating that

women view the job of principal as that of a master teacher or educational leader while men view it from a managerial, industrial perspective.

Ironically the socialization process that nurtures development of instructional leaders also interferes with actualization of the role. When females choose to leave teaching, seek entrance into the administrative culture, and attempt to assume leadership of a school culture, the socialization process works against them to signal stigma and label them as both abnormal women and abnormal administrators (Marshall, 1985a). For women who espouse a role of instructional leadership, the socialization process is particularly difficult. Marshall and Mitchell (1989) describe the challenge females face as they attempt entrance into administrative roles.

> For women to even appear at all in the administrative culture is to challenge it, but to appear different (e.g. by demanding reform, by articulating new goals, by redefining methods (e.g. discipline) is especially risky . . . By their very presence they are deviant and the undermining, teasing, and harassment reinforces this cultural message (p. 31).

There are two reasons for the severity of the socialization process female administrators experience. First, because they have separated themselves from other women, challenged sex-role stereotypes and the dominant values of the administrative culture, female principals are considered deviant (Ortiz and Marshall, 1988). Powerful socialization rites of passage are utilized to obstruct their behavior, wipe away their potential (Shakeshaft, 1987b; Marshall and Mitchell, 1989) and weed them out of the administrative culture. Second, because of bias toward a patriarchal model of

leadership, women principals are forced to change their leadership perspective to conform to the demands of the organizational work setting. To appear competent and convince others of their worth, female administrators must redefine their administrative roles by shifting their perspective from students and instruction to adults and management (Ortiz, 1982).

At a time when leadership development is perhaps the most important issue our school face (Ingerson, et al., 1989), and, in spite of research demonstrating that women make good administrators (Griffiths, et al., 1988), females are finding it difficult to obtain administrative positions within an entrenched male dominated field. During the past sixty years, women have lost ground in school administration. Lynch (1990) reported the number of female elementary school principals dropped from a high of 55 percent in 1925 to a low of 18 percent in 1985. Yet during that same sixty year period, women held three quarters of all teaching positions. Griffiths, et al. (1988) also observed the decline and imbalance of females within administrative positions of public schools, but provided encouraging information regarding the growing pool of potential administrators among women. Currently, about one-half of the graduate students in education administration are women (Griffiths, et al., 1988). Shakeshaft (1987b) indicated that many speculate the imbalance will come to an end in the next decade as more women assume educational leadership positions.

In summary, the socialization process interacts with gender in significant, multiple, and undefined ways. The psychological and physical stress women experience as a result of the socialization process has caused some female principals to become disenchanted with administration (Marshall and Mitchell, 1989). After a few years of manipulating situations to manage impressions, some novice females leave the principalship (Marshall and Mitchell, 1989). Other female administrators pursue doctoral degrees, not to advance in the area of education administration, but to move into another organization, consultant, research, or government work (Marshall, 1984a).

Reasons for Studying Socialization

There are at least five interrelated reasons why the topic of first-year principal socialization needs to be examined. First, reform advocates are proposing an alternative style of leadership for principals which will likely be thwarted by change-resistant socialization forces. Second, because beginning principals are expected "to hit the ground running," they are particularly vulnerable to the forces of socialization. Third, the first year experiences of principals have important consequences for both the individual and the organization. Fourth, due to the "graying" of the present population of school administrators and predictions of large turnover rates, there will be a unique opportunity to influence building-level leadership in ways which conform to reform expectations. Finally, very little is known about the socialization

experiences and coping strategies of a first-year principal. These issues will be examined in the sections which follow.

Socialization Blocks Reform Efforts. Recently there has been a loss of confidence in all forms of leadership--elected, corporate, civic, religious, and educational. Loss of confidence in school leadership has come from a perception that our schools lack quality, that leadership ability is low among school principals, and that school leaders are more concerned about personal gain than serving the needs of children or society (Smith and Andrews, 1989, p. 2).

Leaders are important. Both Schon (1987) and Peters (1988) have indicated that the development and nurturing of leaders for schools, colleges, businesses, and government are critical for success of individuals and organizations in an increasingly complex evolving environment. Dunlap (1989) agreed that "leaders of the new age make a difference between survival and non survival, and will certainly make the difference between thriving and surviving" (p. 6). The message of this decade has been clear: leadership is essential to the success of the nation as well as its institutions (Duke, 1987).

The general focus of the reform literature has been to support and describe an alternative view of leadership that portrays principals as instructional leaders, accountable for the academic achievement of students (Smith and Andrews, 1989). The research started by Edmonds in 1979, the effective schools movement, supports the conclusion that the role principals play has a profound effect on teacher behavior and student learning (Smith and Andrews, 1989).

Effective school literature has proclaimed the key component for producing effective schools is the instructional leadership of building principals (Daresh, 1986). Two kinds of behavior have been heralded as quintessence of principals' role: instructional leadership and agents of change (Wolcott, 1973). Consequently during this decade a national agenda has developed which indicates the need to "pick and grow administrators who will become instructional leaders and then send them forth to lead" (Rallis and Highsmith, 1986, p. 465).

The mounting national concern with the educational quality; combined with recent research, information, and theory about the principal's role in effective schooling; exacerbates the need to prepare school administrators who perform as instructional leaders. Nevertheless, the actual behavior of principals does not reflect the image characterized by effective school literature. A case study conducted by Peterson (1978) indicated that less than six percent of a principal's time was spent in tasks related to instruction. Other studies (Martin and Willower, 1981; Newburg and Glatthorn, 1983) have confirmed that principals rarely perform activities significant to instructional leadership. While most principals view themselves as instructional leaders, research findings consistently indicate that the role of principal is that of an administrative generalist whose performance focuses upon aspects of school management rather than instructional oriented endeavors (Stronge, 1988, p. 53). Murphy and Hallinger (1987, p. 249) suggest that "most principals do not act as instructional leaders. Rather, in

most districts and schools, curriculum and instruction are managed by default".

Most principals enter their first position with a general idea of what they believe is important to improve schools (Barth, 1980); yet few really achieve precisely what they intended. Why can't we prepare administrators for instructional leadership? What forces interfere with their development? The Nelson (1986) study of novice principals indicated that socialization has a powerful impact upon the newcomer, and the forces can hinder or facilitate development of instructional leaders. The ethnographic research conducted by Hartman (1986) also supported the notion that the cultural forces at work in a given setting contribute to the disparity between principals' intention and product.

Greenfield (1985b) has captured the challenge of becoming an instructional leader. To actualize a vision of instructional leadership, beginning principals must be intimately familiar with the educational system and be accepted by the power structure. As Greenfield suggests, therein is the dilemma for the new principal. Most first-year principals lack innate familiarity with the system, and most first-year principals perceive they will not be well received by their superiors if they attempt to "rock the boat."

Although the process of socialization could be a vital contributor toward the shaping of a leader's instructional behavior, it frequently supports a custodial orientation to the role instead. Bredeson (1985) observed that, when a leader initiates change, powerful forces of resistance in people, structure, traditions, and

policies are triggered to protect and in some cases sanctify the status quo and confirm its legitimacy.

Because the arrival of a new principal represents change, and change makes people anxious; school cultures function to reduce the anxiety by encouraging novice principals to maintain the performance of previous administrators. The research literature suggests that most school administrators operate from a custodial mode; therefore, innovative responses to the administrative role are not expected, and often school cultures are not receptive to instructional leaders. The forces of socialization, which the school culture mobilizes to encourage new principals to conform to their expectations for custodial management, block reform efforts to influence development of principals as instructional leaders.

Berman (1986) reported that first year elementary principals are doubted, tested, and challenged every day. Consequently the process of surviving precludes principals from exhibiting aspects of instructional leadership. Harry Wolcott (1973) not only doubts the school administrators' ability to serve as a change agent, but considers that the principals' primary role is to maintain the status quo. Bridges (1965) and Greenfield (1984) agreed that beginning principals are apt to maintain the status quo rather than initiate innovation.

The process of socialization has been effective as a status quo agent in school cultures. For example, Sirotnik (1989) stated:

> Clearly what goes on in those classrooms is as much the same as what went on a generation ago, and a generation before that, regardless of national commission reports, state reform movements, or even directives from local educational agencies (p. 89).

Goodlad (1984) confirmed this notion by stating that the average classroom is an island unto itself rarely intruded upon by school administrators for evaluation or improvement purposes and, furthermore, that is the way the average teacher wants it to be. March (1978) once commented, "Changing education by changing educational administration is like changing the course of the Mississippi by spitting in the Allegheny" (p. 219). These descriptions of the rigidity of school cultures and the autonomy teachers covet are indicative of the strength displayed by obstacles constraining the development of instructional leaders.

Vulnerability of Principal to Socialization Forces.

> A new principal is like a high school freshman at the first prom-ignorant of the etiquette and at times a step or two behind the band (Cabrera and Sours, 1989, p. 23).

That analogy made by two novice principals following their entry year as principal, is illustrative of the innocence and vulnerability characteristically experienced by first year principals. Although many principals are "thrust into the schoolhouse with little more than the courses required for certification and the keys to the building" (Knowlton, 1979, p. 25), some new administrators have been challenged to create change, restore faith in the public schools, and meet the needs of a diverse and demanding community.

Every summer, new elementary principals enter their offices with very little experience and even less guidance (Holcomb, 1990). Beginning principals are not prepared for the reality and responsibility of leading a school culture. There is no gradual exposure and no way to confront the situation a little at a time. Many new principals abruptly find that the complexity of the job (Holcomb, 1989) and the political nature of school cultures (Black and English, 1986) have not been conveyed to them during their preparatory programs. Goodlad (1984, p. 277) reported, "Most principals are plucked out of the classroom in June and plugged into the new job soon after. Little in the first area of experience prepares them for the second." While battling for survival amid the impact of cultural shock, principals are expected to learn the ropes while performing as fully developed school executives and making a "myriad of decisions which may have lasting implications for their own career, the school, and the district" (Louis, 1980, p. 10). Suddenly principals face the myth that as leaders they are expected to know all the answers and be immediately effective--at a time when they really need help in the socialization process and in learning new technical routines (Andrews, 1989).

Few principals enter the principalship with understanding of the nature of the entry and socialization process. Brand new principals face a common dilemma: having reached the pinnacle of their professional careers, they find themselves at a loss as to what it takes to be an effective principal. Research and literature indicate entry experiences of many principals have been difficult

and frustrating (Hart, 1987; Lewis, 1987): disappointing and unfortunate (Jentz 1982, Kelleher 1982). Despite the vital nature of the socialization process experienced during the first year, it appears to be common knowledge that novice principals have experienced insecurity and feel unsupported. Holcomb (1989) conducted a study to determine if beginning elementary school principals felt they had adequate orientation, in service training, and support during their first year of practice. A synopsis of that research indicated "most elementary school principals perceive their support as ranging from inadequate, at best, to nonexistent" (p. 4). In most cases, "the organization, in the form of the persons who hire or supervise, usually say to a new principals, 'Here is the job; sink or swim'" (Jentz, 1982, p. 3).

New principals are particularly vulnerable to the forces of socialization (Louis, 1980; Schein, 1971). As managers first enter organizations, Berlew and Hall (1966) indicate the position of life space which corresponds to the organization is blank. New managers feel a strong need to define the area and develop constructs relating to it. Because standing at the boundary of organizations is a very stressful location, managers are motivated to reduce stress by becoming incorporated into the interior of the organization and make sense of the ambiguity surrounding him/her. Bullough, et al., (1989) indicate that as principals enter the school's cultural scene, their role has previously been defined by that community. Their position as middle managers makes them easy targets for a bombardment of expectations from all levels. Their

superiors, teachers, students, parents, and the community press neophytes to conform to their expectations. Barth (cited in Houts, 1976) spoke of the uncertainty that surrounds entry to the principalship.

> It takes a lot of thoughtful, considered, and ultimately successful decisions on the part of the principal before people really start to take principals seriously. You just can't rush the process (p. 21).

The beginning principals' concern to be immediately effective, coupled with insecurity and the ambiguity of a new role, increases their need to gain approval of the actors within the school culture. To fulfill the expectations of the special interest groups while maintaining their vision of effective leadership is a conflicting dilemma for most new principals. Consequently, novice principals are often stressed and offer little resistance to socialization tactics used to force compliance to existing norms and expectations.

First Year Experiences of Principals Have Important Consequences for Individual and the School. The process of entry into a new school has dramatic significant and emotional consequences for the newcomers and the organization. During their first year, beginning principals are highly visible and their behavior is scrutinized and open to the public. During the period of induction, principals are most receptive to assistance from others and willing to learn new skills that can have lasting career implications. Berlew and Hall (1966) concur that something important happens during the first year of a manager's entrance into an organization. These authors have compared this critical period

of learning with that of a six to eighteen month human infant and commented that never again are individuals so "unfrozen" and ready to learn (p. 216). Greenfield, Marshall, and Reed (1986) believe that the early socialization experience makes a lasting "imprint" and may be the period during which the basic balance between leading and managing is struck.

The first year on the job is critical to every principal's long-term success. Duke (1987) reported that the ultimate success or failure of many school administrators could be traced to their early experiences as principals. Since principals play a major role in determining school tone and educational effectiveness, the outcome of their initial learning experiences will determine effectiveness as educational leaders.

Neglecting to focus upon the needs of first year principals can be costly mistakes with both organizational and personal interests at stake. Jentz (1982) reported inattention given novice principals costs organizations thousands of dollars in wasted human energy and time (p. 3). Holcomb (1989) projected that the average school district invests at least $1,250,000 in every new principal it hires. This is based on a hypothetical entry age of 37, with the potential for 25 years in a district at a career-average annual salary and benefits of $50,000.

On the personal level, a bad beginning for principals can produce serious outcomes for years to come. New principals can lose the confidence and support of community if not successful at the beginning of the school year. Because there is no guarantee that

the cultural norms will be internalized by the principals (Mascaro, 1973), the socialization process can be dysfunctional, result in an unsatisfactory experience, and cause new administrators to leave the position or the profession altogether. For example, Jentz (1982) has documented the experience of Paul Kelleher, an elementary principal whose first year experience ended with termination. Both DuBose (1986) and Jentz (1982) have reported that the lack of assistance and information during the entry process can cost principals hours, weeks, and even years of confusion, heartbreak, and mediocre performance.

Principal Vacancies Provide Opportunities for Change. During this next decade, an influx of new principals has been predicted for American schools. Holcomb (1989) observed a "graying" of the present population of school administrators and reported nearly one-third of the nation's principals plan to retire in the next three years and sixty-five percent will have left the field by the turn of the century (Holcomb, 1990).

Estimates reported by Peterson (1986) have projected a seventy percent administrative turnover by the end of the decade. Pharis and Zakariya (1979) reported that 10,000-11,000 novice principals enter the educational arena each year.

The future principals of the next century are currently being selected, socialized, and trained. The projected vacancies offer an opportune occasion for local school districts to improve their schools. Because it is difficult to reform anything while the "old guard" is in power, their exit enhances the potential for change.

With the increasing importance attached to the principals' roles and the complexity of their positions, it is imperative that incoming principals have assistance with and information about administrative tasks as they enter new assignments. If leadership behaviors are paramount to school success, then commensurate effort to describe and understand what is required to select, socialize, and retain competent school principals is suggested (O'Brien, 1988; Finn, 1987). Understanding of the socialization process and coping strategies which do and do not control socialization influences are timely topics for research efforts.

Inadequate Knowledge of Principal Socialization. Despite the vital nature of the socialization process, there appears to be inadequate knowledge related to the topic. Most of the understanding of the socialization process for educational administrators has actually been inferred from studies designed to investigate related sub-topics of the issue (Garberina, 1980). At best the information gleaned from these studies has been identified by Wolcott (1979) as being hortatory and prescriptive. William Greenfield (1982) noticed the void in the collection of educational research in the school principalship. He noted that "few studies provide in depth personal accounts of principals' intentions and activities" (p. 1) and that little is known about how novice principals learn what they are expected to do and how they learn to be effective (Greenfield, 1984). Empirical studies of the socialization of principals rarely have been conducted (Alvy and

Colodrici, 1985). Cunningham (1987) argued that the field of education administration was devoid of a data base that would strengthen both theory and practice and needed research anchored in administrative experience and practice. Likewise Miklos (1988) recently reported that existing research literature has managed only to "sketch" a domain for administrative socialization.

Although a review of existing research related to elementary school principals identified several studies from which a theme of socialization emerged, each of those investigations contained a characteristic flaw which restricts its usefulness. The following critique of these research efforts clusters around three issues which limit their contribution to the literature. The first issue deals with the lack of a specific research focus upon the total process of socialization, the second issue with complete reliance upon interview techniques to provide an existential perspective, and the third with autobiographical research which lacks "thick description".

Garberina (1980) observed that the socialization literature to date has been inferred from research which is too narrowly or too broadly defined to accurately inform the total socialization process. Four investigations, Blood (1966), Valverde (1974), Hart (1987), and Wolcott (1973), were not designed to explore the dynamics of socialization in its entirety and are examples of Garberina's observation. Although Blood (1966) is often cited as a classic example of socialization research, his investigation focused only on anticipatory socialization, one of the initial stages of the

total process. Two other studies, Valverde (1974) and Hart (1987), also restricted their explorations of socialization and focused upon the effects of succession, another subset of socialization dealing with the movement from an administrative candidate to an administrative protege. In like manner, although Wolcott's ethnographic investigation of the social behavior of Ed Bell is generally cited as providing definitive information concerning the topic of socialization of elementary principals, that theme was only one of several uncovered from the broad spectrum of behaviors Wolcott reported (Nelson, 1986, p. 25). In addition, because Ed Bell was a seasoned rather than a novice principal, and due to the fact that Bell's interpretation of the socialization experience was absent from the account (Macpherson 1984), the use of Wolcott's research as a fundamental citation for socialization studies appeared to be inadequate.

The studies by Mascaro (1973) and Nelson (1986) relied solely upon an interview process to obtain personal accounts describing the effects of socialization upon novice public school administrators. Although their studies contributed to an understanding of the meaning of the socialization process from the principal's perspective, additional time spent in the field to directly observe the informants would have strengthened the scholastic rigor. Because there is frequently a discrepancy between theory in use and theory in practice (Argyis and Schon, 1978), it is important to validate information provided by informants with observations of their behaviors over a period of time.

Although nonparticipatory observational studies have captured and documented the major aspects of the principals' role, few have documented the feelings, thoughts, personal insights, and rationalizations of role incumbents (Gussner 1974).

Gussner (1974) supports the notion that the best way to learn what it was like to be socialized to the role of school principal was to become one and describe and analyze what did occur both overtly and cognitively. Gussner (1974) suggests that certain perspectives of socialization are detected only because of the personal knowledge obtained by the role incumbent through the process of reflection and rationalization while "living the role."

There are doctoral research efforts which incorporate participant observation methods to study school principals (Gussner, 1974; Hart, 1987 and O'Brien, 1988). Both Gussner (1974) and Hart (1987) focused upon the socialization experiences of secondary school administrators. O'Brien (1988) explored the role learning process of an elementary principal during her first year in the position. Although her study provided the foundation for this inquiry, there are significant differences in the focus of her study and the current one. Generally her study investigated and described five stages of socialization ranging from pre-entry to transition. This investigation was designed to extend the O'Brien study by providing a thick description of the forces of socialization an elementary principal experiences upon entrance into the new school culture and the coping strategies used by the principal to either neutralize or succumb to the socialization influences.

Significance of the Study

If the socialization process is used to shape principals, (Van Maanen, 1978; Berman, 1986; and DuBose, 1986) then an understanding of the phenomenon might facilitate the development of instructional leaders rather than school managers. Although a general framework for the socialization of principals is available, categorization and description of the coping strategies which augment administrative behaviors is absent. The information generated by this field study will contribute toward identification, description, and analysis of both the socializing agents and the coping strategies used by an instructional leader.

With the information gained from this study, new and aspiring principals might proactively plan and respond to the socialization process by molding and adapting the role to fit their vision of leadership.

The results of this study would also be of practical significance to those who prepare prospective administrators and train novice principals. For college professors of school administrators, the information generated by this study would provide insight into the meaning of the socialization process and allow instructors to offer classwork which would help students of school administration define and cope with socialization influences.

At the school organizational level, the immediate supervisors of incoming principals could benefit from an heightened awareness of the importance of their responsibility in providing a positive

learning experience for the novice principals assigned to them. For the future of public education in this nation, districts must make leadership development one of their basic missions (Ingerson, 1988).

There are several reasons this research study is of theoretical significance. First, this research study provides an opportunity to actually establish a theory about the coping strategies of an elementary principal that is grounded in the reality of the socialization experience. This in-depth personal account will provide the insight vital to narrowing the gap between the idealized abstractions characteristics of academic preparation of principals and the immensely demanding reality that principals confront during their first years on the job. Second, because the subject of the study is a female, the results will provide information to determine socialization experiences from a feminine perspective. Since at least half of the students of education administration are women (Shakeshaft, 1987b, p. 102), such information should prove helpful to this population and those who are involved in their professional development.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH AND LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter contains a review of the literature and research which attempts to answer these questions: What is socialization? What information can be obtained about socialization from the major theories? How does socialization work in the world of female elementary principals? The remainder of this chapter will be organized around these three questions.

What is Socialization?

Greenfield (1984) reported that theoretical literature on organizational socialization is broad and evolving. Accordingly, students of socialization will discover the "closet" is crammed full of theory, research studies, and case studies pertaining to the topic. Several fields of inquiry; each with its own "hanger" loaded with definition, data, and methodology reflecting their worldview; have stored information in the socialization "closet." An attempt was made to sort through the literature and report what others have written about the topic.

> To American ears, attuned by Constitution and conviction to the full expression of individuality, socialization tends to sound alien and vaguely sinister. Some equate it with the propagation of socialism, but even when it is

> correctly understood as the development of social conformity, the prospect makes most of us cringe (Pascale, 1984, p. 37).

This statement made by Pascale (1984) represents an opposing perspective of socialization that triggers negative connotations. Which view is appropriate for describing the socialization of educational leaders? Is socialization a manipulative process that forces leaders to conform or a social learning process that enables leaders to create quality schools?

A number of researchers believe that socialization is defined in multiple ways. Blase (1985) suggested that socialization should be considered a construct. This perspective supports the notion that socialization is not concrete and easily observable, but rather gets its meaning from a number of factors believed to make it up. Inkeles (cited in Goslin, 1969, p. 615) wrote, " Socialization applies to an exceedingly large range of phenomena. It simultaneously describes a process or input, external to the person, the individual's experience of the process, and the end product or output."

In addition to socialization, several other terms, enculturation, acculturation, professionalization, orientation, and perspective, are used to label the process. Anthropological accounts distinguish between enculturation, defined as a process of acquiring a world view, and socialization, described as a process of learning how to behave in a new role (Wolcott, 1979). Other sources use acculturation, instead of enculturation, to refer to the meeting of two cultures and the resulting homogenization as they become one

(Brown, Collins, Duguid, 1989). Professionalization is reported to be the acquisition of a new identity and commitment to an ideology (Khlief cited in Wolcott, et al., 1979); orientation is thought of as an approach to an administrative role which has emphasis upon stability, change, balance, or integration of both (Greenfield, 1985a); and perspective is considered as patterns of thought and action which have grown up in response to a specific set of institutional pressure (Greenfield, 1985a).

