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PROFILE OF A TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADER:
A SACRED MISSION

by

Karen Louise Skalbeck

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Education

University of San Diego

1991

Dissertation Committee

Joseph C. Rost, Ph.D., Director
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ABSTRACT

PROFILE OF A TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADER: A SACRED MISSION
SKALBECK, KAREN LOUISE, ED.D. University of San Diego,
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Director: Joseph C. Rost

There is widespread concern about the standards of our schools today. The colossal wave of educational reform, political rhetoric and hysteria created an avalanche of legislative debates and a proliferation of literary documents questioning the role of principals. The effective schools research highlighted the important role principals have as instructional leaders.

The purpose of this study was to examine how transformational leadership, leadership as a process, and the critical aspects of leadership worked to revive and transform an inner city high school. Specific focus centered on the administrator of the school examining the leadership process within the context of where the relationships exists. The principal was the center of the leadership web weaving relationships based on the mutual purpose that all students can and do learn.

Qualitatively, this research was an interpretative case study guided by observations and interviews over a three year period. Through analyzing the meanings that people gave to their experiences during this process, this research will broaden our understanding of the nature of leadership. Specifically, five questions formed the backbone of this

research:

1. What leadership characteristics has the leader developed that supports the transformational model?
2. What mechanisms were used to articulate the leader's values to followers?
3. How does the leader elicit follower commitment to the relationships of influence, conflict and power?
4. What processes were used to mobilize resources?
5. What approaches were used in the development of future leaders?

This study revealed that reciprocal relationships of influence, conflict and power are necessary for the process of leadership to have an impact on educational and personal transformation.

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Dedicated To My Grandmother

Beatrice Eckwall Skalbeck

May 30, 1905 - December 1, 1990

My Family

Thomas, Elizabeth and Paul Skalbeck

Patricia and Dan Sextan

Steve and Debbie Skalbeck

Charlie, Joanie, Hallie and Hannah Skalbeck

Kris, Mark and Shayna Brouker

John and Lucy Skalbeck

Susan and Mark Berenz

Lylah Schrepel

My Dear Friend and Mentor

Dr. Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer

All Caring Friends and Colleagues

&

ESPECIALLY TO MY HUSBAND

Vincent John George

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CHAPTER I
STATEMENT OF THE ISSUE

Introduction

Public education, the backbone of the United States, has been ailing. It has been at the forefront of the national concerns plaguing Americans today. According to Kaplan (1989), schools today are in deep trouble. Americans have been bombarded by a proliferation of literary forces telling them "that their nation will be 'at risk' unless they pay attention to their schools (Centron, 1985, p. 1). Subsequently, there has been widespread public concern about the standards of our schools. The publication of A Nation At Risk (NCEE, 1983) instigated much of this concern when it reported on the mediocrity of American students' achievements in comparison to international standards (Walberg, 1990). Consequently and reactively, a plethora of major school reforms ensued throughout our country, and what was thought to be an illness has turned into an epidemic. Serving as the 1980s symbol of school reform, A Nation at Risk fortified people's impressions of public education. As Kaplan (1989) reported:

More catalyst than blueprint, A Nation at Risk was the galvanizing force in the school improvement movement of

the 1980s. Even though test scores had stopped declining several years earlier, and state legislatures were already at their drafting tables, this landmark appeal for action stands as the symbol of the reform movement, indeed, as its primary source of leadership. (p. 39)

This colossal wave of educational reform (Walberg, 1990, p. 83), political rhetoric and hysteria "unleashed a profusion of national manifestos and state legislative debates" (Kaplan, 1989, p. 39). The stuttering of reforms is questioned by Deal (1990), who asked, "Why does the carousel of reform continue?" (p. 6.). Speculating that purpose of reform is symbolic and ceremonial, Deal questioned its economic feasibility and impact on education. Ironically, some researchers documented that the reform redundancy may have left some schools unchanged or even had the opposite effect (Chubb, 1988; Cuban, 1984).

The renaissance of reform igniting from the sparks of A Nation at Risk created an "avalanche of school reports and a subsequent flood of activity in almost every state" (Boyer, 1985, p. 10). These reforms were summarized in the national report entitled The Nation Responds and from this germinated the school improvement programs and effective schools research (Lezotte & Bancroft, 1985).

Effective schools research, founded on the school improvement programs, highlighted the pivotal role site

administrators play as instructional leaders in our schools. McCormack-Larkin (1985) pointed out that principals' roles expanded as "building manager to include being an instructional leader" (p. 35). The growing emphasis on effective schools depicted the principal as playing a significant role in the school's success. Sizemore (1990) remarked that the effective schools movement is, itself, a reform model for leadership. Research on the effective schools movement tells us that principals do make a difference, and there are specific characteristics associated with effective schools and their principals (Rallis & Highsmith, 1986). The effective school correlates show a clear relationship "between effective schools and an active, visible principal who is an instructional leader" (Harris & Kendall, 1990, p. 47). In his analysis of the metaphorical perspectives of school principals, Bredeson (1990), concluded that the "behavior of the school principal is the single most important factor supporting high quality educational programs"; and "while schools make a difference in what students learn, principals make a difference in schools" (pp. 298-299).

Boyer (1985) declared that principals are crucial to the success of schools; therefore along with the renewal of the school must be renewal of the principal. "The principal must be a leader who brings educational vision to students and teachers" (p. 13). Strong leadership, declared Weber

(1971), is indispensable in effective schools and is illustrated in principals "who are instrumental in setting the tone" (p. 34). Principals who set the tone do so by guiding, directing, going in front or showing the way (Sizemore, 1990). An essential ingredient for school leadership, noted Heller (1988), is a clear sense of mission and followership.

In conjunction with articulating a clear vision, Honig (1985) stressed the importance of building support and getting people to believe in and live the vision. Orchestration is the metaphor that Duke (1989) used to illustrate this critical dimension of leadership:

Leaders frequently are called upon to bring together individuals for the sake of accomplishing goals. When they are successful in coordinating the energies of an assortment of people with different abilities, their efforts can be likened to those of a gifted conductor blending together elements of sound to produce an integrated piece of music. (pp. 360-361)

Levinson (1981) employed this analogy in his book, Executive, quoting from Schreiber that the work of top administrators is the organization, coordination, and blending of talent for the purpose of accomplishing goals.

The foundation of Burns' (1978) transformational leadership model is articulating a vision based on mutual purposes of the leader-follower relationship, as well as

organizing and engaging followers to act for that vision. According to many scholars, the primary ingredient in leading people (Bass, 1985a & b; Bennis, 1990; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Bolman & Deal, 1985; Boyer, 1985; Burns, 1978; Freiberg, 1987; Greenfield, 1984; Kets de Vries, 1989; Kouzes & Posner, 1987; Rost, 1985b; Sergiovanni, 1984; Vaill, 1984). Applauding Burns' concept, Sizemore (1990) noted that principals must be leaders with a vision of the future. This vision must "motivate everyone to accept a position which all can agree" (p. 23). This consensus develops when all individuals involved have participated meaningfully in the decision-making process leading up to accepting that position. This complex task requires principals to "weave the social fabric" that binds the culture of the school (Greenfield, 1984). Concerned that school improvement programs will continue to emphasize top-down regulation, Boyer (1985) strongly recommended that "renewal must take place in the heads and hearts of the people. And while we tighten the procedures, we also must find ways to give more participation and more empowerment to those who do the work" (p. 11).

Paradoxically, the reform rhetoric recommended in A Nation at Risk remained dormant throughout much of the 80s. The reality is, proclaimed O' Neil (1990), "after decades of attempts to reform schools, most of which constituted little more than tinkering with surface parts . . . schools as they

are presently organized must be overhauled in ways that fundamentally change the institution of schooling itself" (p. 4). Centron (1985) noted that in A Nation Responds, a follow-up to A Nation at Risk, confusion with talk and well-planned action became the norm. Recently other reforms have crashed the educational shoreline: Time for Results: The Governors' 1991 Report on Education (Alexander, 1986), and A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century (Nathan, 1986). Time for Results "recognizes and responds to concerns raised by U. S. educators about the 'first wave' of reform, which has increased regulation over the last years and decreased local discretion" (Nathan, 1986, p. 197-198). Crowned the *Magna Carta* of school reform, A Nation Prepared "calls for sweeping changes in patterns of school governance, in the calibre and preparation of recruits to teaching, and in the sensitive processes of certification" (Kaplan, 1989, p. 42). It specifies a fundamental and revolutionary restructuring of teaching and schooling through collective leadership.

School cultures have become increasingly complex responding to the educational malaise and diversity of educational enterprises; therefore Rost (1985b) emphatically called on principals and teachers to equip themselves with an understanding and comprehensive view of what leadership is all about in order to work with the complexity and turn a nation at risk into a nation of excellence.

Leadership theory and practice is a kaleidoscope of confusion, inconsistencies and contradictions. The preoccupation of these phenomena in both research and the literature gives testimony to our obsessive intoxication for bringing a cohesive, meaningful picture to this kaleidoscope. According to Meindl, Erlich and Dukerich (1985), leadership as a concept remains elusive and enigmatic after years of scholars and practitioners trying to generate an intellectually coherent understanding of the word. Bennis and Nanus (1985) protested that "thousands of empirical investigations of leadership have been conducted in the last seventy-five years alone, but no clear and unequivocal understanding exists as to what distinguishes leaders from nonleaders" (p. 4). Freiberg (1987) suggested that there is a pervasive crisis in leadership, infecting not only the corridors of our corporate structures but the broad political system as well; and Burns (1978) lamented that "leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomenon on earth" (p. 2). Claiming that scholars are overly preoccupied with the inconsequential aspects of leadership, Burns (1984) went on to say that:

Our life and death engagement with leadership has given way to the cult of personality, to a "gee whiz" approach to celebrities. We peer into the private lives of leaders, as though their sleeping habits, eating preferences, and sexual practices, dogs, and

hobbies carry messages of profound significance. (p. 1)

Scholars and practitioners have attempted to develop an acceptable scientific theory of what leadership is, but they have yet to fashion an understanding of the nature of leadership. Additionally, there is minimal application of a given theory or concept of leadership demonstrated through actual living examples. Burns (1978) confronted this problem, acknowledging our myopic view of leadership by detailing our obsession with the trivial aspects of leadership. He proclaimed that our confusion is an intellectual crisis by stating, "if we know all too much about our leaders, we know far too little about leadership. We fail to grasp the essence of leadership that is relevant to the modern age and hence we cannot agree even on the standards by which to measure, recruit, and reject it" (p. 1). If this is so, how do theorists bring about an understanding of this ambiguous, nebulous concept, let alone develop universal standards by which to define leadership?

Breaking with traditional methodology, Burns (1978) researched extensively four well-known leaders as historical case studies. From this biographical analysis, he developed the concept of transformational leadership to help clarify the elusiveness that engulfs and mystifies us all. He advanced a view of understanding leadership rather than predicting leadership behavior (Foster, 1985a). His definition provides an interpretation of leadership that

embodies a vision, politics, and followership as well as a dynamic, reciprocal relationship resulting in a moral transformation for those involved in the leader-follower engagement.

Acknowledging the increasing dynamics and complexity of society and therefore of schools, Burdin (1989) asserted that our current applications of classical leadership theories may be inadequate and inappropriate. In order to grapple with the growing complexity and diversity of educational realities, we need educational leaders who understand and study "organizational power, beliefs, values, climate, pluralism, economics, politics, and changes," said Burdin. They need to understand and study "elements of all the 'ways of knowing'--the many fields of scholarship. Leaders need to understand both the individual fields and their interrelationships, and then to integrate the knowledge into practice" (p. 9).

As the excellence reformation in education gains its second wind, educators need to examine and critically analyze the nature of leadership in public education. Unfortunately, the first wave of the reform did not address the issue of leadership and was held hostage to cosmetic changes only. The early reformers sought to raise standards, increase accountability, lengthen school days and years through quantitative reforms and overlooked the qualitative aspects of excellence (Duke, 1986). The

qualitative aspects include what Burdin identified as the elements of "all the ways of knowing" (p. 9). Noting that the first wave of reform was based on a narrow conception of education, Michaels (1988) argued that "the clear message of a second-wave reform is that we need to examine our basic philosophical beliefs about teaching, learning, the nature of human beings, and the kinds of environments that maximize growth for teachers and students alike" (p. 3). O'Neil (1990) agreed challenging that the first phase of the reform fell short of the fundamental changes needed in education. Rebelliously, O'Neil asserted that education cannot change incrementally;

It must be shocked out of existence. . . Such reforms as increasing student graduation requirements, strengthening teacher preparation and certification standards, and lengthening the school year would not accomplish the needed fundamental changes in learning and teaching. Those would only come from a new phase of reform directed toward changing the very heart of the teaching and learning process. (pp. 5-6)

This new phase of reform has been called for by the National Governors' Association. They developed a framework for school restructuring "suggesting that restructuring must be a unified systematic approach to rethinking curriculum and instruction, authority and decision making, staff roles, and accountability" (O'Neil, 1990, p. 6).

Restructuring, the newest reform plan must be critically educative, which, as Foster (1985a) stated, is the responsibility of leaders: "The responsibility of leadership, in the home or the school, lies in critical education; using one's own power to empower. In school administration, particularly, this is fundamental; our role as school leaders is not to control, to exert power-over: it is, rather, to empower, to, in a word, educate" (p. 3).

Consequently, in order to understand leadership, Rost (1991) proclaimed, we must understand that leadership itself is going through a transformation, an overhaul of sorts in thought and practice. The leadership paradigm of the 19th and 20th centuries reflected the dominant paradigm of the industrial era. Accordingly, Rost (1989) has suggested that leadership's mirror image of industrial, positivistic traditions only "has to do with the peripheral elements and the content of leadership and not with its nature which has to do with the process of leadership" (p. 4). This view of leadership is relatively new and not fully understood. As a new emerging paradigm, it offers opportunities in evaluating the importance of leadership in restructuring our schools as well as understanding leadership as a process, as a relationship and the connection between leaders and followers, the connection among principals and teachers.

In order to prepare schools for the 21st century and expand our narrow conception of the reform movement, we must

study and understand the evolutionary nature of leadership theory and practice so that the state of the art can be applied in the leadership process. This requires critically reflecting on traditional theories, and as Foster (1986b) proposed, "being critically educative involves the merger of analysis and practice" (p. 20). Thus, the unique and radical theory of transformational leadership, as well as other previous theories must be analyzed and practiced "not only as communication but also as distorted and undistorted communication" (Foster, 1986b, p. 22). Analyzing these conditions will unravel the nature of leadership.

Given Rost's (1991) prediction that leadership theory and practice is in transition and a paradigm shift is underway, scholars and practitioners must penetrate, examine, and challenge the prevailing theories and present alternative universes (Foster, 1986b). Transformational leadership is one of several prevailing theories. It is an intellectual evolution of the rich literature and theories that represent both management and leadership. Through scholarly analysis this evolving theory challenged previous leadership theories replacing mutant aspects, shifting values, and obsolete concepts with new leadership concepts and values. Each intellectual mutation represented a more consistent, coherent, accurate model of leadership reflecting the era of the time. Leadership experts, scholars, and practitioners are an important part of the

leadership process. They are involved in the paradigm shift that Rost (1991) and others have suggested is underway. It is our scholarly responsibility to study, test, and replace these mutant concepts with ones that will blend together and yield a hybrid theory that demystifies the nature of leadership.

In order to better understand the nature of leadership, we must merge the analysis and practice of Burn's (1978) transformational leadership characteristics, as well as critically reflect on how those characteristics transform and empower individuals involved in the dynamic relationship of leadership. These characteristics include the ability to:

1. Achieve mutual goals among leader and followers;
2. Shape and communicate values through a strong organizational culture and methods of building that culture;
3. Communicate and activate a vision that followers are mutually involved in with surrounding piazzas;
4. Win followers through mobilizing resources;
5. Shape values that influence behavior of students and staff members;
6. Mentor, model and share the vision with others;
7. Create real, intended change in the school as well as in the lives of the people directly affected by the leader;
8. Elevate and transform followers to a better quality

of life and self-fulfillment.

This study critically reflects on these characteristics and how they intersect with educational leadership. From this reflection, leadership is "reconceptualized in a broader perspective" that incorporates many of these characteristics, as well as "appropriate consideration to the contributions of women and ethnic and racial minority. Educators are continually battered by the call for excellence (Cawelti, 1982), with reform demands ringing louder than ever. This overwhelming emphasis on excellence in schools and organizations created an explosion of literary work written about transformational leadership and other leadership theories as well. In the latest search for educational excellence, this literature has given us a theoretical perspective but little practical application of the leadership theories. As Freiberg (1987) documented, there is a serious void of leadership literature because there are not enough case studies to document what it is that transformational leaders do. Very little research has been done to illustrate transformational leadership in our schools. Addressing Burns' (1978) concern, scholars must concentrate research efforts on knowing what the leadership process is, rather than on the trivial issues and behavior traits associated with leaders.

Missing in our theoretical foundations, conceptualizations, and methodological practices are perspectives

of female experiences in the process of leadership. Leadership theories have presented a one-sided view of the world specifically through the male lens which has affected the theories, practices and shaping of organizational reality and behavior (Shakeshaft, 1989). Recently, scholars have started to consider the influence of gender on theories of organizational behavior. Shakeshaft (1989) defended the "androcentric" labeling of research, theory, concept, or models to reinforce awareness and "identify the framework within which the thinking occurred" (p. 151). She metaphorically quotes Smith (1978), comparing the bias of androcentrism to "this peculiar eclipsing of women from man's culture" (1989, p. 151. Smith wrote:

Let us be clear that we are not talking about prejudice or sexism as a particular bias against women or a negative stereotype of women. We are talking about the consequences of women's exclusion from a full share in the making of what becomes treated as our culture. We are talking about a silence, an absence, a non-presence. (1978, p. 283)

Because positivistic methodology and research findings perpetuate the dominant social values, we must explore and use methodology that will expand our horizons to include all voices and all ways of knowing, so that leadership theories develop beyond the previously held, one-sided view of the world.

Very little research has been done to illustrate what leadership is in our schools, let alone transforming leadership. If practitioners are to renew and reform principals as Boyer, (1985) suggested, they must investigate not only examples of transforming leaders in our schools, but leadership as a process. Case studies that reveal leaders' behaviors, the leadership process, and the nature of transforming leadership will be a catalyst for reforming and renewing the principalship. I believe that researchers must examine principals who are truly responsible for raising teachers, students and themselves to higher levels of motivation and morality by penetrating the conditions of our existence and showing us how we can act (Foster, 1985a). They must examine principals who have a vision, a burning desire to change the existing mediocrity and make schools a better place for all students. Additionally, scholars must document the influence process that leaders use to empower others that develops the leadership relationship. And lastly, researching the leadership process of a female principal will broaden our perspectives and understanding of how a "different voice" has been responsible for building and transforming the school she administrated (Gilligan, 1991-1986).

Purpose of Study

Since demands for educational improvements are

reverberating louder than ever, the reform movement continues accelerating, and the intellectual crisis in leadership remains unconquered, researchers need to thoroughly examine principals who are transforming leaders and who want to ensure high-quality education for all students. In short, studies need to explore how leaders transform the basic character of schools (Deal, 1990). This case study fulfills that need by doing an in-depth analysis and description of the activities, characteristics, and behaviors of Dr. Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer, principal of Lincoln Prep High School in San Diego. The purpose of this research is to find the degree to which Cremaschi-Schwimmer is a transformational leader, and how she implements and operationalizes the transformational leadership model of Burns (1978). Specifically, the basic idea of this study is to examine the leadership process by analyzing the meanings Cremaschi-Schwimmer gave to her experiences at Lincoln High School. It is my hope that such a study will reinforce and broaden our understanding of transformational leadership and leadership as a process.

In an effort to accomplish that purpose, the following questions form the backbone of this research:

1. What leadership characteristics has Cremaschi-Schwimmer developed which support Burns' transformational leadership model?
2. What mechanisms (e. g., symbols, language, stories,

rituals) does she use to articulate her values to followers?

3. How does she elicit follower commitment to her mission, purpose or vision of the school?

4. What processes does she use to mobilize resources and create change?

5. What approaches (e. g., coaching, mentoring, modeling, sponsoring) does she use "in the development of followers and the generation of future transformational leaders" (Freiberg, 1986, p. 8)?

Relevance of the Issue to Leadership

Examining Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership has several important implications for administrators who want to gain some insight into the dynamics of the leader-followers' relationship. First, due to the widespread public concern about the standards of our schools and the ambiguous nature of its leadership, researchers and practitioners must study principals who can provide us with detailed, descriptive information about leader behaviors, environmental stress, political issues and the process of change. This investigation will contribute to the new literature on transformational leadership, leadership as a process, and perhaps enlighten other practitioners to begin looking at transforming principals through Burns' breakfast model.

Second, the information gained from this study suggests that a female perspective of educational leadership

may help to reconceptualize current theories and practices that have been historically male oriented. McCarthy and Webb (1990) indicated that:

The second wave of school reform efforts in the 1980s may offer hope for increasing sex equity in educational leadership. The themes of teacher empowerment and instructional leadership, for example, are consistent with and may give legitimacy to the leadership styles of women. (p. 11)

Restructuring as viewed by Ortiz & Marshall (1988) may transform leadership where women do not feel the pressure to model male behavior. Lather (1983) maintained that the empowerment of women holds the key to transforming the schools (p. 22). Consequently, as McCarthy & Webb (1990) cautioned, "we will not significantly enhance educational leadership and the delivery of educational services until we reconceptualize leadership in a broader perspective that gives appropriate consideration to the contributions of women and ethnic and racial minorities" (p. 12).

Third, if principals want to eliminate the mediocrity in their schools, enhance their leadership skills and address the needs of students, parents, and teachers, there must be a range of behaviors, intuitive knowledge, relationship awareness, and processes they can use. Studying and documenting this state of the art knowledge and leadership as a process (Rost, 1991) can illustrate for

principals a way to penetrate, reflect and demystify the traditional theories that engulf organizations (Foster, 1986b). It documents a new way of thinking and interacting as a leader, giving principals an intellectual resource as food for thought and practice. It celebrates the significance of the leadership relationship as a process of influence eliminating the ambiguous nature of leadership.

Fourth, acknowledging Pondy's (1978) assertion that leadership is a "language game," then researchers must examine how language shapes and organizes behavior associated with the leadership process (Bateson, 1972). As a participant observer in a qualitative study, I hope to learn the language of the culture in this school which Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer has purposively developed. From the observations and data that are gathered, I hope to contextualize the human behavior I observed and extend it in ways that will help educational leaders who are interested in facilitating the demystification of structure and the critical education of their followers (Foster, 1985a, p. 5).

Fifth, the study of leadership has typically been driven by the positivistic/scientific paradigm, relying on scientific methods such as experimentation as its fundamental technique. As Lincoln (1985) stated, "research methods must be congruent with the multiple realities of organizations and implementation. This realization is leading to changes in the research paradigms that we use to

study and evaluate organizations" (p. 16). Therefore scholars, practitioners and researchers need new ways of seeing organizations. "The old stories of how we came to know are no longer serviceable, but we don't have the new story in place quite yet" (Lincoln, 1985, p. 32). This study is an advertisement for the new story, hoping to attract others to investigate organizations using qualitative methods. I hope this study will document and validate the use of naturalistic methods that attempts to present "slice-of-life" episodes by immersion in and experience with a phenomenological case study (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

Definition of Terms

Culture: The culture of a school, noted Owens (1987), "refers to the body of solutions to external and internal problems that has worked consistently for the people in the school and that is taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think about, and feel in relation to those problems" (adapted from Schein, 1985, p. 17)

Leadership: Leadership is a process that involves reciprocal relationships of influence, conflict and power among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual interests and purposes (adapted from Rost, 1991).

Metaphor: "a term for one object or relationship applied to another on the basis of some kind of similarity between

them" (Smith, 1984, p. 329).

Myth: An explanation, narrative, dilemma or recurring theme that is used to explain specific events. From these explanations, unquestioned beliefs develop that remain with the culture to help provide meaning for the culture.

Organization: A dynamic system of relationships that is constructed in the minds of the individuals involved in the organization's metaphorical reality.

Ritual: Ritual, suggested Edelman (1971), is a motor activity that involves its participants symbolically in a mutual endeavor captivating their attention to their relatedness and joint interests in a compelling way. "Ritualization involves a tacit agreement regarding the terms of value allocations, rationalized in terms of the public interest through formal, and essentially banal, procedures and routines" (p. 177).

Symbol: An act, ceremony, event, metaphor, myth, object, ritual, scenario or story that is a window into the meaning of the culture. Symbols are representations of how an organization collectively remembers its history and experiences (taken from Smith, 1982, p. 347 who adapted it from Jung, 1964).

Transformational Leadership: "When one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leader and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality. Transforming leadership ultimately becomes moral

in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and led, and thus has a transforming effect on both" (Burns, 1978, p. 20).

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Transformational Leadership

Declaring an intellectual crisis in our leadership theories, Burns (1978) wrote in the introduction to his book, Leadership, "that one of the most universal cravings of our time is a hunger for compelling and creative leadership" (p. 1). Tucker (1981) acknowledged this universal craving drawing upon Wildavsky's (1964) work that "leadership is a disappearing act because all paths to the study of leadership end up by swallowing their subject matter"! (p. 11).

Hoping to cure this craving and end our intellectual hunger, Burns developed an enticing new entree, transformational leadership, that radically changed our leadership menu and the way we think about leadership. His intellectual breakthrough reconstructed our preferences, our thoughts, and ultimately transformed our understanding about the nature of leadership and the way we theorize about, practice and lead organizations. He emphatically discussed its potential for elevating humankind by "the day-to-day pursuit of collective goals through the mutual tapping of

leaders' and followers' motive bases and in the achievement of intended change" (p. 426).

Transformational leadership is a dynamic, developmental process grounded in a reciprocal leader-follower relationship. This is a relationship of influence based on a common enterprise, and followers are "elevated to be actively involved as leaders themselves" (Freiberg, 1986). Developmentally, followers choose to become involved in this dynamic relationship as they facilitate, shape and emulate the leader's purpose in directing the organization's mission or purpose. Likewise noted Burns, "leaders may modify their leadership in recognition of followers' preferences, or in order to anticipate followers' responses, or in order to harmonize the actions of both leader and follower with their common motives, values, and goals" (p. 426). Consequently a collective purpose is born through the relationship.

Confirming the two-way character of leadership, Gardner (1990) indicated that "leadership is conferred by followers" (p. 24). This two-way relationship is viewed differently by Rost (1989), who specified that "followers can become leaders and leaders can become followers in any one leadership relationship" (p. 22). Gardner's reciprocity exists only in the followers' approval rating and acceptance of the leader's authority. Follower influence based on Gardner's view reinforces the top-down authority model where "good constituents tend to produce good leaders" (p. 24).

In comparison, Rost's (1989) perspective suggests that followers and leaders mutually influence each other and actively do leadership. He explicitly proposed that:

Both leaders and followers form one relationship which is leadership. There is no such thing as followership in the new school of leadership. Followership only makes sense in the industrial leadership paradigm. Since leadership is management and since followers could not do management, followers had to do followership. No wonder followership connoted subordination, submissiveness and passivity. In the new paradigm, followers and leaders do leadership. (p. 23)

Followers and leaders compete with their influence, their motivation, and their use of power resources without having to change organizational positions. Distinguishing between leaders and followers is critical to the leadership process. Some people have a stronger need for direction and will choose to be followers. Others may not want to be involved in the relationship at all. The power of leadership does not exist if followers do not have a choice to be involved. Burns (1978) expressed the importance of choice when he discussed the need for conflict and competition among leaders for followers. Fink (1990) stated that leaders compete with different visions of the future from which followers may choose. Burns proclaimed that true

leadership happens when followers at all levels of the organization "have a fair, free, and open choices in a context of full information, and conflicting or competing alternatives, and with enough time" (p. 458). Leadership is shared when followers select and align with the leader's moral imagination stated Blumberg and Greenfield (1986). Authors referred to the leader's vision, a blueprint, master plan or internal scenario that guides the relationship (Bass, 1985a; Bennis, 1989b; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Boal & Bryson, 1988; Bolman & Deal, 1984; Conger, 1989; Deal & Kennedy, 1982; DePree, 1989; Gardner, 1990; Hickman & Silva, 1984; Kanter, 1983; Kets de Vries, 1989; Kotter, 1988; Kounzes & Posner, 1987; Levinson & Rosenthal, 1984; Peters, 1987; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Potts & Behr, 1987; Tichy & Devanna, 1986; Waterman, 1987).

Advocating an interdependent relationship by recognizing expressed and unexpressed preferences of the followers, Burns (1978) determined that:

The essence of leadership in any polity is the recognition of real need, the uncovering and exploiting of contradictions among values and between values and practice, the realigning of values, and the reorganization of institutions where necessary, and the governance of change. The leader's fundamental act is to induce people to be aware or conscious of what they feel--to feel their true needs so strongly, to define

their values so meaningfully, that they can be moved to purposeful action. (pp. 43-44).

In order to study leadership, scholars must have a clear understanding of what leadership is and what leadership is not. Perhaps a reason for this intellectual crisis "emanates largely from our failure to understand the relationship between a social entity and what it is not (Smith, 1984, p. 322). Suggesting that leadership is a tangled, unmanageable, semantically confused knot, Thompson (1984) reasoned that:

Leadership is so difficult to assess and measure that almost any proposal regarding leadership presents a series of contradictions, tensions, and antimonies. Any proposition put forward from one standpoint about leadership is almost immediately subject to qualification on the other side of the ledger.

(pp. 9-10)

A fundamental component of transformational leadership is achieving real, intended change, and as Smith (1984) pointed out, the center of all change is untangling the "not." "Anything that is changing is in the process of becoming something it previously was not" (p. 322). Smith's point is significant to our understanding of transformational leadership. "The very idea of an entity [transformational leadership] as being something separate from and identifiable within its environment or ecosystem

means the entity [transformational leadership] is not like the rest of the environment in some critical ways.

Transformational leadership is not like other leadership theories. It is a boundary that summarizes a relationship" (p. 322). Rost (1991) would argue that it is a boundary that summarizes a process. Designating leadership as a process as well, Gardner (1990) described leadership as a "process of persuasion, of example, inducing a group to achieve its objectives or goals" (p. 1). Burns (1978) eloquently defined transformational leadership to help distinguish what leadership is and is not.

Previous to his landmark definition, leadership was often confused as management, or as Foster (1986) announced, leadership was considered a property of a position. Management was considered a type of hierarchical leadership that grew from the positivist paradigm. Even today, "after much ink has been spilled over the controversy," the differences are not significantly understood (Ackerman, 1985, p. 17). Theorists and practitioners perpetuate the confusion when they semantically and synonymously interchange the words management and leadership. Zaleznik (1977) addressed this confusion in his exploration of the world views of managers and leaders, and expressed that leaders and managers are distinctly different. Psychologically leaders are different from managers in their world views. "The dimensions for assessing these

differences" Zaleznik reported, "include managers' and leaders' orientations toward their goals, their work, their human relations, and their selves" (p. 126). Leaders are oriented to "getting people to follow," indicated Ackerman (1985), and managers are interested in "controlling things" (p. 17). Managers do the same things over and over again striving for consensus, while leaders innovate seeking change (Zaleznik, 1977).

Rost (1991) discussed why authors have not distinguished between leadership and management. "They were reflecting their reality as they saw it. Their perceptions of leadership as management was the reality as they saw it. Their perceptions of leadership as management was the reality they perceived in the industrial era in which they lived and worked" (p. 93). But, as Rost noted, leadership as management fits the industrial era. However, as the postindustrial era draws near, it is clear that distinguishing leadership from management is important to the understanding of the nature of leadership. (Ackerman, 1985; Bennis and Nanus, 1985; Burns, 1978; Gardner, 1990; 1985; Levinson and Rosenthal, 1984; Peters and Austin, 1985; Rost, 1985a; Schein, 1985; Tosi, 1982; Zaleznik, 1977). From this perspective Gardner (1990) noted that managers are tightly coupled to operating and running organizations whereas "Ghandi was a leader before he had an organization" (p. 4). Managers are concerned with accomplishing daily

objectives and procedures, while leaders are thinking and planning futuristically. Managers are preoccupied with short-term relationships that will achieve the daily objectives, unlike leaders who expand and develop relationships to embrace global concerns "influencing constituents beyond their jurisdictions, beyond bureaucratic boundaries" (p. 4). Managers coordinate tangible resources to keep the organization afloat, whereas leaders develop and use the intangible--vision, intuitiveness, values and politics.

Lastly, managers are interested in routine and resisting change, thereby maintaining the status quo; while leaders seek to revise, renew and transform the processes, structures and organizations of reality. In support of the preceding comparisons, Bennis and Nanus (1985) declared that our organizations are overmanaged and underled. Tosi (1982) argued that leadership begins where management ends, but Gardner (1990) pointed out that managing is a task that leaders must attend to or delegate in carrying out the process of leadership. Recently, the explosion of literary work highlighting the differences can be succinctly summarized by quoting Bennis and Nanus, who pointed out that "managers are people who do things right and leaders are people who do the right thing" (p. 21).

Documenting the essence and boundary that summarizes a leader-follower relation, Burns (1978) identified two

distinct forms of leadership: transactional and transformational. This distinction however, contributes to the intellectual crisis he identified because he classified a bargaining relationship without the pursuit of a higher moral purpose as transactional leadership. However, a relationship that exists for the sole purpose of an exchange of valued things without raising the moral aspirations of those involved is clearly management. Bennis (1982) suggested that transactional leaders exchange need fulfillment for compliance but the real shakers and movers of the world are transformational leaders. Such leaders raise consciousness about higher considerations. They articulate higher goals and role modeling. Aspiration levels are raised and legitimized. Such leaders inspire confidence and a sense of purpose (p. 142). Applying Smith's (1984) philosophical thinking then, the definition of transformational leadership does separate and identify its environment and boundaries to untangle what leadership "is and is not" (p. 322).

The environment and boundary of transformational leadership reside in the mutual, reciprocal relationship of influence between leader and followers. This relationship is developmental, dynamic, optional, and moralistic. The choice to be involved exists with the follower. Within this relationship, there are specific characteristics that a leader must provide to bring followers to higher levels of

consciousness, thereby activating that consciousness into hopes and expectations. Creative interaction with followers is how Paige (1977) described this. How do transforming leaders raise themselves and their followers to higher levels of morality and motivation? Burns (1978) would answer this question by saying, "Leaders address themselves to followers' wants, needs and other motivations, as well as their own, and thus serve as an independent force in changing the make-up of the followers' motive base through gratifying their motives" (p. 20). The independent force is the vision of the transforming leader that is used to shape and change the organizational culture. That vision is the catalytic agent that drives the leader continuously and is the "whole new sense of where the organization is going exactly and how it is going to get there" (Freiberg, 1986, p. 50).

Vision

Articulating a vision is the pulse of transformational leadership. It is an indispensable requirement for leader behavior. Leadership does not thrive without vision (Gardner, 1990). It isn't specific enough to just have a sense of purpose, remarked Harman (1988), leaders must create a vision. Vision has become a catch-all phrase in the quest for excellence, but its importance cannot be underestimated. It focuses, propels and harmonizes the relationship of influence that exists between leader and

followers. Creating and catalyzing a vision energizes the relationship to accomplish what the relationship might not ordinarily do. Bennis and Nanus (1985) emphasized the importance of creating a compelling vision that "animates, inspires, and transforms purpose into action" (p. 30). Leaders as vision makers have the capacity to create and communicate a desired state of affairs that induces a commitment among those working in the organization (Bass, 1985a; Bennis, 1989b). Leaders with visions of excellence, noted Blumberg and Greenfield (1986), are persistent in driving their organizations toward achieving their collective purpose, a silhouette of excellence. "To lead a school well, one must have a vision of what is desirable and possible in that school's context" (p. 226).

Vision is not an ordinary picture of the day to day affairs, asserted Rost (1985b), but "an idealized view that has transcendent purposes with higher moral and ethical standards and aspirations built into it. The leaders' vision becomes their cause, and they have a tendency to relate everything that happens in the organization to their cause, their vision of what the organization should be" (p. 6). Agreeing with scholars on the fundamental role of vision in leadership, Block (1987) concluded that creating and communicating a vision is an essential process of leadership. Correspondingly, Sergiovanni (1990) equated vision to a shared covenant "that bonds together leader and

follower in a moral commitment. . . . When transformational leadership is successful, purposes that might have started out as separate become fused" (p. 24).

The discriminating characteristic that separates leaders from managers, declared Bennis (1989a) is evident by the leader's entrepreneurial vision. In other words, leaders are more than just idea beings and technicians. They create meaning and attend to that meaning by communicating their vision through skillful uses of metaphors, words, or models. Breathing life into their vision, leaders become contractors and organizers of their vision as they undertake the process of making the vision "tangible and real to others" (Bennis, 1989a, p. 20). Naisbitt and Aburdene (1985) also discussed the effects of vision as the "organizing principle," the "catalytic force" of institutional dynamics. "Vision is the line between dreams and action" and that line links and fuses everything that happens in the organization to the dream, the intuition, the global view, the creative intention (p. 21). Critical to the process of leadership, noted Jaffe, Scott and Orioli (1986), is the leader's ability to explicate the meaning and purpose of where the organization is heading. Additionally, they indicated that visionary leaders are key to diminishing employee burnout by "tapping every employee's inner capacities, to liberate commitment, spirit, and creativity" (p. 104).

Vision is the metaphorical means by which leaders

translate their intentions and/or purposes into reality (Bennis, 1983). Peters (1983) reported that leaders translate and communicate their vision by living it. They are the walking vision long before others see it as reality. After studying 90 innovative leaders, Bennis and Nanus (1985) discovered that vision was the tool for the management of attention.

Gaffney (1984/85) communicated insights about vision and purpose to organizational leadership. "A vision is powerful to the extent that it expresses one's underlying purpose. It is the vehicle for bringing purpose into the domain of acts and commitments" (Joiner, 1986, p. 47).

Clarification of organizational purpose is synonymous with the entrepreneurial vision that Vaill (1984) defined as "purposing." According to Joiner (1986) organizations must developmentally grow by "tapping into a deeper sense of purpose, a deeper level of experience through a process of inner questioning and exploration" (p. 47). Speaking of vision in terms of articulating organizational purpose and setting the direction for change, Davies (1989) highlighted the importance of vision in drawing leaders and followers into a collaborative relationship. Ket de Vries (1989) spoke of this phenomenon as the leader's ability to transmit their pronounced internal scenarios in such a way that they create a shared reality. Metaphorically, Tichy and Devanna (1986) use a theatrical performance to describe the human

drama of leadership. During Act II the leader diagnoses the problem and creates a motivating vision as a conceptual framework for understanding the purpose. The excellent companies in Peters and Waterman's (1982) study all had leaders who demonstrated visionary leadership to clarify and reaffirm their organizations' purpose.

Spiritually speaking, the gospel of transforming leadership is its vision. Ritscher (1986) supported this and those that view vision as a deeper level of experience. Leadership is fundamentally a spiritual phenomenon and "at its core is vision" (p. 63). Highlighting Burns' (1978) notion of transformational leadership, Ritscher described leadership as creating an inspired vision that "calls us to reach out and embrace something more expansive than ourselves" (p. 63). In order to do this, leaders must be able to tap into their inspirational place from within. This is an inner energy or intuitiveness that is felt, "a sense of tingling or energy in the body" (p. 63). Jaffe, Scott and Orioli (1986) discussed the skill of inner visioning, a process of self-reflection. "In this way a leader calls on hidden resources of creativity, commitment, and ability that might have remained out of use" (p. 97). In a similar fashion, some authors view the substance of the vision coming from the values and soul of the leader. It becomes the driving force, the motivation for the leader to act. Vision gives the leader the determination to propel

the cause, to see it to the end (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Levinson & Rosenthal, 1984; Kets de Vries, 1989; Peters & Austin, 1985; Rost, 1985b; Tichy & Devanna, 1986). Likewise Freiberg (1987) wrote, "successful organizations of the future will be driven by a powerful vision. At the helm of this driving force stands the transformational leader, who is the source of the vision and who possesses the conceptual foresight and practical skills necessary to realize it" (p. 27).

Differences in how vision develops have been researched and documented. Some theorists discussed how a vision is created within the context of organizational goals and culture (Hickman and Silva, 1984; Sergiovanni, 1984; Smircich and Morgan, 1982). Others believe it is a personal expression of an image of the future. For instance Kouzes and Posner (1987) indicated that "intuition is the wellspring of vision expressing optimism and hope for the future" (p. 93). Foster (1986b) viewed the creation of a vision strictly in "terms of penetrating the conditions of our existence, the taken-for-granted social structure and practices" to examine past and present conditions of organizations (p. 4). The vision becomes "the empowerment of followers through the educative process, and is accomplished through penetration, through challenge, through presentation of alternative universes" (p. 21).

The strategic element of a vision can not exist

isolated from followers if it is the foundation of the leadership relationship. There is overwhelming agreement and support that the blueprint, master plan or vision must be grounded in the collective interests and reflect the values of the individuals in the relationship. Follower commitment and buy-in is essential for leadership to be transforming (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978, Freiberg, 1987; Rost, 1991; Tichy & Devanny, 1986a).

Metaphors of the vision communicate an image that has meaning and shows how the vision works. Metaphors such as blueprint, compelling cause, master plan, dream, global view, mindscape, silhouette of excellence, windows on the world tomorrow, and so forth function to give people a mental picture about the future state of affairs (Bass, 1985; Bennis and Nanus, 1985; Blumberg and Greenfield, 1986; Kouzes and Posner, 1986; Levinson and Rosenthal, 1984; Rost, 1985b; Sergiovanni, 1984; Tichy and Devanna, 1986a). The vision itself becomes a metaphor as it guides and inspires the leadership relationship toward change, making sense of the possible.

Through the vision, the transformational leader will inspire followers to maximize their potential by striving towards higher summits of morality. In turn followers have a unique influence leverage on the relationship too. This dynamic relationship illustrates the transforming nature and mutual responsibility that exists because it raises the

"level of human conduct and ethical aspirations of both leader and led and thus it has a transforming effect on both" (Burns, 1978 p. 20).

Vision is powerful as it reaches beyond the ordinary to the extraordinary (Fritz, 1986), but there are also challenges that can suffocate the vision. Structure, "the underlying interacting variables in a system, that organize it in a particular and unique manner" (Shandler, 1986, p. 124), can inhibit the realization of the vision. Therefore, leaders must "possess dual vision--the ability to envision organizational purposes and the capacity to see current organizational structure clearly" (p. 131).

Organizational structures are the hierarchical machinery and tools as well as the human attributes that use and work with the prescribed structures. "It is the interaction between the prescribed and the human elements of structure that tend to drive organizations either toward or from their desired destinations" (Shandler, 1986, p. 124). Sometimes this interaction creates a muddiness, messiness if you will, clouding the overall picture or vision of where the organization is going. Consequently, the leader must be cognizant and keenly focused, steering these dynamically interrelated structures toward alignment so the vision is realized, activated, and achieved. It makes sense, then, to think of leadership as an artistic process (Kouzes & Posner, 1987). where the leader is creating a contagious

vision (Bass, 1985) by erasing the cloudiness, shaping the messiness, molding new ideology based on people's collective wants and needs and painting a new social order that is both empowering and transforming.

Aligning Followers' Wants and Needs

Two essential questions concerning the potential for leadership must be considered before leaders can satisfy and align followers wants and needs:

1. How does a leader exert influence?
2. Whom is the leader seeking to lead?

Burns (1978) replied that leaders know how to exert influence when they have clarified within themselves their own personal goals (p. 460). Bennis (1989b) recommended that leaders must know themselves. "Know thyself, then, means separating who you are and who you want to be from what the world thinks you are and wants you to be" (p. 54). Responsible leadership demands that "self-knowledge becomes an understanding not only of the leader's own weaknesses and potentialities but of those qualities in the enterprise itself" (Selznick, 1957, p. 143). For Ritscher (1986) becoming a responsible leader requires clarity of mind, a balance between rational thinking and creative intuition. As role models, leaders must be consistent with their beliefs, showing others through their behavior that they live their values (Kouzes & Posner, 1987).

Leaders must address who they are seeking to lead "by

defining their potential followers, not in the manipulative sense of how to persuade them to our own ends, such as they are, but in terms of mutuality and of future motives that may be stimulated as present motives are variously realized or blocked" (Burns, 1978, p. 460). In their human drama metaphor, Tichy & Devanna (1987) identified transformational leaders as protagonists who are able to recognize the need for revitalization, alert the organization and involve everyone in the overhaul.

The task of aligning followers' wants and needs requires a contagious vision that will attract, influence, educate, challenge, empower, and commit people to own the vision or cause for themselves. By addressing themselves to the followers' wants and needs and accomplishing their collective goals, leaders are able to motivate followers to take up the cause. This involves: taking risks; looking futuristically; being creative by recognizing and exploiting the desired behaviors and the expressed and unexpressed needs of the followers; diagnosing follower motives; engaging the whole person; using political skills that involve power, influence and increased expectations to move followers beyond their own self-interests for the good of the organization; and last but not least, knowing oneself as a leader and where one wants the relationship of influence to go (Bass, 1985a; Bennis, 1989b; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Bolman & Deal, 1985; Burns, 1978; Foster, 1986b; Freiberg,

1987; Kouzes & Posner, 1987; Rost, 1985b; Sergiovanni, 1990; Vaill, 1984).

Alignment is a determining part of the leadership process. Naisbitt and Aburdene (1985) stressed the importance of followers sharing in the responsibility of realizing and energizing the vision through personal ownership of and commitment to it. Alignment is ignited and reinforced by the leader's compelling vision that functions similar to professional teamwork seen in victorious teams and outstanding symphony orchestras, where their performance achieved the impossible (Kiefer & Senge, 1984). Situations that involve collective synergy, as cited in Naisbitt & Aburdene (1985, p. 4), illustrates the powerful impact organizations have when there is strong, cohesive alignment. Organization members bond and feel a sense of identity to the organization's mission. Freiberg (1987) explained that "each individual begins to align his or her own purpose with the purpose of the organization until there is a oneness between the individual's purpose and that of the organization" (p. 34).

According to Sergiovanni (1990), "in transformational leadership, leaders and followers are united in pursuit of higher-level goals common to both" (p. 23), which reinforces the transcendent nature of this process. He identified stages of leadership that illustrate hierarchically how followers' wants and needs are aligned. The first stage,

leadership by bartering, does not align followers' wants and needs with the leader's. A bargain is struck through various bartering processes such as promotions, merit pay and so forth. Clearly these exchange relationships define the boundaries of management, and according to Sergiovanni (1990), leadership by bartering is the initial evolutionary phase to the leadership relationship that has been born. Burns' (1978) transactional leadership is an identical twin to Sergiovanni's leadership by bartering.