To speak about the socialization of administrators is to focus on the ways in which the values, norms, rules, and operating procedures that govern the practice of administrators are communicated and learned (Miklos, 1988). The aim of socialization is to establish a base of shared attitudes, habits and values that foster cooperation, integrity and communication (Pascale, 1984). Socialization is considered a "two-way street," for at the same time the novice encounters and accommodates the cultural forces of socialization, the organizational culture will also be influenced by the action and behavior of the novice. Two definitions are classical in nature and cited in most every socialization article. The first definition offered by Brim and Wheeler (1966) refers to "the processes and conditions that mediate the acquisition of knowledge, skills, beliefs, and personal dispositions required to perform a given role satisfactorily" (p. 3). Van Mannen and Schein (1979) describe socialization as "the process by which one is taught and learns "the ropes" of a particular organizational role" (p. 3).

Socialization may also be defined according to paradigmatic or world view positions. Traditionally, the functionalist perspective views socialization as a process that fits the individual to society (Lacey, 1977). From this deterministic position, the individual is viewed as a passive empty vessel with external social forces shaping behavior. Parsons (1951) believed that socialization is the "learning and internalization of norms, attitudes, and skills associated with existing societal roles". (p. 35).

In contrast, idiographic philosophies emphasize individual creativity in the socialization process and represent a phenomological paradigm. This worldview stresses the importance of individuals as possessing considerable potential to shape the society in which they live (Spicer and Spicer, 1987). From such a perspective, Sergiovanni (1984a) has defined socialization as "a performing act, a human act, rather than as a behavioral response or a series of management techniques" (p. 105).

Intermediate between deterministic and nondeterministic beliefs is a model of socialization as a process of symbolic interaction from which newcomers "construct their own role identities through symbolic interactions with other individuals, peers as well as supervisors" (Katz, 1980, p. 89). It is argued that, while social factors affect behavior, individuals act on the basis of interpretation and meanings generated by social interactions. Through the process of role-taking, the individual comes to see himself/herself as others do. Thus, the individual's self is formed

in the context of definitions made by "significant others" (Blumer, 1969).

This research study was grounded in the definition of socialization as described by symbolic interaction in the previous paragraph. This dialectical model supports socialization as a complex, interactive, and negotiated process during which individuals can exert some influence in tailoring the role to suit their vision of leadership (MacPherson, 1984). For the purposes of this study, the Ortiz (1982) definition which describes socialization as a "process during which a change occurs in persons as they participate in the organizational setting" was used. By using the Ortiz definition as a filtering device, the researcher was able to identify the social interactions which qualified as socializing influences.

Key Themes Obtained from Socialization Theory

A review of the existing theoretical literature relating to socialization allows several summary statements. First, there are only a limited number of theories which deal directly with the socialization of elementary principals (Alvy and Colodrici, 1985; Duke, 1987). Further, the majority of existing models are descriptive rather than refined taxonomies which delineate critical variables and specify their relationships with one another (Feldman, 1976). And finally, most of the frameworks are grounded in

phenomenological or symbolic interaction assumptions (Macpherson, 1984).

From the array of socialization information reported in organizational and educational socialization literature, several themes have been extrapolated which provide insight into the socialization experiences of elementary principals. Van Mannen (1986) argues that socialization experiences are similar for most participants, regardless of their type of work organizations. The following discussion was organized around four themes: socialization as learning; socialization as a cultural process; socialization as a staged process; and socialization as a disruptive event.

Socialization as Learning

The enculturation of school leaders involves a learning process (Duke, 1987). Before they can perform effectively, novice principals must learn how to act in their new role. The following discussion incorporated information from both organizational and educational literature which relates to socialization as a role learning process.

From the organizational perspective, theorists have studied the process of entry into organizational environments and have reported the kinds of knowledge newcomers need to acquire. Brim (1969) reported that to perform effectively in their roles, individuals need ability, motivation, and understanding of what others expect. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) indicated newcomers must learn the essential elements of a role, which they identified as knowledge

base, strategy, and mission. Louis (1980) emphasized the cultural learning newcomers must acquire by stating they must learn, "how to do things and what matters around here" (p. 232). Schein (1985) expanded the cultural perspective and observed newcomers need to acquire a general appreciation of organizational culture, to understand cultural values, and to identify essential role behaviors that must be performed to avoid risk of expulsion.

Several organizational psychologists support the notion of socialization as a cognitively learned process. According to their research, newcomers must develop a definition of cultural situations and schema for interpreting events in the new setting.

In order to respond to social interaction in meaningful and appropriate ways, newcomers need to construct a map of the territory. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) referred to this learning as the formation of "mental maps." The term Weick (1979) used for the same process was "cognitive maps". Argyis (1960) theorized a similar process occurred when "psychological contracts" are created between individuals and organizations which specify what each expects to give and receive from each other in their relationship (Kotter, 1973, p. 92).

Argyis collaborated with Schon (1978) to develop several theories of organizational learning. Single loop learning occurs when individuals detect and correct errors without questioning or reflecting. Double loop learning occurs when error is detected and corrected in ways that involved modification of a organization's underlying norms, policies, and objectives. They also develop the

concept of "theories in action" to describe how individuals design and implement behavior in any situation (Argyis and Shon, 1978; Argyis and Cyger, 1980).

The research conducted in educational organizations has generated information concerning various components of the professional knowledge school administrators must acquire. The outcomes of the role learning process are focused on two areas - change and acquisition. In general, principals must change their identity and perspective from that of a teacher to an administrator. As a result of the learning process, principals need to acquire cultural and professional knowledge which is created on-the-job as they face ill defined, unique, and changing problems and decide on courses of action to pursue (Sergiovanni 1984a).

For those who view educational administration as an "applied science," novice administrators need to acquire competency in diagnosis of problems and application of theoretical knowledge for treatment purposes (Sergiovanni, 1984b). By contrast, those who view educational administration as a "craft-like science", believe that role learning involves development of one's "nose for practice" by utilizing reflective practice (Blumberg, 1987; Schon, 1987). Louis (1980) stated that because novice principals are unable to comprehend the social and political system, they need to develop a model of "sensemaking" and cognitive processes to cope with surprise.

O'Brien (1988) reported, from her own experience as a novice, that principals are compelled to shed their former identities as teachers and forge new identities as administrators. She reported this learning was accomplished by acquiring "new self images, new involvements, new values, and new accomplishments" (p. 209). Hartman (1986) reported that, to gain power and influence, principals should operate as "cultural engineers." According to Hartman, principals need to acquire "cultural skills " in order to read cultural forces correctly and build upon them or around them. They must determine what the culture will bear or reject and react accordingly.

Greenfield (1982; 1985b) differentiated two areas of learning for principals-technical and moral. Technical learning outcomes refer to the acquisition and appropriate use of the instrumental knowledge and skills required to satisfactorily perform tasks associated in a particular role or status. Moral learning outcomes refer to the sentiments, beliefs, standards of practice, and value orientations characterized by the reference group in which one seeks membership.

Novice principals who hold aspirations of becoming instructional leaders must develop personal qualities of moral imagination and interpersonal competence (Greenfield, 1985a). Moral imagination requires technical skills in observation and analysis as well as formal knowledge about alternative statements of good practice. To exercise moral imagination means principals have the ability to see the discrepancy between how things are and how they

might be. Then, with skills and the knowledge of interpersonal competence, principals are able to mobilize others by articulating and influencing teachers and others in a desired direction. To be interpersonally competent, principals must acquire a substantial knowledge base about teachers; the teaching task; and teachers' views of themselves, their students, and their work.

Several educational researchers have confirmed and described the cognitive role learning process that public school administrators encounter when assuming their roles. From her own experience as a novice principal, O'Brien (1988, p. 10) reported that, "Entry into the role of principal is a period of intensive learning." Peterson (1986) suggested that principals learn their roles "on the job" as experiential learning occurs when their expectations of the role conflict with realities of job performance. Donald Schon's research (1983; 1987) presented the idea that, when educational professionals encountered problematic situations, they designed a process of reflection-in-action to generate understanding of the situation and determine appropriate responses to it. According to Schon (1987), educators can be taught to become reflective practitioners by engaging in an internal dialogue with one's self using experience, intuition, and trial and error thinking to define and solve a problem or dilemma. To explain how school leaders learn to lead, Jentz and Wofford (1979) offered the theory of interactive learning. From their analysis of case studies, Jentz and Wofford (1979) reported that, as principals learned to examine their patterns of interactions in administrative practice, they

learned to change interpersonal behavior and felt more competent.

Socialization as a Cultural Process

"Since socialization necessarily involves the transmission of information and values, it is fundamentally a cultural matter" (Van Mannen and Schein, 1979, p. 210).

A major research thrust in administrative studies today is in the area of organizational culture. While earlier movements in organizational theory often took single-perspective approaches to explaining organizational process, more recently writers have attempted to demonstrate the usefulness of multiple views of organizational analysis (Peterson, 1988). One of the newest and more useful approaches is the symbolic or cultural perspective (Sergiovanni and Corbally, 1984; Deal and Kennedy, 1982) which favors the view of understanding organizations as cultures. Derived from anthropolitcal literature, culture, as a metaphor, has more recently been applied to organizations in an attempt to understand the normative world of managers and workers and focus attention to the subjective, interpretive aspects of organizational life (Smiricich, 1983).

Organizational culture, as many note (Schein, 1985; Greenfield, 1985: Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Wilson and Firestone, 1987), is composed of the shared norms, values, beliefs, and assumptions about the world of work that shape how people think feel and act. Schein (1985) defined organizational culture as

> a pattern of basic assumptions invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external operations and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems (p. 9).

Deal and Kennedy (1982) described organizational culture as "informal understanding of the 'way we do things around here or what keeps the herd moving roughly west'" (p. 14).

> It is a cultural world into which the beginning school administrators are socialized and upon which they depend for defining their world (Wolcott, 1979, p. 51).

School cultures are powerful entities which personify the organization and render a particular identity or image. School cultures have developed a shared habitus or group of actions, refinements, language, behavior and meanings that has evolved and been reproduced over time. The habitus has been shaped by the values of past leaders (Schein, 1985) and developed as a result of shared cultural experiences and common learning (Schein, 1984). Cultural rules govern how administrators, staff, students, etc. should think, feel, and behave (Kottkamp 1980) and determine what is "good" and "true" (Corbett, Firestone and Rossman, 1987).

Through the process of enculturation or socialization, cultural knowledge is "taught" to newcomers. Marshall (1988) reported that new school actors, such as students, staff, and principals, are introduced to the cultural assumptions and rules that embody the culture of the school organization by being taught the "rules of the game;" acclimated to the organizational climate; encouraged to acquire and accept the dominant values and norms, and exposed to the

informal structure of the school.

Cultural knowledge is imparted to novice principals in various ways. Some aspects of culture are tangible and displayed via visible or audible behavior patterns enacted through the ceremonies, rituals, myths, and stories that infiltrate every day cultural interaction (Schein, 1985). Although these events are manifested in overt behavior patterns, they also serve the purpose of communicating the underlying values, beliefs, and orientations which the culture supports as "good" and "true" (Corbett, Firestone, and Rossman, 1987). Consequently in order to acquire an understanding of cultural nuances, principals must delve into the slogans, symbols, myths, and stories to find clues to a more pervasive system of meaning (Schien, 1984). Because cultural practices have evolved over time, their meaning may be hidden, taken for granted, and understood only at the subconscious level (Schein, 1985; Corbett, Firestone, and Rossman, 1987).

For several reasons acquisition of cultural knowledge is of prime importance to new principals. As key stakeholders in the organization, principals construct and confirm the school culture (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Sergiovanni, 1984a;); their decisions will be influenced by cultural factors (Bjork, 1989); and their success (Schein 1985) or failure (Kelleher, 1982) will be attributed to the way they respond to existing cultural expectations.

New principals threaten power of the dominate school cultures and represent massive change and potential loss (Deal and Kennedy, 1985). Corbett, Firestone, and Rossman (1987) indicated that actors

within the existing school culture want to retain dominance and continue to define what is "valuable, good, and proper" appearance and behavior for principals. If new principals don't fit cultural expectations, or, if novice principals defy sacred cultural rules, then the existing school cultures will form a solidarity and construct a "brick wall" of resistance to obstruct efforts of innovative principals. In order to survive in the their new role, principals must be willing and able to adapt to the prevailing norms of the school culture (Peshkin, 1989).

Ortiz and Marshall (1988) have reported that enculturation for school principals entails strenuous rites of passage during which they are expected to pass muster with two new cultures, the new school setting and the world of their administrative peers and superiors. These researchers indicated that administrators have their own specific culture with a separate socialization experience from that of teachers, and that beginning principals must establish a new identity with individuals in the work setting while negotiating their own visions of effective leadership with administrative peers and subordinates. Socialization to administrative culture requires separating from teachers, obtaining formal and informal training, and developing new reference groups and orientations to gain access to new group of administrators (Marshall, 1985; Ortiz, 1982).

Administrative cultures and school cultures hold various expectations for new principals. Some administrative cultures may expect principals to perform as instructional leaders; others may

expect principals to manage and frown upon those who "rock the boat." Likewise, while some school cultures are positive, child centered, and growth producing, others are negative, teacher oriented and stifling (Peterson, 1988).

Socialization as a Staged Process

> Socialization is a process that begins before recruitment and extends through various stages of formal preparation and employment. Indeed, for those who stay in the field, the socialization continues through a substantial proportion of their adult lives (Miklos, 1988, p. 53).

A third theme extrapolated from organizational and educational socialization studies describe socialization as a process (O'Brien, 1988), rather than an abrupt event. Analysis of research conducted in private organizations by Feldman (1976); (1980); (1981) Louis (1980); Schein (1971); and Van Mannen (1976); and in educational organizations by Blood (1966); Gussner (1974) Hart (1987); Mascaro (1973); and O'Brien (1988) has confirmed that the socialization process occurs in discrete stages.

Several organizational theorists have adopted a stage theory to explain organizational socialization. Feldman (1980); Louis (1980); Schein (1971); and Van Maanen (1976) proposed adult socialization occurs in stages. Louis (1980) reported that in the first stage (anticipatory socialization), recruits are considered outsiders who anticipate what their life will be like in the organization. When they begin work in their new roles, the outsiders are considered newcomers and enter the second stage (encounter) of organizational socialization. During this stage role expectations are tested

against the reality of their new work experiences. Coping with such differences and "learning the ropes " of the new setting typically occupy the newcomers for the first six to ten months on the job. Newcomers assume insider roles and complete socialization within the final stage (adaptation) of socialization. During this last stage, newcomers are accepted within the organization, included in informal networks, and sought out for advice by others.

Ronkowski and Iannaccone (1989) utilized the findings of ten studies of private and educational organizations to conduct a secondary analysis of the socialization experiences of adults entering the areas of education, nursing, and law enforcement. As criteria for inclusion in the study, the researchers selected open-ended qualitative studies designed around the Becker and/or Van Gennep model of socialization. Specifically, the Becker model, developed from his research reported in Boys in White, explained the shift in perspective that occurs during adult socialization processes, and the Van Gennep model theorized three universal stages of socialization (separation, transition, and incorporation) which adults experience as they confront life crises. The purpose of this secondary analysis was to determine common patterns within the ten studies that would add to the empirical and theoretical base of the Becker and Van Gennep models. Ronkowski and Iannoccone (1989) found support for the notion of the three stages of socialization, theorized that the stages of separation, transition and incorporation occur as phases with the transition stage of the socialization process and determined the stages are relevant to the

phases of adult development.

The stages of socialization in school institutions intertwine with those reported in organizational socialization literature (Hart, 1987). Peterson (1986) provided a detailed account of the stages of socialization by combining the findings of organizational socialization research conducted by London (1985) to that of public school administrators. Peterson found that socialization is a three staged process which occurs over a five year period. The first stage of socialization lasts for one year. In the early stage of socialization, new principals learn what superiors expect of them; develop personal ties in the organization that provide support and knowledge; and learn to deal with the anxiety of possibly not being able to achieve expectations of self and others. Neophyte principals develop commitment to the system, a sense of personal efficacy, and loyalty to the goals and values of the district. The second stage occurs during the second, third, and fourth years as new administrators develop a sense of achievement and are acknowledged for the importance of their contribution to the organization. The self confidence necessary for effectiveness overtime must develop and accrue during this stage. The fifth year and beyond represents the final stage of socialization. During this period norms and values inculcated during the early years must be maintained and reinforced by superiors.

The stages of socialization have provided a framework for inquiry and data collection of the socialization process of public school employees (Miklos, 1988). Researchers studying the

socialization of teachers (Lortie, 1975); vice principals (Marshall, 1984b); and public school administrators (Gussner, 1974; Hart, 1987; Nelson, 1986; O'Brien, 1988; and Ortiz, 1982) have identified induction to educational organizations as a staged process.

Three research studies used total participant observation to determine the stages of socialization for assistant principals and principals. Gussner (1974), an assistant principal in a junior high school, collected and analyzed field notes to discover five sequential stages of socialization which he labeled as absorption of information, emergence of personal concern, establishment of self-assurance, establishment of role, and true contribution. Hart (1987), a junior high school principal, collected field notes from April to February of her novice year. She used informal interviews, recorded personal reflections in a journal, and reviewed existing documents left by the previous administrator to identify three stages of socialization as: prearrival (from April to August), succession (from September to December), and post-succession (from January to February). O'Brien (1988), an elementary principal, designed a study to provide triangulation by comparing her findings with that of novice peers in both elementary and secondary administrative positions. From her analysis, O'Brien described five stages of the socialization process: pre-entry, selection, entry, role-taking, and transition and observed that changes in the concerns of novice principals were linked to the stages of socialization.

Nelson (1986) conducted a study which included interviews with individuals entering roles of Superintendent, District Office staff, Secondary and Elementary Principal, and Vice Principal to provide "thick description" of the socialization process experienced by public school administrators. Nelson developed seven case studies which designated and described socialization as a five staged process of "deciding", "entering," "learning," "surprise," and "coping."

Marshall (1984b; 1985b) reported findings from a study exclusively designed to examine the enculturation process of vice principals. Data collected from open-ended interviews and observations were analyzed to generate twenty four case studies. Marshall used three of the case studies included in the project to report the following seven developmental tasks which characterize the process of enculturation for vice principals: deciding to leave teaching and enter administration; analyzing the process of selection for administrative position; keeping a calm front in the face of culture shock; defining relationships with teachers; learning the art of the street-level bureaucrat; assertively staking out areas of responsibility; and adjusting modes and attitudes for discipline management.

DuBose (1986) conducted a survey of eighty incoming elementary principals to determine their information needs and degree of task specific assistance provided during the transition period of socialization. From her research a summative model identifying three dimensions for the stages of socialization

emerged. The first stage, anticipatory socialization, involved role learning acquired before entrance into the administrative positions; the encounter stage included formal and informal information obtained while learning to think and behave in the organizational role; and the last stage, insider, occurred when novices have identified, defined, and carried out daily routines expected of them while internally accepting the established role.

Socialization as a Disruptive Event

> Whether the principal is an experienced administrator or new to administration, the process of entry into a new school is a dramatic, significant, and emotional experience for the newcomer and the organization (Carlson, 1977, p. 27).

The fourth theme discovered in socialization literature relates to the disruptive nature of the socialization process. The O'Brien (1988) qualitative investigation of the socialization of first year administrators reported that the process was characterized by rigorous selection procedures which initiated novice principals into unfamiliar roles that required momentary interpretations and trial and error performance. Many researchers (Black and English, 1986; DuBose, 1986; and Gussner, 1974) report that induction into the administrative role is an emotional, stressful process. Hartman (1986) confirmed that, during the socialization process, principals are "shaping, using, and being used by powers from within the formal and informal organization" (p. 183).

From the studies dealing with socialization of education administrators, Duke (1987) observed a common theme of leveling of

aspirations and shift in perspective. He indicated administrators approach work with definite assumptions about the way schools operate and some areas of total ignorance. As a result of anticipatory socialization encountered prior to their administrative appointment, aspirants rehearse their roles by psychologically trying out preconceived role behavior, imagining the reality of the job, and speculating congruence of their skills, ability and needs (O'Brien, 1988). When beginning principals encounter problematic situations which do not fit their anticipated perspective of the role, cognitive dissonance is created (Ronkowski and Innaccone, 1989). When this discrepancy occurs, principals must articulate the circumstance, reexamine their assumptions, and resolve their concern by forming a new adjusted perspective (Ronkowski and Innoaccone, 1989).

Several investigations of beginning principals confirm loss of idealism as principals face realism of role enactment. Mascaro (1973) found that the on-the-job socialization reshaped principals' beliefs about role behavior. From an initial belief that instructional leaders should be directly involved in the classroom, beginning principals altered their perspective to accept a less direct mode of operation. The studies of Blood (1966); Bridges (1965); Hart (1987); Garbenia (1980); and Wolcott (1973) provide additional confirmation that during the transition into administration, attitudes, behaviors, and values are systematically altered. O'Brien (1988) has succinctly described socialization as a "mind altering" experience.

> Embarking on a career in school administration can mean: leaving behind one's youth and youthful ideals; joining the ranks of the enemy; putting one's ideas where your mouth has been; facing rejection by former colleagues; living with the possibility that what one is doing makes no difference (Murphy and Hallinger, 1987. p. 210).

Principals have reported their first year was difficult (Hart, 1987; Lewis, 1987; and Kelleher, 1982). Of vital importance to novice principals has been the need to achieve security and acceptance by the new school culture (Roberts, 1989). Greenfield (1985a) stated that, because new principals concentrate on learning what people value and expect, their focus is upon the lower levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. From their synthesis of numerous studies of socialization, Ronkowski and Innacoone (1989) observed that, as newcomers seek to locate in the new culture, they shift from a pattern of being defined by others to being defined by self. O'Brien (1988) reported principals' considerations changed from concern with how others were perceiving them to concern for survival and to task-related concerns.

> Most teachers move into the role of principal naively assuming that their recent experience as teachers will give them automatic rapport with the staff. Not true. In the time it takes to sign a contract, the new principals moves from 'one of us' to 'one of them' (Holcomb, 1990, p. 2).

Several features of the role of principal contribute to the disruptive nature of socialization. Newcomers to the principalship must adjust to alienation from the faculty (Alvy and Coloridrcil, 1985) sever old ties with teachers (O'Brien, 1988), and experience "leave taking" or withdrawal from their previous identity as

teachers (DuBose, 1986 and Louis, 1980). Principals must also accept the loneliness and isolated working conditions (Duke, 1987). Because of lack of direction and feedback, principals are unsure of what is expected of them and never know if they are doing a good job (Kelleher, 1982; Sackney, 1980). Consequently the most routine matters become problematic (Nelson, 1986). Because the principalship is political in nature, survival is dependent upon human relations skills (Wolcott, 1973; Hart, 1987). Duke (1987) explained impression management as the key consideration of new principals.

Socialization is Different for Males and Females

> Girls observe, organize, relate themselves to their appropriate category, try out various behavior, experience feedback from others, and acquire a gender identity that matches to some degree the ideology of their culture (Lott, 1987, p. 57).

Because socialization experiences are continuous throughout the adult life cycle (Nelson, 1986), they have a cumulative effect upon individuals (Goslin, 1969). The roles which female elementary principals develop are built on and modified by previous roles (Goslin, 1969). To understand the impact of socialization upon female elementary principals, it is important to explain the outcome of socialization at each phase of the process.

Childhood Socialization is Different. Female children learn behaviors appropriate to their gender by way of distinguishable processes that operate throughout life (Lott, 1987). Gender

learning occurs in childhood through modeling and imitation of parents and other models who are available, likeable, and powerful; from positive and negative sanctions or reinforcements provided by parents, other caregivers, teachers, and peers; and from gender labels and cognition or learning what is desirable to act "like a girl" (Lott, 1987, p. 57).

From her study Carol Gilligan (1982) pointed out that children's games enable them to resolve pressing emotional issues which are very different for each sex. The kinds of games they play help to form children into very different human beings. When girls play turn-taking games, such as hopscotch and jump rope, and role-playing games, such as playing house or hospital; skills and attitudes which stress the importance of preserving and enhancing relationships are instilled.

The experience of female students in U. S. schools is unique. In the early grades, girls' scores on standardized tests are generally equal to or better than boys' scores. However, by the end of high school, boys score higher on such measures as the SAT (Sadker and Sadker, 1986. p. 515).

> What other group starts out ahead in reading, writing, and even in math and twelve years later finds itself behind (Sadker and Sadker, 1986, p. 515)?

A thesis that girls and boys experience different educational environments has evolved. Research in teacher/student interaction has reported that boys receive more instructional attention, more praise and more criticism than girls do (Harvey, 1986; Lott, 1987).

Sadker and Sadker (1986) reported that the average female is ignored and that high achieving girls receive the least attention of all students. Female students learn, if they do well in school, it is because they are lucky or work hard, not because they are smart or capable (Shakshaft, 1987c). This bias of classroom interaction has resulted in boys who are socialized to be assertive and girls who are socialized to be passive spectators, relegated to the sideline of classroom discussion (Sadker and Sadker, 1986).

From their experience as students in elementary and secondary schools, females assume that leadership and power positions are held by males.

> If we look at the jobs done by women and men in school systems, we see that men have more power and authority, and higher status. Eighty percent of elementary school principals, ninety-three percent of secondary and nearly ninety-nine percent of superintendents are men (Lott, 1987, p. 64).

Although teachers are the first model of female authority for most students, girls know ultimate power is found "in the principal's office" which is most likely occupied by a man.

Outcome of Teacher Socialization is Different. Teaching is predominately a female occupation. Lott (1987) reported 66 percent of all public school teachers and 80 percent of all elementary teachers are female (page 217). Because teaching has been presented as a career compatible with both traditional female sex roles and with home and family demands, many women who choose to work, choose to teach (Rimmer and Davies, 1985). The research of Gross and Trask (1976) indicated 85 percent of the women principals investigated

responded that teaching was their first choice of occupation, while 46 percent of male principals indicated that education was their primary interest.

Shakshaft (1987b) indicated that the motivation for entering teaching differs for men and women. Most women enter teaching to teach, but most men enter teaching to administer. The Ortiz (1982) research supported this notion and reported that only two percent of female teachers plan to become administrators. Ortiz discovered that, as they enter teaching, females are encouraged to remain as teachers while males are expected to "move up" into administrative positions.

The Entry Conditions are Different for Male and Female Principals.

> Mobility from teaching to administration remains problematic for women. Research findings are consistent with the long standing bifurcation of education by gender that has routed women to instruction and men to administration. The institutional memory of education has confined women, despite changing patterns of experience, preparation, and aspiration to instructional and child centered units (Ortiz and Marshall, 1988, p. 132).

The literature presents two reasons why females rarely consider pursuit of administrative roles. Socialization and sex role stereotyping have been cited as explanations for not immediately connecting women with administration (Shakshaft, 1987b).

Women have been socialized in ways that have not made them administratively inclined (Shakeshaft, 1987b). Schuster (1989) agreed with this notion and indicated culturally learned behaviors; such as lack of assertiveness and aggressiveness, low

self confidence, poor leadership skills, and fear of risk taking; may prevent many women from considering top level jobs in education. Lynch (1990) suggested that, due to their early socialization, women are inherently unsuited to administrative work and need to be resocialized to perform effectively in administrative roles.

Helgesen (1990) reported most women do not realize that they are good at their jobs until about five to ten years after men do. Porat (1985) noted that women don't apply for principalships, even when they are as well-qualified as the male applicants. She stated that negative self-perceptions, lack of confidence in their qualifications and experience, and low expectations of success created genuine psychological barriers for many women.

> Just as researchers have examined the poor and why they don't make it, so they study women and why they do make it. Both are seen as deviants from the traditionally accepted social pattern (Bilken and Brannigan, 1980, p. 13).

In many studies the reasons for not hiring or promoting women have only to do with the fact that they were female. Studies of attitudes of superintendents and school board members have consistently shown that these two groups hold unfavorable attitudes toward women in administration (Shakeshaft, 1987b). Those who hire administrators have been socialized to believe that those qualities frequently associated with females are antithetical to those qualities needed to manage. As historical record has shown, women have always been second choice in selection of school leaders (Shakshaft, 1987b).

> Because our society displays an androcentric worldview, men and not women occupy the formal leadership positions in school and society. . . . only in an androcentric world can a man have a better chance than a woman of succeeding because of his sex. Sex discrimination is the name for business as usual in an androcentric world (Edson, 1980, p. 275).

A potent obstacle to increasing women's participation in management of schools has been sex role stereotyping (Shakeshaft, 1987b). Our androcentric society and an array of discriminatory practices converge to keep women from becoming school administrators. Whether it is attitudes that were negative or practices that negated women, studies document direct discrimination against women (Shakeshaft, 1987b). Shakeshaft (1987b) provided examples of discriminatory attitudes toward women in administration which include misconceptions such as: women administrators lose their femininity; pregnancy and administration don't mix; women allow their emotions to rule a situation; men do not want to take direction from women; and menstruation negatively affects women administrators' behavior. Attitudes based upon sexist views of women believe that women do things differently and less effectively than men and limit opportunities for them (Shakeshaft, 1987b).

Ortiz and Marshall (1988) reported attitudinal studies demonstrate the pervasive bias for men over women for school administrative positions. The preference manifests itself in less encouragement from superiors, less preparation and motivation on the part of women themselves, less self-selection by women, and the belief that women who progress in the administrative ranks must be "superhuman superwomen: bordering on the unearthly or unnatural. The

researchers reported that men's negative attitudes toward women did not rest of beliefs that women are less competent or qualified but on the sentiment that the presence of women as colleagues or bosses upsets the traditional relationships between men and women.

Structural barriers as described by Ortiz (1982) and Kanter (1977) comprise the formal and informal filtering system by which organizations train and test the suitability of aspirants for particular positions. Kanter's work (1977) maintained that organizations create structural barriers which prevent women from advancing. She indicated that women behave in self limiting ways because they are funneled into low-opportunity, dead end positions which do not allow them the opportunities to develop skills necessary for advancement.

Ortiz (1982) built her research on a structural barriers model. She reported women's advancement into educational administration positions was a problem of mobility. As they must move across hierarchial, functional, and inclusion boundaries from the periphery of the organization into its center, as well as move from bottom of the hierarchy to the top; women administrators are restricted in their movement. Because they have less access to the informal experiences (e.g. "old boy" networks) and socialization processes which facilitate movement through the structural barriers, women are thwarted in their attempts to become principals (Marshall, 1979; Ortiz, 1982; and Shakeshaft 1986).

In response to the barriers they sense, women educators develop lower aspirations for administrative roles (Ortiz and

Marshall, 1988). Instead of setting out to win promotion to administrative positions, women tend to overspecialize, to avoid risk-taking, and to behave in self-effacing ways (Porat, 1985).

Kanter (1977) noted that because women have little chance of advancement, their sources of satisfaction do not come from the job itself but from the quality of their relationship with their co-workers. According to Kanter (1977),"Being well liked becomes another meaning of success to people in dead-end work" (p. 59). Shakeshaft (1987b) stated that when women teachers disengage and depress aspirations to become administrators, their response may be a local and effective mental health remedy needed to cope with the realization that the position is out of their reach. Edson (1980) determined that; as positions open up, as women were encouraged to apply, and as they saw other women achieving; women in this study began to aspire to administrative jobs.

Prior research has suggested the sex factor has a bearing on the context, timing, and motivation of the career decision of elementary school principals. The findings of Gross and Trask (1976) revealed that the age at which individuals attain the principalship and the length of time it took them to become a principal were both influenced by the sex factor. Over twice the proportion of men as women were under 36 years of age when they first became principals, and over four times the proportion of men than women became principals within ten years after they became teachers. Their research indicated the mean years of elementary teaching experience of women was over three times as great as men. Other research

findings of Ortiz (1982) support the notion that women principals have considerably more teaching experience than men prior to their becoming principals.

Recent research conducted by Marshall and Mitchell (1989) indicated women average 14.3 years in teaching while men average 8.3 years before moving into administrative positions.

The Nelson (1986) study of novice administrators indicated that the invitation to apply for administrative position was different for men and women. The men in this study reported receiving specific communication which told them they would be "perfect" for the position. When women of the study received encouragement from men, it was subtle in nature. Women in the Nelsen study had to find their own opportunities and be discreet in seeking opportunities for quasi administrative tasks. In his study, Nelsen (1986) discovered that all women subjects made decisions to pursue administration coincident with changes in their personal lives. For example, three had undergone recent separation or divorce, and the fourth female wanted to improve marketability in contemplation of a move to accommodate her husband's career.

Ortiz (1982) found that female teachers are cautious about showing ability and that they learn not to show that they aspire to administration until they have gained tenure. She found that women teachers who expressed interest in administration before receiving tenure often had difficulty getting tenure. Shakeshaft (1987b) reported women do not verbalize their desire to administrators for fear of reprisals.

Gross and Trask (1976) suggested that another reason teachers chose not to pursue administrative roles was because they see teaching and administration as distinct and very different careers. Women perceive many administrative positions as entailing too much paperwork and not enough educational content, and these jobs were not of interest to them. Women do not value administration or the role of administrators, neither do they desire a position that separated them from students.

Women may also choose not to pursue administration because they realize that balancing the demands of career, marriage, and family will be a difficult task. Marshall (1985a) reported that women experience role conflict as they attempt to fill homemaker roles and demands of administrative positions. The study of Scott and Spooner (1989) studied the stress related issues for male and female administrators and discovered that, while the main source of stress for female administrators was home related issues, men reported work related stress was more evident. Shakeshaft (1987b) noted that not wanting to take on two jobs says nothing of the level of aspiration prospective administrators possess, but rather reflects their accurate assessment of the number of hours in the day and real limits of human body. Consequently, a major barrier to the career development of women is formed by the realization that juggling the dual roles of administrator and homemaker may just not seem worth the effort.

> A number of studies report that the active support and encouragement of a sponsor was important for women in making their decision to pursue a career. For other women arriving in he principalship was a 'fortuitous accident' (Rimmer and Davies, 1985, p. 153).

The encouragement and support of others is important for aspiring female administrators. Shakeshaft (1987b) reports that of the women who have decided to pursue administrative careers, most have done so because of the encouragement of some significant other (mother, lover, husband, father, principal, college professor). Research has found same sex role models to be critical for women, but not for men. Lack of opportunity to see other women in a variety of administrative positions, to hear how those women describe their lives, and to compare themselves with women just one step farther up the hierarchy have been cited as reasons women have not moved into administrative positions in larger numbers (Shakeshaft, 1987b). "The good ole boy network is alive and well. Women work two times as hard to get half the distance for half the credit" (Edson 1985, p. 275).

Much has been written about the informal closed social network of male administrators, referred to as the good ole Boys Club (Ortiz, 1982), whose function is to structure opportunities for men to access administration work. Nelson (1986) noted evidence of the network and stated men had an easier time gaining access to the administrative work world and the informal network of information than women.

From his observation that three women in the study were sponsored by female administrators, Nelsen (1986) discovered

evidence of the "good ole girls club." Nelsen stated the good ole girls club is a closed system with support not equally available to all women interested in administration. From her research in organizations Dodgen (1987) discussed the "Queen Bee" syndrome. She discovered that organizations have only one superior female who gained the position by her own ingenuity and is unwilling to help others. Edson's (1980) research noted that women in powerful administrative positions were not always supportive of other women with similar ambitions.

Internal and external barriers constrain women from reaching or maintaining formal leadership positions in the schools (Marshall, 1985a) Consequently sponsors are more important to individual women than role models. Because sponsors advise the women, support them for jobs, and promote and help them, sponsors are more important to women than role models. Related to sponsorship is the need to have access to a network that provides information on job openings and administrative strategies, as well as visibility and support. Women have traditionally been excluded from these networks. Sponsors and mentors of principals are usually white males who tend to promote other white males (Shakeshaft, 1987b). Consequently women have not heard about administrative positions, have not been known by others, and have few people to approach for counsel (Shakeshaft, 1986b).

Professional or Occupational Socialization is Different for Men and Women. Professional or occupational socialization begins

once individuals decide to pursue administrative careers. During this period of socialization administrative candidates learn the specialized knowledge, norms, values, behaviors, and ethics of the administrative profession (Blumberg and Greenfield, 1980).

> Training programs in educational administration are short-changing their women students and, in many cases offering them advice and theory that is not only wrong, but that may also do damage to the women and educational enterprises they direct (Shakeshaft 1987a, p. 2)

According to Shakeshaft (1987a; 1987b; 1988), when women go to college to acquire administrative degrees, they often find a less than supportive atmosphere. Shakeshaft based her argument upon the following two issues.

The graduate school environment discourages female participation and success. Because of the notion that women need more encouragement from professors than do men, and because the majority of professors in educational administration are white males, women do not receive positive attention. Further, because they can't identify with male students, women are further isolated in graduate school (Shakeshaft, 1987b).

An additional barrier for women is the lack of appropriate and positive curricular materials for them to read. Shakeshaft and Hanson (1986) critiqued the textbooks and journals in the field for gender bias and found a shocking proportion of sexist content in the research and writing of the field. From their study of ten years of research in the Educational Administration Quarterly, Shakeshaft and Hanson identified androcentric conceptualizations and methods in the

majority of articles. Shakeshaft (1987b) stated that traditional theory and research in the field is inadequate for accounting for the phenomenon of discrimination and for the persistent fact that women's lives as school employees differ from men's. She continued to argue against the peculiar configuration of research and its inability to account for female experiences by stating that:

> If women and men were the same, if they behaved in similar ways, then leaving women out of the formulation of theory wouldn't be a problem. However, we have seen that the history of women and men in school administration differs, as do their career paths. Further the profiles of women and men administrators vary in important ways (Shakeshaft 1987b, p. 163).

Organizational Socialization is Different for Males and Females. During organizational socialization principals learn the values, norms, and required behaviors that permit participation as members of school organizations (London, 1985). The process begins when administrative candidates "throw their hat in the ring" to seek employment as principals and intensifies during the early days of their principalships.

The process of interviewing for a principalship position functions to influence the concerns aspirants carry into the roles they would assume. The interview process provides candidates with feedback regarding the values and expectations held by the school district. Ideally the interview process would result in affirmation of skills and knowledge the candidates possessed.

Ortiz and Marshall (1988) reported a consistent pattern of prejudice against hiring women principals which was expressed by most male teachers, school superintendents, and school board members

in their sample. Two of the female informants, included in the Nelsen (1986) study, indicated that they obtained feedback from their job interviews which implied their gender was a liability. As a result of her interview, Billie Jo Latah felt that her strengths in clinical supervision, staff development, and curriculum were not valued. Comments from Latah's interview suggested that, to be successful, she would have to "pay her dues" before she would be able to do innovative things. Other suggestions about the "length of her tether" implied concern for her ability to fulfill responsibilities of administration due to her family obligations. Patience Jones encountered a similar situation. She was told that a major concern about her ability to be successful in administration was her ability to be "tough" with teachers and not get "too close with them" or "give them too much power."

The general conclusion drawn from research literature is that the patterns of socialization for men and women are different (Ortiz, 1982). Marshall's study (1985a) determined women administrators must create techniques, supports, and new definitions of self to fit the norms for administration. In establishing themselves as school managers, women experience more severe socialization (Ortiz, 1982) and conflict (Erickson, 1985) than their male counterparts.

Previous research shows that moving into administrative work as a woman is a conscious, purposeful attempt to gain entry into a group which considers her so different that she might never fully perform administrative functions (Marshall, 1985b). Marshall (1985a)

explained that; because the school culture assigns over emotionality, flirtatiousness, discomfort with joking, and inability to work as a team member to women; female administrators are stigmatized. Principals are generally thought of as masculine, assertive, strong, independent, and able to control their emotions (Erickson 1985). Thus to carry out the role of principal successfully, women are required to make more personality shifts than male principals. Because the style of women is aberrant, defying tried and true ways, others may not judge their job performance as competent or credible (Marshall, 1985a).

Female school administrators must struggle with both internal and external conflicts (Erickson, 1985). Internal conflict, which they bring to the job, has its roots in the process of socialization where young girls are traditionally taught to please and to nurture. The female socialization process has placed tremendous emphasis on love, affection, and belongingness needs (Shakeshaft, 1987b). By the time they reach adulthood, women believe that they will be considered unfeminine if they confront conflict assertively. They do not want to be disliked and they feel uncomfortable if other people are upset with them (Erickson, 1985).

The second kind of conflict experienced by female school administrators is external. Married female administrators face external conflict on two fronts, the job and the home. Examples of external conflict encountered by female principals are related to the token status assigned to them and various dimensions of sexist attitudes displayed in school settings.

> Token status and sexist attitudes toward women continue to create a world in which women administrators are always on display and always vulnerable to attack. Women perceive their token status and realize that their actions reflect on all women (Shakeshaft, 1987b, p. 65).

Ortiz (19892) indicated when women occupy administrative positions, they are numerical minorities, and therefore, assume "token" status. From her research on token participants in organizations, Kanter (1977) reported they receive attention with their jobs under public scrutiny and disproportionate focus on their physical appearance and other non-ability traits. Patience Jones, one of the female administrators studied by Nelsen (1986) indicated that, when she entered her new position, she was explicitly told of the failure of the first and only female administrator in her district. Patience commented that she was quite aware her tenure would be continually viewed in comparison with her female predecessor. She felt that she was being closely watched and that other administrators were just waiting to be able to say, "I told you so". Ortiz (1982) reported that

> When female administrators err, it is widely publicized; it is a source of conversation for a lengthy period of time throughout the district. . . They are famous within the school district (p. 7, 8).

Because tokens must never make dominants look bad, females must be able to maintain balance between always doing well and not generating peer resentment (Kanter, 1977). From the Nelsen (1986) study, Patience commented that her token status functioned to limit her experiences of success. Patience commented, "I . . . get the message that don't do too good and make me look bad; I've got to tread the thin line" (Nelsen, 1986 p. 105).

Evidence of sexist attitudes displayed toward female administrators has been reported in the literature. Accounts from the Nelsen study (1986) are illustrative. For example, Billie Jo Latha found the stereotypical role of women strongly reinforced by her male administrative peers when she was selected to participate in the "legs" portion of a program presented to honor lunch personnel in her district. Patience Jones resented jokes and sexual innuendoes and felt they were used to control her participation in decision making as well as letting her "know her place." Ortiz (1982) reported that twelve of the women administrators whom she studied were observed to experience the use of joking to demean them.

Sex role stereotypes operate to influence group dynamics and leadership behaviors (Adkinson, 1981). Research studies illustrate the difficulty others have in perceiving female competence (Shakeshaft, 1987b). Gale (1989) wrote that leadership is won by competent women as long as "they are willing to be talkative, work hard, and argue" (p. 25). In trying to command or maintain authority, women must take into account not only the people with whom they work, but also how those people view women (Shakeshaft, 1987b). Gale (1989) argued that women in administrative positions are in a dilemma. They must be perceived as competent, task oriented, intelligent, yet appear nonthreatening, while taking into account the views of women held by those with whom they work.

Many studies have found key sex differences in how men and women communicate in meetings and other professional settings. Sex

bias in communication has been observed in school settings. Erickson (1985) has reported that in group settings, women's comments are likely to be ignored, and they are ineffective in discussions.

Shakeshaft (1987b) reported that the there may be discomfort in communicating with a member of the other sex. The same words spoken by a male supervisor have different meanings to male and female teachers. Conversely, an interaction between a female principal and a male teacher is not the same as an exchange between a female principal and female teachers. Women administrators have to work to get male teachers to "hear" them.

Lewis and Sigman (1986) reported the over whelming experience of women in a society dominated by men is that of being silenced. Magda Lewis and Roger Lewis, one as a female student and the other as a male teacher, described and analyzed the process of silencing as it occurred in a graduate seminar designed to explore the relationship between language and power. They discovered male students monopolized speaking time as well as the theoretical and social agenda. Men were seldom if ever interrupted. When a woman and a man began speaking at the same time, the woman always deferred to the man. Women's speaking was often reinterpreted by the men through phrases such as, "what she really means . . ." Women's ideas sometimes were reworded, were appropriated by men, and then passed off as their own. Consequently, either because they have been oppressed into silence or because they made a conscious decision to refrain from the discussion as a form of resistance to

being silenced, women of the class were "mute". The female students were silenced because they were unable to claim a space and time within which to enter a conversation or unable to discover forms of speech within conversations to express meanings and to find validation from others.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Purpose of Study

Multiple purposes directed inquiry and focused data analysis. The primary purpose of this study was to identify socialization forces influencing a novice female elementary principal during her first year in that position. A second purpose was to delineate the adaptive strategies used by the principal either to neutralize or succumb to the socialization influences. A subordinate purpose was to examine the issue of gender as it interacted with the socialization forces and selected coping strategies.

Organization of Chapter

To explain the research methodology designed to investigate the socialization process of a female elementary principal, this chapter has been divided into five topics. In the next section, background information and support for the selection of a qualitative design will be presented. The use of participant observation as a data collection process will be developed in the second section. The third topic will describe the way the data were treated. The concerns for validity and reliability of qualitative studies will be discussed in the fourth section. The next area will focus on

ethical considerations given to inform participants of the study being undertaken. The last topic will provide the reader with thick description of the study participants and the school culture.

Research Design

Introduction

> In the varied topography of professional practice, there is a high ground overlooking a swamp. On the high ground, managerial problems lend themselves to solution through the application of research-based theory and technique. In the swampy lowland, messy, confusing problems defy technical solution.
>
> Researchers must choose. Shall they remain on the high ground where they can solve relatively unimportant problems according to prevailing standards of rigor, or shall they descend to the swamp of important problems and nonrigorous inquiry (Mosenthal cited in Shon 1983, p. 3).

As students of education administration design an approach for inquiring about a research problem, they have the option of choosing a quantitative or qualitative mode. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have contrasted the basic beliefs upon which positivists design a quantitative and naturalists design a qualitative investigation. The researchers have developed their presentation around five axioms which capture salient aspects crucial to understanding how quantitative research differs, contrasts, or even conflicts with qualitative research.