Leadership by building is the second stage which focuses on empowering those involved by "arousing human potential, satisfying higher-order needs, and raising expectations of both the leader and the led in a manner that motivates both to higher levels of commitment and performance" (Sergiovanni, 1990, p. 24). Sergiovanni sees this stage as the molding of uncertainty stage, sculpturing shared commitment that augments Kouzes and Pozner's (1987) concept of leadership as an artistic process. Similarly, Gardner (1990) "portrayed a relationship of influence between leaders and constituents in which each is in some measure the shaper, and in some measure the shaped" (p. 31).

In order to build shared commitment and fuse the expectations of both leader and led, Smith and Peterson (1988) discussed the importance of having an "acute sensitivity to the follower's wants and needs, as well as one's own" (p. 115). This sensitivity is what Buckley and

Perkins (1984) refer to as the integrational phase of organizational transformation. Similar to Sergiovanni's (1990) leadership by building stage, their integrational phase is when the leader-follower relationship has established reciprocal trust, cooperation and candidness resulting in a shared commitment toward organizational goals. Resonance field is what Buckley and Perkins (1984) said develops when there is shared commitment or strong organizational alignment. "Resonance, exists when various parts and processes are brought together through a common vision to produce a whole where the actual effect is much greater than the parts" (Freiberg, 1987, p. 36).

Accomplishing this shared commitment or shared covenant by elevating human standards and performance establishes Sergiovanni's third state, leadership by bonding, characterized by cultural and moral leadership. It is precisely this shared commitment that establishes a "web of interconnection." Bellah et al (1985) recognized as crucial to forming those "habits of the heart that are the matrix of a moral ecology, the connecting tissue of a body politic" (p. 251). Habits of the heart developed through transformational leadership creates a symbiotic relationship that Bennis and Nanus (1985) proclaimed is imperative to constructing a common social responsibility. This common social responsibility activates the leader-follower relationship into a community united toward achieving the

collective vision which fertilizes organizational growth (Bennis and Nanus, 1985).

"Habits of the heart" eloquently characterizes Sergiovanni's fourth and final leadership stage, leadership by banking. Habits are routine values that become a part of everyday life, such as school improvement initiatives that become institutionalized. Banking is a metaphor that illustrates the function of the leader in preserving the routine and ministering to the needs of followers. Institutionalization exists to protect the values initiated. Selznick (1957) devoted extensive thought to the process of institutionalization, confirming that: "As an organization acquires a self, a distinctive identity, it becomes an institution. This involves the taking on of values, ways of acting and believing that are deemed important for their own sake" (p. 21).

Looking at social responsibility through an educative aspect, Foster (1989) wrote about the importance of improving social conditions by raising followers' consciousness about their social conditions, and in so doing, to allow them, as well as the "leader," to consider the possibility of other ways of arranging their social history. Foster's educative component is essential not only for individual self-understanding, but imperative for social change. Leadership as a critical practice advocates self-reflection based on a comparative analysis of tradition with

current institutional life. Accordingly, Foster asserted leadership's most critical and crucial role is:

To show new social arrangements while still demonstrating a continuity with the past; with showing how new social structures continue, in a sense, the basic mission, goals and objectives of traditional human intercourse, while still maintaining a vision of the future and what it offers. (1989, p. 28)

This critical aspect of leadership is demonstrated in the research of Bellah et al., (1985) where reflection and analysis of past habits of the heart provide understanding and a vision for the future. Through their brilliant analysis of conversations with individuals from American society, Bellah and colleagues found that self-understanding only happens in communities of shared commitment. In their search for a social vision of the public good, they reported:

What emerged from these conversations was the understanding that becoming one's own person, while always a risky, demanding effort, takes place in a community loyal to shared ideals of what makes life worth living. Sharing practices of commitment rooted in religious life and civic organizations helps us identify with others different from ourselves, yet joined with us not only in interdependence and a common destiny, but by common ends as well. Because we share

a common tradition, certain habits of the heart, we can work together to construct a common future. (1985, p. 252)

This is what transforming leaders accomplish when they align followers' wants and needs into a collective purpose. Through a contagious vision, a moral imagination, leaders build shared commitment by communicating a global consciousness that reforms personal wants and needs into broader, collective habits of the heart (Bellah et al, 1986; Freiberg (1987) noted the leader's responsibility in building a social purpose while Azleznick (1983) illuminated leaders driven by human and social purposes can reorganize followers' individual wants and needs into a broader view. Gardner's (1965) perspective concerning a world view illustrates this point. He said:

Leaders have a significant role in creating the state of mind that is the society. . . . They can conceive and articulate goals that lift people out of their petty preoccupations, carry them above the conflicts that tear a society apart, and united them in the pursuit of objectives worthy of their best efforts.

(p. 12)

Other theorists recognize and support the importance of building a balance between organizational purpose and individuals' personal goals. Descriptively, they have discussed this process in their writing as analogous to

developing consonance, resonance and harmony so as to advance the common good which provides both organizational security and identity. (Ackerman, 1985; Harrison, 1984; Prentice, 1983; Sergiovanni, 1990). This security is bonded by trust which Bennis and Nanus (1984) metaphorically described as the emotional glue that unites the individual to the collective. These bonded relationships of trust do not happen overnight. On the contrary, the process of developing consonance, resonance and harmony for the purpose of achieving the organization's vision takes time as the leader interacts with followers based on shared motives, goals, and values (Burns, 1978). Tucker (1990) noted that leadership involves a voluntary response of followers giving support. Leaders get support, but only after followers can ultimately define their own true needs. And they can do so "only when they have been exposed to competing diagnoses, claims, and values of would-be leaders, only when the followers can make an informed choice among competing "prescriptions," . . . only when followers have had full opportunity to perceive, comprehend, evaluate, and finally experience alternatives offered by their true representatives" (Burns, 1978, p. 36) Diffusion of leadership responsibilities was emphasized and explained by Schein (1980), who wrote:

Leadership is best thought of as a function within the organization. . . It can be distributed among the

members of a group . . . and is not automatically vested in . . . whoever has formal authority. Good leadership and good membership blend into each other. . . . in an effective organization. It is just as much the task of a member to help the group reach its goals as it is the task of the formal leader. (p. 251)

Comforted by their current value framework and resistant to competing diagnoses, claims, or values, followers may not be easily impacted by the contagious vision. In fact, initially they may reject it entirely creating conflict, tension, and competition for the leadership process. Aligning followers wants and needs cannot be achieved without competition and conflict.

Competition and Conflict

Inherent and embedded in the leadership process is conflict and competition. Schattschneider (1975) proclaimed that "all politics, all leadership, and all organization involves the management of conflict" (p. 69). Likewise, Bolman and Deal (1984) acknowledged that managing power and conflict are central features of organizational dynamics. Highlighting the pervasiveness of politics, Yates (1985) argued that political conflict is the foundation of organizational life and managing conflict is the essence of leadership. Thinking along these same lines, Gardner (1990) discussed leaders possessing political skills to cope with conflicting interests and demands of multiple

constituencies. As pointed out earlier, Tichy & Devanna (1986) symbolically described the pervasiveness of conflict using a theatrical drama. Interpretating conflict relationships as human drama, they conceptualized transforming leadership as a human drama, acting to manage uncertainty by embracing the paradoxes that create tensions in the organization. Several authors have conceptualized the capacity of conflict to catalyze, energize, and motivate organizational growth sending a message to leaders that conflict is a strategy leaders must embrace if they intend real change (Ackerman, 1985; Baldrige et al, 1978; Burns, 1978; Kiefer and Senge, 1984; Smith and Peterson, 1988).

Leadership assumes competition and thrives on conflict in communicating, molding, and restraining it. "Grounded in the seedbed of conflict, leadership acts as an inciting and triggering force in the conversion of conflicting demands, values, and goals into significant behavior" (Burns, 1978, p. 38). This seedbed sprouts as the leader brings to the relationship competing ideas, interests, and goals that contradict the pluralistic, socialized mindset of the followers. Individuals bring to relationships beliefs and theories constructed from their worldly experiences that are extremely resistant to change (Beckhard, 1988). Consequently at a personal level, leaders compete against those socialized theories and beliefs to catalyze the vision and develop collective resonance and harmony to it.

Conflict emerges when these new theories or beliefs compete with followers' socialized background assumptions because individuals discredit new information. "Individuals are walking social structures" declared Argyris. "The socialization is so extensive and efficient that individuals will normally not act in ways to undermine it" (1984, p. 82). They are comfortable with their constructed view of the world and strongly believe in it, making socialized rhetoric highly resistant to change (Staw, 1984). Similarly, Harman (1988) held that "it was hard to 'see' challenging information precisely because the old belief system provided a coherent picture of the world which worked" (p. 21).

At the relationship level, leaders compete for follower commitment. The dynamics of these interactions do not reside in a position but demonstrate "the special nature of the relationship between leader and followers" (Kellerman, 1984, p. 71). Followers become followers by personal choice, not by mandate. This unique feature, suggested Freiberg (1987), is a major, distinguishing attribute of transformational leadership. Adamantly, Burns accentuated and stressed that "the moral legitimacy of transforming leadership is grounded in conscious choice among real alternatives" (1978, p. 36).

An interactive relationship begins as the leader-followers influence and counterinfluence each other's

initiatives, ideas, values, interests and goal (Rost, 1991). Upward influence is the term Smith & Peterson (1988) used for followers' counterinfluencing the leader. They noted that the integration of vertical and lateral relations reinforces a collective sharing of responsibility. This collective spirit represents the reciprocal nature of transformational leadership (Burns, 1978). "Leaders become followers and followers become leaders. Leaders normally have to negotiate visions and ideas with potential followers who may in turn become leaders themselves, renegotiating the particular agenda (Foster, 1988). Questioning who governs, Dahl (1961) discussed the constraints leaders face in shaping consensus. He concluded with "leaders lead and often are led through those complex processes of symbiosis and change that constitute the relations of leaders and citizens in a pluralistic society" (p. 325). This pluralistic reality demonstrates why Rost (1989) abandoned the idea of followership because, "both followers and leaders form one relationship which is leadership. Followers and leaders develop a relationship wherein they influence one another as well as the organization and society, and that is leadership" (p. 23).

Recently, scholars have generated emerging models of leadership representing the postparadigm shift. Both Allen (1989) and Vonder (1989) discussed the possibilities of community-based-leadership, where leadership results from a

collective set of activities (Allen, 1989) and the leader interacts fluidly from the center or in the midst of the community (Vonder, 1989). Both agree that leaders and followers exchange roles when it is in the community's interest to do so. Highlighting and commending the community prospect of leadership, Chrispeels (1989) asserted the need to expand our understanding of leadership. She advocated a multidimensional view of leadership that also looks at leadership from the middle, as well as in formal and informal networks.

Interacting with people, leaders confront or embrace conflict by exploiting, contradicting and reconstructing the socialized preferences in order to influence and persuade followers to examine critically the contradictions that exist with their current world views (Argyris & Schon, 1978; Burns, 1978; Lindblom, 1968; Foster, 1986; Rost, 1989). Leaders must work within the constraints of the socialized preferences, but when possible they seek ways to alter these programmed identities. A reconstructive leader described by Lindblom (1968) uniquely creates opportunities to revise and amend those socialized prescriptions. He concluded that a reconstructive leader:

Neither resigns himself to the constraints of preferences as he finds them, nor, on the other hand, does he necessarily attempt the impossible task of winning all other participants over to his views or

preferences. He takes the middle course of shifting others' preferences so that the policies he desires fall within the constraints imposed by the preferences of other participants in policy making. And then he uses what power or influence he has to get the policy he wants. (p. 105)

Strategically, what follows is not just thinking but acting. The reconstructive leader strives not to mold preferences to fit or agree with the vision, but to alter the existing interests, values and preferences enough so individuals are questioning, reflecting, contemplating, renewing, negotiating, and shifting the structure of preferences enrolling in the vision. By giving to individuals the power to shift the structure of preferences personally, explained Kiefer (1986), followers have a greater sense of responsibility and commitment to the cause. "When empowering others, the leader's task is to help them determine what is truly important for them and the results they will commit themselves to bring into being" (p. 190). Similarly, reshuffling and reweaving the networks are the metaphors Tichy and Devanna (1986a) used to describe the process of institutionalized change. In these interactions conflict emerges as the seed that sprouts a new alignment of preferences and interests, challenging conventional worldviews. Foster's (1986b) work in reconstructing leadership requires demystification of structure before one

can reshuffle, reweave or align preferences and interests, challenging traditional frameworks.

Another interesting conflict strategy refers to pre-existing or socialized preferences as "theories-in-use." Assuming that humans design their actions, Argyris and Schon (1974, 1978) suggested that there are two kinds of theories of human behavior or action; espoused theories and theories in use. Based on their research, learning different theories-in-use allows individuals to change their behavior, and create new learning systems by altering the individual automatic skilled reactions of socialization, background assumptions or attribution theory. Considering their theory of action perspective, Argyris (1984) explained "this work suggests, therefore, that the cause is not a static human nature but rather that human nature is significantly alterable" (p. 70) because individuals have a theory of action that designs or causes incongruence from their espoused theory (Argyris and Schon, 1978). In Goodman's words, there is "discontinuity between what people say and what they do" (1984, p. 411). People behave and act according to what Argyris and Schon called "governing variables," which are "the preferred states that individuals strive to satisfy when they are acting" (1978, p. 49). These governing variables and behavioral strategies have been reinforced through socialization so much so that actions and responses seem automatic, and often times are

automatic. In summary these governing variables:

1. Strive to be in unilateral control,
2. Minimize losing and maximize winning,
3. Minimize the expression of negative feelings,
4. Acting rational,
5. Advocate one's views without encouraging inquiry,
6. Save face--one's own and other people's.

When leadership behavior, vision or process contradicts individuals' theories-in-use, conflict emerges subtly because followers learn to conceal the inconsistencies and save face. It is this interaction that calls for transformational leadership to empower followers with alternatives to their theories-in-use and engage in what Argyris and Schon (1978) called double-loop learning. Double-loop learning is reflecting, examining, and accepting inconsistent theories-in-use, thereby preparing to learn and enact new theories-in-use that represent the altered governing variables. Double-loop learning is part of the reciprocal relationship of transforming leadership because as Freiberg (1987) stated, "leaders compete for followers by providing followers with alternatives that take into account their real needs, alternatives that aim to address their values and accomplish their goals" (p. 16). Leaders empower followers to act on their espoused values by providing alternatives that uncover contradictions to their socialized, automatic theories-in-use.

Double-loop learning, the metacognition of learning, or unlearning what you learned, mirrors Foster's (1986a & b) critical model of leadership. Concerned with rescuing leadership from its intellectual drowning, Foster proposed that "leadership requires critical reflection and analysis; it is not so much a science as a way of directing and reflecting upon human action" (1986a p. 183). One important aspect of this model directly relates to the essence of double-loop learning which is "releasing us from our ideologic prisons" (p. 188). That critical aspect "involves the examination and demystification of those structures within which leadership occurs" (p. 184). The general concept of both double-loop learning and demystification of structure emulates a process of planned change developed by Lewin (1951). This change process has three stages: unfreezing equilibrium, changing equilibrium, and refreezing equilibrium. Unfreezing advocates disrupting the old field of forces that resist change. Disrupting or unfreezing old theories-in-use and the essences of organizational structures creates conflict and competition of values because previous to the unfreezing, individuals were comfortable with their programmed, automatic frameworks and responses. After the unfreezing, or as Foster suggested the demystification, the introduction of change will continue to raise battles of conflict, but will challenge, empower, support and provide growth for those willing to surrender to

the unfreezing, shift with the change, and ultimately transform with the refreezing.

Within the dynamic relationship of influence (Rost, 1991) reverberates relationships of conflict when existing preferences are challenged, questioned, contradicted, contemplated, negotiated, renewed, or rejected. The mutual wants and needs are met and aligned as a result of the relationship of conflict. This revised relationship of influence has become a collective guided by the purpose of the relationship, and the followers' interests and preferences. This process of influence and conflict energizes the contagious vision into a transformed reality. Given this, one could surmise that leadership is a relationship of conflict as well as a relationship of influence.

Real Intended Change Results From a Relationship of Conflict

The crucible of transforming leadership, declared Burns (1978), is achieving real, intended change. Change requires uncovering, exploiting and altering contradictions of values, and "assumes some commonality of hierarchies of motives between leader and follower, and some degree of choice emerging from the clash and congruence of hierarchies of motivations" (pp. 438-439). Consequently, transformational leadership is a relationship of conflict and competition. Conscious, deliberate attempts to redirect, redesign, alternate or transform events represents intended

change which motivates humans to advance social causes in pursuit of a common good. Harman (1988) dealt with this matter discussing the possibilities of paradigm change when he stated, "the hallmark of transformation is a change at the deepest level of the social structure" (pp. 9-10). Noting the difficulty of organizationwide transformation (Kilmann, 1984; Tichy, 1983), Finney, Bowen, Pearson and Siehl (1984) commented that "to achieve long-term, sustained change, the meaning or beliefs held within the organization must also be changed and. . . . meaning must be transformed throughout the system" (p. 283). The concept of transforming culture, "the subjective or 'man made' component of environment," means a "fundamental change in values and value orientation (Conway, 1989, p. 143-144). Institution-building is the term Selznick (1957) used to illustrate the creativity of leadership, by which he means "the reworking of human and technological materials to fashion an organism that embodies new and enduring values" (p. 360). Ferguson (1987) reflected on the "continuous yet radical nature of change" and acknowledged that "the central ideas was always the same: Only through a new mind can humanity remake itself" (p. 47). She joined with the chorus of researchers who said: "The greatest revolution in our generation is that human beings, by changing the inner attitudes of their minds, can change the outer aspects of their lives" (Ferguson, 1987 p. 48).

Leadership is change, and as Lawler (1984) indicated, change is a process, not an event. Smircich and Morgan (1982) conceptualized leadership as an action process that strives to shape its setting. They announced that "leadership as a phenomenon involves the structuring and transformation of reality" but unfortunately this focus has been ignored by researchers and practitioners (Smircich & Morgan, 1982, p. 270). Several authors have illustrated the processes of change metaphorically. Frame-breaking change, fine-tuning change, breaking through the belief barrier and so forth are examples of metaphors used to explain a change in direction or improvement in performance (Beckhard, 1988; Tushman, Newman, & Nadler, 1984; Veltrop & Harrington, 1984).

Considering the social construction of organizations using metaphors, Smircich and Morgan advanced a view that leadership is not simply a process of acting or behaving, or a process of manipulating rewards. It is a process of power-based reality construction. This idea feeds right into Pondy's (1978) theory that leadership is a language game. In order to socially reconstruct preferences and then construct reality leaders must be able to put their visions into simple language as they go public with the change process. When leaders go public,

Their actions and utterances guide the attention of those involved in a situation in ways that consciously

or unconsciously designed to shape the meaning of the situation. The actions and utterances draw attention to particular aspects of experience, transforming what may be complex and ambiguous into something more discrete and vested with a specific pattern of meaning. (Smircich & Morgan, 1982, p. 261)

Given the ambiguity of organizations today, Kilman & Covin (1988) concluded that leaders "must make significant reappraisals of the nature or character of their enterprises" as well as generate a vision of what they want it to become (p. 90). Looking at organizations as the management of meaning is an alternative means through which organized action and change can be generated and sustained (Smircich and Morgan, 1982). Smith and Peterson (1988) argued "that change in organizations may be created at any level where leaders and followers agree to place new meanings on events" (p. 114). The perspective held by Burns, is "real change means the creation of new conditions that will generate their own changes in motivations, new goals, and continuing change" (1978, p. 441). Rost (1991) challenged Burns' conclusion that leadership is intended, real change because Burns does not include it in his definition. On the contrary, Rost provided an easy solution by simply inserting in his definition the concept that leaders and followers together intend real changes. He specified that "this definition means that a relationship

wherein leaders and followers do not intend real changes is not leadership. Intending real changes is one of the four essential elements of leadership" (Rost, 1989, p. 29).

Whether change is at the deepest level of social structure or at an individual level, our focus must be on the purpose or intent driving the change. This brings us back to who and what is steering the change? In his discussion of reconstruction versus compromise, Lindblom (1968) addressed the significance of purpose, by comparing reconstructive leadership to the simple compromise of unreconstructed preferences. Leaders who have "many opportunities to alter the preferences that at any given time constrain them are reconstructive leaders" (p. 105). Leaders with intent have the motivation to achieve the purpose and will seize the opportunity to do so. "A leader who sees this possibility and who is skilled enough to exploit it we shall call a reconstructive leaders" (Lindblom, 1968, p. 105). As was pointed out earlier, Rost (1989) emphasized intending real change as crucial to defining leadership. "The word *intend* means that the leaders and followers purposefully desire certain changes in an organization and/or in the society. The desire is not accidental or developed by chance. The intentions is deliberate and initiated on purpose" (p. 29).

Intent is the leader's drive, desire, wish, motivation to take the reins and steer or guide the purpose. According

to Kellerman (1984) leaders are eager in pursuit of their purpose because "they see themselves as leaders" (p. 69), or as Bennis (1989) concluded they have identified their true calling. Metaphorically, Tichy and Devanna, (1986) depict intent by calling leaders social architects. They classified transformational leaders as protagonists because of their preoccupation in organizational overhaul and their self-acknowledged change agent roles. Innovators is the term Bennis (1989a) gives to leaders because they do things other people haven't, can't or won't do. The innovator's intent is doing things in advance of others always keeping "one eye on the future" (p. 143). Burns (1978) used the synonyms, mobilizers, activators, initiators, reformers and transformers to highlight leader's intent. Gardner (1990) discussed intent as the leader's "willingness (eagerness) to accept responsibilities. This attribute is the impulse to exercise initiative in social situations, to bear the burden of making the decision, to step forward when no one else will" (p. 49).

Intent is the heartbeat of leadership. Leaders must have the desire, eagerness, and energy to personally influence others as well as direct and coordinate organizational activities to accomplishing its goals. Not everyone has the intent to lead. "Some persons under some circumstances, experience the need, or wish, to look up" (Kellerman, 1984, p. 81) because there are leaders who can

satisfy wants and needs on the part of the great majority.

Intent, the leadership pulse, requires a purpose in order to beat. Burns (1978) does not clearly distinguish intent from purpose but does explain that the role of purpose is an essential concept of power.

This absolutely central value has been inadequately recognized in most theories of power . Power has been defined as the production of intended effects, but the crux of the matter lies in the dimensions of "intent." What is the nature (intensity, persistence, scope of purpose? (p. 13)

Perhaps, distinguishing intent and purpose is not necessary. Freiberg (1987), however, does suggest that "the crucial distinction between power wielding and leadership is mutuality of purpose" (p. 46). Both power wielders and leaders have intent, the desire, eagerness, will, initiative, motivation and so forth to achieve their purpose. The difference is in the purpose. Power wielders intend to accomplish their personal purposes only, using power over followers. Leaders, on the other hand, intend change by giving power to followers so they will collectively accomplish the mutual purposes of those involved in the process. Criticizing Burns' inconsistent distinction between goals and purposes, Rost (1989) suggested that "purposes are broader, more holistic or integrated, more oriented to what people ordinarily think of

as a vision or mission" (p. 119). Therefore, intent is significantly different than purpose. It is the will to achieve the mutual purposes of leaders and followers.

Intent and purpose will remain dormant if leaders do not recognize the opportunities in which to catalyze them. Burns (1978) identified two essentials of power, motive and resource. Resources diminish when motive is lacking and motive remains idle or incapacitated when resources are lacking. Lacking either one, power collapses.

Foster (1989) concentrated on the accumulation of power in his discussion of communitarian impulse. During the process of re-creating social structure,

Certain agents can engage in transformative practices which change social structures and forms of community, and it is this that we label leadership. But for leadership to exist in this capacity requires that it be critical of current social arrangements and that this critique be aimed at more emancipatory types of relationships; any other type of 'leadership' is basically oriented toward the accumulation of power and, while this is certainly a feature of all relationships within social structures, such accumulation indicates a personal rather than a communitarian impulse. (p. 49)

Leadership is a relationship of power. Burns (1978) declared that "power is a relationship among persons" (p.

12), wherein the one with access to the scarce power resources and purpose--desire to exercise this power-- becomes the power holder. Other individuals participating in the relationship who for various reasons do not have a purpose, and have no access to power resources, receive the results from the power relationship and are the power recipients.

Seeing that humans fluctuate between power holder and power recipient, the nature of power is elusive (Burns, 1978). To help reduce the confusion, Burns suggested that power is a relationship between holder and recipient exercised collectively. "This view of power deals with three elements in the process: the motives and resources of power holders; the motives and resources of power recipients; and the relationship among all these" (p. 13). Ethically, this acknowledges the reciprocal nature of leadership and the collective influence that must be used to benefit the relationship. Power can shift and be given away depending on who possesses motive, resources and opportunity. However, if power is used to dehumanize individuals for the explicit benefit of the leader, then powerwielding is the result.

Power resources and having the ability to mobilize them are the opportunities leaders must recognize and exploit to energize the intents or motives, and accomplish the purposes of the leadership relationship. Leadership, the

relationship of influence, requires people mobilizing power resources to persuade. Due to the interaction of human nature and influence, leadership is multidirectional and noncoercive (Rost, 1989). Power resources mentioned by Rost are the following:

Along with rational discourse, influence as persuasion involves reputation, prestige, personality, purpose, status, content of message, interpersonal and group skills, give and take behaviors, authority or lack of it, symbolic interaction, perception, motivation, gender, race, religion, and choices, among countless other things. (p. 17)

Kanter (1983) noted the importance of establishing formal and informal networks of information so the leader can expand opportunities and power resources. She acknowledged that:

People with the tools, information, and support to make more informed decisions and act more quickly can often accomplish more. By empowering others, a leader does not decrease personal power; instead the leader may increase it--especially if the whole organization performs better. (p. 26)

Leadership is the exercise of power (Kellerman, 1984) in organizations that authors have suggested are political arenas (Allison, 1971; Butler, Hickson, Wilson & Axelson, 1977-78; Mayes & Allen, 1977). Organizations as

political arenas activate the collective dimension of power since power is shared among the various actors, heterogeneous interests, perceptions and priorities (Allison, 1971). Power is an essential part of Foster's (1986b) theory, the reconstruction of leadership. Leadership lies in critically educating people who interact in the organizational arenas.

Critical education involves the notion of power, but not "power-over" but "power-to." The leader, in this instance, must have intellectual power-to-analyse and power-to-criticise, and dialogic power-to-present. The educative use of power is realised in the empowerment of followers, an empowerment which provides the actors themselves with insight and reflection into the conditions of their existence and into the possibilities for change. (p. 21)

The quintessence of transformation can only occur when background assumptions and realities are challenged. This requires the educative process of collective power.

Acknowledging the differences in how leaders exercise power, Gardner (1990) pointed out that "leadership and power are not the same thing. But they interweave at many points. Power is the capacity to ensure the outcomes one wishes and to prevent those one does not wish" (p. 55). After exploring patterns of political behavior in organizations, Farrell and Petersen (1982) said, "power typically is

explained by linking it to environmental uncertainty and resource control" (p. 404).

Feminists have recently engaged in extensive analyses and debates concerning gender and power. Schaeff (1981) identified two major systems in our culture that view power differently. Traditionally, power was thought of as a zero-sum process, and controlled by the male system. "The more one shares power or gives it up to others, the less one has for himself [or herself]" (p. 125). This concept, based on scarcity, claims there is only so much power to go around.

In the female system power is limitless, and when it is shared, it increases, regenerates and expands. Suggesting power be viewed differently, Schaeff (1981) said:

Perhaps power, like love, is better conceived of as being infinite. In the White Male System, power is conceived of to exert domination and control over others. In the Female System, power is conceived of as personal power which has nothing to do with power or control over another. (pp. 125-126)

Similar to Schaeff's two system reality, other critiques of power and leadership have been characterized either masculine or feminine. Masculine aspects of power and leadership advocate relationships of domination, control, authority, competition, and aggression. Feminine viewpoints, on the other hand, infer that women have been dominated by men far too long creating a feminist

perspective of power and leadership. Relationships grounded in a feminine orientation are supportive, collaborative, not aggressive, nurturing, adaptable and sensitive (Carroll, 1984; Cooper, 1990; Ferguson, 1984; Gilligan, 1982a & b; Hartman, 1981; Janeway, 1980; Lather, 1984a & b; Schaef, 1982; Schmuck, 1975; Shakeshaft, 1989; Slack, 1990b). Rost (1988) summarized the distinctions by writing "men are powerful, women are empowering" (p. 5). A feminist power perspective suggested Blackmore (1989), would encourage a relational view of caring and concern for others rather than domination over. Blackmore thinks leadership must be redefined as "the ability to act with others to do things that could not be done by an individual alone" (p. 123).

Leaders give power to followers by increasing choices and they develop fresh approaches to conflicts by reconstructing preferences (Lindblom, 1968). The leader's purpose, proclaimed Burns "is to engage followers, not merely to activate them, to commingle needs and aspirations and goals in a common enterprise, and in the process to make better citizens of both leaders and followers" (1978, p. 461). Mobilizing power resources; reconstructing preferences, increasing choices and empowering followers, to influence the distribution of stakes is, not only, the essence of politics, but of leadership as well.

Bacharach and Lawler (1980) discussed the political interactions that govern organizational life and concluded

that "politics in organizations involves the tactical use of power to retain or obtain control of real or symbolic resources" (p. 1). Metaphorically speaking, Tichy and Devanna (1986) portray organizations as competitive jungles. Freiberg (1987) recognized this dynamic comparison as the "complexity of change manipulated by the diverse distribution of power" (p. 48). Clearly then, political savvy is an essential attribute to influence and mold the conflict and competition to take up the cause that is embodied in the vision. Acknowledging our primitive political consciousness, Burns suggested that:

The essential strategy of leadership in mobilizing power is to recognize the array of motives and goals in potential followers, to appeal to those motives by words and action, and to strengthen those motives and goals in order to increase the power of leadership, thereby changing the environment within which both followers and leaders act. Conflict--disagreement over goals within an array of followers, fear of outsiders, competition for scarce resources--immensely invigorates the mobilization of consensus and descensus. But the fundamental process is a more elusive one; it is, in large part, to make conscious what lies unconscious among followers. (1978, p. 40)

Agreeing with Burns and previously noted, Kanter

(1983) defined power resources as the leader's ability to: mobilize resources, establish informal and formal knowledge banks, network and cultivate support with followers, but most important, empower others by sharing power with followers. Assuming Burns' correlation of power and leadership is correct then: "to understand the nature of leadership requires understanding the essence of power, for leadership is a special form of power" (1978, p. 12). How do we recognize power in the leadership relationship? How does it affect the relationship? If we consider Lindblom's reconstructive leader, Lindblom would answer these questions by stating:

He neither resigns himself to the constraints of preferences as he finds them, nor, on the other hand, does he necessarily attempt the impossible task of winning all other participants over to his views or preferences. He takes the middle course of shifting others preferences so that the policies he desires fall within (whereas they formerly fell outside) the constraints imposed by the preference of other participants in policy making. And then he uses what power of influence he has to get the policy he wants.

(p. 105)

Power as a relationship allows people choices based on their motives and the resources available. Burns stressed that the relationship of power must be collective and if

not, it is brute force. He also emphasized that the intent or purpose resides in both the power holder and recipient. In other words, the power recipient chooses to receive the action of the power holder and vice versa.

Hoping to illuminate and effectively disclose the dynamics of organizational change, Zald (1968) saw political-economic variables, both internally and externally, driving change. Thus, these "economic-political forces, structures, pressures, and constraints," are the most significant motivators and directors of change (p. 255). Furthermore, the intended change is not directly linked to the leader's vision or purpose in leading, but to the leader's ability to adapt to the political-economic determinants existing in organizations.

Adaptions to political activities require leader influence in forming coalitions, pyramiding slack resources, guarding one's power stakes, mobilizing resources, promoting and protecting values, marshalling human collaborators, symbol signaling, communicating the organization's culture, establishing alliances and the array of strategies the leader must carry out to engineer change (Allison, 1971; Baldrige et. al., 1978; Burns, 1978; Cohen & March, 1974; Edelman, 1971; Levinson & Rosenthal, 1984; Lindblom, 1968; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Prentice, 1982; Selznick, 1957; Sergiovanni, 1984a; Wildavsky, 1964; Yates, 1985).

In an extensive review of adaptive change, Selznick

(1957) was quite progressive in his consideration of organizational defensive ideologies.

The natural tendencies cited here--the development of defensive ideologies, the dependence of institutional values on the formation and sustaining of elites, the existence of internal conflicts expressing group interest--only illustrate the many elements that combine to form the social structure of an organization. (pp. 15-16)

Defensive ideologies are the political obstacles Bennis referred to as the "risks of leadership" (1989a, p. 146). Gardner (1990), also commented on the obstacles to leadership, along with Bates, 1989; Blackmore, 1989; Greenfield, 1989; Tucker, 1989 and a chorus of others who believed leaders learn to lead in the face of conflict and managing change. The intent or purpose resides in the leader's determination, drive to be effective, to make a difference, to do better. "The leader does it better and better and better, but is never satisfied" as he or she tries to manage the chaos (Bennis 1989a, p. 146). In the quest to manage, redistribute, recreate the chaos, the uncertainty (March, 1980), the organized anarchies (Cohen and March, 1974), the loose coupling (Weick, 1976), or the ambiguity of organizations (Pfeffer 1984), leaders encounter a flurry of internal and external interest groups maintaining cherished values and identities (Sergiovanni,

1984), as well as decision-making processes that are fluid and complex (Baldrige, 1978).

Many researchers have documented the political bargaining systems in organizations and the "efforts of actors to mobilize interest groups and coalitions for the sake of influencing the decisions of those in authority" (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980, p. 213). After analyzing political leadership in a small town, Wildavsky (1964) too, identified the ability to influence as crucial to successful leadership. To lead declared Mintzberg (1975), is to exert decisive, determining influence. The ability to influence is essential in implementing change and requires political strategies to achieve the intended change, or adaptation. Leadership is an influence process (Blanchard, 1986).

If power is a relationship of unequal influence, then the leadership process must be reciprocal. Followers have the power of exercising influence, and it is this that transcends the collective wants into needs, and raises the consciousness of the people in the relationship. Challenging Burns' definition, Rost (1991) expanded his work and presented a more accurate understanding of how influence and power impact the leadership relationship. His definition is the following:

Leadership is an influence relationship among leaders
followers who intend real changes that reflect their

mutual purposes. (p. 102)

Significant emphasis in the leadership literature focuses on the collective purpose and its impact on change. Not only does Burns discuss the collaborative function of leadership, but he also refers to the leader recognizing and responding to followers' wants and needs harmonizing the actions in the relationship. Through this collaborative engagement, leader and followers share the dynamics and results of planned change together. This collaborative engagement of shared dynamics is illustrated by Rost's (1989) notion that "leaders and followers are the people in the influence relationship called leadership" (p. 26). As noted earlier, since followers are engaged and active in the relationship, "they do leadership, not followership" (p. 27). The leadership relationship of influence that Rost identified is unequal because power resources are more assessible to leaders. Nevertheless, at times followers "may exert more influence than leaders in the relationship, times when they seize the initiative, and times when their purposes drive the relationship" (p. 26). Followers then are leaders.

Rost (1989) critically examined Burns' use of the term power. Proclaiming that he is inconsistent in his use of power, Rost argued that the influence relationship must be noncoercive. "If the behaviors are coercive, the relationship becomes one of authority or power or one that

is dictatorial" (p. 18). Burns contradicted his definition of leadership as an influence relationship when he suggested that power wielders "marshall in their power base resources (economic, military, institutional, or skill) that enable them to influence the behavior of respondents by activating motives of respondents relevant to those resources and to those goals" (1978, p. 18). Power, in Rost's model, allows for coercive behavior, influence does not. He defined power as "a relationship wherein some people control other people by rewards and/or punishments" (1989, p. 18). On the other hand, Burns stated "I dispense with the concept of influence as unnecessary and unparsimonious" (1978, p. 19).

Theorists have researched and discussed challenges to planned change (Argyris and Schon, 1978; Goodman & Kurke, 1984; Lawler, 1984; Smith, 1984), and how difficult it is to implement and achieve the original change, the real, intended change. Declaring the pervasiveness of transforming leadership, Burns talked about how common and ordinary it is "because acts of leadership occur in the day-to-day pursuit of collective goals through the mutual tapping of leaders' and followers' motive bases and in the achievement of real intended change" (1978, p. 426). However, these leadership acts occur in organizations that are resistant to strictly imposed change programs (Lawler, 1984) for reasons mentioned previously. Therefore, adaptations, modifications, and alterations are an integral

part of the ongoing change process. Adopting an adaptive stance to the change process is necessary for leaders to achieve alignment, suggested Lawler, especially "when the implementation process has a high degree of participation built into it. Indeed, the only thing that can be planned is certain parts of the process" (1984, p. 304).

The leader's vision is critical to change and the driving force of the process (Bass, 1985; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Blumberg & Greenfield, 1986; Burns, 1978; Gardner, 1990; Kilman & Covin, 1988; Peters & Waterman, 1982). It is the one part that must be planned. Transforming leaders use their vision to navigate changes in the organization. Mobilizing resources to recreate, rethink, reconstruct preferences and predispositions, uncover and exploit contradictions of values, shapes the relationship of influence intending to change the relationship and the organization. In short, leaders shape the culture.

Leadership is Political

The definition of politics is as elusive and slippery as leadership (Selznick, 1957). Like leadership, there is not a universal definition that theorists and practitioners can agree upon in spite of all the literary rhetoric. Most people equate politics with government activity, and qualify it as dirty, corrupt, twisted, stormy, ominous and so forth. Most people do not realize how prevalent politics is in their lives because like leadership, they do not understand

the nature of politics. They cannot see the political dimensions of their lives.

Aside from the governmental aspect of politics, individuals live and function in a sea of politics. "Politics is basically a realm of the mind" (Tucker, 1981, p. 27). Shaping and sharing power is Dahl's (1961) view, while some see politics using power and authority to define goals, directions, and major parameters of the organization (Allison, 1971, Lindblom, 1968). Bacharach and Lawler (1980) reasoned "that bargaining remains the most appropriate metaphor for analyzing relations among coalitions within organizations" (p. 215).

Several authors define politics in relation to resources, preferences and values. Easton (1965) described politics as the allocation of values, as did Wildavsky (1964) who suggested that allocating financial resources is a political process in determining whose preferences would triumph. Lasswell (1936) questioned who gets what, when, how. Similarly, Burns (1961) discussed politics as exploiting resources to have more control over others.

Politics is the power to persuade commented Neustadt (1960). Pettigrew (1973) observed the power of persuasion in his research on organizational situations of uncertainty. Discussing organizations as political economies and noting how bureaucracys and school systems promote "a form of rule 'outside of politics,'" Zald (1968) announced that "politics

and political economy are endemic to all forms of organizational life, not just the conflictual part that occasionally shows" (p. 257). If this is so leaders in organizations are swimming political activity. Gardner (1990) noted the social salience and normative importance of leadership and politics. He emphasized how leadership and politics are interrelated. Gardner noted that understanding politics through the leader-led and leader-leader relations is most advantageous. He has claimed with others that "leadership has always involved politics" (p. 109).

According to Paige (1977), organizations are "sources of value salience and conflict" (p. 115). Leaders use politics to embrace and shape conflict because as Kiefer (1986) explained, conflict challenges people to reflect, question, and act upon competing issues. Correspondingly, "leaders see conflict as an opportunity" (Bennis, 1989b, p. 158). Shaping conflict is a political strategy that leaders use to influence, bargain, collaborate, negotiate, manipulate, compromise, and communicate with followers in order to keep the vision alive, allocate scarce resources, and shape culture. According to Schattschneider (1975), the intensity and excitement of conflict directs the outcome of a situation or problem and "this is the basic pattern of all politics" (p. 2). If transforming leadership is a relationship of conflict and competition, and at the roots of conflict are political patterns or processes; then

transforming leadership is a relationship submerged in political activity.

Conflict is contagious, observed Schattshneider (1975), and a "significant factor in promoting healthy organizational change" (Baldrige et al, 1978, p. 35). Hence, if leadership relationships involve change, then leaders and followers must expect to be involved in political strategies and dynamics throughout the leadership process. Conflict is a catalyst for change, therefore, leaders are catalytic agents in provoking and stimulating followers' consciousness (Burns, 1978). Bennis (1989b) said there are two reasons for conflict. The first is access to information, which is a power resource. People's perception is the second reason. People see things differently, which Allison (1971) defined as "faces of the issue." Burns explained that transformational leaders are very special power holders juggling pluralistic values and interest assessed by the real, intended change. Confirming this, Gardner (1990) acknowledged that pluralism places special challenges and burdens on leaders.

In their relationships leaders are political actors who use power (motive and resources), to accomplish the mutually held purpose of the leadership relationship. As suggested earlier, contrary to power wielders, leaders give power to followers by giving them choices and a voice in the relationship. Power wielders objectify and control victims,

holding power over them. (Kiefer, 1986).

Socializing and privatizing conflict are two fundamental strategies leaders and followers use to influence the scope of conflict. Whenever someone influences the scope of conflict, she/he changes the preferences of others in some way (Schattschneider, 1975). As pointed out earlier, leadership is an interactive relationship where leaders and followers are influencing each other by expanding or limiting their preferences. Symbolically, Edelman (1967) referred to these tactics as arousal and quiescence. Leaders use arousal-- socializing the issue--to make the issue or conflict contagious. Arousal creates dissent and protest which significantly influence people's perceptions. Quiescence--privatizing-- has the opposite effect, controlling conflict by keeping it invisible. (Edelman, 1971; Schattschneider, 1975).

Leaders use symbolic politics through rituals and myths. Rituals are motor activities that arouse awareness and consciousness, bonding followers to the common enterprise (Edelman, 1967; Sergiovanni, 1990). Suggesting that myths serve the interests of both leader and followers, Paige (1977) reasoned that myths provide plausible explanations for leader dominance and follower submissiveness. Speeches, elections, administrations, gestures, weekly memos, clubs, programs and the like reassure followers that preferences are recognized and met,

inducing the shared covenant that is needed for alignment and what Sergiovanni (1990) described as moral commitment. This is the third stage of Sergiovanni's value-added leadership, leadership by bonding, which follows the first two stages, bartering and building, discussed earlier.

Myths, recurring themes or unquestioned beliefs, provide meaning and purpose to the activities and events of the organization. Cohen (1969) identified several functions that myths provide by appealing to the consciousness of followers through explanation, expression, narration, and so forth, resolving contradictions and anchoring the shared covenant. Paige (1977) noted that "all societies create myths to disguise the true nature of political leadership within them" (p. 2). Myths distort reality by exaggerating or understating the potency, morality and efficacy of the leader.

Leaders compete to establish relationships of influence in ambiguous arenas called organizations (Allison, 1971). Declaring all organizations are political, Rost (1986) stated that "it is impossible to conceive of politics without an organization" (p. 6). Given that understanding, Schnattschneider (1975) indicated that "all forms of political organizations have a bias in favor of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict and the suppression of others because organization is the mobilization of bias. Some issues are organized into politics while others are

organized out" (p. 69). All this adds up to the premise that leadership is a political process.

Within organizations and leadership relationships are actors who bring to the organization "hierarchies of unequal interests, of dominant and subordinate interests" (Schattschneider, 1975, p. 68). This constellation of actors brings background assumptions, values, parochial interests, diverse issues, and environmental experiences to organizations (Allison, 1971). These personal theories-in-use or governing variables, as defined by Argyris and Schon (1978), resist and impede organizational change.

The social construction of organizations is determined not only by the human elements listed above; but also by its structure (Bolman and Deal, 1985). Roles, relationships, authority, goals, rules and regulations, standard operating procedures, coalitions, technologies, special interest groups, and so forth interact with the human elements to depict organizational life.

The physical constructions of organizations are accompanied by social constructions of meaning (S. M. Hunt, 1984). Exploring the role of leadership in the construction of reality, she defined social reality as a constructed view of the world, resulting from shared meanings and mutual acts of interpretation, actions, and reactions within a particular universe of discourse (p. 168). In other words, human beings have a constructed view of the world which is

their social reality. A collective social reality, for instance in a leadership relationship, refers to those values, beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes that attain validity through a mutual purpose or consensus. When there is interference with or divergence from their social reality, conflict emerges. Paige (1977) stated that the collision of myths with political reality creates trauma for both leaders and followers.

The point of all this is the political essence of leadership when leaders create their vision, adapt and fulfill mutual wants and needs, mobilize scarce resources, compete with and motivate followers to own the cause based on the various individual interpretations of organizational reality. Individuals will have different interpretations due to their social constructions of organizational life. Interpretations reflecting individuals' theories-in-use will compete against the leader's interpretations.

Smith (1984) challenged the various definitions of organization by stating that an "organization itself does not exist in any physically verifiable way. It is the system of relations that makes the whole To talk about organization is to talk about relationship, relations among parts and relations among relations" (pp. 325-326). A related view suggested by Bolman & Deal (1985) is that "an organization is a linguistic device and resource constructed during human sense-making activities" (p. 222). Similarly,

Weick's (1976) definition of an organization is "a body of thought by thinking thinkers' in which management is equivalent to managing myths, images, symbols, and labels" (p. 2). Gephart (1978) cautioned against assuming that "conceptions of organizations are stable or that all participants share them" (p. 557).

Since an organization does not physically exist, Smith continued,

then the only way we can talk about it is metaphorically . . . And then the nature of our understanding of organization will depend on the metaphors we use. This means that how we experience, see, and infer organization, relations between parts, and relations between relations will depend primarily on the characteristics of the metaphors we choose to use and on the relationships (organization) among metaphors themselves, for how we talk shapes what we talk about. (1984, p. 328)

This has strong implications when we consider knowledge as a source of power, and how language shapes our level of knowing about organization. Knowledge is a power resource. Different members in the organization will have different levels of knowing about organization, therefore Rost's (1989) point about unequal relationships of influence is clearly understood. Increasing levels of knowing an organization by followers reinforces the fluctuating

patterns of influence that exist in the new leadership paradigm. In a discussion on the implications of the politics of information, Yates (1985) reviewed the seriousness of keeping information from people. He acknowledged that "opening up the flow of information is a necessary corollary of meaningful participation by affected parties" (p. 142). Like knowledge, symbols are power resources used to "summarize large bodies of information into a relatively simple, easily assimilated form" (Bolman and Deal, 1984, p. 218). Symbols such as metaphors, sagas, topics, places, rituals, and ritual classifications function politically in various ways. Symbols can be appealing power resources, noted Yates (1985), generating strong emotional attachments, reassurance, and embodiment and expression of meaning. But they also camouflage and distort by serving "dishonest, cynical, or repressive functions" (Bolman & Deal, 1984, p. 224). Baldrige and Deal (1985) gave a symbolic-political opinion on the prospects for organizational change. They wrote, "We all create worlds. The more we are able to create worlds that are morally cogent and politically viable, the more we are able, as workers and citizens to manage or to resist" (p. 378).