Concerning ontology, the nature of reality, positivists believe there is a single tangible reality which can be fragmented into independent variables and processes; inquiry can converge onto that reality and be predicted and controlled. Naturalists believe there

are multiple constructed realities that can be studied only holistically because inquiry will inevitably diverge, and prediction and control are unlikely. The object of their inquiry is understanding or verstehen (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

With relation to the epistemological standards, positivist consider that the inquirer and the object to be investigated are independent and constitute a discrete dualism. This viewpoint supports the researcher as an objective, independent scientist who stands on his or her own platform and manipulates the world by arranging data through methodology. Naturalists support the notion that the inquirer and object to be investigated are inseparable and influence each other. They believe the interactions between investigator and respondent cannot be eliminated from the research equation, and they regard it as an opportunity to be exploited (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

The ability for research results to be generalized is important to those who espouse a positivist position. They believe the aim of inquiry is to develop a nomothetic body of knowledge consisting of truth statements which withstand the test of time and context. The goal of a naturalistic inquiry is to develop an idiographic body of knowledge in the form of "working hypotheses" that describe an individual case (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

To positivists, achievement of prediction and control via the knowledge of causes and effects is pervasive. They believe that every action can be explained as the result (effect) of a real cause that precedes it. Conversely naturalists believe that all entities

are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping. Consequently it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

To conduct an inquiry which is value-free is vital to a positivist. Using the conventional paradigm of inquiry, positivists employ objective methodology to guarantee results that are value free from the axioms, theories, perspectives, social/ cultural norms, and individual norms. On the other hand, the naturalistic paradigm asserts that inquiry is value-bound. Specifically, naturalists believe that an investigation is influenced by the values of the inquirer, by the assumptions underlying the substantive theory and the methodological paradigm that undergird the inquiry, and by the values that characterize the context in which the inquiry is carried out (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Eisner and Peshkin (1990) have argued that students have been socialized to prefer the conventional quantitative method and accompanying set of norms which define acceptable scholarship. The authors stated that the socialization process provided powerful filters through which we view the world and influenced us to believe that persons, processes, and products bearing the stamp of "objective" deserve acclaim and acceptance while persons, processes, and products stamped "subjective" do not. The effect of goodness and badness is part of our received wisdom.

In support of their preference for qualitative research, Eisner and Peshkin (1990) suggested that they have evolved to this

perspective as a matter of personal taste rather than by socialization. They hold that conventional methods of investigation are suspect for methods based on a deterministic, casual model do not fit the arenas in which human action takes place, and methods derived from natural science paradigm are ill suited for the likes of the human community. To illustrate the need for an alternative approach to study human interaction, Eisner and Peshkin (1990) commented, ". . .electrons, unlike children, have neither motives nor aspirations. They do not strategize, they do not think, they are neither devious or helpful" (p. 11).

Howe and Eisenhart (1990) have indicated the basic approach has been to characterize the positivistic and alternative paradigms in terms of dichotomies. Lincoln and Guba (1985) agreed and contrasted the positivistic and naturalistic paradigms in this way

> facts versus values; objectivity versus subjectivity; fixed categories versus emergent categories; outsider perspective versus insider perspective, static reality versus fluid reality; causal emphasis versus understanding; and quantitative research versus qualitative research (p. 36).

Reasons for Selection of A Qualitative Approach

> Tradition has progressed beyond qualitative vs. quantitative debates to a recognition that researchers must match research methods with research questions and the choice of qualitative methods is appropriate for some fundamental questions about education (Marshall, C., 1985c, p. 353).

Although traditional behavioral research has largely ignored ideas, intent, or other subjective aspects, (Osterman, 1990) and

scientific tradition has minimized the importance of emotions and experiences; a common theme in the literature of organizational socialization has been that a conventional scientific methodology of survey and multivariate analysis were inadequate (Nelsen, 1986). Donmeyer (1985) suggested that survey research has no guarantee that the questionnaire items reflect what is significant to responders or that responders will interpret questionnaire items as developers intended.

MacPherson (1984) argued that the methodology chosen to investigate a research project must satisfy two criteria: first, to clarify the methods and rules of accomplishing a research purpose and, second, to provide the rationale justifying the appropriateness of that particular path to knowledge. The discussion that follows addresses these two criteria.

Howe and Eisenhart (1990) urged educational researchers to give careful attention to the value their research questions have for informing educational practice and to ground their methodology in the nature of these questions. They stated research questions should drive data collection techniques and analysis rather than vice versa. Murphy and Hallinger (1987) illustrated the need for methodology to respond to the context of the research problem by stating:

> . . . trying to grasp the role of school principal with reference solely to normative theories and models is like turning on one's high beams to see more clearly in the fog; the area of illumination is increased, yet clarity of vision is reduced (Murphy and Hallinger 1987, p. 250).

Bredesen (1985) agreed that researchers must select an appropriate investigatory approach and tools based upon a clearly stated research problem statement and purpose.

The methodological approach chosen for this research study is grounded in the interpretive perspective and based on the premise that, to understand the socialization process, it is necessary to understand an administrator's sense of "being a principal" over time in terms of what he/she does and his/her reflections on what is done. This methodology represents insights borrowed from symbolic interactionism which stresses the importance of meaning making and interpretation of the socialization experience (Bullough, Crow, Knowles, 1989) .

Symbolic interactionists stress the importance of research methodologies that allow for sympathetic introspection and understanding of reality from the actor's perspective. Blumer (1969) advocated the use of observational techniques. Van Mannen (1976) suggested examination of subjective experiences to understand the development of personal and professional identities. This study employed a naturalistic, as opposed to a controlled, inquiry and qualitative, as opposed to quantitative, method of exploring the problem under investigation. A naturalistic inquiry is appropriate with this study for several reasons. It provided a means through which the complex, multifaceted aspects of socialization could be examined, as well as, identification of the underlying meanings of the process. This approach allowed the researcher to be actively involved in the learning process, not as a

passive recipient of information, but as a creator of knowledge.

The research problem generated for this study called for descriptive data. The questions lead to a methodology that would allow the researcher to record the feelings, emotions, personal changes, and thought process I experienced firsthand as I attempted to learn how "to become" a principal. The approach began with questions about the socialization process rather than hypotheses. Data were produced and examined through an inductive process designed to generate theory grounded in the reality of being a first-year principal. The research process allowed categories to emerge directly from the data and earn their way into the developing model (Blase, 1985).

The collection and analysis of the data were accomplished by using a model developed by the cognitive anthropologist, James Spradley (1980). Following his direction, researchers become participant observers, ask ethnographic questions, collect ethnographic data, make an ethnographic record, analyze ethnographic data and write an ethnography.

Data Collection

> . . . how data is collected is just as important as what data is collected (Hartman, 1986, p. 10).

Howe and Risenhart (1990) indicated data collection techniques employed ought to fit and be suitable for answering the research question entertained. The discussion which follows continues to develop the logic for use of qualitative methods to gather data for this investigation.

Participant Observation

In his ethnographic study of high school students, Cusick has written the following:

> If one is to gain a reasonable understanding of a social environment, he should study it from the viewpoint of the groups which create it. The best method with which to carry on such a study is that of participant observer (Cusick, 1973, p. 4).

Likewise if students of education administration want to understand the concept of socialization, it would be advantageous to study the phenomenon from the perspective of a novice principal.

Several researchers have advocated the use of participant observation for research purposes. Lutz and Iannoccone (1969) listed the following advantages: socialization variables that defy quantification are less likely to be distorted with this method; classification of socialization behavior is not forced into a preconceived scale or index of behavior; and categories of socialization behavior can be modified and remodified to clearly describe the process. The authors commented that only through participant observation does the researcher know the motive, hidden agenda, and secret procedures that are unobservable to anyone not in the role. Taft (1988) added that participation in a group provided investigators with an understanding of the culture and the interactions between the members that is different from that which can be obtained from merely observing or conducting a survey, or analyzing documents. Taft (1988) stated that in the course of becoming involved in the group, the investigator becomes

acculturated to it by developing personal knowledge about the rules of the group and by beginning to perceive the same meanings in events as do the members of the group. Lincoln and Guba (1985) supported this approach by stating that a provocatively rich account of events was developed from the first hand knowledge which allows reality and behavior to be analyzed from the subject's perspective. Whyte (1984) advocated use of participant observation because this method offered an advantage of serendipity, for it is possible to encounter the unexpected phenomena and make significant discoveries that were unanticipated.

Participatory observation is the central method of data collection for naturalistic studies. The orientation for participatory observation is toward discovery with the researcher operating as a human instrument used to conduct the investigation. The researcher builds upon tacit knowledge and uses methods such as interviews, observations, document analysis, and unobtrusive clues to generate analytical categories from "the field", rather than defining them in advance. The data analysis is conducted in an inductive manner which allows themes to emerge. The results are reported by using case reports, case studies, or ethnographies.

For purposes of data collection, Lutz and Iannoccone (1969) have identified several roles available to the field observer. While the observer as a participant enters the culture for investigative purposes and is assigned a role, the participant as observer actually "owns" a natural role and uses it to study the culture. The authors recommend that the selection of

instrumentation, that is whether one is to be full observer participant or a full participant observer or something in between, be made according to the purposes and opportunity of the researcher.

Total Participant Observation

Several researchers have captured the opportunity to become total participant observers and conduct research studies while performing in the roles being studied(Gussner, 1974; O'Brien, 1988; Hart, 1987; and Hartman, 1986). Gussner (1974) supported this method by stating that personal knowledge about the role can only be obtained by tapping the mind of role incumbent to record the feelings, emotions, personal changes and thoughts of an emergent administrator. He explained that what goes on in the mind of the individual who makes the decision and does the behaving is just as significant as the identifiable external forces which might be observed by any researcher. Gussner (1974) argued that personal knowledge is important and a fundamental part of socialization process. Hartman (1986) stated that only the actual participant knows what he/she intended and why he acted as he/she did.

For the purpose of this study, I seized an opportunity to utilize the method of total participant observation to explore my socialization experiences. As an education administration student, I had developed an interest in leadership studies and commitment to qualitative research methods. Coincidentally, as I prepared to develop a dissertation proposal, I also obtained my first principalship. I utilized this opportunity to assume the dual role

of novice principal and researcher to participate in the socialization process and at the same time observe and analyze the dynamics of the process. Using this approach I became the research instrument and absorbed, synthesized, and interpreted cultural aspects inherent in my socialization experiences. Using total participation observation, I was able to collect data within the natural setting and reflect on its meaning. From this vantage point, I discarded meaningless data, looked for evidence to support or refute new insights, constantly appraised the information to direct further data collection, and remained free to explain the data.

Asking Ethnographic Questions

Once the project has been selected, ethnographic researchers begin fieldwork by asking descriptive questions to guide their observations. Grand tour questions and ensuing observations provide an overview of the social situation. After I had obtained the principalship and approval from my dissertation committee, I began to formalize the following grand tour questions about my project.

How will I learn how to become a principal?

Will I be socialized?

How will I be socialized?

With these broad questions as a standard, I began recording information beginning June 1, 1987, the day I was hired as principal. Before many days had past, I discovered two elements

were misguiding the data collection process. During the initial stages of the investigation, I recorded everything that happened during the day. I soon discovered that some of the information was irrelevant to the socialization process and that the amount of data being collected was immense. After consulting with Dr. Arney, my major advisor, we determined a more focused and precise method of data collection must be taken. The second area of my concern was that the socialization process actually began long before I began to record field notes. I realized intense socialization began from the moment I began to consider applying for the position with increased intensity occurring during the selection and interview process.

To accommodate the need for a change in data collection procedures, two modifications were made. Spradley (1980) indicated ethnographers must refine their observations to concentrate on smaller units of experience by developing mini-tour questions and conducting mini-tour observations. With Dr. Arney's assistance, I refined my investigation around an orienting theory (Whyte, 1984) which would frame my observations and guide me toward recording only socializing incidents. Specifically, the following question would guide my perceptions and indicate which incidents to be recorded:

> Did this situation tempt or influence me to
>
> modify my intended action?

With the use of this orienting theory, I collected and recorded only data that would prove useful in later analysis without focusing on the investigation so narrowly as to exclude data. To accommodate

for the information missing from socialization that occurred during the selection process, I mentally recounted incidents which I perceived as socialization events during that time period. I recorded those incidents and included them in my field notes.

Jacob (1989) illustrated the cyclical nature of cognitive anthropological research that has been observed in this investigation. Just as Jacob (1989) indicated that the researcher starts with a general problem, begins intitial collection data with analysis to identify relationships, formulates hypothesis about relationships, and checks this hypothesis by collecting and analyzing more data with a narrowing focus as cycle continues, the same pattern was observed in this study.

As this investigation continued throughout my novice year, the cycle of data collection, data analysis, and research modification continued. As data accumulated, I asked more refined questions and focused upon discreet observations. In this manner categories emerged; some continued; others were rejected. Throughout data collection, I made multiple decisions about the relevance of the information with respect to the orienting theory. In this manner data analysis and research modification were simultaneously conducted.

Ethnographic Record

Qualitative data must be organized in some fashion before any analysis can be done. The researcher has impressions, observations, and decision which need to be recorded. An ethnographic record

consists of field notes, pictures, artifacts, and interviews which document the social situation under study (Spradly 1980).

Data were collected for this study in three ways. Field notes which described critical socializing incidents provided the majority of data used for analytic purposes. Artifacts of the school culture provided additional information. To enhance the understanding of the socialization experience from the perspective of other principals and to provide an audit check (Lincoln and Guba 1985), interviews were conducted and recorded.

Field notes were written to document the events which I perceived as socializing incidents. My goal was to make complete and accurate descriptions of the socialization activities, interactions, and personal sentiments about them. I documented what I heard, being careful to capture the language, by making a verbatim record. I described what I saw with special consideration given to nonverbal language and recording the specific details in a concrete manner. The field notes also reflected intrapersonal thoughts about the socializing incidents. I documented my feelings and emotional displays which occurred concurrently with each socializing incident.

The format for the field notes resembled a diary or journal with each entry dated and with activity recorded for most every day of the ten months included in the first year of my principalship. The field notes generated a document with 471 handwritten notebook pages that fill a three inch binder.

Finding time to record the information was difficult. One criticism leveled toward participatory observation is that

researchers have difficulty "switching hats" from participant to researcher in order to record information in an objective manner. For total participants who are immersed in the research activity and operating within the context of a fast paced environment, attention is often directed away from the research process. To record incidents when they are "fresh" on the researcher's mind is problematic.

My usual method of recording field notes was to spend time each evening by reflecting about what incidents during the day that I had perceived as being socializing events. When a critical incident occurred within the daily routine, I would make time to jot down notes about the incident, document verbatim conversation, or indicate nonverbal signals which I received. These quick notations would be developed more fully and recorded in an expanded form that evening.

Artifacts of the school culture were collected during the year. Most of the artifacts collected were written documents whose intention I had perceived to be of a socializing nature. Specifically, if I felt the information was intended to influence my thinking and/or actions in a certain direction, I collected the document.

Several kinds of artifacts were collected. Historical organizational documents such as the Teacher's Handbook, School Discipline Plan, and North Central reports written by the previous principal were collected. Memos written to me by teachers, peers, and superiors were collected. The evaluation instrument used to

appraise my performance was included. Personal documents such as notes, students' art work, gifts, and mementoes from parties held in my honor were incorporated into the collection of artifacts.

From these documents came role related information about how things were being done in the school culture (Louis 1980). The documents were reviewed for information about the role expectations the school culture held for me and how I was fulfilling those cultural expectations.

Interviews conducted with two "virgin" elementary principals, one male and one female, who began their novice year in the same district just as I completed my first year, were included in the ethnographic record. Although the major reason for conducting the interviews was to provide triangulation for the study (to be discussed in later portions of this chapter), the information they provided confirmed and supported experiences of socialization which I had experienced.

The interviews were conducted with semi-structured questions in an open ended protocol. The objective of the first set of interviews, conducted during the first weeks of their principalship, was to illicit information regarding principals' vision and personal expectations for the role. The last set of interviews was conducted during an administrative retreat held the week following completion of the school term. An open ended format was used to gain evidence of socialization, the nature of socializing incidents, and principals' perceptions of whether their visions and expectations for the role were being accomplished.

The four interviews were tape recorded and transcribed for the purpose of data analysis. Each of the interviews lasted approximately one hour.

Treatment of Data

In order to analyze the volume of data generated from a qualitative study, researchers must use a systematic procedure to reduce data to a manageable form without loss of detail. Berman (1986) has defined data analysis as a process to identify themes and construct hypotheses as they are suggested by the data and an attempt to demonstrate support for these themes and hypotheses. As data are collected and coded, categories and properties emerge, develop in abstraction, and become related (Berman 1986).

The accumulating interrelations form a holistic summarization of data reported as cultural themes (Berman 1986).

> It is important to recognize that since the steps in analysis are not discrete, neither is the movement from data collection to data analysis discrete (Lutz and Iannaccone, 1969, p. 129).

For ethnographic studies, data analysis is an on-going process which is continually occurring as ethnographers collect data (Lutz and Iannaccone, 1969). Berman (1986) indicated that data analysis for naturalistic inquiry takes many forms ranging from very rigid identification procedures to a holistic, intuitive summarization of data.

Ogawa (1991) indicated that qualitative data are analyzed in two stages. First, as field notes are accumulated, they are analyzed to tentatively identify patterns and to frame subsequent

observations. The discussion of the cyclical nature of the data collection process referred to in the previous section of this study is characteristic of this stage of analysis. The second and major stage of analysis occurs after researchers leave the field site. Field notes, interview transcripts, and artifacts are compared to identify patterns with confirmation of patterns observed across three data sets collected. Researchers also look for disconfirming evidence for each pattern identified (Ogawa, 1991). During this stage of formal analysis, emphasis is placed on internal consistency, completeness, and form.

Spradley (1980) delineated four types of formal analysis: domain, taxonomic, compotential and theme. Domain analysis involves the identification of cultural domains and the terms in them. Taxonomic analysis involves a search for the way cultural domains are organized. Componential analysis involves a search for the attributes of terms in each domain. Theme analysis involves a search for the relationships among domains and how they are linked to the cultural scene as a whole (Spradley, 1980).

Domain Analysis

Domain analysis gives an "overview of the cultural scene and some ideas as to how that scene is organized" (Spradley, 1980). The goal of domain analysis is to discover the patterns of culture in a particular social situation. Domains as cultural categories are made up of three basic elements: cover term, included term, and semantic relationship.

Domain analysis for this study began after several weeks of field notes had been recorded. The first step of this process was to identify cultural domains and the terms in them. To do this I extracted a sample of speech recorded in the field notes such as: "What are you going to do about it?", a comment made to me by a teacher. The verbatim phrase was analyzed in the following way: "What are you going to do about it" is a kind of verbal threat to principal. For this example, "What are you going to do about it?" is the included term; "is a kind of"is the semantic relationship; and "verbal threat to principal" is the cover term. For this investigation, hundreds of such phrases were collected by searching field notes, interview transcripts, and artifacts. Domains thus generated become the organizers as a search for related categories is conducted in the next stage of analysis.

Taxonomic Analysis

A taxonomy is a set of categories organized on the basis of a single semantic relationship. A taxonomic analysis shows relationships among the items inside the cultural domains, reveals subsets, and focuses on their similarities. The final analysis can be presented as a tree diagram, outline, or box diagram (Spradley, 1980).

For this study, the first step was to create a taxonomy based on semantic relationships. For example, from entries made in the field notes several reports of verbal threats to the principals made by teachers, parents, and students were observed.

This subset of information was integrated with other subsets that identified evidence of verbal and nonverbal attacks targeted to the principal and included in the category of Confrontations incorporated in the Taxonomic Analysis.

Componential Analysis

Compotential analysis is the systematic search for the attributes, or components of meaning associated with cultural categories. Researchers move from looking at similarities governing a domain to differences within a domain. The process includes searching for contrasts between the subsets of a taxonomy, sorting them out, grouping them as dimensions of contrast, and entering this information onto a matrix to verify the information.

For this investigation each of the terms to be contrasted was placed on a vertical axis with Dimensions of Contrast placed on the horizontal axis. The researcher identified components of contrast associated with all of the subsets which differentiated them. For instance, from the example of confrontations targeted toward the principal previously used, I generated a set of contrast terms which would differentiate among the terms themselves. Types of confrontations can differ as to spontaneity, intuitive response, emotionality, frequency of occurrence, and covertness. To each critical incident of confrontation, I responded with a "yes" or "no" to verify whether the attack was spontaneous, intuitive response, emotional, etc.

Thematic Analysis

Another step of analysis is to identify patterns across domains. It involves a search for predominant and repeated components of meaning which cross paradigms or matrices. The accumulated relationships link the domains to the cultural scene as a whole and form an integrated central theoretical framework (Spradley, 1980). The themes which emerge from analyzed data are assumptions which people involved in the culture believe and accept as true and valid (Spradley 1980).

This investigation generated cultural themes by using the information that emerged from similarities found by the Taxonomic Analysis and the differences found by the Componential Analysis to discover principles recurrent in a number of domains and serving as a relationship among subsystems of cultural meaning. For instance, when I observed that degree of coerciveness was recorded across paradigms as a component of meaning, I concluded that there was a potential theme relating to the coercive nature of socialization.

Grounded Theory

> Integrating all the interpretive work done over the course of one's research is the most difficult task (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 142).

Strauss and Corbin (1990) have recommended a procedure which uses three types of coding: open, axial, and selective to conceptualize the information and develop a theory grounded in the data. A paradigm model is developed by linking subcategories to a category in a set of relationships denoting causal conditions,

phenomenon, context, intervening conditions, action/interactional strategies, and consequences. By choosing a core category and relating all the other major categories to it and to each other, a clear story line is developed and translated into an analytic theory.

> While we set these procedures and techniques before you, we do not at all wish to imply rigid adherence to them (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 59).

Because the Spradley (1980) model was used to break apart the data collected, the Strauss and Corbin procedures were flexibly applied to this research project by blending the process at the axial coding stage and using the super domains developed in the Taxonomic Analysis to perform selective coding. By using Battles as the core category of socialization, an expanded story line was developed which integrated the other super domains to socialization and explained their relationship to each other. A diagram was created to translate the expanded story line from words into a concise and graphic form. The expanded story line and diagram were used to develop the clear and concise wording necessary to generate the analytic story line or grounded theory.

Trustworthiness of Data

Eisner and Peshkin (1990) stated that within the American culture at large, but especially within the educational research community, the search for an objective view of things is important. Lincoln and Guba (1985) noted that conventional inquirers demonstrate internal validity, external validity, reliability, and

objectivity in an effort to support the "truth" of their findings. Like Sergeant Friday, the educational community wants to know the "facts, ma'am, just the facts" (Eisner 1991).

> We have a trade-off. If we rely upon standardized tests, instruments of observations, and schedules to describe states of affairs, we have no assurance that the particular instrument used will be sensitive or appropriate and that the instrument maker could anticipate the unique features of a particular classroom. The need for replicability is a need for reliability. The need for relevance is the need for validity. There is now and has been a classic tension between what is reliable and what is valid (Eisner, 1991, p. 55).