Politically, the point in all of this is when leaders must compete with their vision, an alternate symbol of organizational purpose, the established metaphor blocks the new thinking. Since as Smith (1984) indicated

"relationships and the metaphors used to capture them are phenomenologically intertwined, we must look at the metaphoric/metonymic domain as a significant place for seeing and producing change" (p. 334). In an exploration of the dynamics of the symbolic process, Edelman (1965) concluded that "it is through their power to merge diverse perceptions and beliefs into a new and unified perspective that symbols affect what men want, what they do and the identity they create for themselves" (p. 6). His point here alerts scholars to the competitive processes of quiescence or arousal, escalation or ritualization, that leaders or policy makers use to widen support for themselves and develop opposition to their opponent.

The organizational arena is swimming in politics with leaders motivating and engaging interest groups (Truman, 1971), incrementalists (Lindblom, 1968; & Wildavsky, 1964), and pluralists (Dahl, 1961; Schattschneider, 1975) to adapt to or change the sea of conflict and competition. Competitors and power contenders exert influence through bargaining and power tactics for a voice or position to mobilize resources. As they are heard, gain access, or exercise power (Allison, 1971), individuals with unique values, theories-in-use, preferences, or governing variables (Argyris & Schon, 1974; Dahl, 1961; Lindblom, 1968) mobilize support through influence, satisficing policies, conflict, persuasion, competition, gatekeepers, alliances, interest

groups and coalitions by arousal and quiescence or socializing and privatizing their issues and concerns (Allison, 1971; Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Burns, 1978; Easton, 1965; Edelman, 1971; Neustadt, 1980; Rost, 1986; Schattsneider, 1975; Truman, 1971). Various interest groups congregate throughout the organizational hierarchy based on their mutual wants and needs. Likewise multiple coalitions form with an array of conflicting issues, stakes, stands and incompatible preferences. Through mobilization of scarce and power resources, creating conflict, and implementing change strategies, shifting power relations swing back and forth, as well as move up and down the leadership ladder (Lindblom, 1968). Politically speaking, leaders use symbols and strategies of bargaining, negotiating, influencing, whistleblowing, persuading and so forth, to interact, unsnarl, and transform competing interests and incompatible preferences into higher levels of morality.

Pfeffer (1978) acknowledged the complexity of change by stating that the "critical question becomes not how organizations should be designed to maximize effectiveness, but rather whose preferences and interests are served by the organization" (p. 223). Likewise Bolman and Deal (1984) asserted that change is complex. Politically, they argue and debate that perhaps there is no such thing as permanent change or improvement. Organizations are continuously changing or they never change (p. 133).

A wonderfully concise and stimulating analogy developed by Farrar, DeSantis and Cohn (1983) paints a comprehensive picture of political dynamics in organizations. They compared the political interactions to the festivities of a lawn party where guests are political actors from outside and inside the organization that have:

Larger and more lasting concerns awaiting them at home. Moreover, these guests do not attend for the same reasons. Some have come for the food, some to hear the music, some to talk with friends, some from a sense of obligation; and some aren't sure why they've come. And they have different ideas about what they want the party to be and what they hope to gain by attending it. For some, the part is an escape from dull routine, for others a chance to cultivate business prospects, and many guests have never consciously identified their wants. Nor does each guest recognize what the other guests want. Each is relatively free to make the party whatever seems most appropriate. (p. 118)

The guests attending this party represent the multiple realities that exist in organizations. Bolman and Deal (1984) contend that "all organizations are multiple realities. Every event can be interpreted in a number of ways. When people determine events through different frames, disagreement and conflict are inevitable" (p. 246). And we know from evidence already cited that people's

behaviors and interpretations are determined by their personal theories of organizational events (Argyris & Schon, 1978; Bolman & Deal, 1984; Cohen & March, 1974; Foster, 1986b; Smith, 1984; Weick, 1976).

We strive to make sense of our world based on rationality. Weick (1985) reinforced this tendency when he discussed the myth of orderliness in organizations. "The impression that organizations are orderly is fostered in part by hindsight bias. Once a person knows the outcomes, the reasons for that outcome seem obvious and the person cannot imagine any other outcome (hindsight bias)" (p. 112). Our hindsight bias is at work when we refer to organizations as monolithic.

No organization is monolithic, yet continued references in the literature to "the organization" often suggest otherwise. People persist in referring to the organization due to a combination of failure to discount for hindsight bias, casual sorting of organizations into undifferentiated categories, routine aggregation of individual survey responses to create nominal organizations, and preoccupation with central tendencies (the mean) rather than dispersion (variation). (Weick, 1985, p. 112)

The myth of orderliness in organizations is comforting. March and Olson (1976) preceded Weick's work and revealed another bias people use to exaggerate

orderliness and rationality. The bias is assumptions about reality, intention and necessity.

1. The reality assumption is that what appeared to happen did happen.

2. The intention assumption is that what happened was intended to happen.

3. The necessity assumption is that what happened had to happen. (p. 19).

Our preoccupation with rationality creates inaccuracies in analyzing organizations. This has fostered the negative views people have considering power, conflict and politics in organizations and life. Instead of seeing politics as an honorable and creative process like Drucker (1989) suggested, people think of politics as evil, dirty, corrupt, misguided, rotten and so forth. Drucker thought just the opposite, proclaiming that politics is "at once a responsibility of man and the chief moral duty in human life" (p. 181). He urged leaders to embrace the ambiguity of politics and incorporate activities that will engage leader and followers mutually in reconstructing and transforming their social worlds, enabling them to experience their better selves and more fulfilled lives.

Generative Leadership

Discussing the creation of followers, Burns (1978) classified Ghandi as an elitist leader due to his charisma and the extraordinary demands he had of his

followers. But,

The difference lay in Ghandi's complete involvement with his followers. In putting his disciples to work, "giving direction to their capacity to care, and multiplying miraculously both their practical gifts and their sense of participation," in Erickson's words, he created followers who were leaders, "aspirants for highest political power," and the makers of modern India. (p. 129)

Developing leaders is one aspect of generative leadership. The other feature is developing a future society that will be founded on principles of ethics, care and higher levels of motivation and morality. The summit and substance of transformational leadership is empowering future leaders to carry on the vision of higher morality levels with future generations. Generativity is a priority of leadership, and it has been documented in the literature by several scholars and researchers.

Empowering future leaders by developing organizations members beyond management is a goal on which all leaders should concentrate (Bennis and Nanus, 1985). Depicting an analogy of leadership as human agriculture, Bennis (1969) described leadership as "an active method for producing conditions where people and ideas and resources can be seeded, cultivated, and integrated to optimum effectiveness and growth" (p. 51). Metaphors such as coach, mentor,

model, high priest provide meaning that reinforces the role leaders have in developing other leaders grounded in high moral behavior and aspirations (Peters and Austin, 1985; Sergiovanni, 1984c). Waterman (1987) agreed with Peters and Austin, and said "transforming leaders elevate the aspirations of the followers through their teaching, mentoring, and coaching that renews institutions" (p. 203). Levinson and Rosenthal (1984) discussed how leaders build support "by holding themselves up as models whom others want to emulate" (p. 13). Developing abilities and pursuing worthy goals are responsibilities of the generative leader as well.

The historical spotlight addressed by Gardner (1990) highlighted how the characteristics of a particular leader have a profound impact on history. Commenting on Churchill's brilliant leadership performances of the century, he stated, "forces of history determined his rise and fall, but in his time on the world stage he left a uniquely Churchillian mark on the course of events" (p. 7). This Churchillian mark is the legacy which followers are able to survive the leader leaving.

Generative leaders are transforming leaders (Freiberg, 1987) who reach beyond to promote human conditions that constantly elevate and raise people and organizations to higher human, ethical, cultural and moral levels. "Civilizations rise to greatness when something happens in

human minds" and this is the responsibility of leaders (Gardner, 1990, p. 193). He stressed this point in the final chapter, "The Release of Human Possibilities," of his book On Leadership to convey the necessity of generative leadership.

Generative leadership is enduring, collaborative and developmental with a wide array of cognitive strategies to enable followers to be leaders. Foster (1986a) developed his critical aspect of leadership on the interplay of knowledge and action involving reflection, demystification, education and language. He concluded his "Leadership" chapter with the following generative message.

This is the essence of leadership: the desire and attempt to change the human condition. It is a political and courageous act to attempt to empower followers. As we have tried to show, leadership does not reside in systems of management, in grids or formulas. Leadership is conscious of conditions and conscious of change. Its twin concerns of empowerment and transformation focus on the same goals as the spirit underlying critical theory--to release us from our ideological prisons and to give vision. Empowerment shares power by modifying those hierarchical structures that set up false distinctions among their members: empowerment enables unrestrained discourse. Transformation communicates message and

symbol to show possibilities far beyond our current achievements: it provides a vision, a vision of a just and equal social order. Leadership is the process of transforming and empowering. (pp. 187-188)

The nature of generative leadership is demonstrated through the application of critical theory and transformational leadership.

Transformational Leadership Shapes Culture

"Organizations are cultural artifacts" declared Greenfield (1984), in an extensive exploration of culture and school organization. Sergiovanni (1984a) agreed and added, "organizations are viewed as artificial entities subject to the whims of human predispositions and conventions" (p. 7). Artificial suggests that the organizations are not physically real but constructed in human minds through language. In a lengthy, philosophical discussion of thinking about change, Smith (1984) extrapolated on the invisible nature of organizations. How do we see organizations? How do we know they exist? Earlier in this review a definition of organizations was introduced. In brief and using Smith's framework, an organization is a system of relationships that is invisible and knowable through metaphors (p. 368). According to Bolman and Deal (1984), "metaphors permit us to imagine something as if it were something else" (p. 163). Consequently, metaphors and metonymies shape and create our

understanding of organizations, and as Freiberg (1987) stated, "if symbols remain consistent and compatible with established beliefs, values, and deeply-rooted assumptions, then leaders change these things through the process of symbolic interaction with followers" (p. 77). Metaphors, rituals, stories, plays, ceremonies, myths, scenarios and the like are symbolic artifacts that represent the meanings we give to organizations and culture (Bolman & Deal, 1984; Greenfield, 1984; Sergiovanni, 1984a; Weick, 1976). The interaction is the way individuals interpret what happened in an event based on a system of beliefs and values that represent their experiences. Smith (1984) clarified it this way.

And then the nature of our understanding of organizations will depend on the metaphors we use, just as our understanding of God depends on the system of religious beliefs that undergird our experience. This means that how we experience, see, and infer organization, relations between parts, and relations between relations will depend primarily on the characteristics of the metaphors we choose to use and on the relationships (organization) among the metaphors themselves, for how we talk shapes what we talk about. (p. 328)

Humans create the symbols to bring meaning out of chaos and ambiguity, resolve confusion, reconcile contradictions,

increase predictability, and provide direction in uncertain and uncharted terrain (Bolman & Deal, 1984).

In the words of Weick (1985), ambiguity is found in all aspects of organizational life. Cohen and March (1974) observed ambiguity in higher education and concluded that "ambiguity gives form to much of what occurs" (p. 122) and increases the extent to which action is guided by values and ideology. Freiberg (1987) brought meaning to the ambiguity of leadership by stating that transformational leadership is symbolic expression. Using language conventions and symbols, the transforming leader involves followers in meaningful expressions of the relationship and the processes resolving organizational uncertainty. Proposing that "cultures and subcultures define the meaning placed upon the actions of leaders", Smith and Peterson (1988) advised that leaders who wish to change an organization's culture, or to preserve it as it is, need before all else to be aware of what those meanings are (p. 118).

Sergiovanni (1984a) documented the importance of symbolic expression. "The objective of leadership is the stirring of human consciousness, the interpretation and enhancement of meanings, the articulation of key cultural strands, and the linking of organizational members to them" (p. 8).

Another aspect of leaders' roles in organizations is to articulate meaning and understanding to the activities, to

make sense of things so people can communicate the meaning of their behavior (Pondy, 1978). Agreeing with this behavioral aspect, Pfeffer (1981b) argued that some organizations are too institutionalized to change their goals, so it is easier to change the beliefs on how to accomplish the goals. This behavioral feature is illustrated in the analysis of Smircich and Morgan's (1982) "Leadership: The Management of Meaning." Attempting to understand the phenomenon of leadership through actions that shape culture, they reported: "The actions and utterances of leaders frame and shape the course of action in such a way that the members of that context are able to use the meaning thus created as a point of reference for their own action and understanding of the situation" (p. 261).

Mentioned earlier, Smith and Peterson (1988) suggested that leaders must be aware of what those meanings are if they plan to change or preserve an organization's culture. Challenging the idea that leaders are responsible for creating organizational cultures of excellence, Smith and Peterson countered that, "organizational leadership may thus entail not so much the creation of change, but the anticipation of crisis and the construction of cultures which are best adapted to handling them" (p. 121).

Two opposing views exist about organizations and culture. One view is that culture is a trait or characteristic of organizations that can be manipulated and

controlled (Deal & Kennedy, 1981; Siehl and Martin, 1984). The second view, a relatively unique view, is that organizations are "networks of managed meanings, resulting from those interactive processes through which people have sought to make sense of situations." Therefore, "leadership is the management of meaning" because leaders define the reality and the followers accept the definition (Smircich, 1982, p. 270).

Several definitions of culture have been developed. Burlingame (1984) provided the concept of culture as an anthology of competing stories. "Underlying the cultural perspective," asserted Sergiovanni, "is the concept of community and the importance of shared meaning and shared values" (1985, p. 8). Schein (1985) defined organizational culture as:

The pattern of basic assumptions that a given group has invented, discovered, or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, and that have 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. Culture is this pattern of automatic assumptions, unconsciously held and taken for granted. (p. 31).

Culture then is the shared mindscapes reflected and constructed from shared behaviors. Constructionism suggests

that what people see is not just their view of reality, but actually, it is their reality. Culture is the shared assumptions that define the learned reality of a group. The key for leaders in their quest to make a difference by transforming individuals to higher levels of morality is altering their learned reality.

An interesting slant projected by S. M. Hunt (1984) is "the creation of leaders arises out of the need for meaning and the tendency to make inference within the confines of the prevailing explanatory systems" (p. 171). Scholars are highly skeptical of this theory and she defended her position by stating: "If we wish to understand the phenomena associated with 'leadership,' it is necessary to try to transcend the assumptions behind the customary use of words and examine the inferences upon which normative 'explanations' are based" (p. 176).

Debating the differences between human acts and human behavior, Sergiovanni (1984c) opined:

Leadership acts are expressions of culture. Leadership as cultural expression seeks to build unity and order within an organization by giving attention to purposes, historical and philosophical tradition, and ideals and norms which define the way of life within the organization and which provide the bases for socializing members and obtaining their compliance (pp. 106-107).

Leaders communicate through symbols, actions, language, and reinforcing norms supported by behavior to alter the learned reality. Leaders not only shape meanings of the learned reality, they express meanings of what they want the organization to become. Leaders must make sense of interpretative themes, in short the multiple stories that exist in organizations. This is what Schein (1984) advised so that change can occur. Leaders must know the depths of culture because basic assumptions are usually deeply imbedded.

Schein (1984) suggested that cultural change goes through the seasons of life similar to human aging. Deal (1990) wrote that cultural change results in instability and ambiguity. When ambiguity is present, Weick (1985) stated, people who can resolve it, gain power.

"The only thing of real importance that leaders do is create and manage cultural change. Their actions and reactions imbue events with particular meaning" (Schein, 1984, p. 31). Leaders involved in cultural change act as social architects (Bennis and Nanus, 1985), chief engineers (Sergiovanni, 1984c&d), high priests (Bolman and Deal, 1984), employing a contagious vision that itself is a symbol of the aspects of the culture they value. Leaders impact the culture by purposing, breathing life into the everyday activities accenting and illuminating the organization's purposes (Sergiovanni, 1984c). Leaders must plan, persist

and use peopling; harmonizing the goals, objectives and desires of the people with those of the organization.

"Peopling recognizes that little can be accomplished by the leader without the good wishes of others" (Sergiovanni, 1984d, p. 111). But most importantly, proclaimed Sergiovanni, leaders must have the principle of patriotism.

The principle of patriotism is key to viewing leadership as cultural expression. In highly effective organizations workers share a set of common beliefs, and reach a set of common agreements which govern what will be done and how it will be done. Members express loyalty or patriotism to this way of life.

Organizational patriots are committed to purposes, they work hard, believe in what they are doing, feel a sense of excitement for the organization and its work, and find their own contributions to the organization meaningful if not inspirational. (p. 111)

Referring to organizational culture as social dramas, Pettigrew (1979) noted the power of language in building commitment and identity to the organization. In this discussion Pettigrew credited Pondy's (1975) contribution of the power of words as one of the key tools of social influence. Leadership as "a game of language" (Pondy, 1986) implies that a leader's effectiveness in shaping cultural expression "is likely to be influenced by the language overlap with his followers and by the extent to

which a leader can create words that explain and thereby give order to collective experiences" (Pettigrew, 1979, p. 578). Also noting the power of language, Sergiovanni (1987) wrote, "language is a form of power that can frame thoughts and shape meanings. The word supervision, for example, conjures thoughts of authority, control, hierarchy, and inspection in the minds of teachers and supervisors" (p. 149).

Ultimately, transforming leadership is cultural expression driven by a vision that is alive, and has become the ideology endorsed by the organization. The power of the vision lies in the analogies and metaphors, the "word walk," that provides energy and raises the consciousness of the people in the relationship, raises the consciousness of the organizational culture (Pettigrew, 1979). Empowering others to higher levels of morality is the outcome of transforming leadership, enabling individuals to experience their better selves and a more fulfilled life.

The transformational leader is a leader that believes in the higher moral good for all and wants a world that will incorporate this vision. This leader is not only concerned for the present but has a vision and plans for future generations as well.

Is Transformational Leadership All There Is?

A decade has passed since Burns (1978) wrote his book, and the intellectual hunger continues to have a mouth watering effect on leadership appetites. We are still craving a universal understanding of the nature of leadership as well as the makings for a school of leadership.

As the years progressed, the notion of transformational leadership blossomed. Organizational theorists wrote about it, concentrating on fragments of the definition. No theorist seemed prepared to depart entirely from old leadership paradigms so that the nature of leadership would be revealed. Therefore, the intellectual crisis continues to engulf us and the elusiveness of leadership lingers on. We have not escaped the gee-whiz approach in selecting our national leaders as we continue to be preoccupied with the cult of personality. Glancing at today's headlines, the trivial aspects of leadership remain a central focus in the development of our leaders. What happened to operationalizing Burns' intellectual breakthrough? What happened to the practical applications of transformational leadership?

The current school of leadership is highly theoretical and has failed to address these questions. Consequently, these questions have not been incorporated into the leadership curriculum. Through Burns' work, leadership

scholars have engaged in an intellectual tug-of-war hoping to come to grips with the essence of transformational leadership. The confusion in 1990 is more sophisticated as we have accumulated empirical data; but it continues to mask the essential nature of leadership, a problem that exists because scholars discovered limitations in Burns' theories of transformational leadership (Allen, 1989; Chrispeels, 1989; Cooper, 1990; Foster, 1986; Rost, 1989; Slack, 1990a; Skalbeck, 1989; Vonder, 1989). Burns' leadership theory has not been validated and practiced; hence the rich abundance of literature and makings for a school of leadership remains dormant. It is a school of leadership buried in theory. The universal standards for assessing past, present, and potential leaders remains grid-locked in an intellectual maze of periphery and content (Rost, 1989) because we have not focused scholarly efforts on the process of leadership. The prevailing challenge for scholars is to develop these standards through extensive investigation of the leadership process.

Burns was instrumental in alerting scholars to the confusion and elusiveness of leadership. He was the catalytic agent that began a theoretical foundation of questioning the substance of leadership, noting the importance of a school of leadership. He identified the mediocrity of leadership that is a result of the myopic, positivistic view of an industrial society. And, he

initiated a new consensus, a new paradigm from which we can discover the process of leadership. His initial efforts gave scholars overwhelming confidence that solving the pervasive leadership crisis was a possibility.

Theoretically, transformational leadership itself is a promise as a beginning foundation or academic skeleton for leadership scholars trying to research and excavate the elusive leadership cavern. Metaphorically speaking, this foundation has cracks or limitations that need to be filled. Because of these limitations, the school of leadership suggested by Burns, a practical school of leadership, never had a firm foundation to stand upon. The reality of transformational leadership, what we know about it, what it means, what we are able to do with it, and how we implement it needs a solid theoretical and practical foundation on which to build a school of leadership. The challenge begins with rearranging, restructuring, and reconstructing mindsets and thoughts; focusing and formulating a remodeled theory that cements the cracks with a new school of leadership built on the process of leadership (Davies, 1989; Rost, 1989; Skalbeck, 1989).

The future school of leadership must be founded on a revised model that truly expands across time and cultures. It must break away from the traditional educational methodology of generalizing about the leadership process based on one myopic reality, the male experience. Burns'

preoccupation with political, male leaders in hierarchical organizations severely limited his theory and reinforced the time-bound, culture-bound problem of gender discrimination. Unfortunately, he advocated, supported, and perpetuated the selective tradition and stereotype that leadership aptitude is the property of male human beings alone. Accordingly, Slack (1990a) disputed Burns' theoretical model and sarcastically reported, "women, historically, and in Burns' leadership review, appear to be found 'wanting' in the area of moral development and, therefore, have yet to emerge as transformational leaders" (p. 13).

Female World of Leadership and School Administration

Because the female world of leadership theory and practice is in its infancy, its social reality has not yet achieved validity through development and consensus. Perhaps this research will provide a unique perspective on the reality of female leaders as principals and how it might impact the socially constructed concept and process of leadership in schools (Hunt, 1984).

The selective role tradition that exists in education is a broken record. The world of teaching has been primarily a female one, while the world of administration has always been populated by men (Cole, 1975; Costick, 1978; Erickson, 1979; Fennema & Dyer, 1984; Lather, 1984a; Longstreth, 1973; Meskin, 1974; Pope, 1982; Schmuck, 1975; Shakeshaft & b, 1986; Smithb, 1984). Extending this

generalization beyond education, Ulich (1987) considered, "to what extent our civilization, built mainly on the standards of men, is in need of a thorough human and moral reform in which women and women's ideals would have their share" (p. 4). Additionally, Withorn (1987) surmised that hierarchy is destructive for women because it is dominated by male values and male expectations of how women should behave. Looking historically, Jones (1987) discussed the "tragic legacy left by the feminization of teaching in the nineteenth century," and its impact on women choosing not to enter the teaching profession (p. 146). The implications are subtle, yet profound as Westkott (1987) examined the invisibility of women in all research disciplines. Critically and with great vehemence, she ascertained that social science has concentrated on distorting and misrepresenting women as objects of knowledge. "Women have not only been largely ignored in traditional approaches to knowledge; where women have been considered at all we have been measured in masculine terms" (Westkott, 1987, p. 150).

It appears that these realities reach to the roots of patriarchy and exist in many forms. Hartman (1981) defined patriarchy as a "set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women" (p. 14). Education, a servant of patriarchal policy, perpetuates the devaluation

of women, the traditional sexual division of labor, and denies to men an education in carrying out the reproductive responsibilities of society (Martin, 1987).

The pervasiveness of the patriarchal society we live under is evident in our schools, specifically in the administration of our schools. The roots to this patriarchy are reflected in the dominant educational philosophy which excludes women's work from texts and anthologies. Arguing that this philosophy of education does facilitate patriarchal policy, Martin (1984) declared "that when the activities and experiences traditionally associated with women are excluded from the educational realm and when that realm is defined in terms of male activities, then these become the educational norms for all human beings" (p. 171).

Shakeshaft (1989) acknowledged as well, the absence of literary work that helps educators understand women's contributions to formal school leadership. "Most educators have little awareness of the legacy of strong women leaders within the field" (p. 16). Schmuck (1975) noted that since the Civil War, school teaching has always been dominated by women while men filled the administrative ranks.

Consequently there is, and always has been, a widely accepted norm that administration is a man's domain.

Fennema & Dyer (1984) revealed that many educators and our society as a whole have assumed that women are not capable of leadership; therefore few women aspired to, studied for,

or sought administrative positions. Empathizing with the plight of women administrators, Cole (1975) proclaimed that we have perpetuated a stereotype that leadership and administrative aptitude are not human qualities found or developed in gifted persons, but are the property of male human beings alone. Excluding women from the educational administration by the current philosophy of education and its practice is grounded in the structure of the discipline, in the organizations of our schemata, and is only corrected through redefinition and reconstitution of the discipline (Martin, 1987).

Research indicates women have always been underrepresented in the formal leadership of schools, in a profession they have dominated at the classroom level since the birth of universal compulsory education. Arguing that education is a woman's natural field, Shakeshaft (1989) charged that women are dissatisfied with doing the greatest amount of the work and still being denied the opportunity to be leaders. Many authors speculate, however, that this imbalance may come to an end in the next decade, as more women enter into administrative positions (Erickson, 1979; Fennema & Dyer 1984; Pope, 1982; Shakeshaft, 1986a; Smith, 1984). Interestingly, as one ascends the hierarchical ranks, glaring inequities still exist for women in educational administration. Shakeshaft (1989) sarcastically questioned, "why the 'higher you go, the fewer you see'

syndrome for women in educational administration?" (p. 23) Yeakey, Johnston, & Adkinson (1986) discussed equity concerns in educational administration, as well as Ortiz & Marshall (1988), who suggested explanations ranging from heavy reliance on sponsorship to sex-role stereotyping to schools evolving as control-oriented bureaucracies. Even more disturbing is the plight of minority women who have experienced severe isolation and no voice due to their dual oppression (Yeakey et. al., 1986). This is why McCarthy and Webb (1990) insisted "that equity is a prerequisite of educational excellence. These are complementary, rather than mutually exclusive, concepts" (p. 10). Proclaiming equity and excellence a necessary nexus, McCarthy and Webb (1990) apprised educators that:

We will not significantly enhance educational leadership and the delivery of educational services until we reconceptualize leadership in a broader perspective that gives appropriate consideration to the contributions of women and ethnic and racial minorities. (p. 12)

Reconceptualizing leadership requires demystifying the structure of educational leadership (Foster, 1986a & b). Since education and other social institutions have been defined and organized by conditions of social consensus (Anderson, 1990), we must penetrate those conditions of social consensus and then define, understand and accept

these creations, these constructions of life, which are our social reality (Foster, 1986a).

The task of demystifying structure requires reconceptualizing the dominant beliefs, ideas, assumptions, metaphors, stories, myths, rituals, procedures and, ultimately, the system in which we live (Gray, 1982). Within cultures there are systems, explained Schaeff (1981); and in this culture we have a dominant, developmental system where power and influence are held primarily by white males. Proclaiming the white male system is not reality, but a myth that prevents us from seeing other existing realities, Schaeff (1981) asserted:

The White Male System is not reality. It is a reality, but it is not the reality, and women may very well have a reality of their own. Neither reality is right. Neither is the way the world is. Each simply is. . . . The White Male System controls almost every aspect of our culture. It makes our laws, runs our economy, sets our salaries, and decides when and if we will go to war or remain at home. It decides what is knowledge and how it is to be taught. Like any other system, it has both positive and negative qualities. But because it is only a system, it can be clarified, examined, and changed, both from within and without. (pp. 2, 8)

Hypothesizing that organizational reality and learning is coterminous with male learning, Sheppard (1985) argued that

"in a structure where male dominance is taken for granted, the assumption of the invisibility of gender can be understood as an ideological position" (p. 5). It functions like a myth camouflaging the male dominance that controls traditional organizational norms. "It masks the extent to which organizational politics are premised on the dominance of one set of definitions and assumptions that are essentially gender-based" (Sheppard, 1985, p. 5). Rhetorically speaking, Gray, (1981) compared this patriarchal myth to a conceptual trap, astronomers' black holes of the universe. "A conceptual trap is a way of thinking that is like a room which--once inside--you cannot imagine a world outside" (Gray, 1981, p. 17). According to Gilligan (1982a), the pervasive mythology is alive and well within social science. As she acknowledged in her book A Different Voice, "the presumed neutrality of science has masked the socially constructed nature of knowledge categories" (p. 6).

The implication, of course, is that the male-defined and male-run world, as well as the scientific ethos of the twentieth century the males created, is and has been the conceptual trap imprisoning women ideologically as well as behaviorally. Slack (1990a & b), Cooper (1990), and many others have joined the chorus of linguistic scholars in assessing and analyzing how language frames our conceptual understandings, thereby empowering or disempowering

individuals' motives or behaviors. Foster (1986a & b) explicitly illustrated the powerful relationship between leadership and language. Asserting that leadership is conditioned on language, Foster (1986a & b) specified that theorists and practitioners alike must "examine leadership not only as communication but also as distorted and undistorted communication" (p. 22). Historical metaphors of leadership introduced specific roles, rules and practices to maintain the social elite and sustain patriarchal power relationships (Slack, 1990a & b). Analyzing these metaphors through Foster's (1986) assumption that "the demystification of structure and the critically political and educative dimensions of leadership are based on language and communication which can be distorted" (p. 22), then leadership as language analysis "is an attempt to uncover the political uses of language" that act as leadership barriers and conceptual traps for women. He illustrated this perfectly by stating that "structures of domination are perpetuated through a linguistic cover-up which says 'things' are when they are not, or are not when they are" (p. 23). This illustrates how myths function.

There have been significant changes and responses to feminist employment within the hierarchical corridors of organizations. The barriers against promoting women are beginning to crumble, and more women today are wanting to make a difference in people's lives by involving themselves

in the leadership process. Despite this Jeffries (1988), pointed out:

As with any revolution, there comes a point where those involved must pause and take stock of direction and goal. Certainly the feminist agenda has been adjusted over the years. However, recent research and published works have made the call for adjustment and renewal of of the feminist vision a certainty. Coinciding with renewal is an energetic and forceful inquiry into the nature of leadership. (p. 13)

"Reframing reform" (Deal, 1990) and "refueling reform" (Kirst, 1986; Odden, 1986) are symbolic phrases that illustrate the necessity of renewing not only the feminist vision that Jeffries wrote about, but the national rage of restructuring our schools as well. Through demystification or penetration of structure, one is able to reflect on past accomplishments and struggles to refuel the reform. Rost (1988) argued that feminists haven't demystified the "conceptual morass of leadership models to distinguish between leadership and management and therefore distinguish between masculine and feminine styles of leadership and management" (p. 9). He also stated that there is confusion concerning gender and power in the context of the leadership relationship as well. However, argued Slack (1990b) the confusion and conceptual morass directly relates to traditional leadership definitions that incorporate

metaphors which hold women and minorities in very specific roles. Penetrating the structure or demystification is what Slack fulfilled by deconstructing the language of leadership models to include all voices for a better understanding of its historical context. She concluded by quoting Greywolf (1990), who said language stimulates the heart and mind because each language and its words tell us who we are. Understanding our language and its history is a prerequisite for transforming the leadership metaphors that imprison women in their roles.

Hypothesizing that "language uses us instead of we using it," Slack (1990b) summarized:

With that purposeful de-construction and understanding of our language, perhaps communication will improve between all people and across genders. In this way transformational leadership becomes more than someone or a process--more than only exterior change.

Transforming, transformational becomes transfiguration. Spirituality and science are changed to be more than a Western view or masculine view--more than White or female. Instead, leadership becomes a "guide on the path" not a controller of vision. Leadership is then open to many definitions and the guider becomes the guided in a truly emancipatory way (Slack, 1990, p. 20)

If we agree that language uses us instead of we using it (Arendt, 1971; Bowers, 1984; Foucault, 1977; Lakoff &

Johnson, 1980), then we can use Slack's premise to illustrate how the politics of gendered organization myth sustains women's minority status in educational leadership.

The Politics of Gendered Organization Myth

The politics of gendered organization myth is a term the researcher developed from the politics of education myth literature. The analogy is the same: education and politics should be kept separate; the politics of gender should be kept separate from the dynamics of organizational activity. This gender myth advocates a genderless ideological position that conveniently masks the extent to which organizational politics are premised on the dominance of one set of definitions and assumptions, the male reality. In this particular setting, the myth functions to make sense of uncertainty, provide rationality, and misdirect women's attention or distort their perceptions, keeping female characteristics subordinate and male characteristics dominant. The pervasiveness of patriarchal relations of power and subordination can be seen in all facets of social life. It is within this broader social context that organizations are enacted, experienced and the myth of gender formed. Therefore, most organizations today are traditionally structured as a bureaucratic hierarchy incorporating a male orientation where communication is formal, written down and relationships are vertical. Stratification exists in policies and labor with a

leadership emphasis on independence, autonomy, rationality, efficiency, objectivity and reason (Ludwig, 1985; Sayre, 1986; Smith, 1985).

Meyer (1984) viewed organizations as ideological systems and specifically stated that "formal organizational structures are rationalized myths of the organization's functioning" (p. 187). Myths functions to answer to or validate human values and ideological positions. Paradoxically, myths imply falsehood but can, in fact, convey truth (Bolman & Deal, 1984). Accordingly, Cohen (1969) reported several functions that myths serve: They explain, express, and maintain solidarity and cohesion; and legitimize, communicate and socially structure our unconscious wishes and conflicts; mediate contradictions, and provide narratives to anchor the past to the present. The politics of organizational gender myth suggests that organizations strive to adhere to a presumed genderless reality and social construction when, in actuality, the antithesis is experienced, and organizations do take on a specific gender orientation as a political advantage and strategy.

As a result, women "immigrants" moving into male-dominated culture learn how to redefine and manage their femaleness. Some women mask their female gender altogether and take on male characteristics, reinforcing the gendered organization myth. Cynically, Gilligan responded to "Why

should a woman be more like a man?; it is the masculine values that prevail. As a result, women come to question the normality of their feelings and to alter their judgements in deference to the opinions of others" (1982, p. 68). Thus, the myth is working.

Sheppard (1985) interviewed 15 women and found that these women formulate their organizational experiences with reference to their gender identity. They expressed a desire to "blend in," to soften the differences and rigidity with which they believe themselves to be perceived by their male peers. This blending depends on being feminine enough to meet conventional role expectations as well as incorporating the conventional masculine characteristics that dominate organizations.

Organizations demand this delicate balancing act because it enhances and preserves the independent domain of organizations. Symbolically it creates a myth that exploits individuals in the work setting, keeping gender and sexuality hidden. The myth is symbolic language and functions by "knowing, understanding, and thinking about the epistemological implications of a word's use, assists us in illuminating any hidden biases" (Slack, 1990a, p. 2). Since organizations are run by males and organizations are socially constructed concepts they assume a male identity (Ludwig, 1985; Sheppard, 1985; Sheppard & Fothergill, 1984). The gendered basis of power is an invisible, political bias

that develops compliant women. Ludwig (1985) suggested that gender is culturally constituted and produced through organizational and managerial practices, but she added, "a critical theory perspective on the other hand would go beyond the documentary stage of research to uncover the ways that maleness and femaleness, as socially constructed categories, are oppressive and disabling to human and organizational potential" (p. 2).

Domain as defined by Thompson (1967) is that part of the world the organization stakes out for itself. Organizations have more power if they are independent of their domains. This power analysis is prominent for males when the independent domain endowed to males allows them to reconceptualize their authority, superiority, and power. Kanter (1977) highlighted the significance of power and independence in organizations, using the word power synonymously with authority, autonomy, and freedom. She noted "the bureaucratic machinery of modern organizations means that there are rather few people who are really powerful" (p. 197). Those chosen few are males.

Women in large hierarchical organizations lack power because they have never been independent of their domains. They remain in cycles of powerlessness derived from their delicate balancing of organizational experiences and their gendered social domains. The female domain is reactive, magnifying male power and illuminating male dominance.

Since the male reality or domain is the accepted norm, and the female reality a deviation of that norm, organizational reality assimilates the male reality.

Reality is a cosmic, hierarchical ranking of values, asserted Gray (1982), which ranks that which is more valuable (male) over that which is lower in value (female). Embedded in the myth is the ranking of diversity that seems to be an extension of what Gilligan (1979) described as the development of male personality honoring autonomy and "self-in-separation." The female personality, on the other hand, develops as "self-in-connection" or "self-in-relationship" (pp. 12-13).

The politics of gender myth mirrors the politics of reality because our reality perpetuates the illusion that maleness is the norm and synchronous with being human, (Gilligan, 1982; Schaefer, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1989; Sheppard & Fothergill, 1984). This extends into the organization, added Sheppard (1985), when "women moving into traditionally male positions formulate their experiences in such a way as to suggest that for them, 'organizational learning' is in many ways coterminous with 'male learning'" (p. 5). Subtle, elusive, and invisible, the politics of gender myth is not physically verifiable. But, like organizations, the myth is "invisible but knowable only in an abstract, derivative way" (Smith, 1984, p. 368) conceptually trapping individuals' mystiques.

As Doyle (1986) confirmed, myths are answers to human values questions. The politics of gendered organization myth is an answer to how and why the male-gendered organization directs the political environment and continues to keep women in subordinate positions. The forthcoming discussion will focus on the contribution of this myth to the minority status of women in educational administration.

The Politics of Women in Educational Administration

Wiles, Wiles and Bondi (1981) advocated Easton's definition of politics, the authoritative allocation of scarce resources, to define four issues of the political situation: (a) What is legitimate? (b) Who controls the decision making? (c) What is the nature of competition? (d) What is valued? These four issues can be addressed and answered by the gendered myth of organizations which reveals the paradox of the myth and highlights the limitations it imposes on women.

What is legitimate? Wiles, Wiles, and Bondi (1981) maintain the word authoritative indicates that a primary concern of organizations is to be legitimate. In educational administration the conventional assumption of legitimate lies in the formal structures of the school organization (Sweeney, 1982).

As was mentioned previously, the formal structure of educational administration is male dominated. Women administrators are an anomaly and have never held parity

with men in educational administration (Biklen & Brannigan, 1980). Unfortunately most of the research and statistics has been generated on white women. We know very little of minority women teachers (Shakeshaft, 1989). Collier-Thomas (1982) pointed out that "black women had no real status in the teaching profession until the late nineteenth century" (p. 175). By 1920 Clifford (1982) informed us that 2% of the black women who worked outside the home were employed as educators, the seventh ranking field of work for all black women at the time (p. 252). The underrepresentation of black women in educational administration is even more bleak and dismal than that of white women (Shakeshaft, 1989). According to Haven, Adkinson, & Bagley (1980), minority men held 8.1% of the administration positions, while minority women occupied 3.4 % of the administrative positions. Statistics in 1985 revealed that 83.5% of the elementary teachers are women and only 16.9% are elementary principals; 50% of the secondary teachers are women but only 3.5% are principals; and they are two-thirds of all school personnel, but only 3% of the superintendents (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 22). This talent imbalance is recognizable in other professions and occupations. However, what is unique about education is that women as teachers dominate the first step of the career ladder. In most other professions men predominate in the beginning stages of the career ladder (Lather, 1984a; Shakeshaft, 1989; Sheppard, 1985; Schmuck,

1975; Smircich, 1983).

The structure of both the public schools and teacher education has formed by the subordinating women. Smith (1978) described the peculiar eclipsing of women from man's culture. Women educators in the early nineteenth century were fighting to maintain authority over the education of children. They fought to obtain a major role in designing, organizing, and running the schools and teacher training institutions (Biklen & Brannigan, 1980). Since women are not inherently less capable than men, external factors or formal structures must be examined to explain why women have been "consigned to teaching while men are clustered in administration" (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 81).

Gupta (1983) believed that male power and the status quo are being preserved by organizational and structural barriers that keep power from women. The industrial era, with its reorganized scientific management, created organizational structures or barriers that either inadvertently or knowingly ensured the continued participation of the dominant group--white males--while restricting entry and advancement of deviant groups--women and minorities. Estler (1975) explained women's exclusion using the following models:

The Woman's Place Model, which assumes women's nonparticipation in administrative careers as based solely on social norms; the Discrimination Model, which

draws on the assumption that institutional patterns are a result of the efforts on one group to exclude participation of another; and the Meritocracy Model, which assumes that the most competent people have been promoted and thus women are not competent. (p. 369).

She disputed the meritocracy model and provided evidence that it does not fit reality.

As bureaucratization was imposed upon the schools, "serious implications existed for women upon the separation of work in schools into administration and teaching categories" (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 30). The functions of teacher and administrator became more distinct. Women were hired as teachers and were expected to focus on students, not on the structure of the organization. Hansot and Tyack (1981) discussed the organizational structure that shapes behavior as a barrier by stating;

The chief source of male hegemony lies not in the psychological makeup of individuals. . . but in the structure and operation of organizations. Women behave in self-limiting ways not because they were socialized as females but because they are locked into low-power, low visibility, dead-end jobs. (p. 7)

The structural barriers women have encountered in educational administration are found in the policies and procedures and the formal and informal systems of the organization (Schmuck, 1975). These structural barriers

include: recruitment policies, personnel management, election systems, placement methods, curriculum programs, evaluation procedures, reward initiatives, communication processes, power/authority structures, and norms and expectations. Subordination is created and maintained through these barriers, what Ferguson (1984) compared to Weber's mechanistic analogy or Taylor's scientific management, maintaining the status quo legitimacy of hierarchical administration.

Examples of the barriers are numerous but important to emphasize in the context of the political consequences of male dominance. Generally, Shakeshaft (1989) noted, little has been written about the impact of race and gender issues concerning supervision and communication. Historically, males have supervised females reinforcing what Shakeshaft and others have called androcentrism, a belief in male superiority and the ideology of patriarchy (Adkison, 1981; Biklen, 1980; Hanson, 1984; Shakeshaft, 1986a). When women are in supervisory positions, the interaction between a female principal and a male teacher is demonstrably different than that between a male principal and male teacher (Frasher & Frasher, 1980; Shakeshaft, 1987). Often women administrators have to work to get male teachers to listen to them (Frasher & Frasher, 1980). Disputing the argument that men do not want to work for female administrators, Nieva and Gutek (1981) researched men and

women working under female administrators and found very little difference in attitudes about working under a female administrator or a male administrator. They contend it is the myths about these attitudes that keep women from reaching administrative positions which require supervision over male subordinates.

Feedback discrepancies involving women administrators and male superintendents, in contrast to the interactions between male superintendents and male principals, have been documented by Shakeshaft (1987) and others. Direct communication of corrective feedback is prominent between male interactions where evasive, indirect communication is the experience females reported (Schmuck, 1975; Shakeshaft, 1989; Sizemore, 1989). Ferguson (1984) noted that men and women use language differently, responding back and forth to each other in different ways to impact communication.

Internal barriers such as low self-image, lack of confidence, and lack of motivation have also been cited by Schmuck (1979) and others. Minority women have reported feelings of isolation as they "suffer the double bind of laboring under two negative statuses" (Yeakey et al., 1986 p. 112). However, researchers such as Reynolds and Elliott (1980) discussed the androcentric bias in the definitions of self-confidence, motivation, isolation and aspiration. Further support and evidence of the androcentric opportunity is suggested by Kanter (1977), who revealed that

"opportunity structures shape behavior in such a way that they confirm their own prophecies" (p. 158). In other words, the self-fulfilling prophecies of women in many organizations may be a factor in their lack of administrative opportunity, and they may provide sufficient evidence that the politics of gender myth is fulfilling its purpose.

Powerholders are threatened by the new "nonnatives" entering their profession. As gatekeepers, they have kept women from administrative positions through what Shakeshaft (1989) has called overt and covert barriers of sex discrimination. Reflecting these overt practices, Coffin and Ekstrom (1979) reported on the reasons why women were not hired as administrators when they qualified professionally. The basic reason is this: Women were not hired due to traditional issues. These traditional issues include the following: men not wanting to take directions from women, community expectations, lack of interest, recruitment strategies and restricted advertising, interview/selection process biases, lack of visibility, financial implications involving merit and seniority, communication networks and the old boy network, fear of inexperience, limited mentors, and women's role as mother and caretaker.

Covert forms subtly work to limit women's access to information and mobility. Privatizing information through

weeding women out at the applicant stage; placing women in dead-end jobs; evaluating women based on stereotypic generalizations rather than performance specifics; making expectations and requirements unrealistic; and using various norms and expectations to keep women in lower organizational echelons (Lather, 1983; Schmuck, 1979; Shakeshaft, 1989; Sheppard & Fothergill, 1984). According to Porter et al. (1983), most people do not consciously set out to discriminate but the behavior is embedded in the system. "The evidence suggests that sexual discrimination operates largely outside of conscious awareness." The unconscious awareness reinforces the presumed myth of neutrality, the myth of gendered organizations. The organizational structures, assumptions, and barriers mask the socially constructed nature of knowledge categories that comprise organizational reality (Gilligan, 1982 p. 6). The organizational structures, assumptions and barriers that emphasize gender are invisible and indicate that women belong in certain jobs or roles. The essence of the myth is to reassure women that their performance as teachers is more valuable than as administrators, and to reinforce the widely accepted norm that administration is a man's domain (Schmuck, 1979 Shakeshaft, 1989; Sheppherd & Fothergill, 1984).

Ferguson (1984) reported that "educational institutions serve as links between organizational complexes and also

between levels of society, mediating between the personal experiences of individuals in families and peer groups and the collective political culture at the organizational level" (p. 43). Therefore, this linkage is an important form of control since all aspects of life are organized bureaucratically. Life is linked together through bureaucratic arrangements, allocations, and accommodations. Describing schools as "carriers," an institutional process that has transmitted a particular element of consciousness, Ferguson proclaimed schools to be carriers of "Gouldner's (1964) concept of the metaphysical pathos of bureaucracy," keeping the myth alive while rendering young women into pathways of powerlessness and subordination (1984, p. 62).

Who controls decision making? This political issue has several faces and several complex, invisible answers. One might immediately answer that the hierarchical structure of educational administration is controlled by men. However, there are many other complex controlling factors inherent in the social reality that encompasses educational administration (Admundsen, 1971).

Gupta (1983) reported that personality factors and background socialization factors such as self-concept, independence, aspiration levels, motivation are often lower in women than in men. Radical feminists blame this on our patriarchal prison that values men over women. They believe patriarchy functions to keep women in their oppressed roles

with virtually no voice in decision-making processes (Hartman, 1981). Frye (1983) defined oppression through analyzing its root word press.