Several qualitative researchers claim that the positivists' definition of validity and demands for reliability are inappropriate for qualitative research (Marshall, C., 1985c; Wolcott, 1990; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Donnomeyer (1990) suggested the classical research methodology ignores the fact that in fields such as education, social work, and counseling in which there is a concern with individuals, not just aggregates; all research findings are tentative. Anderson (1989) agreed that qualitative researchers have had to work hard to legitimate their methods to the educational research establishment and prove the final analysis is more the result of methodological rigor than the creative action of researcher interpretation. Catherine Marshall (1985c) illustrated the point by stating

> . . . both the methods and the style of presentation are vulnerable to criticism from colleagues in the social sciences. The small sample, not randomly chosen makes generalizability suspect. The anecdotal presentation raises the question of representativeness in the use of the data. The only answer to these criticisms lies in the quality of the work itself in its ability to persuade by appealing to a level of 'knowing'

> that exists in all of us is not very often tapped . . . to generate an 'aha experience' (p. 370).

Eisner (1991) indicated there are no operationally defined truth tests to apply to qualitative research and evaluation, but there are questions to ask and features to look for and appraise. Lincoln and Guba (1985) noted the criteria appropriate to the naturalist paradigm is concerned with trustworthiness. They stated the basic issue in relation to trustworthiness is simple: how can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, and worth taking account of? What arguments can be counted, what criteria evoked, and what questions asked that would be persuasive on this issue? Eisner (1991) agreed and stated that qualitative inquiry is ultimately a matter of persuasion and of seeing things in a way that satisfies or is useful for the purposes we embrace. He stated in qualitative research there is "no statistical test of significance to determine if results 'count', in the end what counts is a matter of judgement" (p. 39).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) have delineated three criteria that are appropriate for naturalistic studies concerned with the trustworthiness of an investigation. Credibility, confirmability, and transferability are considered to be the safeguards for enhancement of the trustworthiness of an inquiry.

Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) have listed three techniques which, when operationalized, make it more likely that credible findings and

interpretations will be produced. If the inquiry is carried out in such a way that the issues of prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation are satisfied; then implementation of the credibility criterion has been satisfied.

Prolonged engagement is demonstrated by the researcher's investment of sufficient time to learn the culture, test for misinformation, and build trust. Because no one enters a site in a mindless fashion, the investigator needs time to render himself/ herself open to multiple influences and mutual shapers that impinge upon the phenomena being studied. This feature of the investigation provides the scope for the study.

The second mode of credibility is persistent observation. The purpose of this feature is to identify those characteristics and elements in the situation that are salient factors to the problem or issue being pursued. Persistent observations provide the depth and focus to sort out irrelevances and assess crucial atypical happenings.

Triangulation is an important feature of qualitative studies which is fostered to enhance the creditability of the project. Triangulation, referred to as structural corroboration by some researchers (Eisner 1991), is a process through which multiple types of data are generated with the intention of comparing their relationships in support or contradiction of the interpretations made by the researcher (Eisner, 1991; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Data come from multiple sources such as direct observation, interview, and documentary evidence like school notices, correspondence,

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(1991) stated that the argument must be tight, make sense, and have supported conclusions.

Confirmability can be satisfied in two ways. Triangulation, the process discussed with respect to credibility, also serves as a element of confirmability. An audit trail helps to systematize, relate cross references, and attach priorities to data that might otherwise have remain undifferentiated (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

An audit trail is conducted by submitting information such as data reduction, analysis products, condensed notes, etc. to another researcher. The process continues as the auditor reads the material and determines the extent to which the data and interpretations of the study are grounded in the events.

For this study confirmability was obtained in two ways. The use of triangulation as previously discussed confirmed the notion that unless support for an event could be reconciled in all three data sources (field notes, artifacts, and transcripts of interviews), the incident was considered to be an anomaly and discarded for use in analysis. An audit trail was established with Dr. Lynn Arney serving as the auditor. As I completed each step of the analysis process, she would read through the data to determine whether the inferences I developed were based upon the data and logical, the categories and labels I had generated were appropriate; and interpretations I had deduced were grounded in the critical incidents recorded in the data. This process was lengthy and grueling. Many hours were spent together as I explained my intention in labeling an event a certain way and we labored to

"wordsmith" an appropriate term. Because the data generated recorded personal experience, it was difficult for an auditor to interpret.

> Researchers strive to make their conclusion and interpretations as credible as possible within the framework they choose to use. Once they have met that difficult criteria their readers are free to make their own choices (Eisner, 1991, p. 54).

Transferability

How can one tell whether a working hypothesis developed in one context might be applicable in another context? Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated the degree of transferability is a direct function of the similarity between the two contexts and the degree of congruence between the sending and receiving contexts is a key factor. Goethe and DeCompte (cited in Eisner and Peshkin, 1990) indicated generalizability is best thought of as a matter of fit between the situation studied and others to which one might be interested in applying the concepts and conclusions of this study. At best the investigator can supply only that information about the studied site that enhances a judgement of transferability to some other site. The final judgement on the matter is vested in the person seeking to make the transfer.

Thick description is crucial, for without it, one does not have the information necessary for an informed judgement about the issue of fit. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested the researcher is responsible for providing the widest possible range of information with inclusion of a valid description of his/her theoretical stance,

research techniques, and particulars of the culture being studied. Eisner (1991) stated that it is not the investigator's task to provide an index of transferability, it is his responsibility to provide the data base that makes transferability judgments possible of the part of potential appliers.

During this investigation and reporting process, I have made a concerted effort to describe the theoretical stance which I embrace and each step of the research process. As the findings are presented, detailed accounts of the events will be described. Included in Appendix A are detailed descriptions of the community, school district, school site, teachers, parents, students, and the principal.

Ethical Considerations

> Ethics has to do with how one treats those individuals with whom one interacts and is involved and how the relationships formed may depart for some conception of an idea. At common sense level, caring fairness, openness, and truth seem to be important values undergirding the relationships and the activity of inquiring (Louis Smith, 1990, p. 260).

Eisner (1991) cited several reasons why qualitative researchers need to pay special attention to ethical considerations. In conventional quantitative studies the data are usually secured during brief periods of time often with a standardized tests administered to students (Eisner, 1991). Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, hang around for a lengthy period of time. They get to know the players, sometimes they become friends with those whom they study, and they learn about things that neither researcher

nor researched could anticipate (Eisner, 1991). Quantitative studies usually report means, variances, and probabilities. The form of reporting for qualitative research is far more detailed, concrete and personal (Eisner, 1991).

Smith (1990) stated the two most important principles for the protection of human subjects are informed consent and anonymity. Informed consent was invented to prevent experimental practices in the biomedical field that violated individual rights (Eisner, 1991). This concept implies that the researcher informs subjects that they will be observed. Accomplishment of this principle creates an ethical tension for field researchers, for they do not know what even will emerge and are unable to inform subjects about what to expect (Eisner, 1991). Thus, to some extent, we do invade the privacy of others (Eisner, 1991). Anonymity suggests that in reporting findings of a study, pseudonames will be used to protect the identity of the subjects, school, school district, etc. (Eisner, 1991).

Ball (1988) reported that ethical problems of participant observation do not end when fieldwork is completed. The researcher still has decisions to make about the use, handling, and possible publication of data.

Ethical considerations for this study centered around securing informed consent from those involved with the study. I began by asking the superintendent for permission to conduct the investigation and seeking his support for the process. He was interested and offered suggestions about how to secure additional

consents for the study. I assured the superintendent that anonymity would be provided the teachers, administrators, and school district.

To advise the teachers and staff about the study, I presented the rationale and related the design of my study at the first teachers meeting held in August, 1987. In addition, I indicated to the staff that their names would not be published. I also offered to share my findings and distribute copies of my dissertation for them to read. The staff agreed to participate in the study. They appeared to be unconcerned, even uninterested, that the investigation was going to proceed. During the school year, I tried to remind actors in the school culture that I was collecting data. For instance, I would often remark to staff members and colleagues, "I'll put that in my dissertation."

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Introduction

The findings of this study are the result of a systematic analysis of field notes (see Appendix B) and artifacts. Incidents and interactions involving my socialization were documented, categorized, and labeled to generate a Domain Analysis which yielded fifty-two domains. A listing of the domains, their semantic relationships, and number of incidents recorded for each domain were developed (see Appendix C).

An analysis of the fifty-two domains resulted in the discovery of five major super domains around which the subsets clustered in various ways. The six super domains (see Appendix D) which emerged as the major forces of socialization include stories, written artifacts, battles, vision, norms, and acceptance.

Dimensions of Socialization

What is socialization? What does it look like? What does it feel like? Answers to these questions were discovered amid the data generated for this study. The purposes of this section are to provide a taxonomy of socialization experiences encountered by a novice female elementary principal which are illustrated with "thick descriptions" of incidents.

Vision

My vision of the kind of principal I wished to become influenced my behavior, My vision was clear and distinct. I could "see " myself operating as the principal in a caring effective manner. I could "feel" the sensation of achieving my mission and becoming a caring instructional leader. I could envision the school culture by visualizing how students and teachers would work as a team to learn, grow, and improve with support from my guidance and collaboration.

My beliefs were firm. I believed learning is a process, not a product, that it should be tailored to fit the child, and that it should be exciting and stimulating. I believed that students (and their parents) were to be treated kindly with dignity and respect, and that teachers were professional friends. I valued diversity. I believed that my mission was to improve instruction and the learning climate for the students of Westside by collaborating and leading the teachers toward implementation of my mission.

This question, raised by a student who had just learned by my appointment to Westside, kept echoing in my mind, "What kind of principal will you be? Mean?" The answer to that question was "No! I want to be a caring visionary instructional leader!" In the "dark times" when I was feeling discouraged about my progress, I would remember that student's comment, recall my vision, and regain strength. My passion to fulfill the vision I held for the principalship was strengthened by that student's innocent question. I was determined to not become a "mean principal." In fact I had

made statements to several of my friends that, "If I can't be the kind of principal I want to be, I'll go back to the classroom. If I can't be me, I won't be a principal."

My passion and vision for the principalship grew slowly. My aspiration was not to grow up and become a principal. The word, "principal," was not in my vocabulary. As a result of my prior socialization experiences, I had formulated a notion of the principal as being a "mean person" or the "heavy" that teachers called upon when in trouble. I had no desire to be "a heavy," for I was a successful and happy teacher.

I backed into the door of the principalship. I entered the Education Administration program after fifteen years of successful teaching experience with the goal to obtain a central office curriculum position. Somewhere between School Law and Supervision, I began to change my mind. After reading research and developing a paper about instructional leadership for the Supervision class, I began to think, "Maybe I could be a principal. Maybe I want to be a principal. Yes, I will be a principal, but not the mean kind." With the aversion to the principalship changed to an affirmative position, I began the vision building process and used the information gained from coursework and interaction with colleagues to crystalize my vision.

Gradually my commitment to become a principal grew and I began to look and listen for opportunities to apply for principalships. I was self-recruited. No one told me, "You should be a principal" or suggested that I pursue the coursework. However when I began the

program, I was reinforced by my principal who happened to be a black female. When I asked her, "Do you think I would be a good principal?" she replied, "Of course!", complimented me, pointed out some of my positive characteristics, and continued to reinforce and support me. Unfortunately, she moved, and two years later, when I was actively seeking a principalship in the same district, she was unavailable for support.

Efficacy, or the belief that, as a principal, I could make a difference in the lives of students kindled my passion and commitment to become an instructional leader. Because of my formal coursework, degrees, and the experience gained as a popular classroom teacher and effective remedial reading teacher, I felt that I had the knowledge and ability to enhance the academic growth of students. Because I sharpened my interpersonal skills through supervisory and leadership assignments, I felt that I had the wisdom and skills needed to lead teachers toward improvement of instruction and enhanced school climate.

The door to the principalship opened for me quite unexpectedly. Just as I was finishing my coursework, two positions for elementary principalship in my district were advertized. From my experience as a candidate for the principalship, I gained affirmation that my vision was acceptable.

<u>"Who is Jill Shackelford? Where Has She Been?"</u> These were the words the Superintendent uttered following my interview for a principalship. Apparently, he was pleasantly surprised that

someone of my caliber was operating in the classrooms of his district. Throughout the interview from their questions and their reaction to my responses, I received the message that my characteristics were what the district had in mind. They wanted a risk-taker; they wanted an instructional leader; and they wanted a woman. Because I fit the description, I landed the position over more visible or experienced candidates. This opportunity would allow me to live my vision.

Stories

Principals have alot to learn and need to acquire information about the values and expectations defined by the school culture. Before they can aspire to become instructional leaders, principals need to gather information about their new tasks, establish relationships, and structure responses to expectations of others (Spicer and Spicer 1987).

As a novice principal, I was eager to learn how to become the instructional leader of Westside School. I used the oral literature that abounded amid my daily interaction with students, teachers, parents, and administrators to acquire information about the values reflected by this school culture. I obtained information in a variety of places: teachers' lounge, playground, halls, my office, classrooms, and other places in and around the school. Four kinds of stories emerged from the data I collected: historical, organizational, humorous, and inspirational.

Historical Stories Provided Background Information About Events that Occurred Before My Principalship. When the announcement was made that I was the new principal of Westside, interested parties began to tell me what they knew about the school. From the information obtained by listening to the myths and legends verbalized by the Westside staff, I learned what the culture felt that it was important for me to know.

The heroines of the school were the strict, mean teachers who used coercive techniques to force compliance. I was told how one large, lethargic fourth grade gifted student was not allowed to go to GT classes and ultimately demoted to the third grade because he would not " do his work." I was informed of the policy to place "problem students" with authoritarian teachers who would "keep them under their thumb, and straighten them up for their own good."

Joe Smith, my predecessor, was considered to be a legendary figure. Eight years ago when Joe came to Westside, the school was out of control. Apparently a battle between the teachers and students was occurring, and the students were winning. Joe came onto the scene and used tactics such as corporal punishment, in school suspension, and expulsion to conquer the students. One of the first directives given by Joe was for me to refuse enrollment to several fifth grade students who had refused to "take their swats" and "walked out the door."

Some historical stories provided warnings. A retired Westside teacher related the details of how she "watched Westside run off two female principals in two years." She indicated one female principal

left mid year with a nervous breakdown. She wished me well with the comment,"I sure hope that doesn't happen to you."

Organizational Stories Provided Information About "How Things Are Done Around Here (Westside)".

Rule #1: Stay out of the kitchen!
How easy are you going to be about this?
Where is the food for the dieters?
What are you going to do about MW (inferior teacher)?
I don't want to be competent in anything!
Well, we never did that when Joe Smith was here.
Joe Smith didn't do it that way.

These excerpts from conversations with teachers reflect information obtained from organizational stories. By using the daily interaction with students, teachers, and parents as a textbook, I "read" the school culture and comprehended important information.

From their organizational stories, I identified a group of "tough battling" teachers who were competing for control of leadership of the school culture. The organizational stories they told were used as devices to manipulate for power and to tattle on each other about teaching techniques, student interactions, etc.

By visiting with the school counselor, I learned that the teachers wanted Mark Jones, the administrative assistant/physical education teacher to be the principal instead of me. She related that they "like Mark and will go to him with things they probably won't tell you." She indicated teachers were concerned about my gender and thought "female principals are at a disadvantage.. something about a male presence and size that makes them scared of the principal." She said, "Little boys take advantage of women. They are not scared of you."

Mark Jones, the administrative assistant/physical education teacher, shared many organizational stories about student discipline. According to the stories he told, "If the punishment was not effective, it was not severe enough." He also indicated that he was "sick and tired of student disciplinary problems."

From the organizational stories students told, I received information about their background and its relationship to their behavior at school. In the midst of talking to a student sent to my office for not "doing his work", the student commented, "If you had my problems you couldn't concentrate either."

The grapevine served as a pipeline from the school culture to my office. Teachers often came into my office or caught me in the hallway to report a "news flash" about important cultural information or gossip. The grapevine functioned as an important source of feedback for the principal. By listening to informants, I discovered that teachers liked having me visit their classrooms, teachers felt fewer children were getting into trouble, the morning announcements were taking too much class time, and several teachers were insulted by the lower ratings I had given them on their evaluations.

Second-hand information provided important feedback. The administrative assistant notified me that a third grade teacher (Hanna) had taped a disruptive boy's mouth shut and tried to force him into a "time out" period in a second grade class. Mark told me this because the boy had refused to go into the second grade class,

ran out of the school building, and the teacher had gone to Mark for help.

I was often the target for sob stories and sales pitches made by teachers for favors such as days off work, assignment of favored release time slots, additional supplies, and removal of students from classroom. Complainers, nit pickers, whiners, users, back stabbers, and braggers all came to my office and relayed important cultural information.

Humorous Stories Provided Information and Were Therapeutic.

The following comments made by students are the punch lines taken from humorous stories and jokes generated during my first year.

My daddy don't believe no woman principal is running Westside.
Mrs. S., I saw you on the way to school. Why did you have that mad look on your face?
The principal wears Reeboks, pass it on.
The principal's office smells like perfume.
Mr. Principal, you're my girlfriend.
Mrs. C., tell Mr. Shackelford I love her!
I'm glad I have a woman principal. Why? Because she always has food? (Jill) No. She gives me second chances.

These excerpts were of therapeutic value, for, when retold, they tended to soften the intensity of the atmosphere in the school climate.

Humorous incidents which I encountered with the school custodian provided material for "inside jokes." As he and I were dragging an enormous watering hose over the playground to nurture newly planted seed (in August), he commented, "What we really need around here is an ovulating sprinkler." His usual response to any request, "There's no way" also served as a punch line for inside

jokes shared by the school staff.

Inspirational Stories Provided Information and Support. New principals are starving for positive feedback and encouragement. When I was given this comment by a peer, "I've been hearing good things about what's going on at Westside", I felt encouraged. Another peer gave me the following advice, " Your problem won't be parents, but selling the learning climate the way you want it."

When I felt isolated and unaccepted by the school culture, I sought solace from the female principals. To cope with the reaction teachers had to my evaluation of their performance, AW said, "We might be in for a battle. You're doing right. Keep it up." When I asked her advice about resistance I was experiencing from the cafeteria manager, Anne said, "Go to the Superintendent if you have to. Tell her to work on the team or transfer!" When I was concerned with the cultural pressures to administer corporal punishment, Joye related that her teachers "did not respect her until she proved she would swat a student."

My immediate superior, Joe Smith, the Director of Elementary, and my predecessor at Westside, provided encouragement through pep talks which ended with comments like, "Go get'em, tiger!" and , "If anyone can do it, Jill can!" When I talked to Joe about conflict I was experiencing with two teachers he commented, "You must change things your way to reflect your values. Stand up to Thelma and Louise (teachers). It's ok if you run them off."

When I faced resistance from the cafeteria manager who disapproved of a change in schedule and tried to sabotage the

project, Joe preached a sermon to me. He said, "You are a professional. You have to get control of this." Regarding this same situation, the Associate Superintendent reminded me, "This is your school, you run it."

A crucial pep talk occurred during a telephone conversation with the superintendent. When his call came to my office, a hostile, ineffective teacher with her evaluation in hand was sitting across from my desk waiting impatiently to contest her ratings. I assumed that his call was to admonish me for having such a strong, negative reaction from teachers regarding the evaluations I had generated for them. As I picked up the telephone receiver, I was thinking to myself, "This is it. He is going to fire me." Then to my surprise the conversation went as follows:

> I heard you are getting your feet wet. You are doing what should be done, hasn't been done, and needs to be done. Keep your chin up. Remember you are doing it for the students. You are a champion for children. Keep it up.

Joe Smith created a metaphor which served as an inspiration for me throughout my tenure at that school. As he handed over the keys to the school, Joe compared the school to a submerged ship. He said that when he took command of Westside, the ship had sunk. Joe related that he was a good patcher and had repaired the leaky ship, but he had seemed unable to change teacher behavior. Joe felt that at this point in time the ship was moving forward but submerged with problems because the climate was out of control. He felt that I was the kind of principal who would be able to take charge and aggressively give vision and focus for growth.

Written Artifacts

During my novice year I collected artifacts used to influence my thinking and behavior. Organizational documents, memos, and personal correspondence provided information which affected my performance.

Existing Organizational Documents Provide Information. The Westside Teacher Handbook, North Central philosophy statement and reports, and Westside Discipline Plan related vital information about the values and expectations for students and teachers which prevailed in the school culture. The evaluation instrument used to appraise my performance was also influential.

Joe Smith had generated a handbook for teachers which provided detailed information about his expectations for teachers. The contents delineated the times teachers were expected to report to school, be in their classrooms, and leave the building. His directives to keep a room that "appears tidy and organized" with "attractive bulletin boards changed with the seasons" were also included in the handbook.

The following statement was taken from the philosophy statement of the North Central report developed by Westside teachers shortly before I became principal.

> We also believe it is important for our instructional staff to provide instruction at the appropriate level of complexity while expecting and insisting that each child learn.

I found the phrase, "insisting that each child learn" a coercive and demanding statement, and I observed drastic techniques employed

by teachers to force learning upon reluctant students.

The Westside Discipline Plan had been published in a format that provided a listing of infractions and the consequences related to each. This document was posted throughout the school.

Consequences of Westside Discipline Plan

1. For not lining up--practice lining up all recess
2. For "hands on" others-- "You sit you hit."
   sit on hands for 5 minutes
3. Major infractions= disrespect, defiance, fighting
   lack of academic effort
   first infraction - In-school suspension 3 days
   second infraction- In school suspension 3 days
   third infraction - 3 swats
   fourth infraction- Home suspension for 6 days

By perusing an audit made of the major infractions documented for the discipline problems that occurred during the previous year, I discovered several students had been suspended and were unable to complete the school year. Frequent notations of corporal punishment were made by the school administrator. Documentation of students assigned to in-school suspension was prevalent with repeated offenders commonplace.

Another written organizational document that provided important feedback to me was my evaluation instrument. There were two steps to the evaluation process. One procedure was to have the teachers rate my performance and make comments by using the same instrument as my superiors. The rankings teachers gave me ranged from a 9.1 (10 point scale) for curriculum and Educational Resources to a 8.4 for Parent Staff, and Community Relations. I received feedback regarding teachers' perception of my performance

qualities, my stubbornness, and reluctance to administer severe punishment.

From the portion of the evaluation completed by my superior, Joe Smith, higher rankings were observed. Some of the comments were as follows:

> Jill displays potential to develop into a strong instructional leader.
> Jill's strength lies in her curriculum knowledge.

Memos Were Written to Inform the Principal. Memos and correspondence written by teachers and parents were delivered to request, demand, or advise the principal. The following are examples of written communication delivered to my desk.

> Tell Jill not to give my kids anymore prizes.
> I'll send a note if they deserve a prize.
> Teacher Ramona

> C and J were exchanging blows even with the teacher heading towards them.
> Teacher Ramona

> Simone, Keisha, Domonic,----BEHAVIOR!!
> Teacher Thelma

> I apologize for not having something instructional planned, but I had in mind you were coming on the 10th rather than the 9th. So sorry for wasting your time.
> Teacher Carolyn
> GC has not been doing his work. He needs to be paddled.
> Teacher Marilyn

> David has been doing much better at getting his work done.
> Teacher Pam

> TL is still not making progress. My pressure on mom to come for a conference has been to no avail. Perhaps from you it will force her to come.
> Teacher Louise

D refuses to cooperate in class today. It is not fair when he steals learning time from others. He either needs to 1) have mom sit with him the rest of the day 2) go to In School Suspension or 3) be suspended at home. Time Out will not work.
Teacher Louise

Tell Jill to come to my room. I'm having problems with E. He is suppose to wear his glasses but I can't get him to. Threats, punishments aren't having any effect.
Teacher Mona

How do you feel about a blanket consequence for anyone riding the elevator without office or medical or teacher permission?
Mark Jones, Adm. Asst.