Presses are used to mold things or flatten them or reduce them in bulk, sometimes to reduce them by squeezing out the gasses or liquids in them. Sometimes pressed is something caught between or among forces and barriers which are so related to each other that jointly they restrain, restrict, or prevent the things motion of mobility. (p. 4)

Women are caught among networks of forces that restrict motion in any direction. Kaplan (1989) described these forces as "education's jumble of administrative layers, specialities and responsibilities. . .real authority that is haphazardly scattered" (p. 2), are the invisible controls imposed by our patriarchal, conceptual web creating the gendered myth.

Kaplan (1989) noted the confusing dynamics of educational lines of authority and responsibility. Acknowledging the bruising, embarrassing examination of leadership throughout society, she (1989) spoke about educational leadership in the same wounded spirit.

The leadership of American education is a mass of contradictions and incompatibilities. Sometimes it is the personification of participatory democracy in action. Then it may revert quickly to arbitrary

authoritarianism. Like a smart teenager, it can display prodigious insight and ignorance almost simultaneously. It can be flexible, rigid, compassionate, and unthinkingly mean-spirited--all in the same transaction. It is in other words, an unkempt bureaucracy in which the sum is less than the parts.

(p. 6)

Kaplan described teachers and administrative women as non-existent actors, "the people whose direction and guidance will inevitably be decisive forces in determining whether the schools will improve or not" (p. 7). "Education's unknown leaders" another metaphor Kaplan used, face institutional, social, educational, psychological, emotional, and organizational barriers that cause women to question their ability to lead, not to want to work for female administrators, compete with each other, lack encouragement and sponsorship, isolation at the top, sacrifice their gender identity, have limited options and opportunities and so forth. This bureaucratic manipulation is so pervasive that women believe they lack the skills to be leaders and administrators in schools. Believing and embracing this stereotype, women reinforce the norm and expectations by buckling under the system (Schaefer, 1981). Women are like fish swimming in the sea of their own cultural assumptions (Gray, 1982), thus reinforcing the myth.

Bureaucratic power, declared Ferguson, "creates an arena in which the 'feminization' of subordinates is encouraged" (1984, p. 98). It privatizes the system so men always remain in control. "The victims of bureaucracy--both those who are targets of control, especially the poor, and those who administer the control--have many of the attributes of femininity" (p. 98). Isolation, dependency, vulnerability, seeking approval, grooming the "right image," lacking resources and access to decision-making processes are some of the many attributes of feminization that organizations reinforce. This reinforcement ends up privatizing the myth of a gendered organization as the result of the political consequences of male dominance.

Fischer and Sirianni (1984) hypothesized that bureaucracy, corporate capitalism, and the scientific management ethos stressed deskilling teachers, status quo and efficiency, so much so that Lather (1984a) declared that "efficiency became the justification for concentrating decision-making power in the hands of a few white men" (p. 4). Discussing how the structure of bureaucracy shapes and victimizes individuals, Ferguson (1984) reinforced Lather's point on the selective control of power. She reported that the "successful construction of goal consensus among the members of an organization is one method for reducing uncertainty. Goal consensus is said to reduce the frequency and intensity of conflict among the staff and to enhance the

reliability of authority channels" (p. 103). This emphasis of conformity creates a paradox for women. By maintaining the status quo women perpetuate their own powerlessness, consequently their own oppression (Lather, 1984a).

Kanter (1984), writing about women and power in organizations, identified power as a scarce resource and conceded that women are strangling in cycles of powerlessness. Similarly, Lather (1984a & b) observed that women teachers and often women administrators are simultaneously in positions of power and powerlessness. Considering that women vary in their orientation to power, Gilligan (1982) analyzed Miller's theory on relationships of dominance and subordination. Gilligan pointed out that women are dominant in relations of temporary inequality such as parent and teacher where adult power is used to foster development that eventually removes the initial disparity; they are submissive in permanently unequal relations where power is used both to cement dominant/subordinate dynamics and to rationalize the need for continued equality reinforcing the gendered myth.

Associating the significance of power in organizations with independence, Kanter (1977) used power synonymously with authority, autonomy, and freedom. She noted "the bureaucratic machinery of modern organizations means that there are rather few people who are really powerful" (p. 197). Those chosen few are males. Power as a synonym of

authority is seen in women as teachers but is absent in women as educational leaders or administrators (Lather, 1984a, b & c). Traditionally women in hierarchical organizations lacked power because the authority positions were occupied by men. The historical organizational boundaries have been defined by assumptions of gender dominance by males and subordination of females

Many of the restrictions and limitations women live with are more or less internalized, self-monitored and are part of the adaptations to the requirements and expectations of a male dominated reality. Historically, the answer to the question who controls the decision-making processes lies in the complex social web of life, the conceptual trap. This web, a patriarchal fiber, was and continues to be closely monitored by patriarchal gatekeepers and reinforced socially by humankind. However, if the restructuring rhetoric is truly activated, and we indeed are reframing reform, then perhaps the patriarchal boundaries of administration and hierarchy will really dissolve so women administrators are free to experience and construct organizational experience based on their personal interpretation of reality (Chodorow, 1971, Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976; Sheppherd, 1985). Additionally, catalyzing the rhetorical reform will provide for teacher empowerment and give teachers a voice in decision-making processes (Deal, 1990; DeYoung, 1989; Foster, 1990; Johnston, Bickel &

Wallace, 1990). As indicated by Johnston, Bickel and Wallace (1990), teacher empowerment and shared decision making represents a pivotal change in the traditional culture of schools and in the traditional mindscapes of people. This complex goal requires time, patience, support, rethinking and redesigning the social constructions of organizations, leadership, gender and the total abolition of the patriarchal conceptual trap in which women have been entangled. Chodorow (1979) commented on the essentialness of rethinking theoretical social constructions of organizations. Lather agreed and stated that we need new mental frameworks on organizations, or a reshaping of organizational "dimensions and social constructions in order to clarify the complex interplay of the internal and external forces that disempower women in their own professions" (1984, p. 10). Global mind change, asserted Harmon (1988), is extremely difficult, and a new valuation of nurturing work will not come easily as long as men use the power of language, the power of hierarchy and organizational structure to define themselves as not women (Lather, 1984c). The answer to the question who controls the decision-making processes lies in the complex social web of life. This web, a patriarchal strand, is the politics of gendered organization myth. Closely monitored by patriarchal gatekeepers and reinforced by humankind, the myth creates an illusion of neutrality as well as the

illusion of reality, the way the world is. Universal concerns and patriarchal concerns are one in the same, giving meaning and power to the myth (Schaefer, 1981).

What is the nature of competition? Females are pioneers into the male's world of educational administration. They are competing in a political culture with norms, symbols, ideas, and practices born from males' dominance over females. It is reflected and mirrored in every aspect of life (Frye, 1983; Gray, 1982; Hartman, 1981; Schaefer, 1981).

Female administrators have been competing against a tradition that has been very slow to change. Regrettably, echoed Kaplan (1989), the profile of educational administration for the 1990s does not appear to resemble or mirror the diverse student population that will be attending school. Any progress made toward equity issues seems to be illusionary. The status of women, blacks and Hispanics in educational administration, commented Kaplan (1989), is deeply disturbing. They represent a bare four percent of the district superintendencies and only slightly more than 30 percent of the school principalships. Overall, women occupied 26 percent of all school administrative posts in 1984-85, a rise of but one percent in three years. (p. 73)

The picture is even more dismal and bleak for black Americans and Hispanics. Kaplan (1989) noted that if there

is any increase in black administrators it is because the white student population has left the urban school districts. For black Americans, administration in American education remains a distant dream. In 1988 there were no black chief state school officers (the most recent, Wilson Riles of California, was defeated by Bill Honig in a nonpartisan election in 1982), 125 out of 15,000 school board members, and roughly five percent of the nation's school principals are black (p. 76). When blacks are appointed principals or superintendents, Harris (1988) noted:

We can generally make assumptions about the nature of the district or school. We can generally assume that the district or school is in a perilous condition, plagued with low student achievement, poor pupil discipline, bureaucratic inefficiency, and financial problems. It is not so much that Blacks gained control of a district or school, but rather that Whites have abandoned it. We generally become administrators of schools and districts with a myriad of problems.

Blacks inherit the "husk" of the educational system.

(p. 54)

The administrative dream is even more distant for black women who have competed against race and gender. Shakeshaft reported that "most women in administration are white, but studies of big cities find that percentages of majority to

minority women are nearly equal" (1989, p. 58).

Women have not always been an endangered species in educational administration. There was a time when women outnumbered men among principals of elementary schools (Baptise, Waxman, Walker de Felix, & Anderson, J. E. 1990; Lather, 1984a; Schmuck, 1975; Shakeshaft, 1989). Noting that the imbalance of women administrators has remained consistent, Shakeshaft (1989) reported that some eras had a "richer participation" than others. "It must also be remembered that a number of women prior to 1900 were administrators of the schools they founded" (p. 33). Other scholars have documented the dominance of female administrators in the nineteenth century (Giddings, 1984; Greene, 1984; Solomon, 1985). However, Giddings (1984) and Solomon (1985) noted that most female administrators had founded the schools they managed. Shakeshaft (1989) documented that women were winning administrative positions in the early twentieth century and the trend instigated Ella Flagg Young's bright forecast for women in school leadership. Writing on the history of female disempowerment in education, Lather (1984a) discussed the resistance that Ella Flagg Young, Chicago District Superintendent, encountered in her efforts to develop teacher councils of responsibility and power. Shakeshaft and Lather both commented on the political activism and social reform that Young, the first woman to hold a big city superintendency,

and her colleague, Margaret Haley who worked to form the Chicago Teacher's Federation, activated. It was through these reforms and political struggles that Lather (1984a) talked about the Chicago teachers' heritage of freedom being obliterated from the history of teaching. Hansot and Tyack (1981) referred to this era, 1900-1930, as the "golden age for women in school administration."

The movement of black women into administration during this time is more difficult to follow because "not as much information that documents or compiles these experiences is available" (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 34). Williams et al., (1979) reported that a Philadelphia Quaker, Anna T. Jeanes, made it possible for minority women to achieve positions of formal leadership through the Jeanes million dollar endowment program.

Between 1928 and 1972 many significant and complex events occurred that affected the status of women in general and the status of women educators in particular. The school management system of fear conquered the short-lived political activism in Chicago, creating complacent, non-militant or even professionally nonactive teachers (Lather, 1984a; Strober & Tyack, 1980). Lather (1984a) argued "that the bureaucratization of the schools and the 'normal school mentality' combined to disempower women within their own profession" (p. 5). The depression years when money was scarce, caused school districts to hire men only because men

were supporting families. This decision was made in spite of the fact that some women were supporting siblings and parents. People and organizations who had been supporting women educators switched their allegiance because of economics and the financial reverses during the depression (Biklen & Brannigan, 1980; Fennema & Dyer, 1984; Lather, 1984a & b; Schmuck, 1975; Shakeshaft, 1989).

Highlighting the predictable patterns of supervisory, domestic or welfare work being set aside for women who were selected to do the work by boards of men, Shakeshaft (1989) criticized the barriers that women encountered after 1928 which resulted in their decline in administrative work.

She argued that:

Century-old patterns of male dominance had solidified a number of beliefs about women that both men and women accepted and that limited women's access to school administration. Negative attitudes toward women continued to be a major barrier. Women were thought to be constitutionally incapable of discipline and order, primarily because of their size and supposed lack of strength. (p. 39)

Not only was size and physical strength a consideration for employment but motherhood, marital status, and social exclusionary practices were considered as well. Attitudes that males were better suited for dealing with community issues and problems as well as the view that women's

financial obligations and constraints were minimal compared to men helped to decrease the number of female administrators (Shakeshaft, 1989).

The nature of competition is inherent in the politics of reality and the gendered organizational myth (Frye, 1983; Skalbeck, 1987). Women are competing against social attitudes that are so pervasive, they are not always sure of the battle. The competition lies in competency levels, evaluation procedures, hiring practices, managerial concepts, cultural norms, educational and training programs, family constraints, issues of marginality, self-imposed restraints, the old-boy network, and more. Competing for roles and power becomes a game, and if it were a game wherein competitors of both sexes competed one could say fair enough. But when it becomes a game between men, able or not, and all women regardless of how capable; inequity is heaped upon inequity. Women must emerge from the game to achieve visibility and power to be leaders in changing the deeply ingrained gender patterns (Freeman, 1975; Friedan, 1981; Frye, 1983; Gray, 1982; Hartman, 1981; Schaef, 1981; Sheppard, 1985).

Concluding her chapter "Too few for too long," Shakeshaft (1989) reiterated that the pervasive administrative practice continues

to keep the number of women administrators to a minimum through the 1980s. Although the Women's Liberation

Movement, beginning in the 1960s, drew attention to the underrepresentation of women in traditional positions of leadership in the schools, very little movement occurred for women in school administration during the 1960s and 1970s. The percentage of women in school administration in the 1980s is less than the percentage of women 1905. Women have seldom attained the most powerful and prestigious administrative in schools, and the gender structure of males as managers and females as workers has remained relatively stable for the past 100 years. Historical record, then, tells us that there never was a golden age for women administrators, only a promised unfulfilled. (p. 51)

What is valued? Schools distribute values. This simple fact exposes the hypocrisy of the politics of education myth (Doyle, 1986). Easton's (1965) definition of politics, the authoritative allocation of values for a society, clarifies the importance of politics in education. The production and legitimation of knowledge and values through educational institutions are a major form of cultural reproduction. Mann (1981) mentioned two types of values that are distributed in schools: social mobility and norms. According to Gamoran (1990), equity is an important value of education that has two components: "It implies equality of results across population subgroups, and it calls for equality of access with respect to the population

as a whole" (p. 157).

Social mobility is discrimination. Schools determine and sort those who will fit into bureaucracies; who will or will not accept society's determined roles; who will or won't endorse the previous culture (Mann, 1981). The school's function plays an important part in allocating mobility to some and denying it to others. The gender tracking system is an example of the mobility forces that specifies male from female occupations (Sadker, Sadker, & Steindam, 1989).

In a comprehensive analysis of the professional literature and a nationwide survey of educators' reactions concerning equity issues in the reform reports, Sadker, Sadker and Steindham (1989) reported that the reform movement is in need of reform itself. Their findings reveal a glaring omission in the reports concerning gender matters that involving females' needs in schools. "A review of the literature and a survey of practitioners' views show that the reform movement has done little to promote educational equity or close the gender achievement gap" (p. 44).

Highlighting their conclusions, they found that:

1. In the professional dialogue about education reform, gender equity received the silent treatment.
2. The reform reports and the professional dialogue they have spawned failed to take into account the substantial body of research concerning different

educational experiences and outcomes for boys and girls.

3. A contradiction exists between national standardized test scores, where boys outperform girls by the secondary school level, and report card grades, where girls outperform boys. (pp. 44-47)

Declaring gender "our national blind spot," they proclaimed the need to increase the economic improvement of women and minorities through more academic and career counseling. The structure of school itself presents an equity problem "with too few women and minorities in positions of leadership. The educational medium and message combine to form a subtle pattern that slowly takes an academic and psychological toll" (p. 47).

This psychological toll is transmitted through norms which are transmitted by the schools to reinforce the social reality that engulfs everyone. The structure of public school values the disempowerment of women (Lather, 1984a, b & c). As was just noted, children continue to see men leading teachers who are mostly female, and teachers leading children. Children learn the values inherent in the hierarchy when discipline problems are handled by the principal who is always authoritative, usually male, and out of the teacher's control who is usually female (Lather, 1984a; Sadker, Sadker & Steindham, 1989).

Children learn and assimilate the values that schools

distribute. The pervasiveness of the politics of gendered organizations myth, the myth of sexually neutral organizations, runs rampant because our schools are inculcating students with androcentric knowledge, a traditional, positivistic view of knowledge as "a fixed store of information and expertise to be pumped into passive students" (Lather, 1984a, p. 17). Advocating the transformation of schools and consequently society by challenging androcentrism or male hegemony, Lather (1984a) stated that

conceptual literacy, critical thinking, collective learning tasks, holistic learning that balances affective/cognitive/ behavioral changes, and the "withering away of the teacher" (Shor, 1980) as expert teacher are components of an empowering pedagogy that stands in stark contrast to the traditional view of knowledge. (p. 17)

The value of being female or male is in every facet of life and reinforced in school. Like knowledge, the production and legitimation of gender through educational institutions is a major form of cultural reproduction.

The foundation of the gendered myth is cemented in the contradictions of gender and knowledge, of gender and organizing, and in the contradictions of women's lives (Lather, 1984; Smircich, 1985). Smircich (1985) reinforced Gilligan's (1979) concept that categories of knowledge are

human constructions by discovering "theories formerly considered to be sexually neutral in their scientific objectivity are found instead to reflect a consistent observational and evaluative bias" (p. 3). Therefore she concluded that gender must influence the production of knowledge. Keller (1985) illustrated this by noting scientific knowledge and discourse is considered male while nature is viewed as female.

Businessly or organizationally speaking, knowledge in these realms is constructed by male dominance rooted in industrialism, bureacraticization and steered by capitalism in a patriarchal society. But as Smircich (1985) announced, "organization and management theorists typically proceed unconsciously, presenting their work as objective, value free, non-political and sexually neutral" (p. 4). This is the myth of gendered organizations.

Feminist perspectives have argued that organizations have disempowered and disqualified women's knowledge as legitimate knowledge (Gray, 1983; Hartman, 1981; Lather, 1984; Smircich, 1985; Smith, 1985). If we agree that organizations are socially constructed and "validation is the practice of the legitimation of knowledge," then Smircich's premise that "the traditions of scholarship within each field arbitrate the production of knowledge" must be the reality (Smircich, 1985, p. 9). Therefore, women have been bombarded by knowledge that has been

bureaucratically baptized and validated primarily by male experiences. According to Smircich (1985), "women's knowledge does not 'fit,' it has less to do with truth and more to do with the illegitimacy of female knowledge in a public sphere" (p. 14). This began with the oppression of women which reaches back before recorded history and created the institution of patriarchy.

Patriarchy incorporates symbols and symbolic action to keep women quiescent, and to "passionately defend the very social institutions that deprive or degrade them" (Edelman, 1967). What is valued can be seen in every organization, institutional and individual system that functions to maintain the reality of seeing life through HIS eyes. What is valued is embedded in the politics of gendered organization myth that appeals to the consciousness of people, is socially communicated and unquestioned.

The Function of the Politics of Gendered Organization Myth

Recently, scholars have expressed the importance of exploring the implications of gendered authors and gendered organizations (Balsamo, 1985; Burrell, 1984; Schaeff, 1981; Skalbeck, 1987; Smircich, 1985; Smith, 1985; Sayre, 1986). In an effort to expand gender perspectives related to research on organizational gender, Burrell and Morgan (1979) determined that gender takes on assorted interpretations, different implications and novel consequences depending on the set of assumptions used to

delineate gender. Agreeing with Burrell and Morgan, Smircich (1985) discussed expanding gender perspectives in organizations by summarizing Burrell and Morgan:

Based on the traditional functionalist assumptions, gender is an objective biological fact that may facilitate prediction and control within organizational life; the assumptions of interpretivists suggest a descriptive, appreciative research focus on the qualitative processes of 'maleness' and 'femaleness'; the radical humanist orientation critiques limiting ideas about gender and encourages enactment of new realities; and the assumptions of radical structuralists suggest that gender be viewed as a structurally-based dichotomy of oppressor and oppressed--a dichotomy that must be exposed before it can be changed. (p. 7)

The value of analyzing organizations and leadership in the organizations from a gender perspective was demonstrated in Sayre's (1986) research. Through a phenomenological case study of a small manufacturing company, she explored the degree to which organizations may or may not be categorized according to a gender viewpoint. She concluded that this particular company demonstrated characteristics that were unquestionably "female." The characteristics she observed unique to this company included sensitivity to environmental concerns, deep caring and nurturing for organizational

members, hiring practices based on enthusiasm, innovativeness, and personal worth, collaborative decision making and so forth.

On the contrary, Gilligan (1982) and Miller (1985) identified "male" oriented companies as bureaucratically structured with formal, written, vertical policies and communication, hiring practices based on experience and degree, top down decision making and the like.

The politics of gendered organizations myth exists to maintain male power and yet disguise it as reality. Millet (1971) referred to the politics of social organization as a patriarchy.

Our society. . . is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political offices, finances--in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands. (p. 25)

The partnership between patriarchy and capitalism reinforces the myth and catalyzes the political avenues men use to maintain power and domination over women (Hartman, 1981). The antithesis of the myth is that organizations are genderless and neutral which has worked and continues to work to exclude women from the scheme, the social construction of reality. The politics of the myth can be epitomized as Frye (1983) indicated, as "a problem that has

no name" (p. 41). Her point validates the function of the myth by suggesting that male-oriented organizations "do not exist, whereas, in fact they are very common and familiar" (p. 41). Additionally Frye (1983) remarked, "one can begin to see that women are excluded by the scheme, and that this is motivated, when one begins to see what purpose the exclusion might serve in connection with keeping women generally in their metaphysical place" (p. 173).

Men are not the enemy, but the fellow victim of the present half-equality. Smircich (1985) acknowledged this point and stated:

It is not necessary to make value judgements about an organization's gender; it is however worthwhile to develop an understanding of how the notion of gender may be used to characterize organizational patterns and how these patterns are related organizational functioning. From a theoretical standpoint it is worthwhile to evaluate the idea of gender as an additional lens or framework for making sense of organizations. (pp. 17-18).

By dissolving the gendered myth, men and women will both be freed to greater self-fulfillment.

Politics and political action are the vehicles that will save women from the present inequities if we destroy the political myths of education, gender, and reality (Skalbeck, 1989). Women have the ability to motivate, exert

power and influence, mold, persuade, compete for scarce resources if we change the gender stereotypes that rule within our present psyches, our institutions, our policies, and our relationships (Balsamo, 1986; Burrell, 1984; Fergusson, 1984; Gilligan, 1979; Lather, 1984).

The extensive gender imbalance in school administration is problematic because our full resources in education are not being utilized (Baptise, Waxman, Walker de Felix, Anderson (1990). Considering the truism that democracy is dependent upon well-informed citizenry, and that educational opportunity is an important part of the American dream, there is a contradiction between achieving the American dream and reality (Skalbeck, 1987). Females have been restricted from attaining their full potential and their dreams, simply because of gender (Frye, 1983; Hartman, 1981; Schaef, 1981; Schmuck, 1975, Scott-Jones & Clark, 1986).

Campaigning for a feminist restructuring of teacher education and ultimately public education, Lather (1984a) suggested that "we must stymie the male models of professionalism that plague teacher education" that mechanically work to deskill, technocratize and disempower teachers as well as administrators (p. 14). In agreement with Lather (1984a), Smircich discussed reintellectualizing and politicizing women as a means to empower them.

Gender shaping is a very complex and subtle process that impacts all aspects of life. Deactivating the myths

will start the equity overhaul which Lather (1983) said is needed for transforming our schools, allowing female leadership along with male leadership to flourish:
Until the rebirth of feminism, women had no access to alternative ideologies that both resonated to their lived situations and encouraged them to question the gender status quo. Because the exploitation of women has been the bedrock upon which the public schools have grown, the empowerment of women holds the key to transforming schools. (p. 23)

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to analyze and describe the leadership behaviors of a female, high school principal whom I judged on the basis of preliminary data to be a transformational leader. The analysis of the data collected as part of the study will determine the degree to which she emulates Burns' (1978) model of transformational leadership, what she may add to it, how she may change it, and whether or not she engages in leadership as a critical practice (Foster, 1985a). I wanted to examine leadership as a process in a context where the relationship of influence, conflict and power exists. The focus of this investigation is embodied within the naturalistic research tradition (Guba and Lincoln, 1981), seeking to answer qualitative questions about her leadership behavior. Evolutionary or emergent in nature, this research is guided by an interpretative process that analyzes and describes symbols, norms, values, beliefs, attitudes and underlying assumptions of the leader and her followers (Putnam, 1982). Through the interpretative process then, this study both utilizes and creates theory through data reduction, data display and the drawing of

conclusions or verifications from the answers given to the qualitative questions (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Hoping to harness the fullest, richest, and most comprehensive description of transformational leadership available in the literature to date, I will question and examine the basic assumptions people have about the nature of her leadership and its reality in the high school culture. This examination will allow the researcher to reduce and display data, and then draw conclusions from that display (Cooper, 1990), constructing new knowledge and theory.

Attempting to present a "slice of life" by documenting natural phenomenon, I have focused in this study on her individual experiences as a leader within a school culture (Tesch, 1984), and explore what it is like to be a principal who attempts transforming leadership in a high school. This subjective journey is rooted in qualitative methodology, concentrating on description and interpretative understandings. Qualitative methods are referred to as "thick" (Geertz, 1973:6), "deep" (Sieber, 1973), and "holistic" (Rist, 1977, 44); reinforcing Erickson et al's (1980) argument that "what makes research interpretative or qualitative is a matter of substantive focus and intent rather than in data collections" (p. 20).

Interpretative methods using participant observational fieldwork and interviewing guide this study as I seek to know more about:

1. What are the activities, behaviors, and social interactions at this inner city high school under this principal's leadership?
2. What do these actions mean to her, her followers, and the other actors involved in the school at the time the actions take place?
3. How are the happenings organized culturally in relation to the interactions and feelings of those involved?
4. How are her leadership behaviors related to other social systems outside and inside the school setting?

"The task of interpretative research, then, is to discover and understand ways in which local and nonlocal forms of social organization and culture relate to the activities of specific persons in making choices and conducting social action together" (Erickson, Florio & Buschman, 1980, p. 129). The notion of local and nonlocal forms of social organization and culture relating to the behavior and activities of people is close to what Blumer (1969) defined as symbolic interactionism. "Symbolic interaction sees group life as a process in which people, as they meet in their different situations, indicate lines of action to each other and interpret the indications made by others" (Blumer, 1969, p. 52). Concerned with the participants' points of view, and how these points of view develop, "symbolic interactionists assume meanings arise through social interaction with others" (Ritzer, 1980, p.

27). Jacob (1987) presented an extensive discussion on the methods of symbolic interactionism which, he stated, is primarily interested in "describing the processes of symbolic interaction in order to understand behavior" (p. 29). Documenting these processes of interaction requires the researcher to live the experiences of the actor, to step into the shoes of the actor and walk the experiences so to speak (Blumer, 1969). Meltzer et al. (1975) called this "sympathetic introspection," and Smith (1983) defined it as *verstehen*, a process unique to qualitative research, that "allows social science to deal with that essential human aspect of our subjects" (p. 8).

Paige (1977) advocated social interaction proclaiming that:

The scientific study of political leadership must be developed in a matrix of time (past, present, and future), empirical potential (actual and possible), and values (the desired and the desirable). . . This means to study political leadership as it was, is and will be; as it could have been, can be, and could be; as it should have been and should be. Therefore, it is essential to describe, explain, predict, and evaluate political leadership behavior just as it was, is or will be. (p. 7)

Worried that some of the least important issues and realities about leaders are bestowed extensive amounts of

time and attention, Weick (1978) recommended exploring the ways leaders associate "on line." He put it this way:

I think we need to spend more time watching leaders 'on line,' whether that line is simulated or real. We have to put ourselves in a better position to watch leaders make do, let it pass, improvise, make inferences, scramble, and all other things leaders do during their days between more visible moments of glory. (p. 60)

Recreating, describing and identifying the experiences of this leader is the primary goal of this journey, which is driven by qualitative questions to gain the richest comprehensive analysis of transformational leadership possible. Additionally, this analysis attempts to "formally identify themes and to construct hypotheses (ideas) as they are suggested by the data and . . . to attempt to demonstrate support for those themes and hypotheses" (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, pp. 79-80). In her extensive discussion of qualitative research traditions, Jacob (1987) highlighted the work of Glazer and Strauss (1967) in "grounded theory," which Bogdan and Taylor (1975) drew on to illustrate the generative role of theory. Jacob discussed the importance of generating theory and highlighted Glaser and Strauss' methodological approach. "The goal of their approach is to develop theory that accounts for behavior rather than to develop descriptions of behavior with the goal of verifying theory" (p. 31). Supporting the use of qualitative

research, Yin (1987) emphasized the importance of close-up, detailed observations of the natural world by the researcher to document and extend existing theory. According to McCall (1977), previous research on leadership focused on the nitty-gritty, easily and readily observable, short-term applications. Mueller (1980) agreed and added that we need to study leaders who can "initiate structure in group expectation and show us how to master and motivate institutions and individuals within a complex environment experiencing excessive internal and external stresses and changes" (p. 19).

In summary, qualitative research is interpretative research that seeks to understand the attitudes, values, beliefs and underlying assumptions of those being studied in order to understand how others view their world. Expecting to verify and expand transformational leadership theory, this researcher hopes to interpret the attitudes, values, beliefs and underlying assumptions of the transforming leader and her followers to determine the meaning and view they have of their professional world as educators.

In empirical terms, many researchers are moving away from the traditional research inquiries that reflect positivist, determinate, causal relationships to investigations that embrace diversity, complexity, indeterminacy, openness, and nonlinear causality (Lincoln, 1985). Reflectively, interpreting the attitudes, values,

beliefs and underlying assumptions of the individuals involved in the leadership relationships under study illustrates the paradigm shift in epistemological and methodological assumptions that Lincoln and others (1985) discussed in Organizational Theory and Inquiry: The Paradigm Revolution.

Lincoln (1985) defined a paradigm as "a view of the world--a *Weltanschauung*--that reflects our most basic beliefs and assumptions about the human condition, whether or not there is any such thing as 'sin,' what is real, what is true, what is beautiful, and what is the nature of things" (p. 29). The paradigm of qualitative research emphasizes new ways of exploring our world view to which Lincoln refers to as geometries. "We need to move to some new geometries-geometries, if you will, of human organization and inquiries. We need new ways of seeing organizations and we need new ways of exploring what our new visions might be like" (p. 32). New ways of seeing organizations is a hot item in the education literature, which has called for naturalistic alternatives to traditional positivistic educational research. Confusion has arisen, reported Jacobs (1987), in how to conduct research in natural settings, "because the education literature has usually treated the alternatives to traditional positivistic research as a single approach--often called the 'qualitative' approach--when in fact, there are a variety of approaches" (p. 1).

Within the qualitative research paradigm, there are two interpretative approaches that bear a family resemblance and directly influence this investigation: phenomenology and ethnography. They are very similar because they are used to describe subjective experiences, but they also have differences. Tesch (1984) distinguished them by stating that ethnography depicts an entire culture and phenomenology focuses on the individual which doesn't necessarily need the culture to be meaningful. But as Rogers (1980) pointed out, knowledge of the behavior of human beings in a given social context is relatively meaningless without some understanding of the meaning those observed give to their behavior. Therefore, phenomenology and ethnography are like siblings, interrelated and connected and, as Freiberg (1986) stated, not at all mutually exclusive.

This study replicates Freiberg's methodology in researching a transformational leader. His case study approach combined ethnography and phenomenology to understand how the inner subjective experiences and meanings (phenomenology) of a CEO shaped and influenced the social construction of an organizational culture (ethnography). My purpose is to define the inner subjective experiences and meanings that this high school principal has had, and how she used those meanings and experiences to shape the culture and realities of the high school. The culture of a school, said Owens (1987), is a constructed reality that is shaped

by strong dedicated leadership. Investigating the constructed reality of this high school requires utilizing phenomenology and ethnography research methods. A brief examination of these two qualitative methodologies illustrates their connected impact on and significance to this study.

Phenomenological Research Approach

Interpretation, according to McCutcheon (1981), is one process that many qualitative researchers go through in describing, reaching an understanding, and portraying a particular setting. "A researcher using a qualitative approach based on principles and assumptions of phenomenology would be likely to interpret events in light of the meaning participants make of those events" (McCutcheon, 1981, p. 5). Tesch (1984) discussed the difficulty in becoming specific about a definition of phenomenological research, but emphasized its value for empathetic understanding and knowing the range of experiences an individual might have. She maintained that "its purpose is to probe into the richness of the human experience and to illuminate the complexity of individual perception and action against the background of our knowledge of the general laws or regularities in human nature" (p. 28). In order to deal with the essential human aspects of individuals and the subject of this study, one must incorporate phenomenological procedures to unveil the

human experience under investigation. "Unless we study the range of meanings that a person may attach to a situation or event," argued Tesch (1984), "we do not have a framework for the interpretation of the person's behavior, and therefore no basis for developing true empathy" (p. 27). Attempting to illuminate the complexity of individual perception, Husserl (1964) advocated probing into the "life-world" of an individual through his or her individual experiences to discover the meaning he or she attaches to particular experiences. In an extensive presentation of the evaluation of organizational means/ends, Prior (1989) recognized the importance of developing empathy. In a similar vein to Tesch, Prior indicated that:

The sociological researcher, of course, is able to interpose him or herself into such a discourse in only one of two ways. The first involves a critique of the practices implied by the discourse, whilst the second involves a more direct engagement with it in such a way that one becomes part of the discourse. It is in the second context that evaluation is possible. (p. 146)

The reconstruction theory of leadership developed by Foster (1986a & b) highlights the praxis of leadership by suggesting that "leadership acts are certainly involved with the redefinition of reality and the creation of alternatives" (p. 18). If one agrees with this theory, then phenomenological techniques are essential to discover those

redefined realities and why they were redefined. Likewise, if our social world is indeed constructed, researchers must employ phenomenological procedures to penetrate that created structure in order to unveil the meanings that are the foundations and cornerstones of phenomena.

Penetrating constructed realities requires an "experience of immersion in the phenomenon, of intense reflection" by both researcher and participant (Tesch, 1984, p. 29). She called this intense reflection a "dialogical introspection" which involves much more than a question and answer session. The participants are co-researchers involved in a relationship "where descriptive data are gathered so that each will have an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the phenomena" (Freiberg, 1987, p. 104).

Ethnographic Research Approach

The social construction and organization of life events that humans orchestrate and play out cannot be studied without looking at the interactions and relationships of that social construction, and how those various interactions contribute to the culture as a whole. Wilson (1983) specified that the social scientist cannot understand human behavior without understanding the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings, and actions" (p. 46). In her thorough review of qualitative research traditions, Jacob (1987) discussed the importance of studying behavior in its context since the assumption is

that cultural meanings are shared. It is the holistic ethnographer's primary goal, reported Jacobs, to "analyze and describe a unique way of life and show how parts fit together into an integrated whole" (p. 12). Concurring with this ethnographic belief, Agar (1980) cautioned us against the formidable search for connections based on personal bias "without carefully checking its relationship to other aspects of the situation in which it occurred" (p. 75).

Widely respected and regarded as an educational ethnographer, Wolcott (1984) used holistic ethnography in his study of an elementary principal to get the insider's view of the way things work in relation to the local community that surrounded the school. Ogbu (1981) strongly asserted that "school ethnography should be holistic," identifying the connections and linkages to society at large and the value system of the people served by the school (p. 6).

In order to understand a school's way of life, its culture, or a specific aspect of its culture, the researcher must gather empirical evidence in person over an extensive period of time. Documenting the students', teachers', and staff members' points of view requires verbatim statements that can only be collected through participant observation and interviewing (Clammer, 1984; Malinowski, 1983). Participant observation is the ethnographer's primary method for gathering information. Participation in the culture

allows the researcher to become immersed in the social realities of those individuals being studied (Freiberg, 1986). Observing patterns and themes in the original context as a participant, provides rich, comprehensive meaning to the social reality of the culture under study.

Gaining access to individuals' conceptual worlds requires another principal ethnographic method, that is, informal interviewing (Jacobs, 1987). The purpose of casual discussions, and/ or nonstructured, open-ended interviews with key informants is to learn about the things that matter in that particular culture. Whyte (1982) stressed the importance of ethnographers listening more and talking less with a "sympathetic and lively interest" (p. 111).

Through participant observation and informal interviewing the ethnographer establishes empathic relationships with participants or as Sanday (1979) pointed out, "the ethnographer becomes part of the situation being studied in order to feel what it is like for the people in that situation" (p. 527). This craft, as she called it, when done well, makes the researcher the most reliable instrument of "observation, selection, coordination, and interpretation" (p. 528).

In order to construct meaning out of the events and experiences of the individuals involved in this study, this researcher employed both ethnographic and phenomenological methods through an interpretative case study. Yin (1987)

pointed out the need to distinguish case studies from other research strategies by incorporating a technical definition:

A case study is an empirical inquiry that:

* investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when

*the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which

*multiple sources of evidence are used. (p. 23)

This interpretative case study seeks to interpret and understand the observations and meanings people constructed in their daily work. McCutcheon (1981) explained that interpretations "are constructed through our active mental work: they are not part of the immediately given environment. They grow out of our theories, past experiences and our present observations" (p. 5). Through the process of interpretation, making observations intelligible by relating events to one another, and by providing a conceptual context in which to place observations (McCutcheon, 1981), this exploration strives to reach an understanding of what leadership is and how it is done in a high school setting.

Participants

Principal

Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer, Principal of Lincoln Preparatory High School, is the focus of this case study.

She was selected for this study for two reasons: (1) Based on my experience in an administrative internship with her, I saw evidence of her transformational qualities; and (2) Based on the excellent reputation she has as an administrator in the San Diego Unified School District which has been documented by newspaper reports, media coverage, and the selection process through which she was hired as principal of Lincoln, I saw evidence of her leadership behavior.

Colleagues, Followers, Clients, and Others

Key informant interviews were conducted with Cremaschi-Schwimmer's immediate staff members. These participants included vice principals, teachers, secretaries, the nurse, the librarian, and classified personnel. Additionally, I interviewed the colleagues who hired her and those district administrators who worked with her. Other key informants were students, parents and community members who were involved with the school both before and after Cremaschi-Schwimmer became principal. Unveiling the richness of her leadership experiences and illuminating the complexity of her perceptions required interviewing the significant others in Cremaschi-Schwimmer's life. These key informants were her husband, her sister, her two daughters, her son, a life-long friend of 25 years, and a neighbor.

Key informants were selected at random through a voluntary selection process. The researcher solicited

people who were willing to teach the researcher about Dr. Cremaschi and the leadership process that she used at Lincoln. I made a concerted effort to interview as many participants as possible, and to give an equal representation of staff members from the different departments.

Number of Participants

The number of participants in a phenomenological study depends on the phenomenon being explored (Tesch, 1984). She noted that when reflection is needed to probe deep into sensitive areas of self-awareness, the researcher must limit the study to a few individuals. However, in phenomenological ethnography, more participants are needed to reflect the meanings of the common culture (Tesch, 1984).

In his discussion of defining what the case is, Yin (1984) noted that the primary unit of analysis may be a single individual, or several individuals such as in the situation of a multiple case study. "An individual person is the case being studied, and the individual is the primary unit of analysis" (p. 31). He stressed the importance in defining what the case is, or in this study who the case is, to prevent the researcher from collecting everything which is impossible to do. Concurring with Yin, Mintzberg (1983) argued for the single case study approach and emphasized the importance of collecting in-depth data on one individual if that is the objective of the study.

This investigation is an interpretative case study of one individual's involvement in the leadership process, and the meaning she gave to that process. The foundation of this interpretation focused on collecting information relevant to Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership behavior. In order to gather in-depth data and provide thick description of her leadership in practice, I conducted formal interviews with 15 teachers, 2 vice principals, 5 classified staff, 2 district level administrators, 5 significant others (family, friends), and 10 parents, students, and community members. Many other people were interviewed informally as a participant observer. I also interviewed Cremaschi-Schwimmer repeatedly over a period of 12 months.

Site Selection

The fieldwork consisted of observations and interviews on site at Lincoln High School. This allowed for maximum interaction with the participants both in the observations and interviews. The researcher initiated the exploration first, becoming part of the culture by joining various organizations, and through day-to-day involvement at the school. "Day-by-day involvement should lead to ethnographer's presence being less obtrusive and to the ethnographer beginning to understand the participants' views of their own world" (Malinowski, 1961, quoted in Jacobs, 1987, p. 14).

Data Gathering

As a participant-observer, my primary data gathering technique was the observations that I recorded as I lived with and shadowed Cremaschi-Schwimmer at Lincoln High School. Imbibing the culture of the school, I shadowed and observed her behavior by participating in school programs, joining the Parent-Student-Teacher-Association (PTSA) and the School Advisory Committee which met once a month. I attended school functions such as the open house, sporting events, extracurricular activities, and social events, hoping to unravel the themes of her leadership and her natural interactions with others. Interviewing was the second major method of gathering data. These interviews were open ended and conducted on the school site to confirm, verify, adjust, or disqualify the interpretations I give to the observations (Bantz, 1983).

Using humans rather than survey instruments as the data gathering devices through interviewing is very common in naturalistic, qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1987; Jacob, 1987; Tesch, 1984). "Interviewing, the 'conversation with a purpose,' (Dexter, 1970, p. 136) is perhaps the oldest and certainly one of the most respected of the tools that the inquirer can use" (Guba & Lincoln, 1987, p. 154). Because naturalistic designs are emergent, interviewing is the preferred tactic of data collection. According to Dexter, "the ability to tap into the experience of others in

their own natural language, while utilizing their value and belief frameworks, is virtually impossible without face-to-face and verbal interaction with them" (1970, p. 153). Guba and Lincoln (1987) discussed the major distinctions between structured and unstructured interviews, and they emphasized the use of unstructured interviews for naturalistic inquiry. Freiberg (1987) called them "exploratory dialogues" between participants and researcher (p. 34). Interviews that are unstructured, nondirective, and open ended enable the participants to become coinvestigators (Tesch, 1984). The relationship of the coinvestigators to naturalistic, qualitative inquiry is quite direct. As Guba and Lincoln (1987) noted,

Naturalistic inquiry presupposes that communities, schools, and social settings of any variety, have pluralistic sets of values that may from time to time cause conflict in the management of social enterprises (including schooling, the provision of health services, and the management of municipal and state governments). In order to understand what those sets of values are and to understand at which points they are in conflict, it is necessary to ground inquiry and evaluation activities in the multiple perspectives that are held by group or community leaders and participants.

(p. 136)

The exploratory dialogues Freiberg (1987) used in his

study of a chief executive officer allowed him to tap into the experiences of the individuals involved in the relationships with this CEO. In a sense the participants are teaching the researcher about the experiences or meanings they give to the situations in question (Wolf, 1979). Searching for meaning is a search for the multiple realities, truths, and perceptions that can only be achieved through unstructured, nondirective, and open-ended interviewing. In the present study, each participant became a coinvestigator and was interviewed for approximately one hour. Some of the participants were reinterviewed for clarification of meaning. Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer was interviewed many times for at least an hour each time. Often the interviews lasted up to two hours. The information gathered and discussed in these interviews centered around the leadership relationships she had with the participants, and the perceptions and meanings they had of those relationships.

The characterization of the interview began with the researcher building rapport so that the participant was relaxed. In order to highlight the dynamics of the interview and reinforce the coresearcher phenomenon, the investigator: (1) asked a number of open-ended research questions relating to the leadership process and emerging information from observations or previous discussions, (2) clarified meanings by restating the participant's answers,

(3) expressed ignorance to engage the participant into deeper explanations, and (4) used empathic responses to create participation (Guba and Lincoln, 1987). An interview guide is found in Appendix A. The overall goal of the unstructured interview was to tap into the experiences of the participants and search for the meaning and perceptions they had of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership.

Given participant approval, I used a tape recorder to provide a more accurate rendition of the interview. It allowed the researcher to build the rapport needed and enhanced the dialogue process. Also, as Borg & Gall (1983) stated, it reduces the temptation of the researcher to bias or sabotage the information recorded.

Additional evidence was gathered through documents such as letters, memos, agendas, announcements, evaluations, administrative reports, media information, and archival records. Multiple sources of evidence are a major strength of case study data collection (Yin, 1987), and according to Guba and Lincoln (1983), research based solely on interviews is crippled.

Data Analysis

The first and most preferred strategy, wrote Yin (1987), is to follow the theoretical propositions that shaped and molded the research questions and the review of the literature of the study. These propositions are Burns'

specific characteristics of transformational leadership which were discussed in the first chapter of this document.

Each tape recorded interview was transcribed to facilitate reviewing the manuscripts for common themes. Common themes were highlighted when pieces of information were interrelated. Pattern matching is the technical term given for this analysis (Yin, 1987). The patterns or themes were analyzed from all the data-gathering techniques and reviewed in relation to Burns' characteristics of transformational leadership.

Human beings form the analysis to interpret Cremaschi-Schwimmers' critical side of leadership by assessing her ability to create and recreate structure by penetrating the taken-for-granted values, the socialized norms and practices; by analyzing her ability to empower others to alter conditions for themselves; and by examining how her leadership was parasitic on language. In an effort to interpret, the researcher described the particulars of the high school culture and the leadership culture relating to the multiple realities the participants shared; the experiences and processes that were involved in creating the shared realities; and the meanings the participants gave to those experiences and processes. My objective was to explain and describe events and phenomena by seeing the information from the participants' points of view (Lincoln, 1985).

From the analysis, description, and interpretation the researcher drew conclusions about Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer as a transformational leader. This summary highlights and extends the present information we now have on leadership and leaders and is be presented in Chapter Six.

Protection of Human Subjects

All interview participants were guaranteed confidentiality of the information given during the interview process. Prior to the beginning of the interview, I outlined the purpose of the research, discussed the data-gathering techniques and asked the interviewee to read and sign a protection of human subjects form (Appendix B). They were reassured of their privacy and could choose to end the interview at any time they felt the process was infringing on their rights.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer gave her consent to be the central character in this study. After outlining the purpose and methodology of the research, she decided that confidentiality was not necessary. She gave preliminary consent to waive the confidentiality clause of the human subjects agreement. This process was summarized and reviewed by the Human Subjects Committee of the University of San Diego. In the summary I outlined the purpose and described the methodology. I discussed in detail the risks and benefits to the subjects and my purpose for wanting to

keep Cremaschi-Schwimmer's name involved in the research. Because there was so much media coverage behind her story anyone reading this dissertation would have known who it was about anyway. The Committee reviewed and gave approval to the proposal as submitted (Appendix C).

CHAPTER IV
A SACRED MISSION

School principals may engage in some 150 disparate and different activities in one day. Other kinds of education leaders probably equal that magnitude. No wonder that we call for undergirding theories to provide some integrating, facilitating sense to their individual daily decisions. An additional element in the leader's repertoire is knowledge and skill to develop images of alternative futures. What's expected is the creation of alternative images of what would be "good" for society and its diverse individuals, and leadership, which facilitates movement toward desired futures. At the same time the leader is supposed to maintain the best of past wisdom and experience and to maintain the most effective system for contemporary demands. (Burdin, 1989, p. 10)

The expectations for schools have changed; consequently expectations for principals have changed as well. Moving from the "ivory tower to the mainstream," principals found their world consolidated with society's ills (Burdin, 1989, p. 16). These outside pressures have tremendously impacted the nature of their jobs.