The lunch/recess schedule will not work. These changes must be made. (A list of 20 action items was included.)
Cafeteria Manager

The girls are not to go outside unless the temperature is between 50-70 degrees. You will let them stay in the library during this time.
A parent

You got my permission to have Mr. Jones paddle C.
A parent

Mr. Smith is a better principal than Mrs. S.
A student (written on bathroom stall)

A Collection of Personal Artifacts Provided Information. The personal artifacts collected during my first year communicated an extraordinary message. The following are examples of unedited "love notes" I received from students.

Mrs. S., I love you. You have been kind to me. I am using my stop power and not stealing anymore.

I love you, Mrs. S. I really do. I now (know) you now (know) that and so do the school and so do God!!!

. . . Best of all I like the princeple (principal). She is very nice. She helped me with my problem.

> You are the best principal in the world and I hope you stay that way. You seem to know what we are thinking and what you have all the answers to our problem. The hole school looks up to you. I love you.
>
> You are nice lady I like you so much like my mom.
>
> I know a principal named Jill Shackelford she is my principal at Westside school this is the best school ever. You are the best principal to my heart. Mr. S. was a nice principal but you are the best!
>
> There was once a lady she had a big smile on her face everyday in everyway when she was mad too.

The following comments were made to compliment or thank me for something.

> I bought this for you, just 'cause you do so much for us! Thanks for all you do.
> Teacher Thelma
>
> This Berrygram is for you because you make Westside a great place to be.
> Teacher Thelma
>
> This Berrygram is for you because you are special.
> Teacher Thelma
>
> Whew! You held up well under such pressure. My stomach hurts!
> Teacher Ramona
>
> I had the opportunity to observe the assembly that was held . . . I wanted to congratulate you on the success that the program generated for your patrons. . . . This even was a good way to start the school year and there are only better things to look forward to.
> Asso. Superintendent

The art projects, pictures, etc. that the students made for me communicated messages. Words such as, "I love you; Mrs. S. is the greatest principal in the world; or Mrs. S. # 1! " were often placed on the artistic productions.

One artistic creation made for me by a troubled student is special because of the story behind the gift. DM was a incorrigible student who was brought to my office by his teacher and mother with the insistence to spank him because he "lied and stole things." I succumbed to their influence and administered corporal punishment even though I felt it was not appropriate. Corporal punishment was not effective for DM; he did not change his behavior or attitude. Following this critical incident, I learned from my mistake and changed to a different disciplinary approach. After we developed a "working relationship" and I began to positively reinforce his artistic ability, DM came into my office and gave me a two dimensional paper heart which opened in the middle to display the words, "To the best principal." On the front of the card, where the heart comes together, DM had drawn a hasp and lock. (Note: DM is now fourteen years old. He was convicted of stealing many times and was placed by the juvenile court in a reform school.)

Although the students were from low socioeconomic backgrounds, they were generous to me and often gave me gifts. One day a boy came into my office and asked if I got his valentine. He wanted to make sure that I had not overlooked the 24 cents he had placed in it.

The teachers' gifts and courtesies also reflected that care and thoughtfulness had been given to the action. Red Reeboks, my first Christmas gift, were an appropriate gift. Because the new role as principal had created havoc on my feet, I was unable to wear heels for awhile. A surprise birthday party and a "good luck on

your comprehensive exam party" were evidence that members of the school culture were beginning to accept me.

Existing Norms

Beyond the organizational stories and written artifacts, a powerful cultural ethos existed (Roberts, cited in Parkay and Hall, 1992). Westside ethos was a set of shared beliefs, norms, and values which operated as a driving force behind the words and deeds of cultural members. It created a shared understanding of the symbolic meanings of actions and behaviors of participants. Westside norms were enforced by the subtle pressure to conform. Although norms were not written and posted throughout the building, I began to understand "how they did things at Westside" and "how they expected me to behave as their principal." My major source of information was the stories, observations, and written artifacts.

As a novice principal I knew that, if I were going to become the instructional leader of Westside School, it was important for me to heed the advice given by William Greenfield.

> If one is to succeed in changing aspects of a social or cultural system, one must first be acquainted with the system, knowledgeable but not blinded by unexamined assumptions and values. Furthermore if one is to act on the system from within the system, one must gain access to and acceptance among those who control participation within the system (Greenfield, 1985b, p. 111).

The cultural norms existing within the Westside School culture influenced my thinking and performance as a novice principal. From the cultural information conveyed to me, I perceived three dominant themes prevalent in the day to day interaction of students,

teachers, and parents.

Teacher Supremacy was Observed. It appeared that the teachers were battling to control the students. Most of the teachers, especially in the intermediate grades, managed their classroom in an authoritarian manner. The classroom rules were profuse and strictly enforced. Teacher decisions were not to be questioned. Students who challenged the teacher with a verbal, non verbal, or passive aggressive response committed the cardinal sin.

Such defiant students were immediately sent to the office for sentencing without consideration for the rationale that stimulated such behavior. The consequence listed for a major violation such as defiance was assignment to In-School suspension for three days. For second time offenders, In-School suspension would be repeated. Beyond that, students would be given three swats. The ultimate punishment for repeat offenders was suspension from the school.

Most of the intermediate teachers taught with a traditional style that offered little opportunity for student-centered interaction, such as cooperative learning or hands-on instruction, The basic lesson consisted of the teacher explaining the concept and assigning the independent activity which was expected to be turned in the next day. Students were expected to do the assignment by themselves with little help from the teacher. If students asked for help, they were frequently accused of "not listening to instruction." The core content areas of reading, math, English, science, and social studies were departmentalized. Consequently, teachers prepared for only one or two subjects and the students

changed classes for each content area. Reluctant learners or students with marginal ability had difficulty completing all their assignments.

Teachers valued production of paper over the process of learning. Many of the students sent to my office were referred for "not doing their work." This usually meant that they had not completed several assignments. Teachers would often escort students into my office with their grade book in hand to show me concrete proof of the blank squares which represented incomplete assignments. Verbal comments such as these are examples of teachers' expectations.

> GC has not been doing his work. He should be paddled.
> TL is not making progress.
> I am sending SR to your office to work. He refuses to do his work.

Before I came to Westside, lack of academic effort was listed as a major infraction of the Westside School rules. One of the organizational stories told to me by the library aide described how, toward the end of the third nine weeks, twelve to twenty students were crowded into the In-School suspension area. She had told me that In-School suspension was placed in the library because she was the only person who could be mean enough to control the students and make them be quiet.

Value for Conformity was Observed. Despite the diversity of abilities, learning styles, and personalities demonstrated by the student body; all students were expected to conform to the expectations of the teachers as expressed in the school rules. This

notation from my fieldnotes reflects an observation that I had made regarding the importance of conformity, "At Westside everything is black and white. There is no gray area."

The school rules were written by educated, white, female teachers from middle class backgrounds. The school rules were imposed upon a student body that was forty percent black, from low socioeconomic environments and, which, for the most part, did not value education nor compliance with rules.

The Discipline Plan developed during the Joe Smith era was punitive in nature. Implementation of the Discipline Plan was facilitated by the teachers with expectation to force compliance by punishment and fear. The practice of "You hit. You sit." was an example of the intensity of the Plan. When a student was seen with "hands on" another student (pushing, shoving, or hitting), he or she was told to "Drop and sit for five minutes." This direction meant that the student was to stop wherever the incident occurred (hallway, playground, cafeteria, etc.),sit with his/her hands underneath his/her buttocks (sit on your hands), and wait the required five minutes. From the organizational stories told to me, I understood that it was a common practice for students to be told to "sit on their hands" for several consecutive recesses.

It seemed important to treat every student the same. Even the very troubled, socially incompetent students were not given any slack and expected to behave as normal compliant students. Because they were unable to meet the expectations of the teachers, such students were often being publicly embarrassed in front of the

class, sent to time-out in an isolated part of the classroom or another teacher's room, or referred to the office for formal sentencing.

Not only did it appear that students were forced to conform to the rules of the teachers, but also they were forced to fit the grade level curriculum as dictated by the teacher. Approximately forty percent of the students had been retained at least one grade. As a result of double retention, seven students were two years overage of their grade placement.

A Gender Bias in Favor of the Male Administrator was Observed to Permeate the School Culture. From the comments the little girl made that, "My daddy don't believe no woman principal is running Westside" and my conversation with the counselor about the teachers' preference for a male principal (described in Written Artifacts and Stories), I perceived that my gender was as issue.

Face to face interaction verified what the counselor had warned. On several occasions teachers told me, "He (student) is not afraid of you. You are a woman. We need a man around here." When I first came to Westside, a parent said, "I don't know about a woman at Westside. We are used to having a man principal. I hope you can do it." Incidents to be related in the "Battles" portions of this chapter will also reflect gender bias.

Battles

During my first weeks on the job, I walked naively into the door of Westside School with my eyes focused upon my vision and

armed with the knowledge, skills, and experience gained from eighteen years in classrooms. I did not realize that I would need to redefine myself as a principal and struggle to forge my identity as an instructional leader. I had no idea that I represented massive change and potential loss to the school culture (Deal 1987) or that my presence would engender resistance and opposition (Corbett, Firestone, Rossman 1987). It was beyond my comprehension to think that I may not fit the expectations of the school culture. My orientation to the principalship changed. I discovered that I must accommodate my perspective of an ideal principal to meet the needs and expectations of significant others in the school culture. I became socialized.

Battles, or critical incidents of socialization, occurred when my personal vision collided with the reality of the school culture. As I tried to fit into Westside school culture and began to articulate my vision, conflict occurred. During my interaction with the students, teachers, parents of Westside, several events challenged my beliefs and values and caused me to consider whether to negotiate and redesign my conceptualization of the role. While some of the critical incidents socialized me by causing me to change direction and make decisions antithetical to my vision, my reaction to some of the other critical incidents strengthened my resolve.

The battles differed in their intensity. Some of the socializing incidents were mild and resembled guerilla warfare which occurred in the everyday interaction with students, teachers, and parents. Other events which created trauma for myself and the

school culture were considered to be face to face combat.

Guerilla Warfare was Observed in Westside School. As I began to operate in the school culture, I realized that some people were trying to influence my decisions and/or alter my vision. Often the message was given to me in two ways. Sometimes the communication was made via a face-to-face exchange of information and considered only a minor skirmish. At other times, a message of dissatisfaction was received from an underground source, or I perceived some sort of subversive activity was occurring.

Minor skirmishes occurred when teachers approached me to influence my decisions. These requests created a dilemma. To respond favorably to their requests, I would have to compromise my beliefs or disregard school policy and procedure. To refuse the requests, I would risk alienation by the parties involved.

Teachers, parents, and students would often test me by asking for a special favor. During the preschool days devoted to preparation for the students' arrival, a second grade teacher came into my office and asked, "Would you cancel the staff meeting scheduled for this afternoon? I need to work in my room." Two other teachers asked me to bend the school policy and allow them to go with their husbands on a business trip without taking a full loss of pay.

On several occasions, when a child had violated a rule and was given a punishment such as after school detention, parents would call or come by the office to rationalize the student's action, ask that the punishment be lifted, or inquire, "What did you do to the

other kid?" Another common request from parents was to have their child removed from a certain teacher's classroom.

Students contacted me to complain about being punished for something in the classroom and ask me to talk to the teacher to change it, request to be switched to another classroom, or ask for me to run interference for them in some other manner.

Minor skirmishes also took the form of lobbying as teachers maneuvered for positions of power or campaigned for a certain issue. Because these indicents placed me in a position to make a decision that would favor one teacher over another, these events were considered problematic. Teachers Thelma and Louise formed a coalition to help one another maintain powerful positions in the school culture. Louise came to me with an established rationale in support of Thelma's assignment of an intern teacher. Thelma came to me with the information that Louise would take the larger fourth grade class if she could be assigned a teacher's aide. Thelma came to me with an established rationale in support of removing the responsibility of the school program from the music teacher and assigning it to Louise.

Other lobbying incidents occurred when teachers approached me with information about other teachers. Teacher Thelma was the source of much of this information with comments such as, "As a friend, I wanted you to know that the LD teacher has a Spuds Mackenzie poster up in her room." Thelma also told me that the administrative assistant had treated her badly over a dispute with

punishment of a student. Throughout the year, she provided information of incidents when the administrative assistant had offended other teachers such as, "Mark Jones yelled at Barbara."

Another kind of guerrilla warfare occurred with subversive activity such as verbal sabotage, nonverbal cues of dissatisfaction, and passive aggressive behaviors. From the messages conveyed by these sources, I was given the impression that my behavior as principal was meeting with disapproval. This negative feedback created a socializing effect. I knew that if I quit performing in an offensive manner, complied with the cultural expectations for performance, and compromised my vision of the role, I would gain acceptance.

Verbal sabotage took the form of snide remarks and aside comments made by various cultural members. The comments were made in my presence, although not often directed to me, but rather to other cultural members who were also participating in the conversations.

> I've never been in a school where kids were given so much leeway.
> Mark Jones, administrative assistant
>
> Never had so much problem with fifth graders and subs.
> Mark Jones
>
> Who's going to do all these bus reports when I get the Wilson principalship?
> Mark Jones (midyear)
>
> Westside needs a male. Don't know what will happen when I become Wilson principal.
> Mark Jones

It's your first year. There is no way you can know what goes on in my room.
Teacher Mona

Wish we could spank.
Teacher Patty

We don't want to teach them until they are ready to learn.
Teachers Olive and Patty (First grade teachers)

You can tell Mr. Smith's not around here.
Teacher Patty

I can't believe they put you at Westside, the hardest school. I couldn't tell if they had confidence in you or just wanted to get rid of you.
Community person

Can't believe that they didn't put a man at Westside.
Teacher Olive

Nonverbal clues of dissatisfaction provided information of cultural resistance to my behavior as principal. Some of the messages were given at faculty meetings. Nonverbal cues at faculty meetings such as, frowns on the faces of teachers, curled lips, aside conversations, intense stares in my direction, or intentional loss of eye contact, conveyed a message of dissatisfaction.

Some of the behavior was of a passive aggressive nature. At the beginning of the school year, the teachers and I designed a different Discipline Plan with modified consequences. During the first week of school, teachers Hanna, Mona, and Mark Jones, the administrative assistant, ignored the steps included in the plan and sent two students to In-School suspension for their first offense.

Another example of passive aggressive behavior occurred at the end of the school year. When Thelma recommended that a twelve year old male student be retained for the second time in the fifth grade

for excessive absences as a result of being accidentally shot by his brother, I did not support her recommendation. She changed her normal pattern of interaction with me. The notes of encouragement stopped. She no longer came to my office to chat. The constant flow of students referred to my office for minor reasons ceased. After the event had occurred, I discovered that at the district track meet, two of her students had cussed at and given "the finger" to students from another school. The fact that she intentionally avoided informing me of this incident was behavior uncharacteristic of her normal performance.

As teachers responded to the evaluations I had given them, I experienced a "baptism of fire" and discovered the reality of being a principal. Several examples of nonverbal cues of dissatisfaction and passive aggressive behavior occurred during this event. Reaction from dissatisfied teachers began to occur during February. For the first time since I had assumed the principalship of Westside, the faculty lounge fell into deep silence when I entered the room. Teachers offended by the lower markings I had given them would cool their interaction with me. They would look the other way to avoid speaking to me in the hallway and change patterns and opportunities of interaction and communication. Malcontents sought out other malcontents and organized a coalition to plan action that would get even with me by sabotaging programs I had established. They would ignore directives that I published, disregard the discipline plan by skipping steps and administering more severe punishments, and resort to abolished punishment techniques such as,

"You sit. You sit." The coalition organized to defeat a motion to use teachers' activity fund to purchase a couch for the teachers' lounge. In response to my appraisals of their teaching, the group requested to hold a MEA meeting to inform teachers of the proper procedure used to make a formal response to their evaluation.

Incidents of Combat were Observed in Westside School. Critical socialization events which were traumatic in nature have been identified as incidents of combat. Three kinds of combat were observed in the study. Confrontations, ambushes, and threats were combat-related activities directed toward the embattled principal.

Confrontations. Several incidents of confrontations occurred when teachers or parents requested that corporal punishment be administered to a student. One parent, dismayed with the fact that her student was not completing his work, told me that "Swats are the only thing that works with him. Swat him and keep swatting him." The teacher agreed with this procedure and requested to keep a paddle in her closet so the punishment would be immediate. Another parent; who was later arrested, convicted, and sentenced to prison for making and selling crack in her home; made five daily trips to school to convince me that her son needed to be paddled because his math average had dropped from a 95 to a 89. For each visit she brought witnesses such as her live-in, a girl friend, the boy's father, and her step-father to try to persuade or threaten me to swat the boy for this reason. Four other incidents of teachers requesting to have a student paddled are recorded in the fieldnotes.

The incident with DM who was swatted for lying and stealing was previously discussed in Written Artifacts. This incident was critical to my socialization experience. I succumbed to the confrontation and paddled the child. The night after the episode, the mother called to say that DM had taken the window screen off his second story bedroom window, crawled to the ground, and run away from home. Although she had pushed to have corporal punishment administered, her implication now was to place the blame for his running away on me. DM was found. When he returned to school the next day, I spent a lot of time with him and promised never to swat him again. I told him that I would find alternative consequences for him. Several days after the incident, my secretary told me that the mother had been accused of child abuse and, at one time, the children were temporarily removed from the home. My secretary said, "If she (mother) raises a hand to DM, she will go to jail."

Another confrontation about corporal punishment occurred with Mark Jones. The incident occurred as a result of an on-going struggle to manage the behavior of a disturbed child who displayed violent and defiant behavior. In a previous incident with his classroom teacher, the student had kicked the teacher because she told him to go into the hall for a time out. After a disruptive incident that occurred during recess, Mark made this comment, " No one is going to tell me to shut up in front of kids. He should have swats. This kid is running the school. He has more power than anyone."

Several confrontations were between teachers and myself. Two first grade teachers confronted me during a grade level staff meeting. They were upset because I was encouraging a more developmentally appropriate first grade curriculum and caring classroom climate. During the meeting they asked me what I thought they were doing wrong and then argued with the remarks I made in response to their question.

One of the teachers who was upset with her evaluation also challenged me on another issue. The event occurred during May. The teacher was a Chapter 1 teacher who had cancelled classes for over a week to complete end of the year reports. The first and second grade teachers had complained to me and they were concerned that their Chapter 1 students were missing so much class. When I happened to see her in the hall outside of her room, I asked her how many classes she had seen that day. She reacted emotionally and told me, "I don't have to answer that". When I responded with, "Excuse me.", she countered with, "What do you have against me?" I took the opportunity to list the following deficiencies: she had not completed or even worked on her Reading Specialist's certification; she was not qualified for the position; she spent an inordinate amount of time with personal telephone calls; she was absent frequently; she had avoided completing her reports and taking her classes back. When she continued to argue with me and was verbally defiant and abusive, I told her, "I am your boss. My opinion of your performance is more important than yours." She then countered with the comment that she was going to document this

conversation and that she had kept various notes that I had written to her. My final words were, "That's just fine."

Ambushes. Some of the battles began as an ambush. These events occurred when you least expected it and were accompanied by a jump in the chain of command. Instead of a parent or teacher coming to me with a problem or concern, they would complain to a "higher power" who would confront me with the issue.

Several parents called the superintendent to complain about something I had done. One mother called the superintendent to complain that, because the students were allowed to go to recess, she had a doctor bill for strep throat. She demanded to the superintendent that her girls were not to go outside unless the temperature was sixty degrees. She would not send a note. The staff was to monitor the temperature and remind the girls not to go out. Then the girls were to have the run of the building during their inside recesses. Another kindergarten father called the superintendent to complain about the speech teacher, to threaten that he was going to sue because his son was recommended for developmental testing, and to argue for his son being made to go to the end of the line because "I didn't learn to line up until I was in the army."

A major socialization incident involved an ongoing battle with the cafeteria manager who used ambush techniques to sabotage change. At the beginning of school, the teachers requested a change in the cafeteria schedule to allow the students to go to recess before lunch. The rationale for this decision was that the students would

not gobble down their lunch and run out to recess to play or return to the classroom hot,sweaty, or upset about something that had happened on the playground. Because it would enhance the learning environment, I supported this recommendation.

When I originally told the cafeteria manager of the plan, she said , "This will not work. There is no way that it will work." Although we adjusted the schedule five times and tried to work through the problems she observed, she still opposed the change of procedure.

It appeared to me that she spent the rest of the year creating obstacles to the change and resorted to techniques of ambush by convincing my superiors to force me to change. In February the Director of Personnel called to tell me that the operation of the cafeteria schedule could not be maintained without additional personnel and that additional money was not budgeted. In March, the Director of Food Services came to my office and said, "You know why I am here. Since you are new to the principalship you probably don't know procedure. You are to ask permission to be in the cafeteria and to use the equipment. You were in the cafeteria for PTO without permission last night." In April, the Director of Food Services contacted Joe Smith, my superior, to schedule a "show-down" between the four of us involved in the dispute.

Threats. Another type of battle resulted in a threat given to the principal. The following are examples of threats made by disgruntled parents:

I'll transfer my kid to Washington School.
You take my kid out of that class or else!
I told my kid to fight back. You better not punish him for fighting.
You better not keep him after school. He better be on that bus. I pay taxes. Your salary included.
I'll be up to that damn school tomorrow. You better be glad my husband don't come. He's in jail.
Get that teacher in here. No one is going to call my kid a liar. I'll stuff shit down her shirt faster than a New York minute.

One critical incident involved an irate parent who was disturbed that I had suspended his son from school. The boy had started a fire in a trash can of the Science Room as his class was exiting. The boy was the last person to leave the room, lingered behind the rest of the class, and was seen in the adjoining closet by a student who returned to the Science Room to get his book. Although he had been punished for similar devious pranks, the boy would not admit that he had started the fire. Although we had only circumstantial evidence and no one had seen him do it, both the teacher and I were certain that he had set the fire. The event scared me to death. If another student had not returned to the Science Room for his book, the fire could have gone undiscovered, spread through the two story building, and placed four hundred students in danger. I called Joe Smith to ask his advice about the issue, and he suggested that I suspend the student until the mystery was solved. The mad dad arrived in my office the next morning. He was a large unshaven man who chopped wood for a living. He smelled of liquor. He was angry that his son had been suspended and believed the son's story that he had nothing to do with the fire.

He stood over my desk, shook his finger in my face, and shouted, "Put up or shut up! Accuse him or get him back in school!"

On another occasion a parent did not pick up her son after school. The student was seven years old and had exhibited bizarre behavior. He had lost his temper one day and obsessively began throwing blocks and other objects at the teacher and students in the classroom. We had to restrain him and call for the mother to stop the action. After I called all known telephone numbers, investigated all possibilities, and waited until six o'clock, I called the DHS. They placed the child in a shelter for the evening. That night at midnight, the mother called with the following threat, "What have you done with Joey?" When I told her that the DHS had taken Joey because she could not be found, she became angrier with me and threatened me with, "I'll be up at that school in the morning with Joey's dad and a lawyer." (Note: During the second year of my principalship Joey was committed to Children's Medical Center, diagnosed as a schizophrenic, and institutionalized.)

Level of Acceptance

My level of acceptance within the school culture fluctuated. According to the impact my actions and decisions had upon their lives, significant members of the school culture responded to me with favor, disgust, or neutrality. As I "read" the school culture, I picked up vibrations that measured "warm fuzzy" which indicated cultural satisfaction or "cold prickly" which indicated cultural dissatisfaction.

When faced with a critical incident of socialization, my perception of the current level of cultural acceptance made a difference in my decision. If I felt a "warm fuzzy", then I would risk making a decision incongruent with existing norms and expectations. If I felt a "cold prickly", then I would choose to comply with existing norms and expectations.

Realization that I was becoming accepted by the school culture had a socializing effect upon me. Positive feedback that my behavior was making a difference in the school culture and that some cultural members accepted my leadership had a affirming effect which resulted in a boost of confidence.

Some of the organizational information related to me was complimentary. From this feedback I obtained a feeling that I was being accepted and developing into the kind of principal that I wanted to become. The following comments are examples of the positive feedback.

> Everyone loves Jill and what's going on at Westside.
> Joe Smith
> Westside does not need Joe Smith anymore. It needs Jill Shackelford. I couldn't have done what you have done.
> Joe Smith
> I admire your strength and determination.
> Peer Principal
> I want you to know you have the support from downtown. BB (associate superintendent) is pleased. He was instrumental in your appointment to this job.
> Joe Smith
> I saw your evaluation. You are doing a fine job. Remember you're doing it for the kids.
> BB, Associate Superintendent
> I've never seen you back down from anyone yet.
> Teacher JoAnn

I'm glad you are standing up to CC (cafeteria manager) Joe Smith never did.
Teacher JoAnn
You are more personable that Joe Smith.
Parent
You seem to act like a tenured principal.
Teacher Sharon
The morning openings are great. When you speak over the intercom, I think you are talking directly to me.
Teacher Rose
Administrators were impressed with your budget presentation.
BB Associate Superintendent
Are you Jill? I've heard wonderful things about you at the Superintendent's communication meetings. There was a question whether a woman could handle Westside. I guess they found one who could.
A stranger
Where is Mrs. S.? In another meeting? I came by this morning and she was in a meeting. I need to see her. I haven't seen her in days.
A student
We seem to have more school unity and spirit.
Teacher JoAnn
You've been a good principal.
A parent

Evidence of growth shown in students and teachers and positive change in the school culture were socializing features that encouraged me to continue to fight the forces of socialization. When I observed that teachers were beginning to change and treat students in a more dignified respectful manner, I felt positively reinforced. When I saw hard core students with severe behavior problems soften and try to comply with the school rules by keeping their anger in check, I was encouraged. When, during the fourth nine weeks, documentation of fewer fights and defiant behavior were recorded, I was hopeful that my philosophy of a student centered school climate was going to work. When I realized that students cared about me and what I thought of them, that they were afraid that I would be upset with them if they violated a school rule, I

felt valued. When, after a rough day, my secretary hugged me and said, "It will be okay. We are all behind you.", I felt accepted and loved.

CHAPTER V

THEMES

Introduction

From the Componential Analysis (see Appendix E) tentative themes emerged. By triangulating the data with transcripts from interviews with two other novice principals (see Appendix F), it was possible to cross-check the accuracy of conclusions and protect against researcher bias. Several emerging themes were scrutinized by the novice principals who confirmed or disconfirmed them.

Cultural Themes

During my second year as principal of Westside, Mark Jones, the former administrative assistant of Westside, and Tamara Williams obtained principalships at other elementary schools in the district (see the last section of Appendix A for further information about Mark and Tamara). After conducting open-ended interviews with them during the first week and last week of their novice year, I was able to compare the transcripts of these interviews, combine it with patterns of similarity found between domains of contrast, and generate cultural themes which describe the socialization phenomena we experienced.

Socialization Directed Toward Aspiring Instructional Leaders Can Be Coercive. Socialization in inevitable. It begins from the moment that a twinkle appears in a principal's eye as he/she begins to dream about one day becoming a principal. During the induction process the intensity of the socialization experience increases and at times the press to conform to the expectations of significant others intensifies beyond resistance. To those novice principals who aspire to become instructional leaders, the socialization process is particularly severe.

The critical incidents recorded in the Battles section of the previous chapter are examples of the coercive nature of the socialization process which I experienced. The press to conform to existing norms was continuous. The fight to gain the authentic authority needed to lead and impact the Westside culture was resisted by teachers such a Thelma, Louise, and Mark who did not share my worldview or intend to relinquish their cultural power. Drastic techniques such as verbal assaults, threats, power plays, subversive activities, and sabotage were used by the opposition to disarm my vision, extinguish my stamina, and force me to become the kind of principal that would maintain the status quo.

I once told a friend that becoming the kind of principal I wanted to be was much like rowing a boat upstream. You must keep your eyes focused on your destination and work like crazy to battle the force of the current which pushes you in the opposite direction. It is an isolated task that requires perseverance and strength.

Mark and Tamara were targets of coercive tactics. Mark recounted incidents of teachers using intermediaries to ask him things, taking alternate routes to get their way, distorting information to save face, and pressuring him to have Parent Night. Tamara was threatened by a parent who usually came to school either drunk or stoned, and, on one occasion, screamed to her, "I'll get you, you fucking bitch!". A hate letter which was directed toward Tamara and another teacher was circulated through the school.

Tamara and I reported that crucial incidents of socialization occurred when we were coerced into administering corporal punishment. Tamara made the comment that, "I have a problem with spanking. And, yet, I felt I had to prove to teachers that I could paddle. Here comes Mrs. Williams with her glass paddle."

Coercive Socialization is More Apt to Occur at the Building Level by "Squeaky Wheels". Most socialization occurs in the school building as a result of interaction with teachers and/or parents within the immediate school culture. Although Mark and Tamara indicated that the negative remarks made on their evaluations by a central office administrator had a socializing effect upon their performance, the majority of their comments reflected incidents involving subordinates from the immediate school environment.

Mark coined the term, "squeaky wheels" to describe the kind of teacher or parent who operates as a socialization agent by complaining, requesting favors, or asking the principal to change previously made decisions. Because of their isolation and hunger for feedback, principals related that they listened to these

informants and were tempted to respond to the request of the squeaky wheel even though the action may be one-sided.

Because of a "squeaky wheel," Mark changed his decision about procedures for Parent Night. Tamara related that she was very conscious of the fact that powerful teachers disagreed with her recommendation to have fewer assemblies. When those teachers squeaked and requested her to reconsider, she folded, because she knew that "they had the power to kill me with community, parents and their peers."

When I succumbed to the force of socialization, it was the result of action by a "squeaky wheel" who had suggested that I was a soft disciplinarian. Incidents recorded as minor skirmishes were instigated by "squeaky wheels" who had a particular viewpoint or request to satisfy.

Coercive Socialization is Programmed in Response to Gender, Worldview, and Leadership Style. From the research of leadership succession conducted by Hart (1987), the importance of the personal characteristics of the former principal is clarified. When a new principal arrives on the scene, the school culture responds to everything about that person that is different from the predecessor. From the experience of the three principals involved with this study, data were generated to suggest that the school culture reacted and triggered socialization tactics in response to several specific aspects of the novice principal's personality.

Both Tamara and I experienced reaction to our gender. Both of us followed the same male principal, Joe Smith, who had transferred

to Adams School when I became the principal at Westside. The description of incidents concerning gender bias recorded in the previous chapter clarifies the reaction Westside school culture had to my gender. I had to prove myself as both a woman and a principal for no one seemed to have confidence in a woman's ability to administer an intense school environment. From Tamara's comment, "I am aware of being a female in a male world.", it is apparent that she experienced bias with her gender.

The descriptive comment made by Tamara that,"Females know how to operate with a male principal." reflects the impact a female principal makes upon a school culture previously managed by a male. With just a hint of sexual connotation, female teachers can "work" male principals to achieve their goals. When a female becomes the principal, the rules change because it is inappropriate to interact with another female in a flirtatious manner.

Both Tamara and I expressed the feeling that, because of our gender, we were challenged more than our male counterparts. Parents and students tested us to see if we would "hold by our guns." I perceived that male parents approached me with the idea that they could use their male prowess to force me to comply with their wishes.

Perhaps as a response to both our gender and worldviews, Tamara and I did not meet the expectations of our individual school cultures with respect to discipline. Feedback from the grapevine and other organizational information indicated that we were considered to be "soft disciplinarians", a characteristic that met

with disapproval and even seemed to frighten some teachers. Tamara's comments that "They (teachers) want someone harsh and severe; they want a principal who approves of public humiliation and treatment of all students the same." represent the norm in operation at both school sites. Because both Tamara and I believed that children should be treated with dignity and respect, our value system clashed with cultural expectations. However, because we were aware of the perception held by the school culture and we wanted to gain approval and acceptance necessary to lead the school culture, both Tamara and I administered corporal punishment when we felt the procedure was inappropriate and ineffective. Both of us observed that after we had administered corporal punishment, the school culture seemed to mummer, "Yes! She did it!" and then they tended to relinquish previous resistance to our leadership efforts.

Most of the critical socialization incidents I experienced were in response to my worldview which espoused a student-centered school culture. In my attempts to make Westside a kinder, gentler place to learn, I received memos, verbal exchanges, and subversive attacks which tried to alter my position.

Although there was no evidence of gender bias or worldview inconsistencies in the information obtained from Mark Jones, he experienced coercive socialization as a result of his leadership style. Although Mark related that he wanted to be visible and available to the students and teachers, he was comfortable operating in an authoritarian manner. Because the school district

espoused a participatory style of leadership, Mark experienced difficulty allowing teachers to make decisions. With respect to the decisions he made as a principal, he was concerned that he appeared to be "wishy-washy" and impulsively changed his decisions in response to "squeaky wheels." When during the final interview I asked Mark what he had learned during the first year of his principalship, he replied, "I've learned to listen to more than one squeaky wheel before I change my decision."

Tamara mentioned that she favored site based management but felt the "teachers didn't understand the process." Consequently socializing events occurred as she and the school culture tried to define the meaning of site based management.

My leadership style appeared to be compatible with site based management. For example, when I defended the change of cafeteria schedules, a decision made by teachers, I became the target of intense socialization agents. I found it difficult to resist the forces of socialization that came from outside the school culture and the ranks of the cafeteria personnel. It would have been much easier for me to say to the cafeteria manager, "You were right. It did not work," and trash the program. However, because I knew the change was developed by teachers and felt it was best for the learning environment, I stood firm on the issue and won.

Principals Choose Whether or Not to be Socialized. As I began to administer Westside school, I also began a research study about socialization. Consequently, I was acutely aware of when, why, and how I was socialized. I knew when I succumbed to a socialization

agent and negotiated my vision. When I interviewed the other principals, they indicated that, when socialization incidents occurred, they were aware of what was happening and had chosen to be socialized.

Principals govern their response to socialization and determine when to risk resisting the force or when to take the path of least resistance. Mark, Tamara, and I indicated that we did not respond to every teacher's or parent's request, but filtered the factors, weighed the risks, and then decided whether to grant the request. Tamara and I indicated that we did not succumb to every request to administer corporal punishment, but selectively chose the incidents.

CHAPTER VI

GROUNDED THEORY

Introduction

The major domains of the taxonomic analysis (see Appendix D) were used as the building blocks for establishing a theory grounded in the data. To explain the relationships among the theoretical domains, selective coding was used to tie the parts together (Strauss and Corbin 1990). The diagram depicting the grounded theory is presented in Figure 1.

Fighting an Uphill Battle: Norms vs. Vision

Developing a professional identity as a female principal who functioned as a caring instructional leader, in a way which was accepted by participants in my elementary school, was like fighting an uphill battle. Although I was driven to implementing a vision of Westside School as a humanistic, student-centered place which was a stimulating, effective learning environment; I discovered that simply having such a vision and behaving in a manner which reflected that dream were insufficient for making it happen. During my novice year I watched my value system collide head-on with existing sacred cultural norms, experienced the oppressive force of socialization, and realized my personal vision was neither shared nor valued by a

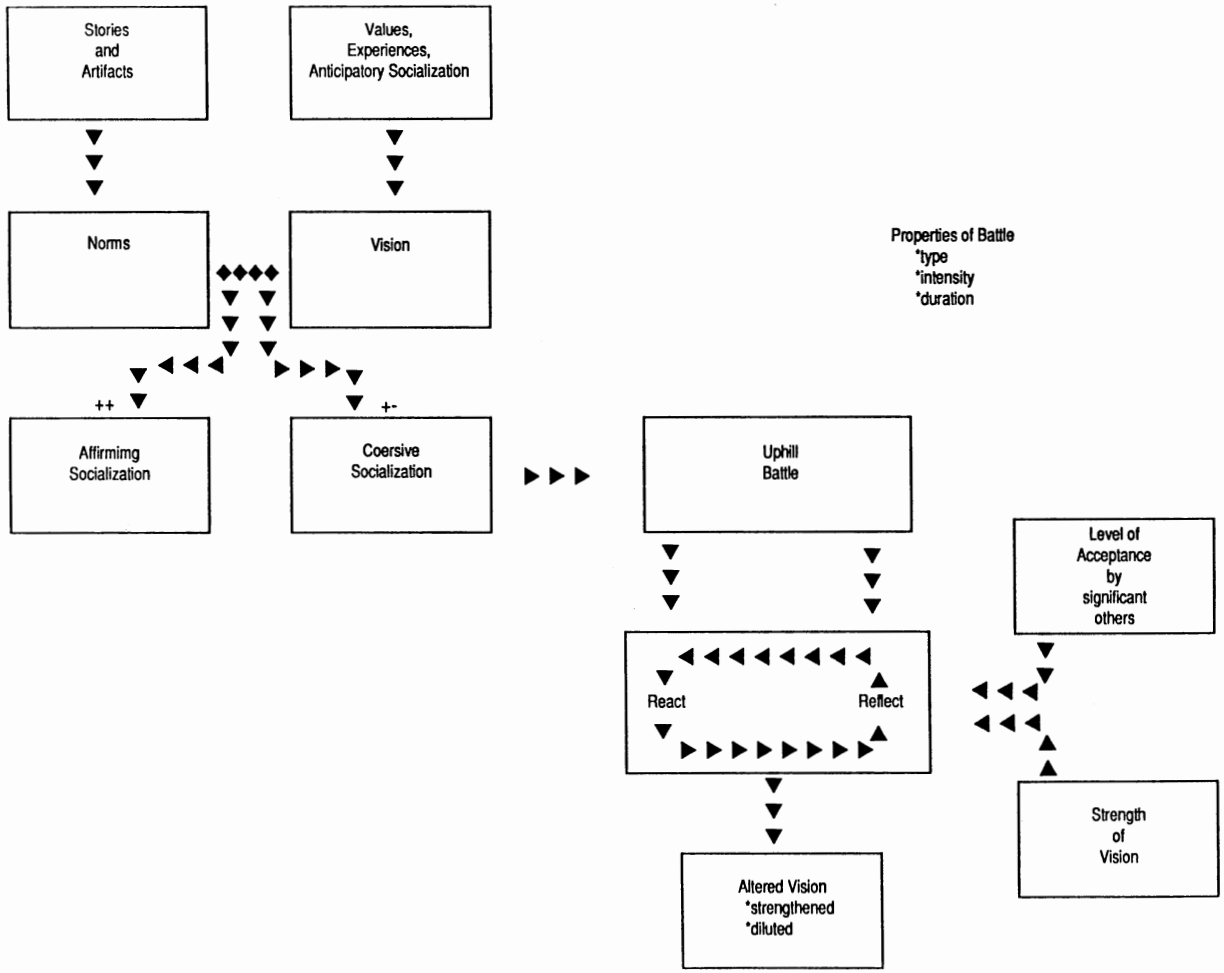

Figure 1. An Uphill Battle: Norms vs. Vision

significant segment of the school culture. I realized that to defend myself from the forces of socialization and to safeguard my personal vision, I must learn to fight uphill battles.

Uphill battles are provoked by two conflicting forces, the principal's vision and the existing norms of the cultural participants. When the vision of the principal and the existing norms of a school culture are incompatible, then socialization is coercive and an uphill battle is fought. When vision and norms are congruent, socialization is affirming.

A principal builds a vision of the kind of principal he/she wishes to become and of optimal characteristics of the school. Visions are idiosyncratic and differ in magnitude and clarity.

The vision building process is influenced by several factors. Values, experiences, and anticipatory socialization contribute to the development of a principal's vision.

Anticipatory socialization involves the learning principals acquired before assuming principalships. It encompasses socialization experiences acquired from being elementary/secondary students, classroom teachers, and education administration graduate students. During this phase of development, principals begin to generate their vision. As elementary and secondary students, they stored information about the characteristics of principals who administered their schools. As teachers they watched how principals administered buildings and interacted with the school culture. They incorporated favorable ideas into their vision. Unfavorable perceptions were dealt with by making mental notes such as, "When I

get to be a principal, I won't do it that way". Course work included in education administration programs had an impact upon principals' vision. From information gained in classes such as supervision and organizational theory, principals add to the design of their vision.

The beliefs and assumptions espoused by principals are the cornerstones upon which visions are built. If principals believe that people are basically "good" and learning is a lifelong process, then their vision will reflect these values. If they believe that people are "bad" and learning is an accumulation of detailed, fragmented information, then their vision will be different.

Everyone is a product of his/her previous experiences. For principals this means the activities and opportunities encountered throughout a lifetime have significant impact upon the development of vision. The vision of a principal who spent fifteen years in an elementary classroom might differ from one who spent fifteen years as a coach. The vision of a principal who has served as an assistant principal might differ from a principal who has not had that opportunity.

Existing norms of the school culture are defined by observing the dynamics of the day to day events, listening to the verbal interaction, and perusing organizational documents. Principals learn to "read" the school culture by analyzing the stories and artifacts. When patterns of accumulated data emerge, then principals gain insight into the unwritten rules, regulations, and shared values which prevail in that school culture. Principals discover that school cultures display unique "personalities."

Uphill battles occur when the conflicting forces of vision and norms collide. If there is a good fit between vision and norms, then uphill battles do not occur, and socialization is confirming. If there is an incompatible fit between vision and norms, then coercive socialization results and uphill battles ensue. The outcome of uphill battles is a vision-altering experience.

Uphill battles differ in several ways. Uphill battles take the form of confrontations, ambushes, and threats. They vary in intensity depending upon the nature and degree of the incompatibility between the norms of the school culture and the principal's vision. Battles vary in duration. While some uphill battles are brief, continuous onslaughts extend over long periods of time.

When an uphill battle or crisis of integrity erupts, principals surface from the emotion of the event, begin to reflect about the action, critique the outcomes by measuring them against the yardstick of their vision, weigh the alternatives, and determine how to respond positively. Often principals must "reflect in action" and quickly weigh the options while coincidentally making a response. Sometimes emotions trigger a response without reflection. When such incidents occur, principals reflect after the incident, determine if the response supported their vision, determine how to positively respond to a reoccurrence of the event, and learn from the experience.

In the heat of an uphill battle, embattled principals are empowered to make choices. They can decide to resist the forces of

socialization or decide to succumb to the forces of socialization. Two intervening conditions, acting independently or in interaction, drive the decision making process of embattled principals. If a powerful group of significant others accepts the principal's vision while a less powerful group challenges the administrator, principals have the confidence to risk defying the norms and expectations of part of the school culture. If principals perceive that their current level of acceptance by significant others is marginal, their level of confidence is low, and they are reluctant to make decisions that might antagonize or alienate cultural members. When principals decide to succumb to socialization, the decision is made as a trade-off for acceptance, additional personal power, votes of confidence, and followership.

Strength of the principal's vision is another condition that influences a principal's response to an uphill battle. For example, my vision of providing a curriculum that fits a student rather than forcing a student to fit a curriculum was an important issue. I had generated a clear sharp vision of what instruction should "look like" if it were compatible with the needs of students.

Because of the strength of this component of my vision and the importance I placed upon it, I was able to fight and win an uphill battle with punitive first grade teachers who were unwilling to modify instruction to fit students who were "not ready to learn."

Mark Jones indicated to me that he did not have a vision. He planned to observe during the first year and then decide in what direction to lead the school. Perhaps, because he had no vision for

the role of parental involvement, a socialization event occurred which damaged his image. When faced with a decision to change procedures for the Parent Open House, Mark responded to several interest groups and changed plans for this event several times.

When an uphill battle erupts, principals face a dilemma which entails the interaction between the strength of their vision and perceived level of acceptance. Before responding to a socializing event, principals surface from the emotion of the moment and weigh their vision to opposing existing norms. They determine whether there is enough cultural support to risk offending the norms. If the incident is centered around a issue that is contradictory to their vision and principals feel accepted by significant others, then the weight of the decision is balanced toward vision. At other times, despite the repulsiveness of the incident and strength of their vision, the principals perceive a lower level of acceptance among significant others. They determine the culture can not withstand a violation of existing norms and the weight of the decision is balanced toward existing norms.

During my novice year I experienced two uphill battles regarding corporal punishment. These socialization incidents reflected the dilemma I experienced between the interaction of strength of my vision and level of my acceptance within the school culture.

Corporal punishment conflicts with my vision for a student centered, safe school environment. Many requests were made for me to paddle students. I refused some and granted others.

I refused a mother's request to paddle her son for his grade average dropping to a "B". When reflecting about how to respond to this request, I determined that, although the cultural norms supported corporal punishment for this reason, I felt the punishment was inappropriate for the offense. My current level of acceptance by significant others within the school culture was strong. At that point in time the teachers were satisfied, and my superiors were impressed with my performance. Because the mother was considered to be "crazy" by the faculty, there was no internal pressure to administer corporal punishment. Although I listened to this mother rant, rave, and threaten me during conferences on five consecutive days, I refused to spank her son.

I succumbed to the request by a mother and teacher to paddle DM, the boy brought to the office for "stealing and lying again." Several factors influenced this decision. The incident occurred in late April. DM had been stealing and lying all year long. I had depleted alternatives to use with this troubled student. None of the positive options recommended for behavior of this sort had been effective with DM. The seriousness of his continued behavior worried me. I knew that something must be done to change his behavior. I rationalized that spanking was the last resort. Added to this situation was the joint request of mother and teacher who demanded that the action be taken. Both of them insisted that, unless I administered corporal punishment, they would feel unsupported in their efforts to correct his behavior. The school culture valued corporal punishment. Spanking incorrigible students

was a sacred norm. The teacher who demanded the punishment was a strong advocate of punitive, abusive disciplinary techniques. She was the same teacher who sent the student back to the second grade with his mouth taped shut as a punishment for talking. She was a powerful leader among the teachers who supported abusive disciplinary tactics. She was responsible for spreading the word among the school culture that I was "too soft" and that, because of my leadership style, the school was falling apart for lack of discipline.

My current level of acceptance by significant others within the school cultural was extremely low. This incident with DM followed on the heels of teacher evaluation. The general tone of support for me among the teachers was minimal. I had perceived nonverbal cues that the troops were very unhappy. Disgruntled teachers were avoiding interaction with me and sabotaging programs I had initiated. I feared that I had lost my power to lead and that the positive school climate would never be the same.