Few social institutions could withstand the pressures faced by schools over the last decade. The mix of accountability laws, competency tests, mandates for equity and a more responsive curriculum, declining enrollments, lid bills on financing, and collective bargaining have placed demands on school administrators

for skills unheard of several years ago, much less taught in universities. (Cawelti, 1982, p. 324)

These pressures have resulted in a plethora of school reforms. Conflicts over school reform have been hounding and plaguing principals since World War II. Powell (1985) likened this turbulence to a battle, with principals as combatants in an army. The continuous reform wars have created an educational environment wrought with uncertainty and instability.

The analogy and metaphor of war and battle is drastic, but it illustrates the conditions that existed at Lincoln before the creation of an alternative Lincoln. Many of the comments about Lincoln before the new regime metaphorically illustrate how individuals thought, felt, and perceived the conditions at Lincoln.

A Historical Interpretation

Abraham Lincoln High School is located in Southeast San Diego, an inner city school immersed in the seas of poverty, gangs and drugs. The general perception of the area is that it is tough, hard core and extremely dangerous. There isn't a day that goes by where Southeast San Diego is not spotlighted in the news for driveby shootings, drug activities and gang-related problems. Consequently, Lincoln carries this ghastly image and was thought to be a tough and dangerous school as well.

In the 1950s Lincoln was a school people were proud of.

Those attitudes diminished during the 1960s and 1970s when the Black Power movement wanted a curriculum that was responsive to their black culture. Superficial attempts by district personnel were made, but things did not change and parents became disillusioned and gave up the request. The inauguration of the VEEP (Voluntary Ethnic Enrollment Program) further decreased their motivation to fight for Lincoln and the curriculum deteriorated more. Those parents who were concerned about the curriculum utilized VEEP and sent their children to other district schools.

During the early 1980s, people referred to Lincoln as a combat zone. The campus was wide open with roughly fifteen or more ways to get in and off the campus. This openness attracted outsiders to conduct drug and gang-related business on the campus. Many students were drug carriers, wearing beepers to connect with the outside drug world to arrange business, which often occurred during school hours and on school grounds. There was extensive drug involvement in the community. Everybody knew who was involved and who was selling. Several drug busts occurred in the community during the late 1970s and early 1980s which reinforced the negative image the public had of the area Lincoln was in. As Ahmed (1986) reported, complaints have been voiced and revoiced by Lincoln community residents concerning the conditions that existed there. He described their protests:

There's too many gang members and drug dealers hanging around Lincoln High! My child won't get a quality education there! The teachers don't care at Lincoln, that's why the students don't succeed! The campus is filthy, why don't they clean it up? That's why I bus my kids to La Jolla, Kearny Mesa etc. (Ahmed, 1986)

A contributing factor to Lincoln's reputation was its low attendance and high drop-out rate, the second highest in the school district. The wide open campus invited students to ditch school without being stopped on the way out. As one parent indicated, "Students were never in class before the fence. They were out in the community getting into trouble" (Personal communication, November, 1989). Another parent complained that, "Lincoln is a lost and forgotten school in one of the city's poorest and toughest neighborhoods" (Personal communication, May, 1989). Yet, according to a concerned mother, parents should be blamed. She remarked: "Many parents at Lincoln don't care what happens to their child behind these gates because they are too busy trying to survive. If the parents don't care, then the students don't care. And that's what's being reflected in Lincoln's test scores" (Personal communication, November, 1988).

Lincoln's academic reputation was at the bottom of the district's schools. It had the second highest drop-out rate, the lowest regular attendance, the lowest standardized

test scores, and statistically the lowest ratio of students to further their education of any kind beyond high school. Noted earlier, the Voluntary Ethnic Enrollment Program, VEEP, has been blamed for Lincoln's declining enrollment. Parents opted to send their children to other schools in the district because they believed their children would receive a better education at another school (Personal communication with parents, November, 1988). This vicious self-fulfilling prophecy concerning Lincoln was pervasive and running rampant for many years. It was a very troubled school.

The source of many problems that existed at Lincoln related to the socio-economic status of the surrounding community. Most of the students attending Lincoln are products of poverty, welfare and broken homes. According to one respondent:

Many of the students were living with grandparents, or, were in foster homes because their biological parents were in prison, dead or had just given up and left. Living conditions were unbelievable, with many students living in two-room shacks housing 6-7 other family members. If they were living with a biological parent, most students were living with the mother. Several fathers were in prison for armed robbery, drug dealing and murder while some mothers were prostitutes. Some of the female students were prostitutes as well. (Personal communication,

December 4, 1989)

Teenage pregnancy was another big problem at Lincoln. It had one of the highest teenage pregnancy rates in the district in the early 1980s (Personal communication, May, 1988).

Despair, hopelessness, and gloom canvased the climate at Lincoln from about 1978 on. Low teacher morale was commonplace and was voiced frequently to district administrators. One teacher noted that "the previous site administration was never around and would come to school and hide behind closed doors" (Personal communication, May, 1989). Several teachers commented on the high turn-over rate of teachers while one shared, "it was like a jungle and I was literally afraid of the students. You were glad when they stopped coming to school" (Personal communication, October, 1988). Some of the teachers interviewed did not feel supported by the administrators. Discipline policies were not consistently carried out. One teacher exclaimed, "You have to be incredibly strong to have been able to work in that atmosphere. If you didn't play the students' games or get the upper hand, they would eat you alive" (Personal communication, May, 1989).

The dismal, bleak atmosphere at Lincoln was accompanied by weekly fights in the courtyard between gang members, some students carrying weapons. Even sexual permissiveness and activities existed on campus at times (Personal

communications, May 1989).

This grave and sometimes perilous environment was addressed at the district office in a closed session board meeting on October 10, 1985. During this meeting assistant superintendents Albert C. Cook and George T. Frey presented a curriculum plan they had devised that would radically change Lincoln's academic future. Their proposal emphasized a rigorous curriculum that suggested shifting Lincoln's medical magnet to a total humanities magnet. The "Academy of Language and Classical Studies" would drop the parent-supported medical program that prepared students for para-professional and vocational health careers. This would mean the popular health professions course of study and practice would be eliminated, replaced with a classics syllabus of Western civilization that required one semester of Latin instruction.

The community and Lincoln staff were outraged and overwhelmingly rejected the proposal. They were suspicious of the district administrator's motives and accused them once again of being insensitive to the cultural wants and needs of a minority population. A parent retaliated and said, "If Lincoln's students are reading so poorly like you suggest, then how can you expect them to do well in Latin?" (Personal communication, October, 1988) A skeptical teacher agreed and said, "Students who are reading at the fourth grade level will not be able to read and comprehend the

classics when they can't comprehend the fourth grade material now" (Personal communication, September, 1989).

Subsequently, upon the request of Superintendent Payzant and the Board of Education, Cook and Frey sent a letter to Lincoln parents inviting them to three meetings on November 4, 6, and 13 to share concerns and interests in the proposed development of Lincoln's academic curriculum. Negotiations resulted in a compromise that reinstated the health professions program, dropped the Latin requirement in return for community and staff support of a comprehensive school magnet that would offer a humanities-based instructional model in African, Asian and Western cultures. Collectively, school personnel and various individuals from the community agreed that drastic educational changes must be implemented. The seriously low indicators of academic achievement pointed to a stronger emphasis on academics with a very supportive environment to make it work. This revised proposal was designed to benefit both minority and majority populations, re-establishing higher expectations in student performance and behavior. An appeal to nonresident students was recommended to help build the student population at Lincoln. Not only were tougher academic requirements proposed, but the name of the school was changed "to 'Abraham Lincoln Preparatory High School' to alert students, teachers, community members and other district employees that Lincoln Prep is a school that would prepare students for a life of

learning and exploring, and finding the best within themselves" (Personal communication, June, 1990).

The school board launched a nationwide search for the best possible candidate as principal to activate and implement the new design for Lincoln. But the search did not result in a candidate the selection committee would endorse. A member of the selection committee shared the committee's dissatisfaction with the 75 applicants: "The committee was not comfortable recommending any of the nationwide applicants to the board of education. So the members looked at people within the district hoping to find the individual that was the right fit for Lincoln." They were looking for an individual "who could provide the leadership to get the tough, all-consuming assignment underway" (Personal communication, June, 1990). The committee member confirmed:

We wanted a person who could endorse, create and carry out the alternative images of what would be good for Lincoln. We were looking for someone committed to students, someone who would establish high expectations for them. We needed someone who could walk into Lincoln and not accept the stereotypes that prevailed. We explored the personnel possibilities within the district. Based on the sensitive and unique needs of Lincoln, George Frey and Al Cook were the two committee members who recommended that we ask the principal from

Montgomery Junior High [to interview for the job]. She had the leadership capabilities and experience that would be the best match for Lincoln's unique and sensitive needs. (Personal communication, June 28, 1990)

An Interpretation of the Alternative Image

After the culmination of the search committee and its recommendation to the superintendent, Dr. Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer was asked to talk to the superintendent in May, 1986. After discussing the situation with her, Thomas Payzant offered her the principal's position complete with a written proposal concerning Lincoln High School. This new proposal marked the beginning of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's sacred mission. Reflecting on many thoughtful, soul-searching questions regarding her commitment and capability, as well as the district's proposal to turn Lincoln around, Cremaschi-Schwimmer decided to take the position in order to guide Lincoln back to a respectable posture in the community. The district administrators knew that they had found the person who would be able to "walk the talk" and move Lincoln in the opposite direction. Her personal beliefs, values and vision closely aligned with what the district executives wanted for Lincoln.

She spent the summer months of 1986 working with district personnel restructuring the philosophy and curriculum that would comprise Lincoln Preparatory High

School. They had lengthy discussions about the vision for Lincoln to determine priorities, expectations, and what financial assistance was needed. The vision included being committed to students, establishing high expectations, changing the negative stereotypes so that a comprehensive, quality education was possible at Lincoln Prep.

Changing the name of the high school to Abraham Lincoln Preparatory High School accentuated the vision of preparing students for a strong, well-rounded, comprehensive education. This symbolically represented the curriculum changes that emphasized higher student performance and preparing students to understand and appreciate the history, culture and values of human groups. The school's academic requirements, rewritten by Frey and Cook, reflected the interests of the Lincoln community and appealed to nonresidential populations also. Higher expectations and stricter standards were established knowing that support programs would be needed to help the students be successful. The requirements were much tougher since the humanities emphasis demanded students develop the ability to read, write and think critically.

But before any of this could be accepted, appreciated and practiced, something had to be done about the appearance of Lincoln. Cremaschi-Schwimmer oversaw a complete renovation of the physical plant. She recalled, "I inherited a campus that was not safe for students and in

extreme need of monumental repairs" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, September, 1989). She believed that by improving the physical structure the negative image and perceptions would be easier to change. She began by putting all her energies and resources into the much-needed cosmetic repairs. The workers fixed windows, showers, tiles, drinking fountains, patched walls, replaced and repaired ceilings and painted every room in the building. She hired an artist who painted murals in the halls. Later that same artist painted with the students, who then took over the mural painting). She had a chain-link fence installed around the campus to eliminate all outside persons coming on the campus.

The next task was assembling a staff that would accept and buy into the objective of redesigning Lincoln and who held expectations that all students can learn. In June, July and August, 1986, every teaching position was opened for post and bid. In the words of one teacher who was there from the beginning, "She had the opportunity to hand select her staff, and I was one of the ones who got asked to come down for an interview" (Personal communication, September, 1989). According to Cremaschi-Schwimmer, however, district administrators had interviewed and hired the counselors, and most of the teachers before she was arrived at Lincoln. When she came on board, Cremaschi-Schwimmer pulled in the reigns and insisted that she hire the remaining personnel as

well as the two vice principals, the two deans and her personal secretary.

The interviews focused on the interviewee's beliefs about how students learn, whether all students can learn, commitment to student success, and teaching minority and ethnic populations. "In order for the new program to be successful, all teachers must believe that all students can learn. And they must be willing to spend the extra time to make sure students are successful" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, May and September, 1989).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer expected faculty members to extend their teaching beyond the six hour day at Lincoln. She was direct, but open in these beliefs, and every teacher knew what was expected when he or she accepted a position at Lincoln Preparatory High School. Cremaschi-Schwimmer expressed her commitment this way: "If teachers don't believe all children can learn, then they can't motivate the student to believe it either, and they need to consider a different profession or transfer to a different site" (Personal communication, September, 1989).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer used financial resources to engage the new staff in an intense, two-week workshop in August, 1986 that focused on working together to make this new program a reality. She asked the teachers: "We are going to make this work so what do we need to accomplish this task?" (Personal communication, June, 1990).

Collaboratively, the teachers overwhelmingly decided that all the teachers must be consistent in following through with whatever was implemented. So together they developed the New Attitude, a list of 13 student responsibilities that had to be reinforced by every staff person at Lincoln (see Appendix D). Likewise, the code of conduct for both students and teachers was created in this workshop and every teacher had input into the standards and consequences (see Appendix E and F). They decided each student would receive a student notebook emphasizing the New Attitude and the discipline code. Along with the student notebook, the Lincoln staff developed a Lincoln Faculty Handbook equipped with a mission statement and the standard operating procedures governing Lincoln (see Appendix G).

During those two weeks the faculty were together absorbing, developing and processing the expectations of the New Attitude. It was going to be the theme, the motto, that everyone lived by that first year of Lincoln's renaissance.

The teachers were involved in the decision-making process of making the New Attitude come alive in terms of curriculum programs, behavioral strategies and policies. They were encouraged to be involved in committees that would help facilitate the programs. At that time many new procedures were discussed and decided upon. Many new procedures were also redefined to broadcast the New Attitude. Programs, policies, and procedures that were

decided on and implemented in the first year were the following: motivational slogan displays emphasizing the New Attitude; distribution of notebooks to every student; freshmen orientation, freshmen library orientation; a daily reading period; a guidance/mentor period; class syllabi signed by parents; requirements that teachers make three parent contacts a week; reorganization and activation of the Parent-Teacher-Student-Association (PTSA); organization of a parent-community room; organization of parent volunteer program; organization of department chairpersons for policy-making decisions; organization of a learning lab/learning center; production of a Lincoln Faculty Handbook; a college night and a career day; the Freedom Foundation; the Shakespeare Event; tutorial sessions; and the 7th period athlete study hour and help session.

A big change for Lincoln was the hiring of two new deans whose only responsibility was discipline. Their positions were important because they gave the counselors time to counsel, the teachers time to teach and the principals and chairs time to concentrate on educating the students.

The next phase in Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership process was introducing, explaining and broadcasting the New Attitude to convince and sell the alternative image to the students, the parents, the community, and the media. Through slogans, motivational assemblies, parent education

seminars, business partnerships, numerous newspaper articles and several television talk shows, students and parents were experienced something different and people outside of Lincoln heard and read that, indeed, something was different at Lincoln.

A notable difference was the relationships Cremaschi-Schwimmer established with the parents and community. In order for the vision, New Attitude, to be completely realized and successful, Cremaschi-Schwimmer needed parent involvement. She wanted parent participation to be part of the curriculum as well as part of the support staff. She solicited their support and participation in programs such as: PTSA; Hornet Booster Club; PAC, Principal's Advisory Committee; and the numerous extracurricular activities that accompany high school life. The community became alive and active once again because Cremaschi-Schwimmer cared about what the parents had to say and sought out their opinions and help. She did this by organizing the parent-community room where parents came to work with students, help teachers correct papers, call other parents about upcoming events, volunteer in the classroom and so forth. She also organized Education Sunday in the community churches, visiting every church with the minister's consent to use pulpit time to preach about the importance of getting an education and staying in school. The churches became actively involved in the crusade and were partners in the effort to transform

Lincoln's image.

Overseeing the community room was a woman about whom everyone speaks very fondly, Lillie Trowsdale, otherwise known as Mrs. T. Cremaschi-Schwimmer put a high priority on having this woman. Together they have made the community respond to the needs, concerns, and success of Lincoln.

Through the community room Cremaschi-Schwimmer reached out to the community and the parents and helped change their expectations of Lincoln. As one parent remarked, "We always expected Lincoln to excel in sports, but Dr. Cremaschi has helped us see that excelling in school is more important for our kids' futures" (Personal communication, February, 1989).

A San Diego Union editorial explained:

Numerous signs point to a brighter future now that it [Lincoln] has redefined its academic priorities. The trophy cases that herald the Hornets' athletic successes are interspersed with bulletin boards that recognize honor-roll students. Upbeat posters dot the hallways, reminding students they can achieve anything if they will only believe in themselves. (Warren, 1987, p. B-6).

During community week, now an annual event sponsored by the Parent-Teacher-Student Association (PTSA), Cremaschi-Schwimmer invited successful graduates back to discuss the importance of staying in school, taking pride in one's self, one's work and in one's school to reinforce the importance

of academics. Parents and the community were encouraged to attend, and an all out effort was made by the parent-community volunteers to invite them to the event. Notices were sent home, phone calls made and radio announcements were aired. These were the ways the Cremaschi-Schwimmer made Lincoln more visible to the surrounding community. The participation of this annual event, initiated by Cremaschi-Schwimmer, has improved each year. Many community members were invited and several community members have attended the event every year. A well-know athlete tried to make a showing each year.

Perhaps best-known among the school's alumni is Marcus Allen, a star quarterback at Lincoln who was considered one of the greatest prep athletes San Diego ever produced. An All-American and Heisman trophy winner while at the University of Southern California, Allen plays ball today for the Los Angeles Raiders.

(Clifford, 1987, pp. D-1-3)

The Music and Dance of the New Attitude

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's goal was to inspire the students to dream and believe that they could achieve anything if they had the motivation and the discipline. "Dreams alone are not enough," explained Schwimmer. "I want to give students the skills that will enable them to achieve their dreams" (Personal communication, October, 1990). By adding programs and bringing new cultural activities to Lincoln as

well as encouraging faculty to take field trips, Cremaschi-Schwimmer hoped to give students a view of another way of living--something different to consider when choosing a direction in life, choosing their sacred mission.

Committed to students and education, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was determined to see students at Lincoln succeed. She attended classes, read with students, roamed the halls, talked to students between classes, encouraged students to use her open door policy, invited students home for dinners, to share ideas and opinions on issues concerning their welfare. She believed that interacting with students demonstrated how much she cared about the students at Lincoln. She made home visits to students with serious family problems. She would invite difficult students home with her. One such student commented on how Cremaschi-Schwimmer had changed her life (see Appendix H). It was very important to Cremaschi-Schwimmer that students saw her as a confidant, someone who was willing to listen to the dark mountains they were unable to cross or were trying to cross at the time.

Crossing many dark mountains herself, Cremaschi-Schwimmer shared with students the barriers she encountered and the hurdles she had to jump over as a way to motivate students to stay in school and work hard. She believes her personal strength is a result of her overcoming a dysfunctional childhood and communicated this to the

students. "No matter how disrupted families are, no matter how much pain, poverty and degradation there is, something good can come out of it" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, October, 1990).

She continually reminded students that there were many opportunities if they worked hard and stayed in school. Students were very much aware of her background and would often discuss it as a model to mimic. One such student shared: "Dr. C is so easy to talk to. She listens and gives examples from her life and experiences to help you deal with the problems you have in your life" (Personal communication, April, 1989). A San Diego Union editorial writer explained:

The tough new requirements reflect the philosophy of the principal, who rejects the conventional wisdom that children from the poor side of town cannot keep pace in highly competitive classrooms. Indeed she is living proof that a deprived background need not be a barrier to success for those who are determined to help themselves. (Warren, 1987, p. C-2)

Dramatic steps had to be taken that very first year to impress on the students that the New Attitude was serious business. The program would not be successful if students were not singing and dancing the theme too. So in this process, they devised incentive programs and partnerships that rewarded students for following the New Attitude. The Black Leadership Council gave every student with perfect

attendance \$100 while the Girard Foundation provided honor roll jackets for all students qualifying for the honor roll. The Valley Forge Freedom Foundation invited honor roll students to travel to historical monuments around the United States. To show the students that attendance mattered, police officers were hired to go and get students from home, the streets or nearby business establishments and bring them back to school. Parents would receive motivational letters encouraging them to participate in their child's educational journey, highlighting the importance of being in school.

Motivational assemblies were held frequently that accented the significance of school to their future. The New Attitude became a broken record that first year and Cremaschi-Schwimmer expected the record to be played over and over from the lips of teachers and staff members to students. The New Attitude provided students with a code of conduct that developed responsible behavior and made school life at Lincoln Prep successful. Students were expected to know and follow the 13 responsibilities demanding high expectations, high achievement and strong motivation from students, parents and teachers. This concept was continually reinforced and discussed at faculty meetings, student council meetings, booster club meetings, PTSA, with athletic teams and so forth. By talking and reminding students about the New Attitude continuously, Cremaschi-Schwimmer hoped its positive influence would have an impact

and change the way students thought of themselves as learners.

Zeal, optimism, and enthusiasm reigned throughout Cremaschi-Schwimmer's first year at Lincoln, 1986-87. Within a year her process of leadership polished Lincoln's tarnished image and began turning the school around. A San Diego Tribune staff writer wrote:

She took over the Southeast San Diego magnet school a year ago and led Lincoln through such a dramatic turnaround that education officials have praised its performance in a statewide measurement of high school quality. Only five of the county's 52 high schools outscored Lincoln in 20 categories that measured academic scores college placement test results, course enrollment and dropout rates. (Clifford, 1987, p. D-1)

The first year of the New Attitude, as with anything new, had its ups and downs. The change itself was an adjustment, not to say everything else that was evolving. However, students started Lincoln in the fall of 1987 with a different frame of reference toward learning because of the previous, building year. This made all the difference in working out the bugs of the renovation, because students were used to hearing and seeing the message all around Lincoln.

The message continued louder and stronger than ever. Students started articulating the New Attitude with comments

such as the following: "If you don't have school, education, you have nothing" (Personal communication, male junior, April, 1990); and "Dr. C helped me realize the importance of staying in school" (Personal communication, female sophomore, April, 1990). "When students begin writing 'We have a New Attitude' in telephone booths, you know they are assimilating and processing some of the rhetoric" (personal communication, April, 1990).

Students were greeted the second year by an orientation that jazzed up and reviewed the 13 expectations and responsibilities of the New Attitude. Added to the theme or motto of New Attitude was the phrase, "We're on the way up."

In that year Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership process computerized the attendance system, began implementing the core curriculum and witnessed a total acceptance of the foreign language requirement by the teachers. She attributed this to the department's patience, stick-to-itiveness, the support from the tutorials and the enforcement from the counseling department.

The policies and procedures from the beginning of the new program did not change, but in fact were more tightly monitored because the administrators at the central office wanted to see greater gains in standardized testing. Teachers continued to contact parents three times a week as they had done before. Cremaschi-Schwimmer insisted that

teachers continue a degree of professionalism in their dress and demeanor. So 1987-88 began very smoothly with students knowing the New Attitude, and now we're on the way up. In the second year the media bombarded Lincoln to report on what was working with the New Attitude.

Busses continued to transport many neighborhood students to other schools under the VEEP program. So a decision was made at a faculty meeting to send counselors and departmental chairpersons to all the junior high schools and advertize the New Attitude to the freshmen students, hoping to persuade students to come back to their neighborhood school. The efforts to improve attendance appeared to be very successful as enrollment figures rose from 600 to about 1,000 students the first two years of the New Attitude.

There were major accomplishments in the third year, 1988-89, that boosted the morales of everyone. These accomplishments, listed in Appendix I, resulted from the teachers' and students' heightened expectations. Teachers and students had become complacent, however, in consistently following through in their responsibilities to uphold the New Attitude. Consequently Cremaschi-Schwimmer unleashed her unbridled enthusiasm once again to pick spirits up. She described herself as a cheerleader for both students and teachers. "I like to catch people doing things well, but when something needs to be dealt with--if someone's not

doing a good job and the kids are suffering--it's going to be dealt with" (Personal communication, October, 1989). This was her drive, her conviction. She had very high expectations of herself, the students, and the faculty at Lincoln. She worked daily to get that message across to the Lincoln family. "If I can do it than you can do it as well" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, May, 1990).

The stricter requirements sanctioned by the New Attitude required extra resources in terms of new books, new courses, new equipment and the like. The learning lab and research center were created to give students additional resources and academic reinforcement. Tutorials were implemented and partnerships with college education departments brought potential teachers to Lincoln to help support the students. San Diego Tribune Education Writer, Joseph Thesken proclaimed that "Lincoln Leads the Way," because of the curriculum's stricter requirements reinforced through community partnerships. One such partnership is showing positive signs for Lincoln:

UCSD-Lincoln High partnerships pay dividends. The program brings together a half-dozen Lincoln High teachers and an equal number of UCSD professors once a month to discuss academic subjects in which they share interest. Students and teachers are getting intellectual stimulation by meeting with the professors on field trips and on the campus. The purpose of the

partnership program is for the faculties of both organizations to get together as equal peers, interested in common problems of teaching students from all academic and socioeconomic levels. (Thesken, 1989)

Many students at Lincoln had not had successful experiences in school. The students' low self-esteem needed reinforcement and encouragement to convince them that they could succeed. The guidance period, a rap session of sorts, began when Cremaschi-Schwimmer detected the need for students to express themselves concerning the grave situations and issues they experienced at home.

The major concerns that continued to plague Cremaschi-Schwimmer were the high absentee rates, even though they were lower than in past years, and low test scores. She began by taking a good look at the attendance system to get a feel for the magnitude of the problem. After studying the system and working closely with the attendance office in spring of 1988, Cremaschi-Schwimmer and the attendance clerk discussed future options for the enrollment concerns. A mutual agreement was reached and the attendance clerk transferred after 27 years of service. Cremaschi-Schwimmer hired someone willing to work with the computer technology that was put into place at the end of the second year. As a result the system worked well throughout Cremaschi-Schwimmer's third year at Lincoln. It provided a quick list of students that were absent, and a policy to call home was

activated.

Preventing students from being tardy, or from waiting until the last minute to dash off to class, were dealt with by the administrators, who monitored the halls during passing time between periods and told students to get to class on time. The No Pass Rule came into play the third year to prevent students from roaming the halls and ditching classes. This rule stated that no passes could be given to students to leave the room unless it was an extreme emergency. Extreme emergency was left up to teacher judgement. Hall sweeps were implemented to stop students from lingering after the bell. A seminar was held for parents and students to help their children with homework. These efforts--reinforcing the responsibilities and expectations of the New Attitude, using the reading period to improve reading homework strategies, test taking strategies, motivational test talks, and providing breakfast during testing week--were structural strategies the administration targeted to help bring up standardized test scores.

The extra effort required by the New Attitude had made teachers tired, and the effects were beginning to show the third year. The freshness of something new and different was gone. Cremaschi-Schwimmer knew the teachers' responsibilities at Lincoln were tough and challenging. "It takes a very special individual to be able to work here"

(Personal communication, Cremaschi-Schwimmer, May, 1990). Knowing this, Cremaschi-Schwimmer worked hard to recruit and choose strong teachers. When positions became available, she personally asked some of the best teachers and colleagues in the district to join her campaign of reviving Lincoln.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer thought that the Lincoln staff included some of the finest teachers, and she commended them frequently for their efforts. She was always very appreciative of their hard work and would go out of her way to communicate that to them with special memos, notes or praise. "They deserve the recognition," she said (Personal communication, May, 1990). One teacher said, "I worked harder here than I've ever worked, but when you see her working so hard it's contagious" (Personal communication, April, 1988). Another teacher noted, "It truly is a challenge, but her positive, upbeat attitude is infectious and when those kids produce you know you've done a good job teaching. That itself is rewarding" (Personal communication, November, 1989). Still another teacher commented, "She puts you on a pedestal when your performance is outstanding" (Personal communication, November, 1989).

Often throughout the year, she provided some motivational seminars to help with problems, and she tried to be available to help out in the classroom if a teacher wanted the assistance.

The development of departmental chairpersons was one way Cremaschi-Schwimmer was able to diffuse some of the decision making and empower the teachers. If teachers had a problem with curriculum-related issues, they went to their department chair first. Department chairpersons were also used as mentors to help in the classroom for guidance, teaching strategies, and discipline techniques, if help was needed. Monthly meetings were held to discuss problems and work out solutions within the department. Decisions to order materials, go on field trips, try new teaching strategies were always discussed, decided upon and then submitted to Cremaschi-Schwimmer for approval. Because she had so much faith in the chairpersons and because of the facilitation by the two vice principals, she seldom had to say no to a decision made in the departmental meeting. The two vice principals, Wendall Bass and Trish Harris split, up the responsibility of working with the departments. If a problem could not be solved in the department itself, the chairperson went to either Bass or Harris. The last resort was to discuss the problem with Cremaschi-Schwimmer herself.

The first Friday of each month, Cremaschi-Schwimmer met with the administrative team which consisted of the vice principals, Wendall Bass and Trish Harris; the head counselor, Culbert Williams; the two deans, Michael Askey and Janet Singleton; and the administrative assistant, Brenda Bringham. During these meetings, management issues

were discussed, monthly calendar activities were set, and in-house problems such as attendance, discipline, extra-curricular activities and curriculum issues were addressed. Reports were given on the status of the committees and sometimes discussions centered around district-level concerns.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer began her fourth year at Lincoln with ambivalent feelings about the support she was receiving from the district administration. Not only did visible support dissipate but the decision to make Gompers Secondary School an all-magnet school for grades 7-12 was a clue that troubled times were ahead. This 1987 board-policy decision to establish an all-magnet school for students in grades 7 through 12 at Gompers meant that Lincoln became the only secondary school without a junior high feeder school. This decision reinforced and encouraged students to stay at Gompers until graduation rather than automatically transfer to Lincoln after the eighth grade. The loss of students from Lincoln's main feeder school had the potential to impact Lincoln tremendously as it would tear down the attendance that everyone worked so hard to build. Lincoln's enrollment declined from 1,100 in 1989 to 800 in 1990. Essentially the board decision created a competitive and divisive monster between the two schools. Gompers was in competition with Lincoln for students. It seemed to Cremaschi-Schwimmer that the district administrators had

engineered the downfall of Lincoln. She asked them: "Where would the students come from?" They could not give her a direct answer (Personal communication, February, 1991).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer shared her opinion of the circumstances:

The Gompers' parents felt that their neighborhood school was a private school for whites [bussed in from other parts of the city]. While the community wanted access for their children, they never meant to pit one school against the other school. It was not clear to parents that they had a choice to send their children to Lincoln. I think the district administrators were playing political games to boost the Gomper's program, even save it after long-standing problems regarding the leadership at Gompers. The problems that erupted threatened to destroy one of San Diego's most successful magnets. (Personal communication, February, 1991)

There were other decisions made by district-level administrators that made Cremaschi-Schwimmer question their support. A committee was formed to discuss the enrollment problems that plagued both Lincoln and Morse high schools. Lincoln was under enrolled and Morse was over enrolled. These meetings were led by a woman who was notorious for closing schools, and it was Cremaschi-Schwimmer's opinion that an "unwielding committee of ninety-two people" decided to build new facilities for Morse Senior High to support the

rising enrollment (Personal communication, February, 1991). This bothered Cremaschi-Schwimmer especially when Lincoln's enrollment capacity was not filled. A recommendation to change the boundary lines in order to equalize the student distribution was not considered even though Morse's projected enrollment was estimated to be greater than 3,000 students. It appeared to Cremaschi-Schwimmer that the district administrators were against progress at Lincoln. Further decisions seemed to sustain this notion.

After working diligently to rid the school of its dumping ground reputation, two administrative transfers were made that Cremaschi-Schwimmer could not stop. In the past, she had opportunities to discuss the transfer recommendations, but this time her opinion was not considered. Both teachers were problems in other schools. This was problematic for Cremaschi, who had worked hard to attract quality teachers for the unique but challenging teaching experience at Lincoln. Some of these new teachers would lose their positions at Lincoln as a result of the problem teachers being sent to Lincoln. Finally, a board decision to move the continuation students from Twaine to Lincoln was made to help Lincoln's enrollment problems. These were the problem students that Cremaschi-Schwimmer had originally transferred out of Lincoln to make the school a safe place for other students. It was obvious to Cremaschi-Schwimmer that the board's agenda was not focused on the

enrollment problems when the board members decided to discuss elementary schools restructuring to year round schedules and would not address the needs of Lincoln at these meetings. This really bothered Cremaschi-Schwimmer and the staff members attending the meeting.

However, after giving Lincoln support from the district for the first couple of years, Payzant felt that Cremaschi-Schwimmer must find the extra resources needed for Lincoln's programs from the community establishments, and he thought that the Gompers' situation would equal itself out in time (Personal communication, June 28, 1990).

Unfortunately, 1989-90 was a stressful year for Cremaschi-Schwimmer. Besieged with community complaints concerning a decision made over cheerleading braids, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was accused of denying her racial ethnicity. Despite all the efforts to prepare the students for testing, the gains in test scores were not as high as everyone had hoped and expected. She felt politically defeated and, in some ways, taken advantage of. "You don't put your life and soul into something like Lincoln without feeling personally bruised when there is such a lack of support" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, August, 1990). Acknowledging the difficulty of this complex situation, Cremaschi-Schwimmer decided that her health and overall well being would continue to deteriorate with the pressures that grew with the job. Therefore, she resigned

her position in May of 1990 knowing she had given all that she could to Lincoln. Cremaschi-Schwimmer referred to the editorial written about the emotional currency needed to battle the bureaucratic decisions made for Lincoln. It said:

It was not unusual for Cremaschi-Schwimmer to put in 16-hour days and come in during weekends as well. Over time, the level of energy required to maintain this commitment became too much for her. It's a wonder she lasted as long as she did, considering the accumulated frustration of dealing with an educational bureaucracy that is long on lofty goals and short on the means by which to achieve them. (San Diego Union, Editorial, 1990, B-8).

However, because of that intense dedication sustained changes were evident in the lives of students, teachers, and parents as well as the many positive programs that developed from her leadership process. She left Lincoln in far better shape than she found it in 1986.

Interpretating Change: Concluding Comments

The renaissance at Lincoln is a story that is proudly told by many members of the organization at all levels and is visible throughout the physical structure. The despair and negative image that were once commonplace at Lincoln had changed when Cremaschi-Schwimmer demanded the physical structure be renovated to prepare for the New Attitude. She

defended the renovation.

The students and teachers have to be proud of their school and if the perception of Lincoln is, that it is a bad school, that had to change. The first place to start is the physical plant for the simple reason of building up the image of Lincoln. Perceptions are really hard to change, but if you have a graffiti-clean school, freshly painted with new windows, students will want to come to Lincoln. So I set out--we set out-- to really do a hard sell with the media, with the visual, with the superficial, with the plant, with gym uniforms, with posters, and statement of students' responsibilities to remind everyone that "Lincoln is on the way up." Bold moves were made to publicize that message. You'll remember the Larry Himmel TV show where he was there the first day of school and said: "What's wrong with this picture? I'm at Lincoln and there are no broken windows; there is no graffiti; and the kids are all in class!" I told him, "It is just this kind of enthusiasm, energy and high profile about change that Lincoln needed." It meant being out among the students, articulating the importance of school and making school a place to be proud of because, after all, Lincoln is their school. So that was the first step in beginning to change the image of Lincoln.

(Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication,

September, 1988)

Cosmetic change is important in terms of first impressions, but Lincoln Prep changed beyond the superficial level of cosmetics. It was a different school in 1990 than it was in 1986. The student body, of which 67% of the 93% minority population at Lincoln is black, marched to the new attitude of stronger academics, higher expectations and new student responsibilities, and the students liked the physical changes. They saw themselves as learners articulating the importance education has on their future. One student noted, "Last year and the year before teachers were there to teach you, and if you went to class you could learn, but now the teachers are really pushing you and we've caught on" (Personal communication, spring, 1987). Another student commented, "It is much harder now, but there is a lot of support and encouragement not only from the teachers but from the administration as well" (fall, 1987). Students were proud to come to Lincoln because it no longer resembled a war zone. One student referred to previous conditions at Lincoln as the combat zone, but then opined that it was in better shape: "At least it's clean, safe and looks like a school" (Personal communication, September, 1988).

The teachers witnessed the dramatic changes at Lincoln too, and many were a valuable part of its revival. Cremaschi-Schwimmer was adamant that teachers had to be an active part of the new design, the New Attitude, the

renaissance of the school. Most of the teachers joined the crusade enthusiastically, which significantly improved the morale.

She directed and guided the leadership process hoping to make a difference in students' lives. Other sustained changes can be listed: the enrollment system was improved; the student population increased; drop-out rates fell; students engaged in a college-preparatory curriculum while all lower level courses were eliminated; the gang problems have disappeared; there has not been one drug related problem since the beginning of the New Attitude; Lincoln was the first school that required all students take core curriculum classes; the administration she coordinated was free of crisis management and racial tensions. But most importantly, she changed the way many of the students and parents felt about themselves as learners. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's sacred mission was accomplished knowing that some students left Lincoln with a value and love for education.

She wanted Lincoln's reputation to swell even more than it had, therefore she worked continuously to make Lincoln a place students want to come to for the best possible education. Lincoln was her priority, and unfortunately the long clock hours she devoted to making Lincoln more successful weakened her health and caused problems for her politically.

CHAPTER V

THERE'S SOMETHING DIFFERENT ABOUT THIS PLACE:

LINCOLN'S ON THE WAY UP

This axiom illustrated to students, teachers, administrators, parents and the community that something different was happening at Lincoln. Chapter Four described how Lincoln had previously been plagued with high dropout and absentee rates. Consequently, this high school was at the bottom of the district in CTBS scores. It was a haven for drugs and gang activity because the campus resides in one of San Diego's toughest and poorest neighborhoods.

Over the years the community despairingly lost confidence in the ability of Lincoln's educators to provide students with a quality education. This disillusionment created a mass exit of students from Lincoln to other schools in the district when the Voluntary Ethnic Enrollment Program (VEEP) was inaugurated. Something had to be done to revive the "once thriving, but now forgotten school that turned into a combat zone" (Personal communication, May, 1989). So, the rejuvenation of Lincoln became a priority of the district.

There were a number of people involved in identifying the needs of Lincoln, in shaping the design for the school program from the community, and the district. But the main force behind the effort to turn Lincoln around came from the commitment, dedication, energy, passion, and hard work of one incredibly remarkable woman, Dr. Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer and her leadership process. She called it a sacred mission.

I had a mission believing I was a missionary of sorts. I would express that to people, and they were intrigued by that. I was perhaps a little zealous about what I was doing. But rejuvenating Lincoln was a task that required my zealousness because things were so miserable at the time. (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, April, 1988)

This chapter is an interpretation of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's capacity to generate and share the meanings of her sacred mission with her colleagues and followers, or as Erickson (1986) called it, the "science of spirit." This interpretation will not only describe how Cremaschi-Schwimmer created and publicized her science of spirit, it will analyze the meaning-perspectives that people constructed from this sacred mission (Erickson, 1986). The purpose is to determine if leadership was manifested or not in the sacred mission of rejuvenating Lincoln. And, if leadership drove the sacred mission, was it transformational

leadership?

In this chapter I will detail the actions that Cremaschi-Schwimmer used to influence her colleagues and followers to take part in the effort. I will describe the relationships that collectively worked to catalyze the vision and bring about change at Lincoln. This interpretation will focus on how Cremaschi-Schwimmer reconstructed individuals' thoughts about Lincoln's potential, as well as how she embraced conflict and power advantageously to make her sacred mission a reality. Symbolically, this chapter will analyze and interpret what Cremaschi-Schwimmer used to reduce the uncertainty and ambiguity that accompanies change. Finally, this analysis illustrates the commitment and persistence that this leader possessed in morally developing and transforming the lives of students, teachers, parents and community members. "Lincoln's on the way up" was the motivational expression used during the third year of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's tenure as principal to express this effort.

Leadership Is A Process

From the moment Cremaschi-Schwimmer contemplated the offer of becoming principal of Lincoln, she was engaged in a process. It started as a thought process where she seriously reflected on her philosophy, ability, energy, emotional capacity, and knowledge to take on the all consuming assignment. After concentrating and considering

all the issues involved--home life, personal qualities and characteristics, Lincoln's reputation, giving up a secure administrative position, and the district expectations for Lincoln--she moved to the next phase in the process, accepting the position. Illustrating Smircich and Morgan's (1982) concept of leadership, Cremaschi-Schwimmer launched the preliminary proceedings of power-based reality construction, an action process that strives to shape the setting through meaning and language. The action began with the mental articulation and indication of deciding or wanting to be a leader. Cremaschi-Schwimmer recounted:

Leadership is being able to go through a process, that is, a process that you use with your employees or colleagues, students, and community. It is a way of interacting with people. People have always viewed me as a highly successful human relations person because I want people to achieve the best in themselves, and I work with whomever to make that happen. Human relations is an important part of the process, but there is more to the process. Leadership is knowing the process, knowing how to go about it, knowing you have what it takes and having the motivation to do so. (Personal communication, March 4, 1990)

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's point reinforced the self-knowledge that Selznick (1957) said responsible leadership demands. Both Burns (1978) and Bennis (1989b) recommended

knowing thyself and clarifying personal goals in order to exert influence and motivate others.

Motivation is the desire, need or drive a leader must have before the process can be activated. Burns (1978) identified motive as one of the two essentials of power. If a person lacks motive or desire, she/he does not have the energy or interest to increase resources, the other power essential. And, if there are scarce resources, the motive remains idle. Leadership scholars have documented that the leadership process requires both motive and resources in order to reconstruct reality (Burns, 1978; Rost, 1991; Smircich and Morgan, 1982). In the beginning Cremaschi-Schwimmer had both the motivation and the resources to reconstruct reality at Lincoln.

Intent is a similar term used by several scholars in discussing the process of leadership (Burns, 1978; Lindblom, 1968; Rost, 1991). It is the leader's design, plan, meaning, purpose, or significance of action. According to Cremaschi-Schwimmer, "Leaders must have the intent to guide people, not order or coerce people into what they should do. Leaders must be willing to get in there and work, get in the battle, get their hands dirty. Therefore, leadership is acting on something, taking a stand on matters" (Personal communication, May, 1990). Cremaschi's view of intent paralleled Rost's (1991) explanation of intending real change. Intend in Rost's definition means that leaders and

followers purposefully want or need change. Accordingly, the intent to guide people is calculated, conscious, well planned and activated or catalyzed by the purpose. This corresponds to Rost's premise that "intention must be demonstrated by action" (1989, p. 30).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's sacred mission, "to make something of the rest of your life" is the intent of her leadership process. "I'm determined to get every Lincoln student back on track. I believe that success in life is possible if you stay in school, work hard and believe in yourself" (Personal communication, November 11, 1988). She worked on trying to get students to believe in school, stay in school and regain the pride they once had for Lincoln. She wanted them to internalize the rhetoric she bombarded them with and make it their mission or crusade in life.

Lincoln's stormy past and eroded reputation spawned its redesign, and this is the purpose that initiated Cremaschi-Schwimmer's sacred mission or intent. The functionality between intent and purpose is illustrated in the following statement:

Cremaschi-Schwimmer was sent to Lincoln with the direct mission of reviving this once thriving but now forgotten and neglected campus in southeast San Diego. "I'm determined to see Lincoln succeed, because I'm desperate about our future," Cremaschi-Schwimmer said. (Ahmed, 1986, p. A3)

Cremaschi-Schwimmer critically reflected on the purpose of her mission, her intentions, and whether or not she could achieve the purpose--rejuvenating Lincoln--before she decided to accept the board's offer. She verbalized her reflection: "I asked myself several times 'Do I have what it takes?'" (Personal communication, October 25, 1988). This critical reflection is similar in understanding to Foster's (1986a & b) concept of leadership as a critical practice. Leadership requires critical reflection and analysis as a way of directing and reflecting upon human action. Cremaschi-Schwimmer was being critically educative as she merged analysis with practice with the intention of raising the consciousness of the Lincoln family so the family members could alter the troubled conditions at Lincoln. Part of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's reflection, or meditation as she described it, involved an inner voice. "It's your ability to attend to your inner voice, and then by attending, listening to, you can help others. The most empowering thing is to acknowledge other people's voices" (Personal communication, August, 1990). On several occasions she discussed this spiritual sense she felt, the energy that resulted from her meditation, and the intuitiveness that resulted from listening to her inner voices. Scholars have documented these phenomena as they influence and impact the behaviors of many leaders (Burns, 1978; Ferguson, 1980; Freiberg, 1987; Greenleaf, 1977;

Harman, 1988; Jaffe, Scott, & Oriolo, 1986; Marinoble, 1990; Ritscher, 1986).

This spiritual essence was ongoing. Cremaschi-Schwimmer referred to this special gift as concentration that is divine.

It's just a divine form of concentration that lets you experience the height of what you need to. And I knew that I could come in and concentrate on Lincoln. I was ready to do that. And so that put the whole thing into a divine realm where people and students were my motivation, my divine form of concentration. It was at that point that I started using "I'm on a mission, a sacred mission." And that brings me back to another sphere of influence, language. You can influence people with language. I started using language to influence the day we adopted the slogan, "New Attitude," because it was a concentrated way we had of talking about what we were doing. And that helped to sell and get everybody in tune--in line with the vision--by the words that we used to describe what we were doing. (Personal communication, November, 1988)

Cremaschi-Schwimmer repeated this theme in two other interviews in February, 1989 and August, 1990.

Analyzing and communicating one's vision through language supports Foster's proposition that one's leadership behavior is conditioned on language (1986b). Cremaschi-

Schwimmer's practice of conveying meaning and constructing reality through slogans is comparable to Pondy's analysis of leadership as a "language game." He hypothesized that there is a correlation between leadership and how language is used to construct meaning. Accordingly, leadership is showing the way "to make sense of things and to put them into language meaningful to large numbers of people" (Pondy, 1978, p. 95).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's spiritual essence was pervasive in her language. As she talked about Lincoln's students, she said; "I have a reverence for students and learning. Because of this reverence, I believe that all children can learn and I expect that of the students at Lincoln, and I expect the teachers at Lincoln to believe this as well" (Personal communication, October 24, 1988). This was her compelling vision. Bennis and Nanus (1985) noted that leaders must have a compelling vision that vitalizes, energizes, invigorates, encourages, motivates and transforms the purpose into action (p. 30).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's vision was well known. One teacher summarized succinctly what many of the teachers I interviewed and observed said over and over.

She constantly repeats it. You can't have a faculty meeting without hearing it. You can't have a personal conversation with Ruby without hearing it. You can't take an idea to her without her putting the idea in

that framework. She'll say, "Well, here's an idea; what's it going to do for the kids? How's it going to help them? Does it fit with the motto? Do you think this will cause them success or failure?" It's always there. Sometimes, I and others feel like we're getting preached at. There's always an evangelical sense to it. It can get wearisome because we hear it so many times. But, I wouldn't necessarily want her to lose that because people need to be reminded where she's coming from and where we should be going in terms of that greater vision. (Personal communication, December 4, 1989)

Questioning the noncertificated staff members resulted in similar responses. All of the staff members that were interviewed said that they heard the vision repeated often, especially through Lincoln's theme or motto, The New Attitude.