I was too vulnerable. I was tired of fighting the uphill battle against the cultural norm for corporal punishment. I felt that if I would paddle DM, I would win the support of his teacher and thereby obtain positive points within the punitive disciplinary crowd. I felt that if I refused to paddle DM, even more resistance and alienation would occur. After weighing this factors, I paddled DM. The school culture was satisfied. Because my level of acceptance was too low, powerful, informal groups won the battle. DM and my altered vision were the losers.

Uphill battles are vision altering experiences which result in two possible outcomes. If principals choose to resist the forces of socialization and defy the cultural norms and expectations, then vision is strengthened. If principals choose to succumb to the forces of socialization and comply with the cultural norms and expectations, then vision is negotiated and diluted.

A Word About Gender

Gender can be the catalyst for uphill battles. Because gender can be a factor in the development of one's vision and also in the nature of existing norms, it is often an underlying factor that initially triggers uphill battles.

Because a principal's vision represents a gestalt of his/her values, beliefs, philosophy, and personality, the gender of the principal will impact its development. Because of their experiences with gender socialization, female principals administer schools with a nurturing, supportive, participatory style of leadership (Griffiths, 1988). It only stands to reason that female principals' visions were designed to reflect characteristics corresponding to their gender.

My vision was strongly influenced by my gender. My desire to become a humanistic, caring instructional leader is evidence of a feminine approach to leadership. My goal to become a participatory leader also reflects gender socialization. The fact that I remained in the classroom for eighteen years and was given the time to develop a vivid vision for instructional issues was a result of

my gender socialization.

Existing norms define how gender will be accepted within the school culture. Some school cultures are receptive to a feminine style of leadership and allow female principals to lead. Other school cultures expect a masculine, authoritarian style of leadership, reject a feminine style of leadership, and fight to resist female leadership. While it is true that males may administer schools with a nuturing, supportive, participatory style of leadership, those characteristics are not apparent upon entry into the principalship. Consequently, female principals are assumed to hold a humanistic world view and will be resisted by those who do not accept this paradigm.

As a female principal, I clashed with the existing norms of Westside school. I was the target of stereotypical sexual comments and actions. Parents and teachers tried to push me around and force me to be more punitive. The school culture wanted a principal that looked and acted like a male. They preferred an authoritative, punitive male principal. The culture felt uncomfortable with my style of leadership and believed that I was too "soft". They were concerned that, because I was not a male, the students would not be afraid of me, and, consequently, discipline and the management of students would return to a chaotic state. Most of the uphill battles were triggered in reaction to my gender.

Summary

Socialization for principals is a phenomenon which results from the interaction between two forces, the vision of the principal and existing norms of the school culture. Principals' visions; products of their values, experiences, and anticipatory socialization incidents; interact with existing norms that are displayed by observing the stories and artifacts evidenced within the school culture.

When the vision of the principal and existing norms of the school culture match, then socialization is affirming. When vision of the principal and existing norms of the school culture are incompatible, coercive socialization occurs and an uphill battle ensues.

When principals face uphill battles, they reflect about choices related to resistance or succumbing to the forces of socialization. The two intervening conditions which interact to influence their decision are the strength of their vision and the current level of acceptance by significant others. If principals decide that their level of acceptance can withstand the impact of a decision that offends existing norms, then they choose to resist socialization efforts. The outcome of an uphill battle is a vision altering experience that either strengthens or dilutes principals' visions.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND A FINAL WORD

The discussion for this chapter will focus on three areas. Conclusions, Recommendations, and a Final Word will comprise the contents of Chapter VII.

Conclusions

Although I lost several uphill battles, I completed my novice year with a positive professional identity. By analyzing data obtained from the stories and written artifacts, I developed an insight into the existing norms in operation within Westside School. As I measured the current level of acceptance for my leadership, I fought battles to nurture development of my vision. Although I lost several uphill battles, I completed my novice year with important parts of my vision intact.

Several conclusions about the findings of this investigation are possible. Four conclusions will be developed in the following discussion.

The Sex of an Administrator Determines the Socialization Experiences Which Will be Encountered

While females are more likely to have participatory leadership styles (Shackeshaft, 1987b), they are less like to be perceived as

having the physical strength to appear in control of children. Uphill battles for both Tamara and I were triggered in response our perception as "soft disciplinarians." We both experienced coercive socialization to administer corporal punishment when we felt this type of punishment inappropriate.

Mark Jones was coercively socialized too. As a result of his lack of classroom experience and inability to make informed decisions, he was socialized to change previously made decisions. Because of his need to control and tendency to be an authoritarian leader, his loss of uphill battles with teachers and parents to change his decisions and accommodate their interests had a damaging effect upon his credibility and self confidence.

Coercive Socialization Results in Some Type of Change, Whether in the Principal or the School Culture

Uphill battles end in victory or defeat, never in a draw. As a result of coercive socialization tactics, either the principal's vision or the existing norms of the school culture will be altered.

When I chose to paddle DM, the cultural norm which values corporal punishment was strengthened by a fragment taken from my vision to create a humanistic environment. When I won the battle with the first grade teachers to provide a more developmentally appropriate learning environment for academically weak students, cultural norms were weakened and my vision was strengthened.

Socialization reflects a dialectical frame. In order for principals to obtain and maintain their vision for a school culture, the culture must alter norms to fit the vision. In order to fit into the school culture and generate power to lead the culture, principals must alter their vision to accommodate sacred norms of the school culture.

Socialization or change for vision and norms is inevitable. Socialization operates on a continuum from total socialization at one extreme to individuation at the other. Permanent location at either end of the continuum is unhealthy for both vision and existing norms.

Principals are Active Participants in the Socialization Process

The three principals involved with this study indicated an awareness of attempts to socialize them. They were able to recall and relate the reasons why they chose to succumb or resist socialization efforts.

Consequently, socialization is not a passive activity. If principals are informed and aware of the phenomenon of socialization, they can react positively and choose their response to socialization efforts. In addition, principals who have developed a vision can proactively plan ways to safeguard their vision and generate ways to socialize cultural members toward accepting and sharing their vision.

Teachers are Highly Resistant to Instructional Leadership

Principals who possess a vision of becoming an instructional leader are cognizant of changes that need to be made to improve instruction and learning. To facilitate change, principals need to invade the turf of teachers. When, and if they do, principals are hit with immediate resistance.

Teachers appear to be threatened by instructional leaders who observe frequently, offer suggestions for change, and know and care about what is going on in their classrooms. When I used the evaluation process and small group sessions of staff development to convince the first grade teachers that their instruction and behavioral expectations were inappropriate for Westside first grade students; my conclusion was contested, and I was either threatened or ignored. Their reaction to my intervention in the name of instructional leadership was intensely resisted. Although I observed positive change in their instructional techniques; at the end of the year, one of the teachers transferred to another school site, and another asked to move to the third grade position within Westside School.

Recommendations

While socialization is good, principals need to be prepared for it. It provides information principals need to lead a school culture in a direction congruent with their vision. Principals

should look forward to the socialization process and proactively plan, respond, and use it to their advantage. Principals should take control of the socialization process, set their vision, refine their reflective skills, and develop the strategic sense needed to decide to dodge the bullets and when to brace for the impact.

If principals need to fight uphill battles to forge their identity and realize their vision as instructional leaders, then those who prepare them for battle and those who train them while in the trenches need to better prepare them for battle.

Programs which prepare administrators should modify their curriculum to include investigation of the socialization process. Socialization should be studied in a positive manner with emphasis upon the proactive stance principals must take to safeguard their vision. Prospective principals should be informed of coping strategies needed to combat uphill battles.

Courses need to include information and knowledge which is likely to relate to a female's experience as a principal. Because female socialization is different from male socialization and because we typically deal with issues from a male perspective, it is time to stop short-changing female education administration students by modifing preparatory coursework to include this segment of the population.

Although colleges of education are preaching "instructional leadership," they do not discuss the dysfunctions of this activity. If principals incorporate instructional leadership as part of their vision, then they need to be informed of the resistance they can

expect from the teachers. They must be guided toward development of strategies to cope with this resistance and still interject change toward instructional improvement.

Procedures to build and clarify prospective principals' vision should be included in educational administration curriculum. Because uphill battles will inevitably alter their vision, principals need to develop passion for critical elements of their vision and be ready to negotiate other components.

In order to display a healthy self concept, prospective principals should identify and accept their educational philosophy, personal characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses. In the heat of uphill battles, principals will access the level of their acceptance within the school culture. Without a healthy self concept, they may be unable to make an objective assessment. If principals do not possess a healthy self concept, they may unable to live with the reality that you cannot please everyone, be more likely to abandon their positions to please significant others, be especially vulnerable to socialization efforts, and less likely to stand up in defense of their vision.

Because novice principals need the skills to conduct qualitative action research within the school culture, equal time should be given to qualitative research strategies. Observational skills and reflective strategies should be incorporated into traditional research classes. Because refection was the key to understanding socialization, exercises to refine this process should be provided.

School districts must make leadership development one of their basic missions. While novice principals are fighting in the trenches, their immediate supervisors should serve as drill sergeants who insure a positive learning experience. The supervisor should assign a peer principal to serve as a sounding board and "friend indeed." The supervisor should be cognizant of the match between the existing norms of the school culture and vision of the principal. The supervisor should be familiar with the behavioral characteristics of an instructional leader and prepare members of the school culture to accept instructional leaders.

A Final Word: My Response to Travis and Steve

"Mrs. Shackelford, what kind of principal will you be? Mean?"

Travis, student at Lincoln School

No, Travis, I did not become a mean principal. I became a caring instructional leader.

"Mrs. Shackelford, how do you get to be a principal anyways?"

Steve, student at Westside School

Steve, learning how to be a principal was a not an easy task. I did not learn how to be a principal by simply reading books about the topic or by taking the courses required to obtain certification as an educational administrator. Steve, the only way to learn the job is integrating theory with practice. By practicing with students, parents, and teachers; experimenting with ideas; and

learning from the things that did work and the things that did not work, I learned how "to principal."

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APPENDIX A

COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL CULTURE

The following descriptions of the community and school culture provide information that enables the reader to compare these demographics to his/her situation.

Community

From the early days as a booming oil town that boasted 350 millionaires, Harristown has developed into a cosmopolitan city of more than 40,000 people. Harristown is an affluent community with an average annual per capita income of $16,003.00 and an unemployment rate of less than 6%. Harristown serves as the headquarters of several international corporations including the world's twelfth largest petroleum company. More than 75% of Harristown adults have high school diplomas with an average educational level of 12.5 years.

School District

Harristown school district encompasses 125 square miles and serves 6,378 students. There are seven elementary schools K-5, two middle schools 6-8, one mid high 9-10, and one high school 11- 12. The district employs 442 certified and 196 classified personnel. The administrators include the Superintendent, Associate Superintendent, five central office directors, and eleven site principals. The secondary schools have assistant and vice principals. Three of the administrators are female.

Although the district percentage of students who qualify for free lunches is 26%, the range among the elementary schools is 60%

for one west side school to 8% for an east side school.

Harristown students usually perform in the 70th percentile on standardized achievement tests. The district supports an Honors and Advanced Placement curriculum track. Each year approximately ten students are named National Merit Scholars.

Westside School

Westside School, one of seven elementary schools, was originally built in the 1950's in a moderate, middle class neighborhood. As demographics changed and upwardly mobile families moved to the east side of town, the profile of the school community changed. The area become one of low socioeconomic housing and project developments. The percentage of students qualifying for free lunches is 60% with another 15% qualifying for reduced lunches.

In 1986, a new two-story building was built on the playground of the original site, and the old school was demolished. The new school won awards for architectural design and is considered to be the educational "showpiece" of the community.

There are 20 classroom teachers and 18 special teachers such as physical education, music, Chapter 1, and learning disabilities employed at Westside. The physical education teacher was relieved for two hours to function as an administrative assistant and handle disciplinary details such as bus and playground incidents. For the most part, the teachers are of middle class background. The majority of the teachers have been teaching at this site for several years. Because the teachers consider teaching at Westside

to be a sort of missionary assignment, transfers to other sites are requested only in cases of extreme burn-out. Forty-five percent of the Westside teachers have achieved a master's degree, the highest percentage in the district.

Fifty percent of the 372 student body are of minority backgrounds with 40% black, 7% American Indian, and 3% Hispanic. Learning is difficult for the average Westside student. Achievement test performance hovers around the fiftieth percentile for the school population. Although the students are overachieving and often performing beyond expectation for their mental ability, Westside is very close to being classified as a low performing school. Many students live in single parent homes with their mothers. Approximately 40% of the mothers of the students did not complete high school.

Principal

Jill Shackelford became a principal after 18 years in the elementary classroom. She spent 15 years in rural schools and taught at every grade level except kindergarten. The last three years of her teaching career were spent teaching in Harristown as a Chapter 1 remedial reading teacher and reading specialist.

Jill graduated from a small high school. She obtained all of her college degrees from Oklahoma State University.

Jill is an only child. In high school, she was active in team sports and a leader in extra curricular activities. She continued leadership functions in college and, as an adult, held leadership

positions in professional and social organizations.

Jill applied for the principal's position after starting her doctoral program. After interviewing with the twelve-member selection committee and impressing them with her professional and philosophical knowledge base, she was selected to be one of the final candidates. Following further interviews, she was appointed the principal of Westside School from a field of seven candidates who were experienced and highly visible in the community.

Two District Novice Principals

Mark Jones and Tamara Williams were employed by the district as novice principals the year following Jill Shackelford's first year. They were interviewed on the first and last day of their novice year to provide triangulation for the study.

Mark became the principal of Roosevelt, an affluent school on the east side of town. He had previously served for three years as the administrative assistant and physical education teacher for Westside School. Mark came to the principalship with a total of eight years as a physical education teacher. He had served as the department chair of elementary physical education and was considered to be the outstanding teacher for that content area in the district. He had recently received certification from Oklahoma State University. He had previously applied and been denied principalships at three other sites, including the slot Jill landed at Westside. Mark's vision for the type of principal he wished to

become was not clear. His intention was to observe during his novice year and try to avoid making change.

Tamara became principal of Adams School, a neighboring school of Westside that shared similar student characteristics. Tamara read about the opening at Adams School in Harristown in Education Week. When she interviewed at Harristown, she thoroughly impressed the superintendent with her credentials, appearance, and interviewing skills. Tamara came from a comparable school district in Texas where she was currently serving as the Director of Curriculum. Although she had taught for several years in a learning disabilities lab, most of her experience had been in central office supervisory capacity. She had recently completed her certification and was anxious to realize her vision by becoming an instructional leader.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE OF FIELDNOTES

February 2, 1988

Mark Jones - "Who's going to do all these bus reports whenever I move up to an administrative position?" Westside needs a male staff person. Don't know what would happen without a male figure."

JD's dad is mad. George Smith (central office administration) called me to say he had taken call from JD's dad. Dad said he was suing the school because son was recommended for developmental testing. George called to warn me that the dad was drunk--ranting and raving and making no sense. George had hung up on him. George told me to be cautious in case he came to school and to not hesitate to call police if he got violent. . . Great!

Talked to Velma (Chapter 1 Reading Teacher) - she is upset about her evaluation and that I placed a time line provision for her to obtain Reading Specialist certification. She tried to talk me out of lifting my stipulations by making a bunch of flimsy excuses. I did not back down.

Evaluation time is tense. Mona is upset with her evaluation results because she did not get any Outstanding marks from me. "How can I improve?" she said. I went into detail again with the things I thought she needed to do to have a more humanistic environment. What I really wanted to say was "Get a new personality. You are not cut out to be a teacher!"

I am having difficulty removing myself emotionally from the problems school kids are having. I think and worry about them when I am at home in the evenings and weekends. I am most concerned now with physical abuse and neglect for _____, _____, _____, and _____. Joey's family has zero money . . .

I am having personal conflict about Jane (LD teacher that I had formerly taught with who was getting ready to be "asked to resign") My loyalty left when she accused Tommy of lying and screamed it so loudly in the hall that several teachers reported it to me. That was the "last straw" for me -- she violated one of my sacred values!

Sam (elementary principal) called about Jane (she was shared between two schools). He is going to ask her to resign or we will not renew her contract. This is her tenure year. Sam said, "She is mediocre and we can't have that tenured in Harristown."

He's right--but she is my friend. What do I do about that? What can I do about that? Catherine Marshall article was right--It's harder for women who have established relationships with teachers.

Mrs. Andrews (parent of 4.0 student) called to say "thank you" for creating and implementing the Smarty Party.

Thelma told me "We seem to have more school unity and spirit this year."

February 10, 1988

Hug from Rosy (teacher). I think she knows the climate is tense. Her evaluation was strong. She hugged me as a gesture of support and concern. She is very thoughtful and has often expressed her approval of what was happening at Westside.

9:30 Joe Smith appointment to go over my evaluation. We talked about my frustration with Jane's being forced to resign. I told him it was difficult to be a friend and a principal. I told him I had defined the meaning of "principal" during this week (stress over teacher reaction to their marks on their evaluations.)

Joe Smith said, "the superintendent stopped by school this am to say, 'Jill is getting her feet wet and sure can us your support at this time . . .' I want you to know that you have the support from 'down town' (central office). Superintendent is behind you and Associate Superintendent is pleased. He was instrumental in getting you here and sits back and smiles whenever positive comments are made in your behalf. Remember I told you Westside does not need Joe Smith anymore--they need a Jill Shackelford. I couldn't have done what you did. Those things needed to be said on the teacher's evaluation forms. I just don't have the nerve to do it."

APPENDIX C

DOMAIN ANALYSIS

1. Kind of activity of principal team.
2. Kind of advice pre interview.
3. Kind of astute observation.
4. Kind of attempt by JS to build norms.
5. Kind of attempt for JS to read culture.
6. Kind of attempt to appease ML.
7. Kind of attempt to define student centered.
8. Kind of candidate for principalship.
9. Kind of comment post-announcement.
10. Kind of constraint with personal life.
11. Kind of extraordinary job function.
12. Kind of family constraint.
13. Kind of feeling post-announcement.
14. Kind of female mentor.
15. Kind of "first".
16. Kind of formal socialization by JW.
17. Kind of gender bias question.
18. Kind of gender incident.
19. Kind of indication of impact of interview performance.
20. Kind of influence from reading.
21. Kind of informal socialization by JW.
22. Kind of interaction with Asso. Superintendent.
23. Kind of interaction with custodian.
24. Kind of interaction with FB.
25. Kind of interaction with JB.
26. Kind of interaction with ML.

27. Kind of interview/inquisition.

28. Kind of interview question.

29. Kind of interview response.

30. Kind of JS concern.

31. Kind of JS slip-up.

32. Kind of JW proposal for job.

33. Kind of marker event.

34. Kind of personal constraint.

35. Kind of pre-interview feeling.

36. Kind of response to JW's JP.

37. Kind of socialization by teachers/staff.

38. Kind of socialization by cafeteria manager.

39. Kind of socializaton by district.

40. Kind of socialization by JK.

41. Kind of socialization by "others".

42. Kind of socialization by other administrators.

43. Kind of socialization by parents.

44. Kind of socializaiton by State Department.

45. Kind of socialization by students.

46. Kind of socialization by family.

47. Kind of socializaiton by husband.

48. Kind of SOS.

49. Kind of step in obtaining the principalship.

50. Kind of surprise with JS assertiveness.

51. Kind of withdrawal teacher to principal.

52. Kind of support by teachers.

APPENDIX D

DIMENSIONS OF SOCIALIZATION

I. Vision
   A. Committment
   B. Affirmation

II. Stories
   A. Historical
   B. Organizational
   C. Humorous
   D. Inspirational

III. Written Artifacts
   A. Organizational Documents
   B. Memos
   C. Personal Correspondence

IV. Existing Norms
   A. Teacher Supremacy
   B. Conformity
   C. Gender Bias

V. Battles
   A. Guerrilla Warfare
   B. Combat

VI. Level of Acceptance
   A. Warm Fuzzy/Cold Prickly
   B. Compliments
   C. Growth

APPENDIX E

COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

VISION

	Anticipatory Socialization	Commitment	Affirmation
influenced by siginificant other	yes	no	yes
developed during principalship	no	partially	yes
developed by interaction in school culture	no	yes	yes
generated by positive reinforcement	no	yes	yes
operated as positive socialization agent	no	yes	yes

Stories

	Historical	Organizational	Humorous	Inspirational
contained important cultural information	yes	yes	no	no
strong socialization agent	yes	yes	no	yes
positively reinforced JS	no	no	yes	yes
JS repeated information to build shared values	no	no	yes	yes
JS used for benchmark--How am I doing?	yes	yes	no	no
second-hand information	yes	yes	sometimes	no
potential to be used for manipulation	yes	yes	no	no
commonly held knowledge by all culture	yes	no	yes	no

Written Artifacts

	Organizational Documents	Memos	Personal
used by JS to gain cultural information	yes	yes	no
used by JS to measure acceptance-cultural climate	no	yes	yes
inspirational	no	sometimes	yes
one-way communication	yes	no	yes
evidence of symbolic violence	yes	sometimes	no

Existing Norms

	Teacher Supremacy	Conformity	Gender Bias
Caused principal stress	yes	yes	no
evidence of symbolic violence	yes	yes	no
evidence of coersion	yes	yes	no
defined/maintained by teachers	yes	yes	partially
sacred--difficult to change	yes	yes	no
congruent to JS values	no	partially	no
conflicted with JS vision of leadership	yes	no	yes
positive or neutral socialization agent	no	sometimes	no

Battles

	Guerilla	Combat
subversive	yes	no
emotional in nature	no	yes
spontaneous reaction	no	yes
principal could choose to ignore	yes	no
occurred frequently	yes	no
Jill succumbed to force	rarely	sometimes

Acceptance

	Compliments	Growth/Change
generated by JS	no	yes
occurred immediately upon appointment	yes	no
obtained only at Westside	no	yes
influenced by significant others	yes	no
easily perceived	yes	no
achieved by reflection	no	yes
intrinsically rewarding	no	yes
positive socialization agent	sometimes	yes

APPENDIX F

TRIANGULATION OF CULTURAL PATTERNS

	JS	Mark	Tamara
Socialization occured	Battles	yes	yes
coersive?	Battles	yes	hate letter
to administer corporal punnishment	yes	not against will	yes
Evidence of socialization by:			
teachers	Battles Stories Existing Norms	Squeaky Wheels change decisions power plays tactics	Hate letter power plays subversive lobbying
parents	Battles	change decisions	parent letter change decisions
superiors	acceptance	negative evaluation	negative evaluation
Aware of socialiation?	yes	yes	yes
Chose to be socialized?	yes	yes	yes
Why choose to be socialized: socialized?	Trade-off for acceptance needed for leadership	to please	to fit into school culture to meet superior's expectations
Evidence of cultural reponse to:			
gender	yes	no	yes
worldview	percieved to be soft disciplinarian	-	percieved to be soft diciplinarian
leadership style style	percieved aggresstive	unable to make decision	Tammy Fayish
Outcome of novice year	Vision intact Exhausted	No vision status quo Exhausted	maintained-no evidence of impact-feeling inadequate Exhausted

VITA

Jill Shackelford

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: AN UPHILL BATTLE: SOCIALIZATION OF A NOVICE FEMALE ELEMENTARY PRINCIPAL

Major Field: Educational Administration

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