In both discussions and observations, the researcher documented Cremaschi-Schwimmer's habitual use of the New Attitude because, as she reiterated earlier, "It was a concentrated way we had of talking about what we were doing." The New Attitude is all about her life; in the words of a friend, "she is an inspiration because she is a walking New Attitude, helping and guiding to make the most out of their lives, to be the best they can be" (Personal communication, August 3, 1990).

Two students who transferred from Gompers High School asked to be interviewed together, commented on how much Cremaschi-Schwimmer cared about the students at Lincoln. The first student, a female from the junior class, pointed out that:

Most of the principals at other schools stay in the office and stuff; but Dr. C is not like that. She comes to our events after school, to assemblies, and we even see her around school. Sometimes she will walk with students to class and ask how school is going. She would remind students who were messing up about the New Attitude. And she would tell us how important it is to work hard and stay in school. Dr. Cremaschi's door is always open for us, like if we have any suggestions, problems, or whatever, she is there to hear what we have to say. (Personal communication, September 14, 1989)

The second student, a female from the sophomore class, added:

I think she wants to get more involved with the students than most other principals. Most of the time, the other principals don't know what's going on around the school with the kids and stuff. But, Dr. Cremaschi knows exactly what the kids want and exactly what we're trying to do. She stops in and visits classes to say "Hi" and reinforce the New Attitude. Sometimes she'll

even come to some of our after school clubs to check things out. (Personal communication, September 14, 1989)

This leader's vision, a New Attitude, proclaimed that all children can learn. It was powerful because it expressed the underlying purpose--to change the thinking of the students, teachers, parents and community about learning. Cremaschi-Schwimmer professed:

People's attitudes about Lincoln and the students that go there will change because of the New Attitude. I want Lincoln's reputation to swell. My dream, my purpose in life is to open windows for people's future. I want to see people grow; I want to see them develop; I want to see them find the best in themselves. It's not about being "the best," it's about finding the best in yourself. (Personal communication, November 22, 1988)

She used her vision as Joiner (1986) advocated, as a vehicle for driving purpose into the realm of acts and commitments. The cosmetic overhaul of the school building and erecting the ten foot chain link fence were the beginning of the realm of acts and commitments. Cremaschi-Schwimmer felt that changing the negative physical image of Lincoln would begin to change people's thinking "It was the spark that ignited the fire of change" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, April, 1990)

The development of the New Attitude was a collaborative effort that symbolized the realm of acts and commitments everyone was expected to have. Thirteen responsibilities comprised the New Attitude, but there were several other action taken to reinforce the New Attitude. Numerous activities such as incentive programs, high expectations, profound curriculum changes, recognition possibilities, and so forth were just some of the many actions that were implemented to sustain student learning and start to change perceptions of life at Lincoln.

The strategic element of the vision, driving purpose into the realm of acts and commitments, did not reside in the leader only. In order for the leadership process to continue, followers must be active in the realm of acts and commitments. It appeared that most of the teachers interviewed and many of the teachers who were observed were supportive of the New Attitude. There was abundant evidence of follower responsibility and buy-in to the vision.

Follower ownership is crucial to leadership. It is another feature of the process of leadership that leaders must consider and cultivate. Developing leader-follower relationships is a process that involves influence, power and conflict. However, before a leader gains follower commitment, the leader must persuade and compete for follower acceptance. The dynamics that exist show the active role followers have in the process.

Leadership Is A Reciprocal Relationship of Influence

Leaders must interact with followers in order to influence them, likewise followers must interact with leaders to exert influence. Characterizing herself as a cheerleader, Cremaschi-Schwimmer alleged that her "unbridled enthusiasm" was not only contagious but very persuasive in getting people to interact in the leadership process. "I think I do use a lot of enthusiasm to get people going my way" (Personal communication, February 1, 1990)

In another account Cremaschi-Schwimmer revealed that she was devoted to establishing relationships where dignity and respect are valued. She earned people's respect through competence and being able to find solutions. Expounding on competence she remarked:

I try to influence people with competence. I think that people respect that, and that makes them even more willing to go along because they think you have a chance of doing it. They think of you as their guiding light. I want professional quality work at Lincoln and I work very hard to ensure that is happening. High skill level is looked up to, and I enjoy hearing staff comments like: "You write so well," or "Boy, you say things in just the right way, you always convince me," or "Dr. C, you're so articulate." (Personal communication, February 1, 1990)

The ability to solve problems expediently comes almost

naturally for Cremaschi-Schwimmer. She thinks of finding solutions as a game. Because of this, her competence was highly regarded and sought after. She was hounded by other districts to share her experiences at Lincoln, and her process of leadership. One teacher addressed her ability to solve problems:

Ruby has a low key approach to every problem, although she attacks problems head on. She always has a solution or will find one that is satisfactory to everyone. There are no losers, only winners. Ruby could call you in for something, and she has a remarkable way of laughing, poking fun, and yet being firm at the same time. The bottom line for Ruby is to resolve conflicts because she wants nothing to disturb the mission, the education of the kids. (Personal communication, October 25, 1988)

According to Cremaschi-Schwimmer, problem solving has many dimensions, one of which is developing people. The credibility of a leader is reinforced as followers learn that they are able to solve problems as well. "It's about showing other people that they have the skills, or making opportunities for them to experience success at solving problems" (Personal communication, February 1, 1990).

Making sure that followers experienced success is another way Cremaschi-Schwimmer influenced people and built integrity in the relationship of influence. She elaborated

on this point by saying:

So that means if you give people tasks and you are developing and empowering them--or whatever word you want to use--you have to make sure they succeed. You have to give them the support, knowledge or the time. This, in and of itself, takes a lot of time, and sometimes its easier and faster if you would have done it, but sometimes you have to pull back. (Personal communication, February 1, 1990)

The generativity described in that statement gave followers opportunities to be shapers in the relationship rather than always being shaped by the leader (Gardner, 1990). Providing opportunities for success and growth, the leader creates what Bennis and Nanus (1985) called the symbiotic relationship, a community united to share the problems.

Changing the way people think of Lincoln was very important to Cremaschi-Schwimmer. It was the foundation of her sacred mission. One way to change thinking is through knowledge and to Cremaschi-Schwimmer, "knowledge is power." She would agree with Lindblom (1968) that reconstructing preferences is a vital part of leadership and a mutual influence process. She expressed it this way:

So when I say "knowledge is power," it's knowledge of issues, knowledge of self, knowledge of others, knowledge of opportunities, knowledge of facts and so

forth. If knowledge is power, you can empower people by giving them knowledge. It isn't just that I'm the administrator and I'm in possession of all the information and I dole it out as I see fit. It's that people should have access to all knowledge so they can make intelligent decisions and choices.

When asked how knowledge would influence people, Cremaschi-Schwimmer answered:

Well, I think once people know that with every bit of new information, they are able to look at something differently. Knowledge influences them to change, reconsider, accept, compromise, negotiate or to get more stubborn on issues, views, decisions or whatever the situation is. (Personal communication, March 4, 1990)

This narrative on knowledge substantiated Rost's (1991) notion that influence relationships are multidirectional. Therefore, leaders and followers can reciprocate their influence positions, depending on who is successfully using the power resources noncoercively.

Leadership as an influence relationship is next to impossible if the professional wants and needs of followers do not align with the leader's purpose or vision. A veteran teacher compared past administrators to Cremaschi-Schwimmer.

Ruby was able to do what the other two principals were

not able to do, and that was effect changes. She was able to gather the power unto herself, through having a vision, through creative funding, and also because of the dynamics of her own personality. . . .

Having a vision was the key. Many of the other administrators did not have a vision. They were not able to see into the future and make programs and policy changes that would have long, lasting, year-by-year effects.

"What was her vision," I asked?

Her vision was to have a school that truly is the humanities, that is a comprehensive high school where high expectations for all students are honored, and success was possible. Because she really cares about these kids, those students having trouble with the tougher requirements are getting lots of support from tutorials, the learning center, 7th period homework help, and many other ways. She's unbelievable! She has the ability to inspire, and that is something that others were not able to do. She could get people revved up and motivated. (Personal communication, February 13, 1990)

Another veteran teacher addressed Cremaschi-Schwimmer's ability to inspire and motivate people. "Ruby is able to get people to join committees because she involves everyone by making them feel important. She delegates responsi-

bilities well and gives up a lot of control by not demanding power and control" (Personal communication, November 22, 1988).

When Lincoln Preparatory High School began in the fall of 1986, the teachers had been given the choice to transfer or go through the post-and-bid selection process. During the two week seminar prior to the opening of school, the teachers, together with other administrators, gave input as to how they wanted the program to work. Collectively, they developed the New Attitude and designed the 13 responsibilities/expectancies that would govern academic life at Lincoln. They decided on the code of conduct and what consequences would be administered for noncompliance. Together, the teachers and administrators interacted and shared the responsibility of designing and energizing the vision, the New Attitude. This supports Rost's (1991) fourth essential element of leadership, the mutual purposes of leaders and followers. The changes they wanted and proposed for Lincoln reflected their mutual purposes. One teacher commented on the teachers having ownership of the New Attitude, hence on the mutuality of purposes.

I think most of the teachers felt ownership of the New Attitude. That was part of the seminar before we came back to school. We spent time involved in a decision-making process in terms of setting up the new curriculum; new behavioral standards and such. . . .

When asked if the teachers were actively involved in this decision-making process, the interviewee answered:

Yes. So when you're involved, you have the tendency to buy-in a little more, than simply walking in and being told this is what you will do. So the teachers had plenty of time to get involved. And, of course, all the teachers were encouraged to take part in extra-curricular committees--invited, I guess, with the obligation that all the teachers were going to be involved in some kind of committee work around here, whether that be discipline, attendance, social or whatever--there was going to be someplace to be involved in a decision-making process or at least have input into it. (Personal communication, September 16, 1988)

In another account, the discussion centered around Cremaschi-Schwimmer's passion for students and learning. When asked about her passion for teachers' wants and needs, this teacher replied.

Well, Cremaschi-Schwimmer is open to any and all suggestions. She's amenable to change when she feels change is necessary; she's willing to discuss openly anything that staff and faculty feel are important to the maintenance of our school and our site. And with this open-minded approach, I think it benefits everyone. It allows all of us to feel that we have a

stake in this so that we can make a change, and we can offer suggestions, and they can be intelligently discussed. But the bottom line is Dr. Cremaschi's the school leader, the curriculum leader, and she has the ultimate responsibility for the site. Therefore, she has to make the final decision. Sometimes those decisions are hard to come by and at great expense. At the same time, our faculty and staff realize they have access to her and she's willing to listen and respond to wants and needs as best she can. (Personal communication, December 4, 1989)

Research studies on organizations that have a strong, cohesive alignment report that members bond and feel a strong sense of identity to the organization's mission (Aburdene, 1985; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Levinson & Rosenthal, 1984; Kotter, 1988; Kouzes & Posner, 1987; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Schein, 1985; Tichy & Devanna, 1986a). The Lincoln staff was very committed to the New Attitude for the first couple of years. Things were new, the building looked professional for once, and a lot of attention was paid to supporting teachers' curriculum requests. There was a strong sense of identity and pride regarding the sacred mission. This alignment, a mutuality of purposes, was the foundation of the New Attitude that focused on elevating the students' standards for themselves, and the school and on having the opportunities to make a choice for a better

tomorrow. The New Attitude had high expectations for both academic and behavioral performance. Profound curriculum changes were implemented that reflected an emphasis on preparing students for furthering their education. These two programs were developed and activated in hopes that students would experience the best in themselves and expect a better life in the future. The evidence concerning the New Attitude's impact on students supports the notion that transformational leadership is real that some leadership relationships result in real, transformative changes in attitudes, norms, institutions, and behaviors that structure life as it improves the human condition (Burns, 1978).

An overwhelming majority of the respondents commented on how inspirational and influential Cremaschi-Schwimmer had been in their lives. As a mentor, friend, colleague, boss, teacher, and coach, she encouraged people to further their opportunities and continue to dream. She would do whatever was necessary to help people achieve their educational goals. One teacher commented on how she had changed his life:

Dr. Cremaschi has been my mentor. I was going to school, working on a master's degree in educational administration, and she helped me to realize my potential as a leader. She also gave me an opportunity to explore different areas of leadership. (Personal communication, December 4, 1989)

An instructional aide explained how Cremaschi-Schwimmer had been a positive influence on his life.

In my life, she's been a positive influence because she's taken time to talk to me. She's taken the time to explain things to me and she's never been too busy to see me. Dr. Cremaschi has taken a personal interest in helping me finish my college education and prepare for a job in teaching. She's made me feel more motivated to further my education and she's gone out on a limb to say that whatever I need, whatever she can do, she'll try to help. She's never ever told me something that she didn't deliver on. When she says she's going to get it done, one way or another, it'll get done. (Personal communication, December 1, 1989)

According to one respondent, input from the faculty was limited, and Cremaschi-Schwimmer was only willing to validate ideas with which she agreed. The school was run by top-down management, the teacher concluded. Acknowledging that Cremaschi-Schwimmer wore many different hats, the teacher complained that she wore too many hats, and that she had a blind spot toward curriculum and its development. The educator felt strongly about a particular program and how it should be implemented. However, Cremaschi-Schwimmer disagreed with the program for several reasons, but agreed to an open faculty forum to let teachers discuss the program. This situation illustrated the competing

diagnoses, claims, and values that confronted the leadership process.

Leadership Is A Relationship of Conflict

Earlier, it was proposed that aligning followers wants and needs cannot be achieved without competition and conflict. Lincoln was drowning in a sea of conflict before the revival efforts. Its image was being suffocated by gang-related fights, drug problems, and low socioeconomic, racial problems. The neighborhood students used VEEP to go to schools with better reputations. Parents were pleading for the district's support and help to resuscitate this neglected and forgotten school. It is somewhat absurd, and yet ironic to realize conflict and competition played a hand in Lincoln's near failure, but then was ultimately responsible for its reawakening.

In October, 1985, political conflict between the community and the district administration erupted over the concealed curriculum proposal to change Lincoln's magnet program. Community input and support had been evaded, but the people collectively intervened their grievances which ended with a different proposal honoring parent requests, and a public apology expressed by the district administrators to the community. The outcome of Lincoln's restructuring scenario depicted Schattschneider's theory on the contagiousness of conflict, where the result of the curriculum conflict was largely decided by the community's

involvement (1975, pp. 1-19). In other words, the number of people involved in any conflict helps to determine what happens. Exploiting conflict through privatizing, keeping it concealed, or through socializing, appealing to public interest, were strategies Cremaschi-Schwimmer used to expose the problems and triumphs at Lincoln.

The school doors opened that fall of 1986 with uncertainty and apprehension primarily due to the drastic changes that had taken place over the summer. Students, teachers and parents began a year with new principals, new teachers, a total restructuring of the curriculum, a cosmetic overhaul and restoration of the buildings, a new student conduct code, two new deans to work on discipline, a guidance period, a sustained silent reading period, higher academic expectations, more extensive graduation standards, and, last but not least, the vision--Cremaschi-Schwimmer's sacred mission--that mobilized the activities just listed. The hopeful outcome of the sacred mission was to erase Lincoln's negative stereotypes, provide students with a comprehensive education, and try to meet the unique educational needs of the community. As was mentioned earlier these purposes were the building blocks of the sacred mission that was symbolized through the metaphorical slogan, "Lincoln has a New Attitude." According to Bolman and Deal (1985), Cremaschi-Schwimmer used the slogan as a symbol for explaining the changes and that were being

implemented.

Symbolically, Lincoln's new name, Lincoln Preparatory High School, epitomized the revival's effort. That effort was to prepare students for a productive life that they could control. Symbols function to give individuals faith, belief, and meaning about the uncertainty they are facing. "Metaphors compress complicated issues into understandable images, and they can affect our attitudes, evaluations, and actions" (Bolman and Deal, 1985, p. 164). The New Attitude and Lincoln's new name illuminated Cremaschi-Schwimmer's belief and faith in education and gave meaning to the changes that were being implemented.

"Grounded in a seedbed of conflict" is a metaphor coined by Burns to conceptualize the relationship of leadership to conflict (1978, p. 38). Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership used conflict to arouse, provoke, encourage and motivate followers. When two or more people form a relationship, they bring numerous skills, beliefs, abilities, attitudes, and background assumptions to that relationship, constructed from their cultural experiences and social development. Conflict occurs naturally just from the dynamics of human nature. But, conflict escalates as leaders and followers introduce competing ideas, interests, and goals that denounce or contradict current, socialized, background assumptions.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's seedbed of conflict first

sprouted when she wrestled with district maintenance personnel concerning the physical conditions of Lincoln. She was very demanding about upgrading the physical conditions. "Oh! I had to work a lot with the people at physical plant for the simple reason of building up the image of Lincoln. The perception that it was a bad school, a school that people wanted to VEEP away from had to be changed. So I set out to first tackle the physical structure" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, October, 1988). Cremaschi-Schwimmer aroused both criticism and praise when she ordered the 10 foot fence to encase Lincoln to keep unwanted trespassers off the campus. She was very direct and persistent in her efforts to change the attitudes and values concerning the physical structure. But it paid off. "Now I have a parent committee coming to me about the conditions at Lincoln. That makes me happy because before it was so bad nobody even noticed. They just accepted Lincoln's terrible physical image. Now they're coming to me about the custodial staff, questioning why things haven't been fixed. I'm excited because now they care, they feel empowered to be concerned" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, April, 1989).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's relationship of conflict shaped teachers' and students' attitudes about learning. Embedded in her sacred mission was the belief that all students can learn. One teacher discussed the strain that resulted from

the hard sell of the New Attitude.

She's very protective and proud of Lincoln. She doesn't let go until things get done. Dr. C is a driver and it was push, push, push, the first two years. The third year everyone was tired. I think that we're dealing with forces that don't meet our standards. We're trying to change something into something that they are not. We're trying to feed them something that they are very unused to, and it takes a lot of time before you see lasting results. The outside influences are not going away. However, she causes controversy in your thinking, by challenging mediocrity with the question "What did you go into teaching for?" (Personal communication, September 14, 1989)

Many of the teachers and some of the students who were interviewed would disagree with the previous remark because they said the rhetorical redundancy, the increased expectations, the higher academic standards and the support programs converted some students' beliefs about the importance of school and learning.

Conflict does prod and provoke people. As Cremaschi-Schwimmer moved into the second year of the sacred mission, she was forced to look at the statistical data. The traditional accountability indicators such as test scores, attendance rates, drop-out rates and the numbers of students

graduating were measured by the district's success barometer. "When we started to look at this information, we had to move in another direction. It meant releasing personnel who were ineffectual and revising systems that didn't work like our attendance and record keeping system" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, August, 1989).

Evaluation of personnel was a fertilized seedbed of conflict that Cremaschi-Schwimmer attacked head on. As one teacher put it, "Lincoln was a dumping ground for ineffective teachers, and Dr. C was known for trying to do something about it" (Personal communication, October 25, 1988). A relative described her this way, "She has a stubborn persistence in demanding excellence and professionalism of herself and others" (Personal communication, December 22, 1988). When that stubborn persistence met head on with an ineffective teacher unwilling to receive help or be transferred, Cremaschi-Schwimmer wrestled with conflict. A staff member explained it this way.

Ruby had spent a lot of time talking to this teacher. We had a lot of parent conferences about the problems; the kids were all upset, the parents were upset, students were asking to drop the class. Even now this teacher has the department chairperson mentoring instructional strategies two periods a day. We had people from staff development come. Ruby sat up there

in the classroom for days on end working with her, trying to help her. I mean a lot of time had gone into this one. Everything was documented, and yet an appeal was filed. (Personal communication, October, 1989)

Cremaschi-Schwimmer embraced conflict by working with those teachers who resisted looking at the effects of their teaching. A great deal of time, effort, and, in the words of Jeffries (1991), emotional currency was spent trying to reconstruct their preferences. In the end four of the five teachers with ineffective recommendations were transferred and one resigned. Reflecting on her use of conflict, Cremaschi-Schwimmer added:

As I told you, I like problem solving; it's almost a game and so I acquired the skills of knowing the system well, perseverance, follow-through, and being able to get things done. I'm known and respected for being able to get things done and that's part of the power. And that comes from hiring and firing, negotiating with the teacher unions, the power trips, the rules and the various political operations of personnel departments. During this process you find yourself breathing in conflict. Hiring and firing is tricky business, and when administrators congregate that is the focus of discussion, how to get rid of ineffective teachers even when there's been adequate documentation. I've usually been very lucky in that area. I have no problem

getting rid of nonproductive teachers . . . and I have the reputation for surrounding myself with good, competent teachers. (Personal communication, April 27, 1989)

Willing to take risks to accomplish her mission, Cremaschi-Schwimmer made decisions that challenged some of the district's policies. She refused to accept incompetent or uncredentialed teachers from the personnel department without a major confrontation. And Cremaschi-Schwimmer was not afraid to evaluate someone as unsatisfactory in spite of the system's hostility to those actions because of union concerns and contracts. She proactively confronted incompetence, expecting--and at times demanding--district level support. Documenting her direct, proactive response to incompetence, one teacher described the situation:

In our department we have had a couple of problems [teachers] that Dr. C has been instrumental in removing or transferring to another school. We had one teacher who wasn't very effective, and we tried to work with that individual. But the writing was on the wall. What was done wasn't what we hoped for in terms of excellence in teaching, but at least the teacher did not return to Lincoln the next year. (Personal communication, February 13, 1990)

Cremaschi-Schwimmer shared a discussion with me that she had with a district level administrator who suggested

she strive to be a team player. She was told that speaking out disturbed the steady state and created waves. This is a characteristic that Ferguson (1984) argued is antithetical to feminist thought and unique to the maintenance of bureaucracy.

Ferguson (1984) viewed bureaucracies as political arenas in which domination, manipulation and the denial of conflict are standard operating procedures. Bureaucracy is the routinization of domination with multiple contradictions at the heart of the bureaucratic order. But it effectively wraps itself in the myth of administrative neutrality. These ideologies of hierarchy, as Hartman (1981) called them, express people's experiences or identities based on the domination-subordination relationships in the bureaucracy. As subordinates, women historically displayed formal deference to men which some feminists acknowledged was part of the myth of administrative neutrality. If this was commonplace, there may be lingering social tensions as a result.

Swimming in social tensions, Cremaschi-Schwimmer exploited conflict strategies hoping to alter programmed identities, socialized preferences, governing variables, theories-in-use, constructed views of the world, background assumptions and so forth. Unsuccessfully, Cremaschi-Schwimmer tried to socialize the myth of administrative neutrality (the district's espoused theory) to demonstrate

the discontinuity between what the district administrators and board say (espoused theory) and what the district administrators and board actually do (theories in action) (Argyris and Schon, 1978).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer was praised by an administrative superior for her willingness to take on the bureaucracy and challenge the notion of administrative neutrality.

She certainly has not been bashful to confront the bureaucracy, but she sometimes pouts when she lost. You win some, you lose some, and if you really understand how the system works, you can't get discouraged all the time when you lose a few battles with the bureaucracy. Where I sit is a unique position because I am able to see a lot of different perspectives and aspects of the whole picture.

(Personal communication, June 28, 1990)

Myths of administrative neutrality stirred up incompatibility and conflict in the Gompers-Lincoln feeder school dilemma. It also significantly aroused Cremaschi-Schwimmer's frustration and personal strife. Not only did it affect her enthusiasm, it unraveled all the hard work and effort that went into increasing enrollment at Lincoln. The discrepancy came from the top district administrators who contradicted their espoused theory concerning Lincoln.

In 1987, district administrators voted to establish an all-magnet school at Gompers Secondary School for grades 7-

12. The difference in this decision was the stipulation that all neighborhood students were automatically in the magnet program. Previous to this decision, Gompers had been a math-science magnet, but most of the neighborhood students did not qualify for the magnet program. Thus, ninth graders who were not in the magnet program automatically attended Lincoln. In the spring of 1989 only six students had registered to begin the ninth grade at Lincoln, compared to around 150 or more when Gompers was a science-math magnet.

Without looking futuristically and sitting down with all the schools affected by this change, the decision to restructure Gompers was privatized. According to Cremaschi-Schwimmer, it seemed as if the administrators from Gompers and the district were deliberately avoiding her, the vice principal, Bass, and the head counselor, Williams. Not only would this decision affect the attendance, it would directly impact state funding, and the numbers of teachers that would have to be either reassigned or not hired back. A fellow colleague stated the problem this way.

Probably the biggest thing that was out there affecting her influence was this whole situation between Lincoln and Gompers. It has really affected our ninth grade enrollment, and so in a sense we were forced into a position where we were fighting for what we felt was the survival of our school program. It involved bowing

to her persistence. She went so far as to turn a letter of resignation in, which finally resulted in a Gompers and Lincoln meeting with the area superintendents and us sharing our concerns and frustrations. I don't know, . . . the bureaucracies get real cold after a while. They didn't seem to think it was a problem and could not understand our frustrations. (Personal communication, September 14, 1989)

The Lincoln/Gompers crisis illustrates the political tension that Schattschneider (1975) said exists when conflict is privatized. Cremaschi-Schwimmer believed the district had a hidden agenda. By privatizing Gompers' restructuring proposal, the district administrators minimized the inevitable conflict and preserved their power, while meeting the wants and needs of the Gompers' parents. The district administrators knew Cremaschi-Schwimmer would confront, challenge, defy, dispute, and do everything possible to contest their decision.

The myth of administrative neutrality (the district's hidden agenda which was the Gompers' restructuring proposal) was protected by privatizing the conflict. However, socializing the conflict--making the issue public--as Cremaschi-Schwimmer did, was a strategy she consciously used to increase the pressure on the district administrators to rethink their decision. Socializing the issues exposed not only Gompers' proposal but the myth of neutrality (the false

image and the contradictions) that the myth of neutrality was protecting.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer believed the district administrators were partial to Gompers without considering the ramifications and impact of the restructuring on Lincoln. It seemed to Cremaschi-Schwimmer that the district administrators had thrown the Lincoln restructuring plan and vision away. "It was so hard to understand why they were so sneaky, why they could not involve everyone affected by the restructuring. Don't get me wrong! I want what's best for Gompers, but I don't think it should be at the expense of Lincoln" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, April 27, 1990).

This political tension frustrated Cremaschi-Schwimmer terribly. "It was utterly uncomprehensible" and so overwhelming that she started to exhibit signs of stress and her health deteriorated. (Personal communication, April 27, 1990) She continued to pressure the district administrators, questioning their foresight for both Gompers and Lincoln. Many of the neighborhood students that would now be staying at Gompers were gang members. Cremaschi-Schwimmer introduced this conflict as a possible consideration, since Lincoln's gang programs were successful. That is when the meeting between the two schools' administrators and area superintendents took place. Bass, one of the vice principals, described the dilemma for Lincoln.

It's deeper than that in that you have a total magnet [Gompers] less than a mile away from another total magnet [Lincoln]. Another total magnet [San Diego City Preparatory Academy] is less than a mile from Gompers and probably two or three miles up the road between Morse High School and us. Then we also have to fight the VEEP program. So we have three significant barriers that impact enrollment at this school. We really fought hard to increase enrollment, to really turn this place around, and bring back a lot of credibility, a lot of support from the community and everything else. This decision is a result of the turmoil at Gompers last year [1988-89] and the solution [of Gompers' problem] will negatively impact Lincoln in terms of affecting our staffing and our program. It also affects our program across the board as far as athletics and Gompers' students coming down during the 5th and 6th periods to participate in our sports program. We can no longer academically monitor the student athletes from Gompers because they are not here. The coaches try to help the students during the day so their grades are maintained for eligibility.

(Personal communication, September 14, 1989)

It was during this time that teachers and students reported missing Cremaschi-Schwimmer. They noted that she wasn't as accessible and available as she had been in the past.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer had told the staff about the crisis from the very beginning.

In discussing the complexity of Lincoln's socioeconomic problems with an assistant superintendent, he acknowledged how difficult it must have been to run a school such as Lincoln. "You can take San Diego, Morse, Crawford, Hoover high schools, and wrap them all together, and they would never come close to what it is to run this school" (Personal communication, November, 1990).

After discussing with the assistant superintendent the emotional currency required to manage Lincoln, I asked a colleague of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's who was close to the crisis: "Do you know why the district administrators have not pledged support, especially since they recognize that Lincoln is a difficult school?" The colleague answered:

Let's put it this way, it comes and goes. They're [the district administrators] famous for coming and talking something up and then walking away from it. Not just here, it happens at other schools as well. I sometimes have the overriding feeling that basically our district doesn't give a damn whether the minority kids at Lincoln or throughout this district learn a damn thing or not. If they were overly concerned, then you would see the kinds of support and the kinds of things that are needed until this place got really propped up on its feet. You can't come in after thirty years of

deterioration and expect to revive Lincoln in one or two years, and only give it a little bit of extra money and some staffing. We don't have the support that's necessary to make this place really reach its potential. It always requires an exceptional human effort to make it work. It certainly is tragic that this school always has to be in that kind of cycle. One begins to wonder if there are underlying subconscious reasons for the perpetuation of Lincoln's tarnished state. (Personal communication, April, 1990)

Those underlying subconscious reasons the interviewee hinted at may be racially rooted. Proclaiming the recent civil rights cycle of the Sixties and Seventies a false promise, Cruse (1987) pointed out that "the legal and judicial problem is that the American Constitution was never conceived, written, amended or otherwise interpreted either to reflect, accommodate or otherwise acknowledge the pluralistic composition of American society" (p. 38). The Lincoln experience continues to reflect the racist attitudes that promote the superiority of the wealthy, white culture, leaving other ethnic groups alienated, directionless, and in the limbo of social marginality. Many of the co-researchers interviewed, expressed the importance in being able to adapt to the rigorous environment that Lincoln poses. Transformation cannot occur when a significant number of staff turn over every year. Losing key people who

built the foundation of the New Attitude doesn't provide a stable atmosphere. Many of the original teachers were no longer at Lincoln in 1990-91. Consequently, the impact of the New Attitude has diminished. This was noted earlier. The band-aid approach did not heal the gaping wounds from years of indifference and neglect. One teacher succinctly summarized the problem.

These kids need continuity. If you're taking kids who are low in the first place--students who come to you with all kinds of social problems and all the baggage that goes with years of trauma and turmoil--then you need a stable population of teachers and staff to work with them. But, knowing this and the type of work it will be, a district must be committed to the cause, committed to wiping up the debree from years past with financial support. (Personal communication, October, 1989)

Cruse (1987) admitted that black students lack qualified role models in the schools. However, qualified black leader and role models are limited, but desperately needed to harness the potential of black students and provide stability.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer felt a sense of betrayal during the Gompers crisis, as well as a sense of urgency. There were so many needs at Lincoln, so many more needs that made things more difficult at Lincoln than at Gompers. The pace

was faster, there were more intractable discipline problems, the demands were greater in terms of finances. Cremaschi-Schwimmer shared the explosive moments of the Lincoln-Gompers meeting with the district administrators that confirmed her sense of betrayal.

It seemed like they [the district administrators] wanted to see Lincoln fail. The decision they rendered created this competition for students all over the district. They told me you're going to have to compete for the kids like anyone else, compete for the kids that live in Lincoln's residential area. That's when I said, "I have a problem with that. I have a problem with the fact that you've got two black schools pitted against each other; two black female principals pitted against each other over something we shouldn't be pitted against each other in the first place." I exploded and said "That bothers the hell out of me a whole lot because the negative repercussions will only hurt the kids, and cause disruptions and all that. Eventually we will have to cut our staffing and there's further disruption in the students' schedule. We worked so hard the past three years to bring stability and calm to Lincoln. We have built solid programs that will face disruption all over again. Let the residential students come back to Lincoln." (Personal communication, June, 1990)

The district personnel's response to Cremaschi-Schwimmer's demand for Lincoln's residential students was to seek a court order if Cremaschi-Schwimmer would not comply with the district's policy. People in authority (district superintendent and school board) closed the negotiations and Cremaschi-Schwimmer's attempts to further influence the district's policy proposal. The threat of a court order emotionally bankrupted Cremaschi-Schwimmer.

The conflicts that existed in the Gompers/Lincoln situation resulted from a system within a system colliding with each other because of equity issues concerning equal access to curriculum at Gompers and critical financial conditions. The policy stood and in 1989-90, Lincoln began the school year without the feeder students from Gompers. Attendance was down but not to the extent Cremaschi and colleagues had predicted. During the summer, a task force of Lincoln teachers and Cremaschi sent letters to every student in the Lincoln and Gomer's residential area boasting about the programs at Lincoln, the New Attitude, and letting parents and students know that they had a choice in where they wanted to go to school. An all out effort was made to bring families to Lincoln and show them around. This seemed to help with the enrollment somewhat.

The scenario previously described illustrates the position taken by many theorists that there still exists today a significant problem in achieving an impartial and

just educational system for minority populations. Sizemore (1990) suggested that a nationally integrated leadership program will have to develop a curriculum and agenda for change that reflects the newly configuring national culture which is slowly emerging in the United States.

Concerned about the equity issues afflicting minority students today and the problem of mobilizing financial resources to fund equity programs, Scott (1980) cautioned leaders with this prediction:

In urban school districts with a high concentration of disadvantaged students, school officials and other school personnel will not have the resources to improve the quality of life and the level of academic achievement without more assistance from other essential service institutions. (p. 184)

Equal participation in the American culture has not been the practice or reality for black people. In 1983 Ravitch (1983) wrote, "Black people were at the bottom of a system that was designed to keep them there, and the prospect of upending this system must have seemed as unlikely as a summer snowstorm in Mississippi" (p. 115-116). That prospect continues to be as unlikely today. For the most part, noted Sizemore (1990), African Americans are still at the bottom today. Cremaschi-Schwimmer agreed that blacks continue to be disenfranchised. She commented about their sense of, and their fear of, failure, and not wanting

to be white. Being successful in school was mimicking white people. "Black people are struggling, jockeying for position, like with the thing that's happening to blacks and the backlash in the whole country--blacks are now jockeying to get the main position here at Lincoln." (Personal communication, March 4, 1990)

Cremaschi-Schwimmer continued wrestling in the garden of conflict as she prodded, aroused and provoked the Lincoln family. In the spring of 1989 Cremaschi-Schwimmer mediate a cheerleading rule violation. The cheerleader had violated the squad appearance code by wearing her hair ethnically styled. When Cremaschi-Schwimmer rendered judgment against the black student cheerleader for violating the cheerleading appearance code, she sent a few community members into a tailspin. The same black people in the community attacked her with personal criticism concerning the "white" choices she had made in her life. Culturally, they challenged her ethnicity, and they questioned her blackness. They saw her education and her choices in life as white. They accused her of dishonoring her ethnicity. A colleague related the effect these accusations had on Cremaschi-Schwimmer.

The blacks are angry from the years of neglect, deprivation and powerlessness from not only the school district but from society as well. There are a lot of people in pain culturally and racially. We see a lot of dysfunction in our community from the unemployment

to gangs, drugs, black children dropping out and not achieving in school. After the Gompers mess, there was a summit of black community members at San Diego State University, and she was personally attacked by some community members. Ruby was not at the meeting and, of course, it's much easier to get in cheap shots when the person being attacked is not there. Basically, they talked about her being married to a white person. They condemned her desire to wear green contacts. It was just trash basically. In other words, if I can't deal with you professionally, then I'll attack you personally. She was very hurt by the editorial written in the San Diego Voice & Viewpoint as a result of that meeting which accused her of not being culturally sensitive and questioned her sense of blackness or ethnicity. I think with all that, with all the battles she had been fighting--in terms of our personnel problems, getting teachers in various positions, the quality of teachers, the situation with Gompers, the loss of our enrollment and feeling a lack of support from the higher ups--the message rang loud and clear, the district's interest is to save Gompers at whatever cost, at the cost of Lincoln. That was a devastating blow for her especially after all the devotion, commitment, dedication, passion she put into this place. (Personal communication, February 14, 1989)

It is through conflict, the socialization of conflict that leadership is mobilized and change occurs. Cremaschi-Schwimer took risks socializing the conflicts she encountered. As conflicts compete with each other in the center of the arena they interfere with each other. Some conflicts due to intensity become dominant, while others are subordinate. At any rate, effective leaders use power resources or political strategies to exploit, use or suppress conflict (Schattschneider, 1975).

Leadership Is A Relationship of Power

Leadership is a relationship of influence that entails managing conflicts using power resources. It is a relationship of power that is reciprocal depending on who has both the motives and the resources to carry the process toward the purpose or intended change. It would seem reasonable then, that there could be multiple leaders who share the motives and together gather the resources. According to Cremaschi-Schwimmer, knowledge is power, and one way to influence people. "By expanding and sharing knowledge, you enlarge the scope of power" (Personal communication, March 4, 1990). Having the desire to share knowledge energizes the people to mobilize power resources to initiate the process of leadership. Or, if one has the power resources, the process of leadership begins when the desire is stimulated and ignited.

Most of the time throughout her four years at Lincoln

Cremaschi-Schwimmer had both the motives and the power resources available to carry out her sacred mission. But, there were times when one or the other was lacking in intensity, and the leadership relationship shifted to someone who had the motives and the power resources to move forward in the process. Many examples of this were observed. The Gompers conflict at its full intensity zapped her motives and emotionally bankrupted her resource base, thereby shifting the leadership to the vice principals. One commented:

I had to take over the leadership reins while she was out. She was fatigued and needed the rest. I worked very hard to make sure we didn't have to bother her at home. She basically told me, "Honey you're it. Go for it. Do whatever you want to do." She had that kind of confidence in me. The sacred mission is my sacred mission as well. We have made it our mission. I think the thing that helped us weather the storm was Ruby. She gave us a lot of responsibilities at the beginning. It was learning leadership as you practiced it.

(Personal communication, November, 1989)

Cremaschi-Schwimmer told me in an interview that power is sometimes about conditions. Creating conditions that symbolically reassure people that the process is in full swing. Using metaphors was Cremaschi's way of creating conditions that accentuated the motives and mobilized

certain resources. Walking hand in hand with the motive was the willingness to take risks, evermindful of the future. A teacher explained:

First, the Booster Club parents are at each other's throats. Cremaschi-Schwimmer lets new leadership rise to the top. She eases; she has a warmer way of creating an opportunity for new leadership to come in that people will get behind. I've seen her at PTSA meetings when there has been some sort of controversy brewing. It isn't that she pours oil on the troubled waters--although she does soothe and she speaks in a soothing voice--but her intellect is going all the time. She is able to look at something that could be potentially explosive, a volcano of an issue, and she is able to get people to shift gears so their focus and their emphasis isn't on the controversy but on strategizing about some ways to solve this problem. She is able to get people thinking and looking forward, not back, on whatever their petty differences were.

(Personal communication, February 13, 1990)

Surrounding herself with competent, good teachers and staff was a priority. Competent teachers were a considerable part of her power resources in carrying out the process of leadership. She talked often of her ability to sense talent and giftedness and rarely was she wrong. One of these talented individuals shared her/his perceptions of

empowerment:

Speaking to my task, she didn't tell me what she wanted done. She said something needs to happen. There had been a district evaluation of the department that resulted in a strong recommendation to restructure the curriculum, so she said to me: "You must have some good ideas. What are they?" I explained what I wanted to do, how it fit in the scheme of the New Attitude, and she said "Go for it!" She watched things begin to happen and built up a lot of confidence in me. Since then I've had free reign to initiate ideas and not have any hesitation about her part to support what I wanted to do including even a drastic change in the curriculum. Lincoln is the only school in the San Diego Unified School District that has now implemented the new state framework. (Personal communication, February 16, 1990)

Other teachers echoed the same sentiments. If teachers performed their jobs, she had confidence in what was happening and she let teachers do their own thing. However, if she didn't have trust, faith or confidence in somebody, then she followed a very hard line. "BOOM! The axe falls!" exclaimed a veteran teacher. "But yet, if there is somebody who she has trust and confidence in, then it's a negotiation, it's a real peer thing in which you sit down and you work something out," the teacher added.

I asked another teacher how Cremaschi-Schwimmer uses power? This teacher responded that Cremaschi-Schwimmer is learning to share power.

Districtwide we have the site-based decision-making program. Its implementation was begun, really, last year [1989-90] at a few sites, and it's spreading to more schools this year. I'm on the district committee that oversees it. Lincoln is not a restructured school in the formal sense. I think Cremaschi-Schwimmer has run a pretty tight ship in the past, but I think she's changing, she's learning to share power. In several committees she worked with this year, she had stepped back and allowed the members to make the decisions.

(Personal communication, February 16, 1990)

One of those committees, the Common Core Committee, was responsible for spending \$30,000 to upgrade the curriculum at Lincoln, and provide support services to students.

"Basically Dr. C just handed over the reigns to us, the Common Core Committee, and let us make all the decisions"

(Personal communication, April 13, 1990). Another committee member described the core program this way:

We've set up an afternoon program during the seventh period of the first semester where kids can redo courses, and we decided how it's going to work, who's going to teach in it, and the pay level of those teachers. We decided it's going to be prorata and it

all comes out of that budget. We decided on materials we wanted to order. Cremaschi-Schwimmer has even come to the committee to request a little portion of that budget to be used on a need that she has that fits into the program. She used to have tight control of the budget here, now she's sharing finances and power with other committees too. (Personal communication, March 5, 1990)

There was a general consensus among the staff members that Cremaschi-Schwimmer had significantly done her part to promote site-base power sharing. There were more schoolwide committees that asserted a voice and controlled significant parts of the program than ever before. Even the faculty meetings became more democratic with active participation in the discussions on various issues.

Delegating instructional coaching to departmental chairpersons, Cremaschi-Schwimmer educated the departmental chairs in critical assessment and facilitation strategies (Foster, 1986b) She gave them the power to analyze, criticize and present changes in their department. She developed this aspect of the leadership process to assess wants and needs expeditiously, and foster the development of leaders at Lincoln. Consequently, department chairpersons were very influential, highly respected leaders at Lincoln. One departmental chairperson confirmed this view. "Because department chairs here are very influential, we come

together frequently and we go back to our departments to find out what our department wants to have happen, discuss concerns and evaluate how things are going" (Personal communication, February 16, 1990).

Delegating responsibilities was a strength of Cremaschi-Schwimmer. She hand-picked the two most qualified vice principals in terms of experience because she had worked with them in the past. The relationship of influence, conflict and power that Cremaschi-Schwimmer had with these two colleagues was quite reciprocal. Harris came to Lincoln in 1986 with Cremaschi-Schwimmer after working with her at Montgomery Junior High for several years. Bass was interviewed and selected by Cremaschi in July of 1986. The three of them shared a multiple leadership relationship and worked the process like a team. She provided opportunities for them, and she teased them by saying "I'm grooming you for your principalship." Harris was the structured-detail member of the team who was very organized, meticulous and took care of the nitty-gritty issues of administration. Harris was responsible for the master schedule, and together with Bass they divided the department chair meetings. Bass contributed enormous amounts of time and energy as the athletic director managing the sports activities and extracurricular schedules. He and Harris oversaw the departmental chairpersons which met on a monthly basis.

Both Harris and Bass acknowledged that Cremaschi gave them the power to analyze the structure, problems, activities at Lincoln, and the leadership process itself. The power to criticize was developed through instructional leadership opportunities, evaluations, new programs, and the personal things that happened which related to Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership and decision-making skills. She empowered Harris and Bass, just as she did herself, by sharing knowledge and working together to bring about a new reality for Lincoln.

Several teachers commented on her ability to work with people. One teacher in particular saw it as her greatest strength. "Dr. Cremaschi's greatest strength is her ability to work with people, and she's willing to sit down and get groups of people together." This person saw Cremaschi-Schwimmer empowering others through genuine support and confidence. "She uses power subtly by helping people realize their strengths as opposed to their weaknesses. She truly wants everyone to be the best they can be, and she works at bringing this about by being very responsive to their needs" (Personal communication, February 16, 1990).

Another teacher commented on Cremashi-Schwimmer's ability to work with people as a source of power. Describing her as a risk taker, this teacher shared: "The mentoring and modeling alone is sharing power. She always thinks about the future and how decisions made today will

impact that future" (Personal communication, February 16, 1990). Similarly another teacher reported that she used power in continuously butting heads with high level administrators. "Her power is in her convictions that she has made to herself and to the students and staff at Lincoln. There is power in the New Attitude because it made kids stop and think" (Personal communication, February 16, 1990).

A life-long friend described Cremaschi-Schwimmer as a doer and a peacemaker who was always willing to help and offer advice in confrontational settings.

People would seek out her advice, and she was willing to lend or share her experiences with other people. She was always willing to share information and for the times that was advantage because women, let alone black women, really didn't have a voice. Ruby believed that sharing information, expertise, experience and support is power. She believes that you empower people by giving them information so that they can make choices based on that information. If you withhold information, you become a controller of the relationship, controlling people and not allowing them to have the best options. She resists controlling people and doesn't like to be controlled herself.

(Personal communication, July 1, 1990)

Power by sharing knowledge is the only way

transformational leadership is possible. Knowledge is what will change background assumptions and challenge those socialized realities so that choice is possible. Cremaschi-Schwimmer discussed power as a relationship that guides, facilitates, shapes and evaluates situations and activities using knowledge. The essence of the New Attitude demonstrated how language can reconstruct our preferences and critically educate people to make choices in life that will better not only themselves but the human condition as well. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's marching to the tune, chanting the slogan, and challenging the system documents the interrelatedness of power, conflict and influence in leadership relationships. It further documents that the relationship of influence, power and conflict is reciprocal, even intermingled. Cremaschi-Schwimmer and people engaged in the relationship of influence worked together to construct meaning while doing the process of leadership at Lincoln.

Leadership Is Change Driven by Politics

Commenting on her effectiveness as a political player, Cremaschi-Schwimmer suggested that politics is very slippery work. Since organizations are socially constructed realities and different individuals construct those realities, individuals who have the motives and available resources to bring about change will need to use political strategies to analyze, demystify, influence, and reconstruct

the realities or preferences required by change.

Inherent in the relationship of influence is the ability to persuade. Cremaschi-Schwimmer seemed to have a natural ability to persuade and influence people. A power resource that she used to help in the process of change was one that she called "parent power." "You see parents who are affluent do that all the time. They do not need the administrator to invite them in. In my case, I had to train the parents, not only invite them in, but train them how to be political to assist me" (Personal communication, November 2, 1988). Before Cremaschi-Schwimmer could train the parents, she had to convince them that education was important. She had to influence their thinking to accept the New Attitude because the part of the black cultural experience associates being educated with being white. She conducted several seminars on the importance of school, training parents to help their children with homework, and other aspects of parenting. The parent community came alive with the New Attitude. This was observed by several teachers as a positive force for Lincoln. Reaching out for community resources and building bridges through those resources, Cremaschi-Schwimmer helped the community publicize the New Attitude and the effects that motto had on both Lincoln and its community. These changes are observed by several teachers who said, "The community is a lot more involved in the school now than it ever was before." One

teacher added, "Besides the fact that Cremaschi-Schwimmer created the community room, there's a lot of community activities that happen in this school." Another teacher who lives in the community commented:

I don't live very far from here, and I know that the people that I've grown up with, the people in my family, have seen the new buzz of activities that began when Dr. C came. The school is used for preschool activities so that young teenage mothers can continue their education. Community social workers use the school for weekend retreats. The community comes up here and discusses what they would like to see done. As a matter of fact, just about a week ago, the guy who wrote the Black Muslim religion did a satellite presentation from Lincoln's auditorium. Since Dr. C's arrival the community has had a lot more access to the school and to Dr. C, and it has had some say in what happens around here. I guess I say "some" because Dr. C has a specific agenda, some pretty good ideas about what she wants and how she needs to strengthen the curriculum and that kind of stuff, but she's more than happy to listen to the parents and that's one of the things that has changed. (Personal communication, April, 1989)

Parents developed stronger voices at Lincoln concerning academic success and demanded to be heard by the district

administrators. Parents were partners in socializing the concerns and conflicts that Cremaschi-Schwimmer faced at the district level.

Socializing the conflict is a political strategy that leaders use to influence, bargain, collaborate, negotiate, manipulate, compromise and communicate with followers or colleagues the importance of a particular concern or vision that the leader has. The media became a useful forum for socializing concerns at Lincoln. Another way she advertized the revival of Lincoln was to invite the media to school. The New Attitude traveled quickly, and Cremaschi-Schwimmer's second year at Lincoln will be remembered by the numerous articles that appeared in several San Diego papers (see Appendix J). People buzzed about with excitement and Cremaschi-Schwimmer was Lincoln's celebrated leader, a leader who was instrumental in making changes at Lincoln in a very short time.

The excitement spread as she established new partnerships with San Diego business corporations, and these partnerships allowed new programs to be developed at Lincoln. Things were happening at Lincoln because she opened the doors to the public. She commented on this strategy by saying:

Another little riskier form of politics is one technique I call "member of the world." It's a little bit more uncalculated. That is where you've consulted

everybody, beat the issue to death, and you want people to move, and here's where words are powerful. You put things in writing and send it to everyone and they go, "Oh my God! The major has a copy of this; the police department has a copy of this; the superintendent of schools has a copy of this. I better do something!"

(Personal communication, April, 1989)

This strategy was very useful, and in particular, the urgent decision to move the baseball park out of a dangerous ghetto area happened because she had the motive and rallied the power resources to achieve the move.

Crevaschi-Schwimmer was hired because the district administrators felt that her leadership abilities and personality were a compatible fit for Lincoln's revival. According to one of the district administrators, "She really had the task of putting the staff together, getting the school personnel ready to accept the new vision, getting the whole project moving. Once she was involved with that, the vision came alive" (Personal communication, June 28, 1990). Since the objective was to change the image of Lincoln, I asked, "Has change occurred and is it attributable to what she has done?"

Certainly change has taken place. I think Ruby would be the first to tell you that the school hasn't gone as far as she had hoped in the 3-4 years that she has been principal, but it is a different place from what it was

before she got there. I think you can characterize the major changes in terms of climate of the school, its image and the increased community involvement, the outreach to businesses to support and partner with the school. The academic culture of the school has changed in the sense that academics has been given more priority--the highest priority--has meant that academics have been given their rightful place in the hierarchy of values. She was strong in reinforcing the rhetoric of the value of academics, such as the academic awards, recognitions, academic jackets, academic letters, hiring practices, academic related activities that the school endorsed, academic competitions, expansion of the advanced placement program, higher level core curriculum, support programs for athletes, and the willingness to sit down and make some decisions that would not give athletics and sports-related activities higher preferences over academics. She was strongly committed to academics and meeting the unique needs, the tremendous range of needs, of the Lincoln students in terms of stability, structure, and discipline. All of those met needs and activities were very positive. If you look at some of the traditional kinds of indicators, because they are the only things that we have, such as achievement, test data, attendance rates, statistics, and drop-out rates,

the picture is mixed. (Personal communication, June 28, 1990)

The overwhelming response from respondents to the question about change was always "Of course," "Yes," and "For the better." Several interviewees noted that the curriculum changes, standards for graduating and the incorporation of a language requirement were profound changes because they emphasized preparing for college or lifetime learning. Wrestling with and shaping the language requirement finally influenced everyone so that "now there are no questions asked, it's just accepted" (Cremaschi-Schwimmer, personal communication, April, 1989)

There were dramatic changes in the science department. When Cremaschi-Schwimmer started in 1986, there was only one section of physics and one of general science. In 1990 there were five sections of physics, and the science department received an award from the state for the most dramatic increase in student numbers in chemistry. As the vice principal indicated, "The teachers don't ask whether they can do it, now it's just: How can we help them?" (Personal communication, February 16, 1990).

Lincoln used to be a dumping ground for inexperienced and incompetent teachers. Cremaschi-Schwimmer ended that practice in a big hurry! However, she warned, "That'll probably change, because if I go, they [district administrators] might do it again. It will depend on who

the next principal is, and how tough they [district administrators] are in their demands." Several teachers commented that teaching at Lincoln was demanding, and Cremaschi-Schwimmer knew this. She reflected, "To deliver this curriculum, we need a staff that is capable of doing it. One thing I found was, not that kids couldn't learn, but that teachers couldn't teach; many of them didn't have credentials that allowed them to teach beyond the ninth grade level" (Personal communication, July, 1990).

The curriculum changes had a rippling effect on other areas such as teacher credentialing programs, providing support sessions and tutorials to students, the seventh period retake class, the academic jacket programs, college orientation day, career day, academic award night, writing and science and speech contests. The emphasis had switched from honoring athletics to honoring academics.

Influencing the public was tough. The negative stereotypes about Lincoln were so set that media people would not even venture to the school to see if what was being said was true. So Cremaschi-Schwimmer decided to ask a media friend to come and write about the changes. After that interview the media blitz was on. The San Diego newspapers carried many articles about the New Attitude, and people began to show up on Lincoln's front step.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer also had to do a sales job with the parents concerning the academic changes. Parents would

say to Cremaschi-Schwimmer:

"My kid doesn't need to take a language; why does he need that?" We had to sell the parents on the importance of education and change the thinking that being educated meant you were trying to be white. Parents didn't support school, and we had to convince them that pushing their kids to do homework, come to class and stay in school would be a benefit. This happened when we would call home and now we can hear it back from the parents. When we mandated study hours, we had a seminar to help parents and explain the importance of hard work. (Personal communication, July, 1990)

The commitment to parents and the openness of Lincoln brought about a family type atmosphere largely due to the parent-volunteer room. Activating the Parent-Teacher-Student Association after 13 years really brought the parents back to the school. There were many educational programs offered, and the parents were at Lincoln volunteering. The parent-volunteer room was very homey and warm, and a place that teachers were comfortable eating and phoning the parents. The coordinator talked about the buzz of activity that centered around the room.

The parent involvement was unbelievable. We just had to make a couple of phone calls, and we had parents helping whenever we needed them. There were so many

parent things that now we're being asked to draw in the feeder schools; those principals and parents come to see Lincoln for a demonstration, to see how we do it. Dr. C is always talking about the research that says when parents are involved in the schools their kids do better. I think we can probably support that research. (Personal communication, November 22, 1988)

Every individual interviewed acknowledged some type of dramatic change that had occurred since the New Attitude began, even teachers that had an axe to grind. The significant changes mentioned were the obvious ones such as the maintenance of the building and school grounds. A janitor chuckled when he told this story:

We were kind of a legend in the City Schools Maintenance Department because Dr. C had a direct line to them. She believed that taking pride in the school required the grounds to be spotless, and she wanted us to keep it that way. She would tell us that it sends a message to people. (Personal communication, November 22, 1988)

Another change that was mentioned repeatedly was the support that the teachers received from the administrators in discipline, resources and emotional recharging. "You always felt comfortable talking to any of them, but especially to Dr. C" (Personal communication, April 27, 1989). Several mentioned the stricter standards and higher

expectations and that Lincoln was more like a school should be than it had been in the past. "It's more humane and we do not have the gang or drug problems that were ongoing before the fence was installed" (Personal communication, April 27, 1989).

Many of the teachers mentioned several changes, students discussed the harder requirements and the teacher/administrator support, and parents commented on the activity level and feeling welcomed, but every single interviewee remarked about the New Attitude and that there was definitely a change in attitudes at Lincoln. A counselor, who at first was cynical about the rhetoric told about the sign which read "You miss school--you miss out!" The counselor said: "We put one of those in almost every classroom. So we've learned to play a game here, a game of psychological awareness" (Personal communication, November, 1989). The slogans went home on everything because Cremaschi-Schwimmer believed in the power of advertising to remind students, parents, and community about the theme. The counselor told about how he was convinced of the advertising.

Men approach things quite differently sometimes. Most men like myself believe there's no need to be repeating this, they should know it by now. But the nurturing, wordy side of females has changed the battleplan in that she's not afraid of being redundant. She wants

the teachers repeating the message to remind students of the importance of school. She told us in a staff meeting that it is valuable to keep saying it so the kids hear you saying it, and they begin to believe it. But it sure has convinced me. There's no better way to teach them how to believe and how they ought to believe in something than for them to see us believe in something. I see and hear it in the counselor's office, things like; "you all sure push education around here!" (Personal communication, November, 1989)

When I asked Cremaschi-Schwimmer the significant factors that were responsible for the notable changes that took place, she would credit the teachers, students and parents. At a Booster Club event, she publicly applauded their efforts in turning Lincoln's image around and advised them to continue to demand the most from their school district because, after all, these children deserve the best. Privately, she thought the change in Lincoln resulted from the academic culture that valued all students. "We tried to create the acceptance of all, pride in yourself, and choosing to develop the best that you can possible be."

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's enthusiasm greeted students enthusiastically the opening day of the last year she would be principal of Lincoln. She had decided over the summer months that a change was imminent for her health. Resigning as principal at Lincoln was a strong consideration that

Cremaschi-Schwimmer was contemplating. She was poised and positive even when difficult times came, with one thought in mind: "We're on a sacred mission to provide Lincoln students with the greatest, most well-rounded education and school." She continued using language, her love for words, to communicate this dream in everything she did. She expected the rhetoric to be practiced and communicated to students, parents and teachers not only by the administrators, but by the teachers, the students and, of course, the parents. "Language and the lure of words are very powerful in catalyzing your dreams, igniting your visions," she voiced in one of several interviews. She wanted teachers to continually reinforce the credo, the mottos that "Lincoln is on the way up; Lincoln is on the move; We have a new attitude; There is something different about Lincoln, come and check it out; Pride in the Hive; You must believe that anyone can achieve; You can achieve; You can do it; Lincoln leads the way; Students at Lincoln are successful." These are just some of the phrases she and her staff developed to help motivate and change the thinking of the students, staff, parents and community. The redundancy of the language she used and expected other people to use was what made the New Attitude chime. As mentioned before, the immersion into the positive affirmation of language helped change the followers' thoughts about education, learning, and the importance of making a meaningful life.

Politics is as elusive as leadership when one considers the numerous definitions that are discussed in the literature. Cremaschi-Schwimmer demonstrated political expertise in her ability to shape and share power with teachers, parents and students (Dahl, 1961), in her thinking as she analyzed and reconstructed future scenarios (Tucker, 1981), and with bargaining strategies that she used often with various issues and concerns (Allison, 1971). When necessary, Cremaschi could be very confrontive and put the issues directly out in the open, forcefully and regularly. One teacher pointed out that she could be overpowering at times, "Cremaschi-Schwimmer respects those people that she has seen make a change and she values their opinion. She doesn't appeal to other people in that way. If someone is having problems, she will address them immediately" (Personal communication, October 25, 1990).

Valuing people and relationships, Cremaschi-Schwimmer had a passion for learning and language. She demonstrated this value through her rhetoric and practice of giving advice to students, taking them to colleges, supporting decisions, helping them apply, locating grants and scholarships for them, and so forth. Easton (1965) defined politics as an authoritative allocation of values. She was proficient at exploiting resources, monetary as well as human potential, in order to bring programs to Lincoln to support the New Attitude, the values inherent in the new

Lincoln. Politically speaking, Lincoln Prep developed in a maze of conflict. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership was actively engaged in relationships where politics was the traffic system in the interaction of influence, conflict and power.

Walking into an environment of uncertainty those first years of the New Attitude, the new Lincoln Prep, Cremaschi-Schwimmer had to be politically astute and skillful in recognizing, persuading and restructuring people's preferences. She used politics and political strategies honorably, creatively, passionately, emotionally, and responsibly. Cremaschi-Schwimmer felt that her chief moral duty was to reconstruct and transform the human condition. Through a sacred vision she politically shaped individuals using the lure of knowledge and language to bring about change among other leaders and followers.

Generative Leadership

The Lincoln effort comprehensively engaged the efforts most of the people involved in the process of transforming Lincoln's image. There were leaders working with other leaders, leaders working with followers, followers working with leaders, and followers working with other followers. One person noted:

Sure there are several leaders evolving from her leadership. There's no way this high school could function without a lot of people working very hard,

people who give her tremendous support and work very hard to maintain this comprehensive high school with its multitude of programs and course curricula. From what I observe, most teachers and staff members support our programs and support Dr. C's efforts to make our school the best possible school it can be.

Fortunately, many of us see her as a visionary mentor, a person who can really look into the future and conceive what it is going to take to be successful in an ever evolving technological society. (Personal communication, February 16, 1990)

This analysis supports Rost's (1991) notion that leaders and followers together are actively involved in the process of leadership. The influence, conflict and power are mutually interactive as leaders and followers work together toward realizing the intended change. In this specific case, it was changing the image of Lincoln and empowering students that had been neglected in the past. Not only were some students empowered, but leaders and followers empowered and transformed each other.

One department chairperson who appreciated the opportunity to practice the process of leadership said:

When I first came to Lincoln, my first impressions did not fit what I was expecting, the negative jungle-like reputation that Lincoln had. I constantly heard that she had done this; she had done that; she had gotten

people working together; she had developed a good staff; she had created a New Attitude concept, had upgraded courses, thrown out easy classes, provided a safe environment on campus, had done a lot of recruiting of teachers. . . . So yes, I definitely think she has made a difference, but the district won't appreciate or acknowledge the difference or the leadership process she brought to Lincoln until she is gone. (Personal communication, February, 1990)

Reflecting back on her tenure at Lincoln, Cremaschi-Schwimmer summarized: "People grew, and that's one good thing they say--that they learned a lot while working at Lincoln and thank you for the opportunity. We had thirteen promotions, more students going on to school as well as countless other accomplishments, but it's the students and teachers who deserve the recognition, because they did all the work." (Personal communication, August, 1990)

Language was a tool that worked politically to influence followers that Lincoln's on the way up. The politics of talk itself is a concept that needs to be developed further. Cremaschi-Schwimmer used it as a power resource to contradict the forces at work in an inner city high school. Foster (1986) suggested what happens when the needs of the powerful are maintained:

If, then, leadership acts have a part to play in the human condition, that part must address the ways and

the means by which repressive policies, and consequent structures, are legitimated through linguistic distortion, a distortion which serves the needs of the powerful by maintaining conditions of inequality and winning uninformed public support for discriminatory policy. (p. 24)

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership was an effort to change all that--the repressive policies and structures, the legitimate distortions, and the inequities that served the powerful.

CHAPTER VI

TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP:

WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED FROM THIS CASE STUDY?

The purpose of this study is to determine the degree to which Cremaschi-Schwimmer, an inner city high school principal, is a transformational leader. In this study, I explored how Cremaschi-Schwimmer transformed the basic character of Lincoln and whether or not she operationalized and implemented the transformational leadership model of Burns (1978). Specifically, the objective of this research is to examine leadership as a process, hoping to broaden our understanding of how leaders and followers actively engaged in the process of leadership.

The section to follow summarizes the leadership process that Cremaschi-Schwimmer activated, highlighting the transformational leadership qualities that she utilized. Concluding this chapter is a discussion on how transformational leadership fits into the process of redesigning or rebuilding an inner city high school. Additionally, the discussion focuses on whether gender differences have an effect on the process of leadership.

Summary and Conclusions

Rebuilding and reconstructing a new Lincoln was a comprehensive process that involved numerous people who energetically penetrated the Lincoln consciousness. The grim and dismal mystique of Lincoln High School prior to the change resulted from years of pessimistic and disapproving socially constructed views that typically accompanies racially impoverished neighborhoods. The conflict, competition and voices from the community intensified the need for strong leadership. Based on previous leadership experiences and a reputation for producing results, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was asked to lead the efforts in changing the negative, dismal conditions at Lincoln.

She began the process of changing that mystique by making problematic the way things were. She also explored the ways people defined their social worlds. Fortunately, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was able to identify with and define the social world of the students that organized Lincoln. Her life became a model symbolizing for students how to change the problematic--the drudgery, despondency and despair of the way things were that fall of 1986.

Cremashi-Schwimmer thinks of leadership as a process of communication. The communication began when she formed the relationships that were active in the leadership process. This process of communicating and relating involved a series of stages that Cremaschi-Schwimmer used to guide, direct,

and shape the human behavior in the leadership relationship. This information was gathered by formal and informal observations and interviews.

In the first stage of the communication process, Cremaschi-Schwimmer formed relationships and communicated to those in the relationships a picture of the way things at Lincoln were not, that given the chance and the right opportunities, all students can and do learn. In order to communicate this picture, Cremaschi-Schwimmer critically reflected on and analyzed Lincoln's past and present conditions. She also critically reflected and analyzed her past to see how it related to the leadership process and the changes she intended (Foster, 1986). Cremaschi-Schwimmer shared with students and teachers her life story and vision for Lincoln. Thus began her relationships of influence with followers at Lincoln Prep High School.

She used these relationships of influence when she engaged the staff in a two-week seminar to discuss how they were going to alter what Lincoln was not. Collectively, they developed the thirteen principles that comprised the New Attitude which reflected the mutual purposes they had in changing the conditions at Lincoln.

The interview was my primary tool for studying the relationships Cremaschi-Schwimmer had with followers. This research was a co-investigation of the leadership process that existed at Lincoln and was orchestrated by Cremaschi-

Schwimmer.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer began her tenure as principal for Lincoln Preparatory High School with enthusiasm and zest. She was bound and determined to change things around for the students at Lincoln. During that first year she introduced the New Attitude that was the foundation and vision of the relationship. Followers were actively involved in the process and together they worked hard to undo the negative image and bring about a prestigious reputation for Lincoln Prep. Things definitely changed and people talked about the difference in Lincoln. Teachers were checking and calling parents about student performance; many new programs were added to support the New Attitude.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer knew intuitively that language was the driving force in making those changes, and that the New Attitude would make meaning and sense of what was happening at Lincoln. This research documents the importance of her language strategy as an effective tool of influence. Cremaschi-Schwimmer used this tool of influence successfully to change people's thoughts, to change how they socially construct Lincoln in their minds. If we agree that people socially construct their worlds, then they must socially construct organizations. Indeed the data of this study analyzed in the last chapter strongly suggest that using slogans and motivational phrases redundantly helped change the thinking of many students at Lincoln, along with many

teachers, parents, community members and media people. At Lincoln, the New Attitude was reiterated all the time and everywhere to get everyone to believe in it. Cremaschi-Schwimmer understood that if people believed the New Attitude they would construct Lincoln Prep High School anew in the direction of the intended change.

Language was the power resource that Cremaschi-Schwimmer used to persuade and convince followers that she had a sacred mission. The sacred mission was Cremaschi-Schwimmer's intent to persuade students to stay in school and make school an important resource for changing the predicaments their lives were in.

The zeal, zest and enthusiasm were replaced by frustration and heartache as Cremaschi-Schwimmer faced district decisions in the third year to eliminate Lincoln's only junior high feeder school. Politically, she strived to save the hard work of the previous years, but it was apparent that the district administrators were interested in saving Gompers at any cost.

During the four years of Lincoln's New Attitude, new programs were started to honor academics. Partnerships were formed to help persuade students, community members and parents of the importance of staying in school. The physical grounds were upgraded to enhance the culture of the New Attitude. The traditional indicators constantly plagued Cremaschi-Schwimmer who started to address the enrollment

concerns, graduation problems and so forth. Tutorials were offered, along with extra support and help during homework hours. She challenged and overhauled the obsolete attendance system. Cremaschi-Schwimmer also made political waves concerning district policies. Enrollment increased, the number of students graduating from Lincoln increased as well.

Along with the glory came some strong political setbacks and problems which convinced Cremaschi-Schwimmer to resign from public service for awhile.

Transformational Leadership Relationship

This inquiry began with five research questions that guided the interview process. These questions will be the focus for this discussion.

Transformational Leadership Characteristics

The first question is: What leadership characteristics has Cremaschi-Schwimmer developed which support Burns' (1978) transformational leadership model? According to Burns, leaders must possess some of these characteristics: desire, plan, intent, motivation, design, and meaning. Consequently, having a motive or intent together with mobilizing scarce resources, gives leaders the power to compete for followers, to compete with other potential leaders, and to fight against socialized values that impede change. As a transformational leader, Cremaschi-Schwimmer took the initiative to connect with teachers, students and

parents with their higher level wants and needs. She catalyzed their wants and needs into a motivating purpose for change. That motivating purpose was to change the negative image that hounded Lincoln. She got them to want a better Lincoln High School.

Transformational leaders need a vision, a blueprint, an overarching goal, a moral imagination of a preferred future. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's vision for Lincoln High School was clearly presented and repeated over and over again. In essence, she wanted a high school that gave the teenagers of southeast San Diego an opportunity to obtain a good education. The Lincoln High School prior to 1986-87 did not give students such an opportunity. Consequently, the purpose of the leadership relationship was to reconstruct Lincoln High School so significantly that it changed from an ineffective high school to an effective high school.

To achieve this purpose, Cremaschi-Schwimmer had to make her vision the collective vision of the teachers, students, and parents. She inaugurated that process in August, 1986 at the two-week seminar for Lincoln's staff which marked the beginning of her tenure as principal. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's vision was transformed into the New Attitude as the staff collectively worked during the two-week seminar to apply the holistically-held vision that education is very important for a worthy life, all children can learn, and everyone has an equal right to education.

The collective vision that energized the New Attitude was the desire, intent, purpose and plan to see Lincoln's negative image disappear because quality learning was taking place and students were taking advantage of educational opportunities. Lincoln would become a school that people wanted to attend because the collective efforts of students, teachers, parents and administrators made that happen. An instructional aide who graduated from Lincoln stated concisely, "The collective vision is to one day see Lincoln back at a level of efficiency it was once at. Cremaschi-Schwimmer is always working to better the school to the point that she wants to see it be an outstanding academic school" (Personal communication, November 11, 1988).

Within that collective vision, Cremaschi-Schwimmer had some personal visions that were verbalized continuously as well. The sacred mission eloquently described her personal quest to make sure that the students at Lincoln get back on track, to have some kind of focus in their lives, rather than allowing the students to drift and waste their high school years in unproductive pursuits. She was bound and determined to create an environment where these students could make the most of their opportunities as well as their capabilities. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's passion for education created an environment that people could realize more of their potential. She constantly preached her sacred mission to the students; believing in oneself and working hard to

be the best that one is capable of by making something of the rest of one's life.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's personal vision evolved from the adversity she had survived, from finding personal strength to overcome the hardships, and from making up her mind that good grows from adversity. Learning is to her a life-long goal. She believes life is an education, and she sees each moment as an opportunity to learn something, an opportunity to grow.

Communicating and sharing a vision that appealed to the higher aspirations of the teachers, students, and parents were very important to Cremaschi-Schwimmer. Her leadership of influence was morally purposeful. She believed that equality, integrity, dignity, personal significance and hard work were the foundation of human worth. These characteristics were the foundations in her relationships of influence. She cared about human beings, about relationships, about making life worthwhile. She wanted to raise the consciousness of global sharing because the whole world is here for us all. She preached a global tolerance and understanding of people. She insisted that all students can and do learn given the opportunity to grow. And finally she proclaimed that life without a purpose is very shallow. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's concern for the end values of love, pride, confidence, equality, justice, human dignity, liberty and personal self-worth were the guideposts for her vision.

As a transforming leader, Cremaschi-Schwimmer aroused, engaged and shaped followers' wants and needs based on these end values. She was able to raise many of these followers up through higher levels of morality, to care about and actively pursue these end values.

A distinguishing characteristic of transformational leaders is that they engage followers in a common enterprise and move the followers and leaders to higher levels of motivation and morality. In short the process makes better citizens of both leaders and followers. Cremaschi-Schwimmer promoted a social vision focusing on the end values of equality, freedom, justice, love and integrity through special fundraisers and extracurricular programs with which she personally got involved. She communicated the importance of having a purpose in life that brought meaning, direction and personal satisfaction to their work. It is Cremaschi-Schwimmer's social vision that has her looking at the futures of minority students and worried that we are not doing enough to give them equal access to academics. Nor are the schools doing enough to help students appreciate the unique differences and similarities that all cultural groups have. She would like to see a world that someday celebrated people's differences yielding a global, humanitarian, and ecumenical tolerance. She often stated the need to transcend these differences, not ignore them; to rise above them long enough to learn from one another, to appreciate

one another, and to work together. According to Cremaschi-Schwimmer, it is through working together that we learn to respect one another.

As educators, the teachers and administrators at Lincoln philosophically shared a mutual responsibility to deliver educational services that would captivate students' minds in thinking. Under this broad philosophical stance Cremaschi-Schwimmer and the teachers were drawn into the mutual shaping of the New Attitude, the shared purposes, outlined specifically to satisfy the educational wants and needs of teachers, students and administrators. The intent was that teachers, students, parents and community members would be willing to become the embodiment of, and act upon, the belief that all children can learn in an educational landscape that is qualitatively supportive and directive.

Walking, breathing, talking, and ultimately living the vision, Cremaschi-Schwimmer embraced a value system that provided followers with a sense of direction, meaning and purpose for their lives. Followers were inspired because they saw her sense of direction, her value for education, and her willingness to work hard. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership was morally pragmatic. This process transformed a social structure possessing important end values that raised the potential in students, teachers and parents.

Valuing family and community, Cremaschi-Schwimmer described a personal vision that paralleled Bellah's (1985)

community consciousness, where someday one humanity would exist that erased all the ignorance and celebrated differences united toward a common future of tolerance and understanding. She argued "I think that we need to transcend these differences, not ignore them; rise above them long enough to learn from one another, to appreciate one another, to work together, and in working together that's how we learn respect and love for one another" (Personal communication, April 1990).

Cremaschi-Schwimmer was a transformational leader in that she engaged in meaningful relationships of influence where counterinfluencing was a popular way to solve problems collectively. This, however, did not happen without meaningful conflict. Transformational leaders embrace and generate more conflict which allows followers to choose to get involved in the leadership relationship because they have had the ability to make a conscious choice among alternatives presented to them.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer created conflict in several ways. She counted on, expected and welcomed counter influence from followers. The open door policy was used intensely by teacher and students to share frustrations, concerns, objections, praise, ideas, and so forth. Lincoln was an enormous task, and she needed people who were willing to take the reigns and help drive the cause. The vice principals both exchanged places with Cremaschi as leaders

in the cause at different times as did some of the departmental chairpersons.

Creating conflict raises the motivations and the moral aspirations of the followers. Such leaders change the way the people get involved in the leadership relationship approach, think about, and act regarding the issue at hand. In her four years at Lincoln Preparatory High School, Cremaschi-Schwimmer embraced and created conflict to meet the wants and needs of the people in the relationship. This opened the way for followers to consciously choose among real alternatives.

By reconstructing the preferences of teachers, students, and parents; by transforming the motivations and moral aspirations of teachers, students, and parents; Cremaschi-Schwimmer reconstructed Lincoln Preparatory High School in the minds of students, teachers and parents.

In the process of reconstructing preferences, Cremaschi-Schwimmer wrestled with conflict, as she contradicted the values and socially-constructed views that people had of Lincoln. Cremaschi-Schwimmer successfully used conflict and competition to create an academic environment that supported the purpose and goals of the New Attitude. Conflict was used to challenge teachers' preferences and strengthen their commitment to teaching so that all students can learn. All staff members knew of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's strong desires to create an

environment where academics was a priority that was honored and sustained. Competition for financial resources, good teachers, and district commitment as ongoing. Rarely did Creaschi-Schwimmer have to assert her position of authority to satisfy these needs. Rather, Cremaschi-Schwimmer's power and ability to lead were a result of the reciprocal relationships of influence, conflict and power that she motivated in her followers. They actively shared influence patterns, conflict strategies, and power to bring about the sacred mission and accomplish the New Attitude.

Together the teachers and administrators were active in unequal relationships of influence that started many partnerships, implemented many new programs, honored academic priorities, rewarded academic excellence, supported tutorial and counseling programs, consistently followed through on policies made, provided extra help to students, created incentives to reward students for their hard work, and the relationship of influence provided during those four years. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's passion and love for the Lincoln teachers developed as she watched them work incredibly long hours dedicating enormous amounts of time to making the New Attitude work. Teachers unable to dedicate the time and energy required were given extra help and resources if they were committed to the New Attitude. In time, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was able to reconstruct those teachers' preferences. However, those teachers who

consciously chose not to be involved in the relationships driving the New Attitude lacked the desire to work hard and the commitment to the cause. Consequently, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was probably unable to reconstruct their preferences. Therefore, administrative transfers were requested. Conflict raged, but Cremaschi-Schwimmer was not afraid to confront the bureaucratic policies of teacher tenure. She persisted until the transfers were granted. It was in these relationships of conflict that Cremaschi-Schwimmer was known for her ability to exploit, embody, shape, curb and intensify her conflicting demands arousing followers' consciousness to the New Attitude. She was not afraid to take risks and embrace conflict as a catalyst for driving the vision, the intended change. Cremaschi-Schwimmer was used to inciting and socializing the conflict. These strategies worked very well for her.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer had a special knack for making people feel they were actively needed to accomplish the tasks at hand. Consistent with the views held by Foster (1986b) and Kanter (1983), Cremaschi-Schwimmer had power because she shared power. She gave power to followers which she believed expanded the power resources available in the leadership relationship. She empowered followers by providing opportunities for them to be successful. She strove to give them knowledge, time and choices that would increase their skills and capabilities as professionals.

New information gave followers the opportunity to make intelligent decisions. Cremaschi-Schwimmer believed that knowledge was the fulcrum for influencing people, negotiating conflict, empowering and changing their lives.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer shared power by delegating responsibilities to people who had expertise in a particular area. The comprehensive task of redesigning Lincoln required effective delegation. She was known for her ability to get things done, or find someone who could do it with or for her. Frequently, this delegating reached out into the community. A major accomplishment for Cremaschi-Schwimmer was getting the Parent-Student-Teacher-Association going after 13 years. Not only did she bring parents back to Lincoln, she provided seminars, tutorial programs and social activities for the parents. They were welcomed and encouraged to contribute their ideas, unlike what happened during the previous years of alienation. She also wanted to cultivate the parent potential that existed in the community. Seminars were given to educate the parents in the New Attitude and in ways to help their child be more successful in school. Cremaschi-Schwimmer mobilized resources to satisfy their wants and needs by developing a parent volunteer room that was coordinated by a woman who had a lot of influence in the community. Parents used that room for meetings, telephoning, conferencing, seminars, and so forth. According to many teachers, parents and students,

parent involvement was a successful political strategy that had remained dormant in the past. She shared power and developed relationships of influence, conflict and power with the parents as well.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer advocated the concept of community spirit, working together, accepting differences, appreciating people as valuable assets that everyone at Lincoln acknowledged. The Lincoln family was her metaphor. Politically, Cremaschi-Schwimmer recognized quickly the arena in which she had to manipulate, negotiate, bargain, threaten resignation, and play educational tug-of-war to keep Lincoln from reverting back to its dismal state of affairs. After recognizing the highly volatile political environment in which the schools were immersed, Cremaschi-Schwimmer broadened her relationship of influence with community businesses and the media. Cremaschi-Schwimmer used community businesses and the media, and she taught the parents to socialize the issues to increase the intensity of the conflict and advertise the discrepancies the district wanted to privatize or keep quiet.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer became politically sophisticated in her leadership endeavors as she learned to manage and exploit conflict. The political uprising that she encountered influenced her decision to resign as principal the following year. The political process she manipulated dealt with the district administrators privatizing a

decision to restructure the neighboring Gompers Secondary School, the only feeder school for Lincoln. Without the ninth graders from Gompers, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was forced to drastically cut back on the staff that had prepared so hard for the New Attitude. Cremaschi-Schwimmer had an intuitive sense that something was not going along as in the past and confronted the district administrators immediately. It was during this process that she saw the political realities of problems that did not have a right or wrong answer; participating actors that had differences in policy outcomes; processes that distributed power and advantages differentially among participants, coercing one party to compromise; and consequences that resulted from conflict, coalition, and bargaining (Allison, 1971). As a transformational leader, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was very skilled politically.

Developing a transformational leadership relationship through a series of communication stages, Cremaschi-Schwimmer cultivated a level of trust, respect and integrity with the followers. There was a shared belief that all students can and do learn, if given the opportunities and support. The vision captivated their influence and was formed to represent the collective nature of leadership. It is only through this collective relationship that change occurred at Lincoln. For the most part, the Lincoln family was engaged in a common enterprise and achieved the intended

change in people's views and attitudes of Lincoln. This illustrates the collective leadership that Burns (1978) talked about where in leaders appeal to the motivational wants and needs of followers; followers respond through reciprocal influence, binding leaders and followers into symbiotic relationships achieving intended change.

Articulation Mechanisms

The second question is: What mechanisms did she use to articulate her values to followers? Cremaschi-Schwimmer's most powerful mechanism was revealing the personal story and commitments she had made to the cause of turning a school around. She used language, high expectations, professionalism, hardwork, personal narratives, advice, support, and an open ear for those wishing to tell her the world's problems. Cremaschi-Schwimmer would say it was her unbridled enthusiasm which was so contagious. But it is more than just enthusiasm. Individuals commented on her rare ability to influence and persuade people even when they did not want to be persuaded.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer used relationships of influence, conflict and power to communicate the mission and values of the vision for the school. Cremaschi-Schwimmer talked about these relationships and how they impacted the enrollment problems at Lincoln. There were various actors bargaining with separate but unequal power resources in unequal influence relationships. Issues were brought to the

attention of higher level officials as a result of standard operating procedures or other structural channels. These issues were represented by individual interests. They became important stakes that forced individuals to take a stand on the issue. In Cremaschi-Schwimmer's situation, her individual interest was in maintaining Lincoln's enrollment. Any significant decrease would drastically impact on all the hard work that went into improving Lincoln's enrollment.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer tried several strategies to get the district administrators and board to render a decision that would help both schools. Socializing the issue and putting a Lincoln face on the issue created conflict and turmoil, but in the end the politicking changed the district's decision very little. The decision favored Gompers and hurt Lincoln after the resolution came down.

Taking risks, being gutsy and bold were a few ways Cremaschi-Schwimmer let people know what her values, interests and vision were for the school. She walked her talk and fought for those concerns she believed were right for Lincoln. As Allison (1971) indicated, where you sit influences what you see concerning the face of the issue as well as where you stand. Obviously, Cremaschi-Schwimmer stood for the welfare of Lincoln. She spent much of the 1988-89 academic year working to turn the Gompers crisis into a cause. Together she and the staff worked to bring many ninth grade students to Lincoln for the following year

through letter writing, orientations, personal contacts and so forth. Cremaschi-Schwimmer created what Burns (1978) called a political connection with followers. Getting followers politically involved with a cause they believe is worth fighting for shaped the interest and activity level of the followers. In Lincoln's case they were willing to do whatever they could to help bring the ninth graders back to Lincoln. This had an impact on everyone in the sense that the relationship of influence was a transformational cause that purposively bonded followers to the cause. This demonstration of values elicited follower commitment.

Eliciting Follower Commitment

The third question is: How did she elicit follower commitment to her mission, purpose, or vision of the school? Cremaschi-Schwimmer successfully shaped a culture at Lincoln where people grew personally while contributing to the intended change. Much of the data collected indicate that Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership process moved followers to higher levels of motivation, inspiration and morality. By personally acknowledging the efforts and successes of individuals, Cremaschi-Schwimmer applauded the venture of those involved in the process. She continually praised them publicly and recognized their individual accomplishments, contributions and achievements to the students at Lincoln. The recognition was always granted to the teachers and students.

Several interviewees commented on the quality of the relationships Cremaschi-Schwimmer formed. The sacred mission illustrated the deep reverence she felt when working with students. She expected teachers to be able to interact with the students using tolerance, understanding, and flexibility. She valued and appreciated such teachers, and in return she treated them with respect and integrity.

Arousing follower commitment and influence through language, Cremaschi-Schwimmer captivated followers using symbols, slogans, and metaphors. Culturally, Cremaschi-Schwimmer engineered Lincoln's renovation based on the New Attitude metaphor and the slogans, "There's Something Different at Lincoln" and "We're on the Way Up." Symbolically, the New Attitude expressed the value of working hard to achieve worthy objectives through the printed responsibilities. Other symbolic artifacts illustrating Lincoln's new direction adorned walls, newspapers, advertisements, notebooks and the like. The professionalism she expected of everyone, even from herself, was part of the cultural terrain all the way from the physical structure and appearance of the grounds to the academic format of the school's curriculum. This professionalism was part of the New Attitude that redefined the educational dynamics at Lincoln. The New Attitude coupled with her sacred mission were two of the many metaphors used by Cremaschi-Schwimmer to stir the

consciousness of students, parents and teachers concerning the importance of learning, to emphasize that all students can learn. The purpose of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership was to interpret the meanings given to Lincoln's redefined dynamics and give the students, teachers and parents a sense of understanding about what was happening at Lincoln and where Lincoln was going, so they could articulate the meanings of their behavior. By articulating the meanings, followers were able to see for themselves the power of language. Verbal bridges connected the relationships Cremaschi-Schwimmer generated through the use of slogans, metaphors and symbols (Caroselli, 1990).

Generating Future Leaders

The fourth question is: What approaches did she implement in generating future transformational leaders? Organizing and leading by example were some of the ways Cremaschi-Schwimmer was a generative leader. She was continually lighting and stoking the fires of students and teachers, encouraging them to go beyond their potential. She would go out of her way to make sure a student's college registration was completed. She arranged scholarship programs and persuaded students to apply for various financial aid packages. She would even invite students into her home if they needed a place to stay on weekends.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer wanted to see people grow and develop. She wanted them to find the best in themselves,

emphasizing that it was not about being the best, but about finding and cultivating the best from within. It gave her pleasure to guide this process. The developer and cultivator of human potential as described by Naisbitt and Aburdene (1985) exemplifies a passion that Cremaschi-Schwimmer had for guiding and leading people. The emotional investment she had put out during this process has made many of the individuals outstanding leaders themselves. This was not only personally documented by several individuals, but it was observed as well.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer shaped Lincoln Preparatory's culture on the values of truth, justice, freedom and democracy embodied in her vision. Cremaschi-Schwimmer used the New Attitude to free students from their ideological prisons that locked up their motivation and potential. Sharing knowledge and providing opportunities, Cremaschi-Schwimmer demonstrated Foster's (1986a) concept of leadership, a process of transforming and empowering. She believed that one's power increases when one gives followers the information and knowledge needed to make the right decisions. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's followers were able to make conscious choices among real alternatives (Burns, 1978, p. 36).

Symbolically, Cremaschi-Schwimmer's transformational abilities were very dependent on her use of language. She used metaphors to articulate her passions and this

transformed most teachers' doubts to alignment with Lincoln's cause. Some teachers spoke about her awesome ability to entirely captivate attention through language. Others commented on how she usually operated language in the interest of others, but always used motivational phrases and slogans in the interest of the students at Lincoln. Relationships were highly valued and essential to the way she intended to change Lincoln Preparatory High School.

Transformational Leadership and Cremaschi-Schwimmer

I selected Cremaschi-Schwimmer as the focus of this research because I had a hunch she was a transforming leader. As the study unfolded I discovered that not only was she a transformational leader, but that leadership as a process was responsible for the change that occurred at Lincoln. Cremaschi-Schwimmer is one of many leaders at Lincoln who have been instrumental in its transformation.

From the perspective of Burns' (1978) model of transformational leadership, Cremaschi-Schwimmer's linguistic game was a symbolic process of mobilizing resources to arouse, engage and influence followers in order that the intended change become a reality. Language, a power resource, helped achieved part of the vision. It was the primary change creating force that Cremaschi-Schwimmer used to persuade followers, win others over to a point of view, and get them to act in accordance with the New Attitude (Lakoff, 1991).

Language was purposively used by Creamschi-Schwimmer to convince and persuade teachers, students and parents to follow the New Attitude. Language maximized the collaboration required to interact in relationships of influence. An important part of the transformational leadership process is creating reciprocal relationships of influence. Building these relationships required competing for followers who had conflicting ideas, values and knowledge. Creamaschi-Schwimmer's ability to influence and persuade others to join Lincoln's crusade had a lot to do with her unbridled enthusiasm, a zeal to part waters for the cause inspired by words. This enthusiasm was genuine and passionately came from the heart. It was seductive in the sense that it induced most of the teachers to act on behalf of the new Lincoln and espouse the values of the cause. Teachers, parents and students had an ongoing impact on the conditions and issues that reconstituted Lincoln Preparatory High School, because Creamaschi-Schwimmer shared power through relationships of influence and conflict. Transformational leadership can only be defined by the dynamic, reciprocal influence followers bring to the relationship.

Creamaschi-Schwimmer's success as a transformational leader is due to her ability to create reciprocal relationships of influence. She had a special gift of relating to a variety of people. Creamaschi-Schwimmer was

receptive and supportive, and she always made people feel wanted, needed and very special. She listened to people. Cremaschi-Schwimmer was good at motivating people because she made them feel like they had something to offer to the new Lincoln. Not only did she make them feel worthwhile, she showed them that they could succeed by their participation in the effort, by organizing opportunities for the success of Lincoln. She gave them power through education. She made them aware of their talents and knowledge, empowering them to feel good about themselves and their accomplishments. Cremaschi-Schwimmer gave them opportunities to choose alternative levels of knowledge and judgement.

Giving the teachers and followers power through knowledge and education was one way Cremaschi-Schwimmer was able to meet the wants and needs of the followers. Responding to wants and needs required mobilizing resources and organizing conflict. Burns targeted conflict as the dynamo of political action in his discussion of the dissensual nature of leadership, (p. 453). She was able to manipulate conflict most of the time to get things done. People respected her because she was able to accomplish the objectives of the New Attitude. Cremaschi-Schwimmer was able to deliver on the promises she made because she willingly took risks and challenged the educational hierarchy. Teachers watched in amazement as Cremaschi-

Schwimmer convinced some teachers who needed to change occupations to leave the profession. Those unwilling to alter their socialized preferences were subjected to the pressures of administrative transfers that resulted in some heated battles.

Burns viewed leadership as a special type of power relationship. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's relationship of influence was a type of power relationship. Some of the teachers viewed her as being very powerful and using her authority to assert power over them. When confronted with her use of what some would call coercive power, Cremaschi-Schwimmer responded that her responsibility as an instructional leader was to make sure quality teaching and learning was the norm at Lincoln Prep. She took drastic measures to remove ineffective teachers from teaching since the tenure system protected them. A few teachers indicated that she was able to eliminate the incompetent teachers when previous administrators were unable or unwilling to touch them. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's actions in these cases were praised by these teachers. They knew that the teachers who did their job were highly respected, and their viewpoints were always seriously considered in the maze of multiple influence. Many teachers at Lincoln were pleased that Cremaschi-Schwimmer was able to reward and respect teacher competence and not reward and even eliminate incompetence among the teaching ranks.

As Rost (1991) indicated, it is unrealistic to assume that everyone will be active followers or leaders and engage in the tough changes that have to be made to turn around a dysfunctional organization. Cremaschi-Schwimmer had very little influence on the teachers refusing to make a choice either way. The teachers who showed a distinct lack of motivation, or who were just biding their time were candidates for the administrative transfer, especially if they were nonproductive in the classroom. Cremaschi-Schwimmer was very direct and stubborn when it came to providing the best instructional services to Lincoln students. There was no room for incompetent or burned-out teachers in her vision for the new Lincoln Preparatory High School.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer wrestled with and generated more conflict when she competed against the bureaucratic tenure system of incompetence. As a transforming leader, Cremaschi-Schwimmer used conflict and competition to turn adversity into accomplishment. According to Burns, she expanded the battlefield and attracted more followers who were allies in that purpose. Managing or organizing conflict in this manner influenced and reconstructed the followers' educational beliefs, preferences and values in what Burns (1978) defined as a reciprocal power relationship.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's early years were lived out in a

seedbed of conflict. One doesn't need to dwell on the historical treatment of minorities to realize that Cremaschi-Schwimmer embraced, exploited, and battled various conflicts and eventually beat the competition to get to where she was as Lincoln's principal. One can easily see why education was so crucial to her vision of the good life she tried instilling in Lincoln's students. Conflict and competition had been staring her in the face every day of her life so her battle for equity at Lincoln was just a continuation of that lifetime struggle.

Acknowledging that she has felt a special sense of power about who she was, Cremaschi-Schwimmer attributed this powerfulness to her perseverance, her ability to survive the horrors of her development, and to her experience in using conflict to turn adversity into accomplishment. That is the very reason she considered Lincoln a sacred mission.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer considered power a crucial part of the leadership relationship. The power resources used in developing the New Attitude were shared with the teachers and administrators in a relationship of counterinfluencing, bargaining, negotiating, collaborating and compromising to create the mutual purpose that would change the image of Lincoln and unify the school.

Organizing conflict, using power and influence to mobilize political and economic resources came easily for Cremaschi-Schwimmer at the beginning of her tenure at

Lincoln. Financial support from the district was generous during the first two years. She was able to implement programs and satisfy departmental wants/needs with the appropriate funding. Procuring this funding further influenced teachers of her ability to gather resources and solidified their respect for her as an individual and as a transformational leader. When funding became limited, Cremaschi-Schwimmer reached out to community agencies and neighborhood resources. Partnerships soared while she was at Lincoln. Unlike previous years, this was a tremendous effort and accomplishment. By going out to the community, Cremaschi-Schwimmer was bringing the community to Lincoln. Cremaschi-Schwimmer introduced the concept of Educational Sunday to the neighborhood churches and spoke to the congregations on parent involvement, study habits and the importance of staying in school. The first year she visited churches every Sunday and then went monthly for the next three years. She involved businesses in tutoring programs making commitments for scholarships toward college. The Girard Foundation was one of the eight business partnerships that Cremaschi-Schwimmer developed and supported to help students prepare for taking college entrance exams. With Girard funds she hired Princeton Review to tutor students taking the exams.

Politically, Cremaschi-Schwimmer became very active in different educational organizations who were seeking

consulting advice about the process of change at Lincoln. Parent partnerships were also formed and used as political resources for socializing the concerns and issues at Lincoln. Developing relationships of influence with these partnerships enabled her to use them as power resources and political armour in her quest to keep the New Attitude alive at Lincoln.

Opening a parent community room became a power resource that reinforced her commitment to honoring family and involving parents and the community in school activities. Through seminars, parent education courses and so forth, Cremaschi-Schwimmer rallied parent support for Lincoln's cause, explaining that parent concerns have a very powerful effect in the district's policy-making process. She also repeated the importance of involvement in their children's education, discussing ideas and demonstrating ways to get involved. Harnessing parent, community and business commitment to Lincoln's cause was a major resource that Cremaschi-Schwimmer's used to achieve her vision for Lincoln Prep.

According to Lakoff (1991) politics is the game of power, and language drives politics. It is the initiator and interpreter of the relationship of influence. Building community through relationships of influence using language was essential to Cremaschi-Schwimmer, and in this regard she exhibited the prototypical characteristic of the female

administrator. But these community relationships were not all care and warmth and loving. Cremaschi-Schwimmer, of course, could relate on that level, but she often had to use conflict to get the people of Southeast San Diego out of their mindset, a mindset that too often accepted poor educational services from the district, drugs and crime in the neighborhood, and young people ill-prepared to take their place within established society.

In order to attract, influence, and commit teachers, VEEP students and parents to Lincoln, Cremaschi-Schwimmer competed with other schools in the district that had better reputations, took on the tenure system which allowed for teacher incompetence and administrator acceptance of incompetence, and fought the pluralistic, socialized mindset of individuals. Stimulated by her penchant for winning and being successful, Cremaschi-Schwimmer facilitated relationships of conflict to communicate, mold or restrain the competition.

The New Attitude and Cremaschi-Schwimmer's personal vision contradicted the teachers' and VEEP individuals' background assumptions and socialized values, causing conflict and competition in the relationship between their constructed view of Lincoln High School and the newly constructed view that Cremaschi-Schwimmer was trying to instill.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's political sophistication was

evident in her willingness to take on the bureaucracy at the district level. She had a keen sense of who the gatekeepers and the stakeholders for Lincoln were, using these means to access resources and information about contractual issues and obligations regarding staffing. This political backbone broadened the scope of conflict while cultivating contacts in the community who were concerned voices about Lincoln's direction.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer was able to read the district's political barometer of policies that directly impacted Lincoln's future. District administrators voted to restructure Gompers Secondary School into an all magnet school, 7-12 that eliminated Lincoln's only junior high feeder school. Eliminating Lincoln's only feeder school would sacrifice the four years of hard work that went into transforming Lincoln's image.

Politically, Cremaschi-Schwimmer's process of leadership was hot, but it brought about change. Cremaschi-Schwimmer resolved conflict by socializing and privatizing the issues. She agreed with Schattscheidner's contention that "organization is itself a mobilization of bias in preparation of action" (1975, p. 30). Bias accelerated the intensity of the conflict which Cremaschi-Schwimmer mobilized when the Gompers/Lincoln controversy was raging. She mobilized bias through parents who voiced strong opposition to the restructuring of Gompers and the effects

that restructuring would have on Lincoln's enrollment. She localized Lincoln's bias by a letter-writing campaign that encouraged Gompers' eighth grade students to come take a look at their neighborhood school and see the New Attitude in action. She organized an orientation day inviting the incoming students and parents to meet the new Lincoln. This relationship of conflict was a long, drawn-out process that involved Gompers and district administrators clashing with Lincoln administrators, where Cremaschi-Schwimmer struggled politically to stop what she considered to be an ill-advised decision to eliminate Gompers as a feeder school for Lincoln. The decision would destabilize all the previous efforts of the Lincoln supporters that brought some semblance of stability to Lincoln Preparatory High School.

Soon after the elimination of Gompers as a feeder school, decisions to build new facilities at Morse and transfer continuation students to Lincoln reinforced Cremaschi-Schwimmer's view that the district was not supporting Lincoln.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's process of leadership was politically active and driven by the New Attitude. The socialization of Lincoln's awakening, curriculum conflict, name change, New Attitude, academic programs and events, academic awards, sporting triumphs, visible changes, parent involvement, Gompers crisis and boundary changes, and Cremaschi-Schwimmer's resignation brought to the attention

of the public the leadership efforts to change Lincoln's negative image. The decision to involve public sentiments and change the balance of opinion made the entire leadership process political. Over the four years she used power resulting from unequal resources to shape the relationships of conflict that evolved to keep the focus on the New Attitude, on the purpose of the sacred mission. This was crucial in order to activate the mutual purposes of transforming Lincoln's tarnished image, changing conditions at Lincoln and providing a quality education for the students.

Passionately involved in relationships with a reverence for people and learning, Cremaschi-Schwimmer's greatest strength as a transformational leader was the ability to shape values, guide change, motivate and educate people by example. Throughout this study the researcher witnessed and heard staff members tell about on numerous occasions the mentoring efforts that Cremaschi-Schwimmer provided to help people transform their lives. Several interviewees commented on the encouragement they received to go back to school, enroll in various courses, take motivational seminars, apply for a promotion, and the like even if it meant leaving Lincoln. She would personally get involved in helping teachers, students and parents see the opportunities that were available. Often, she would organize and provide the opportunities that would alter and reconstruct their

preferences contributing a different outlook or motivation.

The essence of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's behavior in the process of leadership was to guide people, giving them the tools and motivation to manage themselves in the future and make something of their lives. Her efforts at Lincoln were driven by the desire, intent, and motive to get the students at Lincoln to believe in themselves, believe that education will make a difference and to pursue something that will make their lives meaningful, purposeful and worthwhile.

From Burns' (1978) perspective of transformational leadership, Cremaschi-Schwimmer's vision influenced many followers, but not all, at least not that they were willing to recognized and admit. She mobilized resources to arouse, engage, shape, alter and elevate the wants, needs, and motives of those choosing to take part in the leadership relationship. Conflict and competition played an action role in shaping the course of events the leadership process took. She was a risk taker in her efforts to challenge the bureaucratic mumble jumble, and she was motivated by the opportunities to channel conflict and adversity into accomplishments. The relationship of influence that she developed with students, teachers and parents was truly reciprocated through their opinions, actions, and empowerment. Together in this relationship of influence, the mutual purpose of changing Lincoln's reputation and providing an atmosphere conducive so all students learn, so

the students get back on track was realized. Lincoln was transformed because of the efforts of everyone actively engaged in driving the New Attitude. Many teachers, students and parents commingled their needs and aspirations into the New Attitude, their common enterprise, and as a result their lives were transformed in that they now had experienced something different.

Educating by example, sharing experiences and shaping values through guidance were Cremaschi-Schwimmer's greatest assets. Believing in one's self was a message that this evangelist carried in her heart and throughout the sacred mission. The values she stressed were a fundamental part of who Cremaschi-Schwimmer is, and she never expected more from people than she demanded of herself. The value portrait she painted highlighted relationships, education, having a sense of direction, possessing meaning and purpose, hard work, well-intentioned people good at heart, competency, life-long learning, freedom of choice, family, happiness, self-contentment, and success. This value portrait pictured the guidance she gave to students, teachers and parents as they made choices concerning their future. Guiding students through personal testimony and experience, Cremaschi-Schwimmer's life story was shared as a way to show students that perseverance and determination will accomplish your dreams.

Many people commented that Cremaschi-Schwimmer's process

of leadership transformed Lincoln's image and educational dynamics. Several indicated that they had been morally elevated by her enthusiasm, drive and hardwork. Most of those interviewed felt that the students had been raised to a higher level of motivation due to her efforts as a leader, and the collective efforts of the teachers supporting the New Attitude. Transformation of Lincoln's tarnished image resulted from Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership process that actively involved the Lincoln family.

Implications for Future Research

Since Burns (1978) introduced the concept of transformational leadership, scholars have engaged in an intellectual tug-of-war hoping to come to grips with the essence of leadership. He was the catalytic agent that identified the confusion, elusiveness and mediocrity of leadership that I think results from a narrow, positivistic view of industrial society. But Burns was preoccupied with the male experience and neglected to account for what females may add to the process of leadership.

The discussion and hypothesis that gender influences the production of knowledge needs to be explored further in order to fully document the dimensions of the leadership process. The feminists argument that organizations have disempowered and disqualified women's knowledge as legitimate is reasonable since historically male knowledge was considered the norm, the only system of knowledge.

The strength of this investigation tested the dimensions of one man's model of leadership in the life of a woman leader. This research documented the reciprocal relationship of influence, the motivation that was needed, the relationship of power and conflict that was complementary and shared, the politics of leadership, and the generativity of leadership. It contributed evidence to the understanding of transformational leadership, but it also raised questions about how language might influence change. Since categories of knowledge are human constructions represented by language, the hypothesis that organizations indeed are gendered may be a reality and needs further exploration if we really want to unlock the essence of leadership. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's inability to tangle with the bureaucratic machinery may very well be a result of language. It may also be a result of women trying to interact in a system built on male standards and expectations. Women leaders using language as a way to drive change are in foreign territory when their language is tripping in a bureaucracy that is powered by the objective, value-free, nonpolitical, rational, positivistic, and sexually neutral organized landscape.

The gendered myth of organizations serves to conceal, soften and rationalize the social relationships that exist in organizations. Accordingly if "language is politics, politics assigns power, power governs how people talk, and

how they are understood" (Lakoff, 1991, p. 12), then more than ever we need to explore and document the nature and analysis of language in organizations and how leaders use language as a tool for change.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer used language as the primary change-creating force in her process of leadership. One might argue that more needs to be done than just using language. Lakoff (1991) decided that language drives politics and determines the success of political machines. "Language is the initiator and interpreter of power relations. Politics is language and language is politics" (p. 13). If this is so, we must consider the implications of organizations that are socially constructed in one gender reality. Differences in the ways men and women use language would definitely have a different impact as a change-creating force if organizations are socially constructed to acknowledge more than one voice.

I think the gendered myth of organizations has been as impotent as the misuse of language. Perhaps the solo, male voice of bureaucracies that has silenced the female voice has misused language. This may be one reason for our intellectual confusion of leadership. The function and beauty of leadership is that it always leads us to question and ponder another dimension of our socially-constructed realities. Languages of organizations and the voices of leadership are areas that I believe need further research.

This study went one step beyond documenting Burns' (1978) model of leadership. It provided evidence that one leader used language to critically reflect and empower followers, a concept noted in Foster's (1986a) model of leadership. The researcher also found and documented the active nature of the leadership relationship noted by Rost (1991). Cremaschi-Schwimmer and the people involved in the New Attitude were actively doing leadership to polish the tarnished image of Lincoln. As Rost noted, leaders and followers are in the relationship together, influencing each other throughout the process of change.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer was a transformational leader during her tenure at Lincoln High School. She had the motivation, a vision, used the political process that involved reciprocal relationships of influence, conflict and power, and met the mutual needs of the relationships. In those relationships, she and her followers together brought about change that morally lifted everyone involved to experience a better life. For the time period of the New Attitude, Lincoln's tarnished image was polished and the individuals that were actively involved in the process were morally motivated to unlock their potential and experience the best they could be at that time. Through the active relationships of Cremaschi-Schwimmer's leadership, a reciprocal process of influence, conflict and power was driven by language. Collectively, Cremaschi-Schwimmer and

her followers achieved their sacred mission.

The strength of this research lies in the methodology and the ability to closely watch and observe the intricate details of personal relations. Because I was there so much and was treated as a fellow teacher, the people of Lincoln forgot about me as a researcher and blended in with the Lincoln dynamics. Therefore, contamination of the study was minimal. I cannot deny that I had a definite bias concerning whether or not she was a leader. I chose to study her because I felt she was a leader.

This research is extremely valuable for women in terms of looking at the function of language and how it fits in a male dominated bureaucratic setting. Perhaps language is the reason women find leadership challenging, lonely and foreign. The language of leadership, bureaucracy, politics, power and persuasion provides meaning from a male perspective. We need further research in how language from a female perspective might influence the leadership process in bureaucratic settings.

The difficulty in this research for me was writing the data. I found it very difficult to structure the story. I wonder again if it may have to do with the gendered use of language and writing scientifically. Lincoln (1985) discussed the impossibility of pure objectivity in research. Instead the research posture must be perspectival. This new research paradigm has a nonorthodox position amidst the

classical, positivistic research paradigm. Clark (1985) wrote, "What the nonorthodox position lacks currently is the rich tradition of theory development, research, documentation, storytelling, and engineering that has grown up around the classical paradigm. But the new paradigm will have its day" (p. 75). Perhaps language and the writing of research, the construction of theory and knowledge in the nonorthodox position will assume a different posture as well. Theory construction and the ways that knowledge has been created historically excluded female experience and the female voice (Shakeshaft, 1989). Perhaps the nonorthodox position will examine the influence of gender on research and theory and look to include a female perspective not only in collecting the data but in writing it as well. I think we need to increase our research efforts to address this position. My study certainly takes a nonorthodox position.

Another difficulty I observed was the paradox Cremaschi-Schwimmer found herself in concerning issues of race. Being black was both a problem and an asset. I chose to study her because she was black. I believe Cremaschi-Schwimmer's development as a leader and how she implemented the process of leadership contribute a lot to understanding the nature of leadership. In order to reconceptualize leadership and demystify the intellectual confusions, we must consider the contributions of women and ethnic and racial minorities. Cremaschi-Schwimmer fulfilled a dual

purpose in that consideration. However, Cremaschi-Schwimmer alienated some members of the black community because they viewed her efforts as mirroring the white culture.

Another concern I had was the inability to get the most comprehensive picture of the leadership relationship and all the activities and interactions it involved. The world view of leaders and the leadership process still wants to attribute all the success or failure to one person. The common, everyday, ordinary view people have of leadership tangles with management. Individuals not interested in the research on leaders and managers will continue to see them synonymously. I wonder if it is possible to revolutionize the understanding of leadership as a process when the multitudes have a different socially-constructed view. I believe we need to continue researching the interactive nature of leadership and management, and how they unfold as a process.

We need to continue our efforts in using qualitative methodology to understand the dynamics of the complex but vital process of leadership. We need to consider the dynamics of culture definitions and how they may limit a certain population of people from the leadership relationship. Further study needs to inquire into the power and politics of language, especially if change only occurs with reconstructing our preferences.

The efforts to change the image of Lincoln required a

group of people working hard in a long term conditioning process. It documented the messiness of the process and that indeed leadership is a process of people working toward mutual purposes. The leader is the person who for a variety of reasons had the motivation and scarce resources to influence, mobilize and direct the process. Rost's (1991) point was well documented in that leaders and followers were actively doing leadership in order for the mutual purposes to be realized and achieved.

The leadership relationship that existed at Lincoln is not a story about a superhuman woman who had miraculously turned around a troubled school. It is a story of the relationship of people who worked together to accomplish a formidable task. However, this view of leadership does not take away from Cremaschi-Schwimmer and the monumental effort that she pursued to make a difference at Lincoln. The efforts to make Lincoln a better place by promoting and enhancing the value of education was definitely a result of her vision, her political sophistication and drive, her ability to take risks and most of all her love for working and communicating with people.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. How long have you taught at Lincoln Preparatory High School?
2. How long have you known Dr. Cremaschi-Schwimmer?
3. How long have you worked with Dr. Cremaschi-Schwimmer?
4. What kinds of things are important here at Lincoln Prep?

INFLUENCE

1. What kind of impact has she had on students, parents, teachers etc?
2. Has she had an impact on you personally, if so what?
3. How does she go about her job as principal?
4. How do teachers feel about what is done around here?
5. How do teachers feel about what is done around here?
6. How does she get people involved?
7. How does she motivate and get people to contribute to the mission of Lincoln Prep?
8. What kind of mentor is she?

POWER and POLITICS

1. How does she perceive and distribute power?
2. Is power shared?
3. Do people have ownership in what happens around here?
4. How are decisions made; are teachers involved in the decision making?

VALUES

1. What is valued here at Lincoln?
2. Are the values of administrators and teachers aligned?
3. How does the leader communicate her followers?

WANTS AND NEEDS

1. Does she look out for the needs of others?
2. How does she meet the needs of followers?
3. How has she integrated her objectives, the objectives of the school with you personal needs?
4. Are mutual wants and needs communicated and addressed?

VISION

1. Leaders are people who have a vision, blue prints of what they want to get done.
2. How is the vision communicated, expressed? What is her VISION?
3. Does she involve the staff in her vision and if so how?

CHANGE

1. Describe what it was like here before Dr. Cremaschi-Schwimmer
2. What changes has she made?
3. Help me understand the impact from the changes she has initiated.
4. How does she involve people in the change process?
5. What persuasive efforts does she employ to get followers to buy into the vision? Does she have to sell her vision?
6. What persuasive efforts does she employ to get followers to buy into the grand scheme of things?
7. What other changes have occurred since she became principal?
8. Does she have a specific agenda for change?

GENERATIVITY

1. What has she done to develop other people, other leaders?
2. What kind of mentor is she?
3. How does she evoke purposeful action among colleagues?
4. How has she helped evelop you personally?
5. Has you life changed because of Dr. Cremaschi-Schwimmer?

APPENDIX D

ABRAHAM LINCOLN PREPARATORY HIGH SCHOOL

THE NEW ATTITUDE

1. You must attend class every day. Unexcused absences must be cleared within seventy-two hours or it remains a truancy.
2. Students are to bring notebooks, necessary books and supplies to class.
3. Personal grooming items will not be used in the classroom.
4. You are expected to be prepared for class and to do homework.
5. You are to be in your classroom when the tardy bell rings.
6. Excessive tardies and trancies will result in a "U" citizenship grade.
7. Students are expected to conduct themselves in an orderly and respectful manner at all times on campus and at school sponsored activities.
8. Students are not permitted in the halls during classes without a hall pass.
9. No hats, nets, caps, curlers, picks, bandana, house shoes, cunlasses or other inappropriate attire are to be worn in the classroom.
10. No Radios or tape recorders are to be brought to school for any reason.
11. No food or drinks are allowed in the classroom.
12. Profanity is forbidden on campus.
13. All Lincoln Prep students, regardless of race, creed, color or sex, are equally important and treat each other with respect and dignity.

San Diego City Schools
ABRAHAM LINCOLN PREPARATORY HIGH SCHOOL

Part I DISCIPLINE POLICY

The staff of Lincoln Preparatory High School believes that one of the fundamental ingredients of a campus environment with high academic achievement and outstanding instruction is a well developed and effective discipline plan. The following discipline policy for Lincoln Preparatory High School is the result of a workshop on August 13 involving staff members and the result of a meeting on August 25 of a newly formed discipline committee. This policy reflects, as much as possible, the input of the staff of Lincoln Preparatory High School. As with any good plan, it must be monitored and improved upon once implemented. Therefore, a newly formed discipline committee will meet monthly to monitor the plan, gather input from the staff about the plan, and improve upon the plan when necessary.

The bottom line in making this plan work is that all staff members must be consistent in implementing the plan. All staff members must consistently enforce school rules, follow the referral procedure, make parent contacts by phone or letter, work as a team to supervise students both in and out of the classroom and make every attempt to positively counsel and guide students to develop greater self-control and concern for the rights and privileges of others to get an education. One of the major goals of this discipline policy is to help young people develop responsible and effective social behavior so that an environment of high achievement and effective instruction can exist.

Part II A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

Discipline is a shared responsibility. In order for this to be an effective discipline policy, the individuals below must work cooperatively together.

A. The administration is responsible for:

1. Establishing school rules and regulations in conformance with district discipline policy that will ensure an education program free from disruption for all students.
2. Communicating to parents, staff, and students established district policy and school rules and regulations regarding discipline.
3. Enforcing consistently and fairly district policy and school rules and regulations regarding discipline.
4. Assisting students, parents, and staff in early identification of behavior problems and in seeking solutions or remedies for causes of misconduct.

DISCIPLINE POLICY, continued

Part II A Shared Responsibility, continued

B. The Dean is responsible for:

1. Communicating to parents, staff, and students established district policy and school rules and regulations regarding discipline.
2. Enforcing consistently and fairly district policy and school rules and regulations regarding discipline.
3. Assisting parents, students and staff in early identification of behavior problems and in seeking solutions or remedies for causes of misconduct.
4. Referring serious discipline problems to the Vice Principals for suspensions or other appropriate disciplinary action.

C. The Counselor is responsible for:

1. Working with the students to help them develop positive self-understanding, self-acceptance and self-discipline.
2. Helping the students work to the best of their ability and to help them prepare for their future.
3. Helping the students understand the need for rules and regulations and how to get along with others.
4. Performing a supportive role for teachers dealing with student discipline problems and assigning disciplinary measures if necessary.
5. Mutually developing a trusting and open communication with teachers, deans and administration so that in time of need will efficiently and effectively solve problems.
6. Being a liaison with the school and parents.

D. The teacher is responsible for:

1. Reviewing with classroom students at the start of every semester discipline policy and school rules and regulations regarding discipline.
2. Enforcing consistently and fairly district policy and school rules and regulations regarding discipline.

DISCIPLINE POLICY, continuedPart II A Shared Responsibility, continued

- D. The teacher is responsible for: continued
3. Establishing an atmosphere of proper behavior in classrooms and setting course guidelines which will give every student full opportunity to pursue his/her studies without disruption.
 4. Communicating with students and parents regarding behavior problems and proposed solutions.
 5. Reporting promptly any continuing student behavior problems to appropriate site personnel, i.e., the counselor, dean.
- E. The parent is responsible for:
1. Accepting and respecting the right of the Board of Education to require discipline standards of behavior for all students and for all nonstudents while on campus during school activities.
 2. Reviewing district policy and school discipline rules and regulations with family members to ensure all are familiar with and understand the standards of conduct expected by school authorities on school campuses.
 3. Cooperating with school officials in carrying out appropriate discipline penalties when such action is necessary.
 4. Seeking out when necessary, and with the advice and guidance of district personnel, appropriate community agencies for assistance in correcting misbehavior of the students.
- F. The student is responsible for:
1. Respecting the authority of teachers, principals, and other school staff to enforce district policy and school rules and regulations regarding student discipline and moral conduct.
 2. Behaving in classrooms and on school campuses in a manner that does not disrupt or interfere with the rights of other students and staff.
 3. Abiding by the standards of conduct and rules and regulations governing discipline established by the school.
 4. Attending assigned classes daily on time and for each full term.
- G. The community is responsible for:
1. Acknowledging the right of the Board of Education, its administration, and school site personnel to carry out district discipline policy and school rules and regulations established in the interests of maintaining the best educational environment in all classrooms and on all campuses of the city schools.

DISCIPLINE POLICY, continuedPart III New Concepts and Responsibilities, continued

5. Any student tardy to class will be admitted to class. No student will be kept out of class for being late unless tardy sweeps are being conducted. (See Section V under the heading Tardy Policy.
6. All teachers will supervise the hallway in the immediate and surrounding area of their classroom during passing periods. This will help cut down on disturbances in the hallway. Those teachers near restrooms should check them several times throughout the day. Administrators, when possible; deans, when possible, and hall monitors will also assist in the hallways. Visibility of adults in the hallways can alleviate many problems and also show students we are a team.

Part IV Truancies, Tardies

Since two of the major problems at Lincoln Preparatory High School have been truancies and tardies, it was felt a specific action should be written to give staff direction as to how to handle those problems.

A. Period Truancies - Per Semester

Key to stopping period truancies is early notification of parents. Note the role that all will play in reducing period truancies. Telephoning parents and sending letters to parents (see sample letter in this section) can help. When any students are truant from your class, parents are to be contacted. It could mean several calls home by different teachers. Using the truancy form provided by the principal please record the information. When you have filled out the 3rd one, attach the first two forms and give it to the counselor. Detention is to also be assigned by you for the first two truancies. (See Detention Procedure in Part III) Notify the parents of that and that truancies will have a negative impact on student's grades. See the procedure for handling procedures below:

Recommended Grading Policy for Truants

<u>Truancies</u>	<u>Grade</u>
1-5	No A
6-10	No better than a B
11-15	No better than a C
16-20	No better than a D
21 and above	F

TARDY POLICY

A student is considered legally tardy if he/she is not in their assigned classroom when the tardy bell stops ringing. Encouraging promptness to class is initially a teacher's responsibility. The following is a strongly suggested approach to tardy problems:

1. A tardy of more than 30 minutes on any one occasion is legally considered a truancy.
2. Faculty members can promote punctuality by starting class on time.
 - a. Teacher/student conference
 - b. Telephoning home and discussing the problem with parent.
 - c. Send home a "Special Progress Report to Parents" form.
 - d. Send home a "Tardy Letter" (see sample letter in attendance section) to be signed by student and parent.
 - e. After school detention with teacher. Citizenship grade should be lowered.
 - f. Students who are habitually tardy may be sent to the counselor on a referral if required prior actions by teacher as outlined in the referral procedure have been followed. Citizenship grade should be lowered.

APPENDIX F

LINCOLN PREP CODE OF COMMITMENTS FOR MASTER TEACHERS

YOU MUST BELIEVE THAT ANYBODY CAN ACHIEVE.

**YOU HAVE TO BELIEVE THAT THIS KID, THIS HUMAN BEING,
CAN ACHIEVE REGARDLESS OF WHAT HIS STATUS IN LIFE IS.**

ONCE YOU BELIEVE THAT, THEN YOU CAN MAKE IT HAPPEN!

1. Every teacher will be consistent in carrying out policies decided upon or site and district mandates.
2. Every teacher will stand at his or her door during passing periods and actively supervise student behavior and encourage students to get to class on times.
3. Every teacher will use the notebook system.
4. Every teacher will distribute a written handout on course expectations, grading policy, classroom discipline or standards and homework policy to all students, post in room, and have one on file in the office.
5. Every teacher will make three phone calls home each week and submit evidence on forms provided. Good reasons for making three phone calls are 1) attendance, 2) discipline, and 3) positive reinforcers and praise. Three phone calls should not include ones you are returning to parents at their request. Phone calls must be returned within three days if not sooner.
6. Every teacher will take attendance in every class. Grades should be correlated with school attendance.)
7. Every teacher will assign homework.
8. Every teacher and other staff members will attend all faculty meetings or appropriate inservice activities.
9. Every staff member will dress appropriately and professionally.
10. Every staff member will refrain from gossip, put-downs or other negative interactions with colleagues and use appropriate language on campus.
11. Every staff member will bring needs and concerns to persons designated to handle them or to meetings designed to cover that area.
12. Every staff member will provide a clean, attractive, orderly and safe classroom or work station. Bulletin boards should reflect subject or tasks conducted in your area.
13. Every staff member will utilize appropriate disciplinary and program referral options (tutoring, counseling, home phone calls, detention, et.) when success is not apparent.
14. Every teacher will be responsible for facilitating a productive guidance period.

Revised 9/88

APPENDIX G
SAN DIEGO CITY SCHOOLS
LINCOLN PREPARATORY HIGH SCHOOL

MISSION STATEMENT

The staff, students and parents of Lincoln Preparatory High School are dedicated to the common goal of excellence in teaching and learning within the belief that all students can and learn when the total school community is unite in purpose.

Together we will provide a high quality, humanities-based curriculum which includes critical thinking and problem solving skills. We must adequately prepare our students to graduate with optimum choices for the future and with life skills to succeed in a rapidly changing, multicultural society as responsible, self-fulfilled and productive citizens and as positive additions to the Lincoln community. The staff, students and parents share responsibility for attendance, student participation in activities, the dropout and graduation rates, the quality of course offerings, and other appropriate indicators of our mission.

We BELIEVE in each other and, working together, we can will ACCOMPLISH GREAT THINGS. WE HAVE A NEW ATTITUDE!

September, 1986

Dear Mrs. Cremaschi,

How are you doing? Fine I hope, because I am just great 😊. Thank you so much for showing me through example, that a winner never quits. Your life has enabled me to live and follow my dreams. One while it looked like my dream was gone, but determination as well as perseverance helped it continue to go on. Recently, I received good news from Steve Hayes, the director of Philander Smith's Choir!!! He has given me a full music scholarship to that school!! He has been keeping in touch and in August, I'll be headed for Little Rock, Arkansas. By not giving up, I will be able to follow my dreams, and do what I do best, "Sing!"

Lincoln High

Accomplishments For 1986-1987

Last year started with the football team's trip to Seattle and Vancouver and their athletic talents led them to the "CIF" title and the ranking of No. 1 in the state for 2A teams.

There were more academic achievers among our football team than previous years.

The PTSA was reorganized after a thirteen year absence. The PTSA generated interest and support from many parents, organizations and community supporters. I was honored by the Urban League as "Parent of the Year" for my involvement in the community and Lincoln Prep. Katie Smith (a parent and PTSA 1st Vice President) was honored as "Volunteer of the Year", on Volunteers Day, at Balboa Park, by the San Diego Unified School District. Ms. Smith was also given "The Excel Award" for her outstanding teaching abilities and community service towards education.

Under the direction of Col. Loneski, Lincoln prep ROTC won honors in competition.

Four Lincoln Prep students won "THE SAY NO TO DRUGS" rapping contest at Seaworld.

We had our first student ever (Michelle Shivers) accepted to the "Freedom's Foundation Conference" at Valley Forge, PA.

The PTSA had the honor of hosting a reception for 900 people when Councilman William Jones presented his "State of the District" address, which was elegantly done and a smashing success.

Our academic Decathlon team excelled extremely well in competition. Their record was 3-3 compared to the previous last year 0-6.

Our ASB president won the semi-finals of The Shakespeare Festival at the La Jolla Play-

house which won him a two week to London. He didn't win the finals in San Francisco but he is a winner because of the leadership and motivation he displayed to his peers in his activities and accomplishments.

Lincoln Prep hosted College Night (with the help of UCSD—our partner-in-education group and the Education Sunday Committee) for other area High Schools, which drew over eighty college recruiters from across the country. College night was an overwhelming success.

The Black Leadership Council, who is a partner-in-education for Lincoln Prep did a wonderful job with the students in their mentor program. Twelve awards of \$100 each were presented to students for grade improvement and good attendance.

A magnificent performance and display of talent was portrayed by the students in the Black History Play "Children of the Night". This production was under the direction of Ms. Janice Stewart (member of Lincoln Staff).

The implementation of the daily silent reading period. A program designed to improve the reading skills and habits of the students.

Lincoln was one of five schools participating in the homework hotline, which provided assistance for students that needed help in Math, Science and English.

The instituting of the Community/Parent room, efficiently organized by Mrs. Lillie Trowsdell, (Community Aide) who met and greeted all persons who entered, with warmth, sincerity and professionalism.

The discovery of the talented students who painted the beautiful posters symbolizing careers and professions in honor of career day. A day that brought more than one hundred community people forward to share their careers and experiences with the Lincoln Prep students. Mayor Maureen O'Conner addressed the students, staff and visitors during the Career program.

The Senior class and the Young Ladies League, who so elegantly modeled their fashions and shared their unique talents.

The girls and boys basketball team and track team represented Lincoln prep in an excellent manner.

Lincoln Prep received a certificate from the State of California for improvement in reading and math on the CAP scores.

Lincoln Prep was one of the top schools in the county to meet 17 out of 20 of the mandated requirements for education as required by Sacramento. Lincoln Prep overshadowed the top two schools because of their vast improvement over other years.

Lincoln Prep summer basketball team won the San Diego "CIF" title.

'New attitude' is theme at 'new' Lincoln High

BY FRANCESKA AHMED

"There's too many gang members and drug dealers hanging around Lincoln High! My child won't get a quality education there! The teachers don't care at Lincoln, that's why the students don't succeed! The campus is filthy why don't they clean it up?" That's why I bus my kids to La Jolla, Kearny Mesa, etc."

These complaints have been voiced and revoiced by Lincoln high school community residents. But until now, nothing substantial has been done about them, said Culbert Williams, head counselor at Lincoln for 8 years.

"Yes, I've seen them come and go, I've watched the district put money into programs for cosmetic reasons with no lasting effect. But this time I really strongly believe it's going to work."

Williams is referring to the "New Attitude", as it's being billed, that's present at Lincoln high. The New Attitude of high expectations, high achievement and strong motivation is being demanded from parents, students and teachers by Lincoln's new principal, Ruby Cremashi-Schwimmer.

Cremashi-Schwimmer was sent to Lincoln with the direct mission of reviving this once thriving but now forgotten and neglected campus in southeast

San Diego. "I'm determined to see Lincoln succeed, because I'm desperate about our future.

It depresses me to return to Lincoln after six years and discover that some of the kids that I was vice-principal and friend to are now dead or in jail. And I'm worried about parents who offer guns and toys to their children rather than books. And the mothers that tell their children they're no good."

LINCOLN'S LEGACY

"I can remember when there was so much pride in Lincoln," said Walter Kudumu, long time community resident, parent and promoter of positive education in southeast San Diego. "It used to be an honor and privilege to say my child goes to Lincoln, the communities' school.

But over the years that attitude has diminished to what we have now.

Many parents at Lincoln don't care what happens to their child behind these gates. And if the parents don't care then the students don't care. And that's what's being reflected in Lincoln's test scores."

"I believe it started back in 1969," said Kudumu. "That was the era of Black Power pride and walk-outs. And Lincoln had it's share. And what the students were demanding

(Please turn to A3)



Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer

New Principal Ready for 'Sacred Mission'

As a youngster living in tiny Mt. Dora, Fla., Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer attended a three-room schoolhouse where every black child—from kindergarteners to high school seniors—was forced to go.

One day she happened upon the whites' school. It was landscaped, well-painted and spacious.

"I never got over that," she recalled last week. "I said to myself, 'Something's wrong here. Why don't I get to go to a school like that?'"

Decades later, Cremaschi-Schwimmer finds herself in much the same situation as she begins her first year at much-maligned Lincoln High School.

But this time, she can do something about it. "I really feel like this is almost a sacred mission, it really is," said the 46-year-old career educator. "They needed someone and now they've got me."

To all involved with the reform project at Lincoln High School, the woman hand-picked by Supt. Tom Payzant is the perfect choice.

She is charismatic, outspoken, intelligent and motivated—a woman with a vision of where she wants to take the city's worst high school.

"I'm extremely optimistic," said Vic Pflanz, a 17-year veteran teacher at Lincoln. "No. 1 reason is the leadership provided by Cremaschi."

"She's a person with great vision, courage, and with such a positive belief in herself and in the staff."

"I think just her personality alone can make some pretty big changes," said a former Lincoln teacher, who asked not to be named. "She's an extremely exciting woman. That's what they need."

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's vision for Lincoln begins with the neighborhood residents—black and Latino children who frequently record low test scores and high dropout rates.

Though Lincoln must attract white students to integrate the school, Cremaschi-Schwimmer says that "what we need is

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PRINCIPAL: Ready for 'Sacred Mission'

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judged on is whether the enrollment increases and the test scores increase. . . . I am no longer basing my success on the number of white kids who attend."

After a childhood of poverty in Florida and New York, Cremaschi-Schwimmer has little sympathy for those who will not help themselves.

"I think the kids who use these things as excuses—the poverty, the abuse, the lack of educated parents—I just don't think they're valid," she said. "I think each of us has the ability to make of our life what we can."

Cremaschi-Schwimmer was born to a mother who was just 15 years old. Her father left his wife four months before the birth.

By age 10, she had lived in Harlem and various spots in Florida, residing with her grandmother when her mother could not support the family on her housekeeper's wages.

"I think I was the proud poor. [My mother] would never apply for welfare, so I didn't have Christmas presents or toys or anything," she said. "But we had what we needed."

At age 10, she moved with her mother and stepfather to an integrated neighborhood in the New York borough of Queens, where she had her first television, telephone

and carpeted floors.

But she said her stepfather soon began sexually abusing her, and at age 11 she moved in with an uncle. She lied about her age to get a job as a mother's helper for a wealthy Jewish family in the Riverdale section of the Bronx.

When the Cohens learned that Cremaschi-Schwimmer often lived alone, they took her in. Her adolescence was spent among people named Cohen, Mendelsohn and Dubow.

She attended Hunter College in New York and earned her B.A. from Wayne State University in Detroit, going on for a master's degree from the University of Michigan. She married along the way and had three children, one of whom is a world-champion disabled skier and Rhodes scholar from Harvard University.

After teaching in the Detroit schools, Cremaschi-Schwimmer came to San Diego with her second husband. She worked her way up from teacher to vice principal at Wilson Junior High School and Lincoln. She became principal at Muir Alternative School and Montgomery Junior High School.

In May, Payzant chose her for the \$67,000-a-year post as principal of Lincoln, a salary that is higher than those of her peers.

"I had to take charge of my life because of circumstances," she

said. "I always preferred to be positive, no matter what was happening."

"I had to make choices not to get pregnant. Girls were doing that then. I had to make choices not to go on drugs. There were drugs around then."

Now comes the challenge of persuading Lincoln's students that they can do with their lives what Cremaschi-Schwimmer has done with hers. She believes, as she always has, that she can do it.

"I feel like the kids will buy into the new concept that this is serious," she said. "They'll say, 'Oh, we go to a good school now. Something's happening at Lincoln.'"

—LEONARD BERNSTEIN

Success story

Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer is leaving Lincoln Preparatory the same way she presided over the high school in southeast San Diego during the last four years — with her integrity and her dignity very much intact.

Having reached the point of physical and psychological exhaustion, Cremaschi-Schwimmer could have blamed others for the many problems she encountered at Lincoln since being appointed principal in 1986. Instead, she emphasizes the good things her students and her dedicated staff were able to accomplish in a part of town not always known for its commitment to academic excellence.

During her successful four-year tenure, the trends at Lincoln were positive for the most part. Student attendance rates were much improved. The graduation rate was up, the dropout rate down. Lincoln was the first of the district's schools to require all of its students to enroll in a core curriculum.



File photo

Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer

Similarly, all Lincoln students — not just the college bound — were required to take a foreign language.

Established as a magnet school in 1980, Lincoln had an academic reputation that steadily deteriorated by mid-decade. Cremaschi-Schwimmer was brought in to revive the school, and she did so with alacrity. Rejecting the conventional wisdom that children from the poor side of town could not keep pace in highly competitive classrooms, she demanded and received excellence from stu-

dents and staff alike.

To walk through the hallways at Lincoln is to be reminded that students can achieve nearly anything if they apply themselves. The school's can-do philosophy is buttressed by a network of parental and community volunteers.

It was not unusual for Cremaschi-Schwimmer to put in 16-hour days and come in during weekends as well. Over time, the level of energy required to maintain this commitment became too much for her. It's a wonder she lasted as long as she did, considering the accumulated frustration of dealing with an educational bureaucracy that is long on lofty goals and short on the means by which to achieve them.

Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer leaves the city school system having served with distinction for 20 years as a classroom teacher and administrator. She also leaves Lincoln Prep in far better shape than she found it four years ago.

Lincoln leads the way

Late last year, the San Diego Unified School District began an unprecedented nationwide search for a new principal at Abraham Lincoln High School. Notwithstanding more than 75 applicants, no one seemed up to the task of turning the troubled high school in Southeast San Diego around. How ironical that the ideal candidate proved to be an administrator in the district.

She is Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer, who begins her self-described "sacred mission" tomorrow when the newly christened Lincoln Preparatory School for Humanities, Languages, and Health Professions opens its doors.

Actually, Mrs. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's mission started last May, when she accepted the position. Since then, she has spent long hours at the high school interviewing new teachers, honing the curriculum, and overseeing the renovation of the 37-year-old building that has been battered by a succession of vandals and neglected by the district.

Her damage control extends well beyond the physical plant, however. Established as a magnet school in 1980, Lincoln's academic reputation has deteriorated steadily during the last few years. Although student test scores have improved of late, they still rank at the bottom of the district in reading, math, and language. Lincoln also has the district's second-highest dropout rate, the lowest proportion of graduates attending college full time, and the highest proportion of those who are unemployed. Little wonder San Diego students

have tended to spurn Lincoln for other schools.

Mrs. Cremaschi-Schwimmer's priority is to restore Lincoln's image in order to attract top-flight students. To achieve that goal, the school is offering new courses, new books, new equipment, new programs, and a refreshing array of strict requirements for all students.

All Lincoln students will take advanced courses in humanities or language or health. Beginning this year, ninth-graders must take three years of Latin, German, French or Spanish to graduate, a requirement that does not exist at other schools. Moreover, Lincoln students will also take more math and science than other students in the district.

The tough new requirements reflect the philosophy of the principal, who rejects the conventional wisdom that children from the poor side of town cannot keep pace in highly competitive classrooms. Indeed, she is living proof that a deprived background need not be a barrier to success for those who are determined to help themselves.

A product of poverty and a broken home, Mrs. Cremaschi-Schwimmer went on to earn her bachelor's degree from Wayne State University in Detroit, a master's degree from the University of Michigan, and a doctorate through a cooperative program of Point Loma College and Northern Arizona University. An 18-year veteran of the district, she worked her way up from teacher to vice-principal at Wilson Jr. High School and Lincoln. Soon thereafter, she became principal at Muir Alternative

School and Montgomery High School. Along the way she has raised a family, which includes a daughter who is a world-champion disabled skier and a Rhodes scholar from Harvard University.

The dynamic administrator intends to instill the same can-do attitude among her staff and students.

In mid-August, Lincoln faculty members took part in a week-long seminar to sharpen their teaching skills. Apart from their classroom duties, teachers will counsel students as well as call the homes of absent students each night to encourage attendance. Department heads will have release time to observe classes and coach their colleagues. Remedial and support programs will be expanded to bring all students up to speed.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Cremaschi-Schwimmer plans to enlist parental support through an aggressive PTA that will complement the booster club that backs Lincoln's successful sports program. Her infectious enthusiasm has already paid dividends. Thus far, 108 students have forsaken their neighborhood high schools to enroll at Lincoln. More are certain to follow, once word gets around that the new prep school is for real.

Lincoln's renaissance is particularly heartening because the high school has long been a source of pride for a community beset by numerous problems. We fully expect Lincoln to inspire other schools throughout San Diego to exalt their standards and their students.

S.D. Union 8/26

Junior high principal tapped to take reins at Lincoln High

By Christopher Reynolds
Staff Writer

City schools superintendent Tom Payzant has passed over some 60 nationwide applicants for the much-publicized post of Lincoln High School principal, and instead awarded it to a San Diego junior high school principal.

Payzant announced yesterday that he and the Board of Education have settled on Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer, 46, current principal at Montgomery Junior High School, for the Lincoln post.

"I did not apply, and I understand they had a nationwide search, so I'm really awed," Cremaschi-Schwimmer said yesterday. "It's really been a high time for me."

The Lincoln campus in Southeast San Diego is a particularly sensitive campus for city schools, since it has been known over a period of years for its high dropout rate and its low test scores.

However, the new appointee is no

stranger to the Lincoln campus, having served two years there as vice principal.

Earlier this school year, the district announced plans to re-open the school as a humanities magnet campus, and opened a nationwide recruiting campaign to find a successor to principal Laserik Saunders, who was told he would not be re-assigned to the campus.

After drawing 60 applications and conducting about half a dozen interviews, district officials decided to seek out a San Diego prospect. They came up with Cremaschi-Schwimmer, a 19-year resident of the Lincoln attendance area who studied the campus in her doctoral dissertation on busing in the late 1970s.

"We were guessing like crazy who it would be (and) actually, it's not a surprise," said Irv McClure, executive director of the city schools Administrators Association. "She's a good people person."

"I'm the cheerleader type," said

Cremaschi-Schwimmer. "I would rather win people over and get them to agree with me than demand that they do things."

Added Cremaschi-Schwimmer: "I have always thought that Lincoln was a very special place ... (The principal's job) isn't something that I haven't thought about before."

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's daughter, Bonnie Saint John, a student at Harvard and winner of three medals in the 1984 Handicapped Olympics, won the family headlines earlier this year when she was chosen as one of 32 Rhodes Scholars from the United States to attend Oxford University in England.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer's resume shows a bachelor's degree from Wayne State University, a master's from the University of Michigan and a doctorate through a cooperative program of Point Loma College and Northern Arizona University.

She joined the city schools system here as a teacher at Wright Brothers



The San Diego Union/Joni Zorick

Cremaschi-Schwimmer

Junior-Senior High School in 1965, and became vice principal of Wilcox Junior High School in 1975.

In addition to her two years as vice principal at Lincoln, she also spent six years as principal of Muir Alternative School before the appointment to her current assignment at Montgomery Junior High in 1984.

Departure of Lincoln's Principal Teaches Hard Lesson in Reality

When Hollywood tells the story of the tough-yet-compassionate principal who takes over the troubled inner-city school, it all turns out well in the end. The principal defies the skeptics, discipline is enforced and low-achieving kids who always had the potential begin to succeed.

The recent history of San Diego's Lincoln High School and its charismatic principal, Ruby Cremaschi-Schwimmer, allows us to fast-forward to reality. Cremaschi-Schwimmer was handpicked by Supt. Tom Payzant in 1986 for the monumental task of re-making Lincoln, one of the city's most troubled schools.

Four years ago, Lincoln had the district's second-worst test scores and second-highest dropout rate. More than 1,000 students were commuting to other city schools, leaving behind a far smaller number willing to send their children to the sagging neighborhood school.

Cremaschi-Schwimmer called her challenge "a sacred mission" and attacked it with corresponding zeal. She became the school's motivator, cheerleader, disciplinarian and advocate. Attendance increased when she persuaded Latino and Indochinese parents to send their children to the largely black school. The

campus was rid of graffiti, and fences were put up to keep out undesirables. The dropout rate declined. The curriculum was revamped to emphasize college preparatory courses.

But Lincoln students continued to be plagued by horrendous math and reading test scores. As the years went by, Cremaschi-Schwimmer became increasingly frustrated about butting heads with an administration that would not give her the resources she believed the Lincoln experiment requires. Two years ago, Lincoln's freshman and sophomore enrollments were reduced by two-thirds when nearby Gompers Secondary School was eliminated as a feeder institution.

Last week, Cremaschi-Schwimmer resigned, physically and emotionally exhausted from her effort and fearful for her health. Perhaps this should be no surprise to anyone who has followed with hope Cremaschi-Schwimmer's herculean effort. But Cremaschi-Schwimmer's departure will be Lincoln's loss and serves notice that, in real life, the complex task of educating low-income minority students remains one of the most intractable problems facing the city schools.