THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP PREPARATION IN TEACHER
LEADERS' FORMATION OF CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND
ENACTMENT OF CRITICAL TEACHER LEADERSHIP

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the many teachers who struggle to become leaders in a resistant educational culture, and to the many school leaders who embrace an empowering and critical model of leadership.

It is also dedicated to my late grandmother, Dorothy Elizabeth Godbey Bradley, who taught me that you can speak your mind in the most loving manner, and to my daughter, Jane Elizabeth Bradley Levine, who I hope will become the kind of person her great-grandmother was.

Acknowledgements

Jill Bradley-Levine

THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP PREPARATION IN TEACHER LEADERS' FORMATION OF CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ENACTMENT OF CRITICAL TEACHER LEADERSHIP

Research has shown that teachers feel alienated by conventional constructions of school leadership, and therefore, seek leadership opportunities that are collaborative; teachers are also more likely to become teacher leaders in environments where they feel appreciated and believe in the direction of current leadership structures and philosophy at their schools (Lambert, 2003). Conversely, it is possible that teachers who feel unsatisfied may seek teacher leadership opportunities in order to alter the current direction of the school or even the education system as a whole. Such teacher leaders are considered critical and work for a more equitable and just educational system. But whether critical teacher leaders exist and the nature of such leadership is yet to be determined. For these reasons, it is important to further study the critical nature of teacher leadership. Data was gathered for this study using critical qualitative methodology, a theoretical approach grounded in critical theory (Carspecken, 1996). Three data sources were collected for this study. First, participants were observed in four of the educational leadership courses. Second, assignments from three of the participants' educational leadership courses were collected as a check to determine if their written work reflected the ideas they expressed during class. Third, four key informants were interviewed three times to discover how class meetings and assignments affected individual teachers. Findings indicated that the formation of critical consciousness rests in course content, and professor and class member interactions. Not only do teacher leaders need to be exposed to readings that probe them to think critically, but they also need safe and collaborative

opportunities to challenge their own and each other's thinking within courses. The

preparatory experiences of teacher leaders affect their conception of teacher leadership as

well as how they enact teacher leadership in their schools.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

PERSONAL STATEMENT

It was not long after I started my teaching career that I began to feel frustrated. Like many teachers I entered the teaching profession because I wanted to have a positive effect on children's lives. However, I had no idea how much time and energy teaching would demand. Not only was I responsible for classroom-related work including planning, instruction, assessment, classroom and behavior management, and parent communication, but I was also expected to participate in a myriad of professional development activities including attending workshops and conferences, serving on committees, and taking graduate-level courses. In addition, I felt isolated from my colleagues, unsupported by many of the administrators at my school, and harassed by some parents. Moreover, I entered the teaching profession at a time when policy makers were asserting their presence through accountability measures such as high-stakes testing and curriculum standards. To me, it felt like teachers were being attacked from every side with no line of defense, and I began to feel more than frustrated. I started to feel powerless and hopeless. I saw that there were so many demands on me that I could never be the teacher I wanted to be, and therefore, I always felt like a failure.

At the same time, I knew I had the potential to be a great teacher. If only I could get the support I needed, the time and the resources. I sought credibility for myself and my colleagues because I knew that most of us were committed to meeting the needs of every student in our classrooms. I knew that students could all have a chance to succeed and that teachers could inspire them to want to succeed. Even though I had so many dreams about how things should be or could be, no one would listen to my ideas, not

even other teachers. I was too young, too inexperienced, and too naive. It was then that I

began to consider what needed to change about the teaching profession in order for

teachers to have a voice, to be listened to and heard. I wanted teachers to be respected

professionals who were consulted about educational issues. But I sensed that as a

classroom teacher alone, I would have little effect in seeking these changes. I needed

more status. So I left teaching to begin graduate school where I could earn a doctorate.

And then people would have to listen.

Over the past four years, I have discovered a lot about myself and about teachers.

I know now that I am sometimes a blind advocate of teachers. I have assumed over the

years that all teachers were trying as hard as I was to be great, that every teacher had the

best interests of their students in mind. However, I have come to realize that there are bad

apples in the teaching profession. I am not sure if they are bad because they were made

that way or because they became that way. In other words, I think it is possible that

ineffective people entered the teaching profession because they thought teaching would

be easy, and thus became ineffective teachers. On the other hand, I think it is more likely

that idealistic people (like me) entered the teaching profession because they wanted to

make a difference, but became so disenfranchised by the demands placed on teachers that

they gave up and became bad teachers. Either way, I recognize now that there is a need

for transformation of the teaching profession. But it angers me to think that policy makers

will dictate this transformation rather than teachers themselves. This is the reason why I

continue to be a whole-hearted supporter of teachers. Despite the problems that exist

within the teaching profession, I recognize that teachers ought to be the ones to call

attention to these issues and to take the initiative to fix them. But how can teachers do

this without opportunities to become both teachers and leaders simultaneously? How can

they initiate change within their profession and the education system as a whole when

they have so little authority or power to do so? These are the questions that have led me

to study the critical nature of teacher leadership.

<center>HISTORICAL CONTEXT</center>

A discussion of the history of common schooling and the development of the

teaching profession will help to explain how teachers came to be so disempowered.

Throughout history teaching has been considered a low-status semi-profession. Historians

have offered several explanations for this low status. First, early teachers were widely

believed to be untalented and undereducated. Rury (2002) and Katz (2001) asserted that

early masters were often men who had few talents or who taught for a few years before

pursuing more lucrative professions. Labaree (2004) further explained that the expansion

of public education led to a desperate need to hire "warm bodies" rather than qualified

professionals, leading to informal, on-the-job training (p. 21). Moreover, teacher training

has traditionally had lower status than any other professional training because it had to be

cost effective, producing the necessary numbers at little cost to either the teacher

candidates or the school system.

In addition to the belief that teachers were inept and unqualified, the feminization

of teaching also contributed to issues of low status. Rury (2002) and Katz (2001) agreed

that even after certification standards were established and schooling became compulsory

across the states, teacher salaries remained low because there were so many more female

teachers than male teachers. Katz (2001) explains that hiring female teachers to teach the

crowded primary grades meant that school districts could afford to hire more teachers

even though they spent the same amount of money. In addition, men who stayed in the education profession were often promoted to administrative or higher education positions, where the increase in responsibility allowed them to demand higher salaries. Teaching is still a largely female profession as 70% of teachers are women. Unlike other professions, where women penetrated and demanded equal pay for equal work, teaching began as a female profession and therefore, has remained a low-status, non-lucrative pursuit. For these reasons it could be argued that teachers as a whole are an oppressed group within the education professions. They have remained largely powerless to affect change at a systemic or policy level.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the conceptual framework utilized for this study. Starting at the top of the triangle, critical theory emphasizes disrupting traditional power structures through empowerment and struggle. The historical context presented above suggests that due to their professional subjugation, teachers may be more inclined to empathize with traditionally oppressed groups and work with them toward emancipation. Thus, critical theory is closely linked to the teaching profession. Moving to the lower left corner of the triangle, Foster's four demands connect critical theory to educational leadership theory by suggesting the existence of and requirements for the enactment of a "critical leadership." Finally, the concept of teacher leadership challenges hierarchical conceptions of educational leadership in general, suggesting a relationship to both critical theory and "critical leadership." This study is located naturally in the middle of these three concepts because it is the study of how teachers become critical leaders

through a teacher leadership master's degree program situated within an educational

leadership department that advocates a critical perspective.

Figure 1.
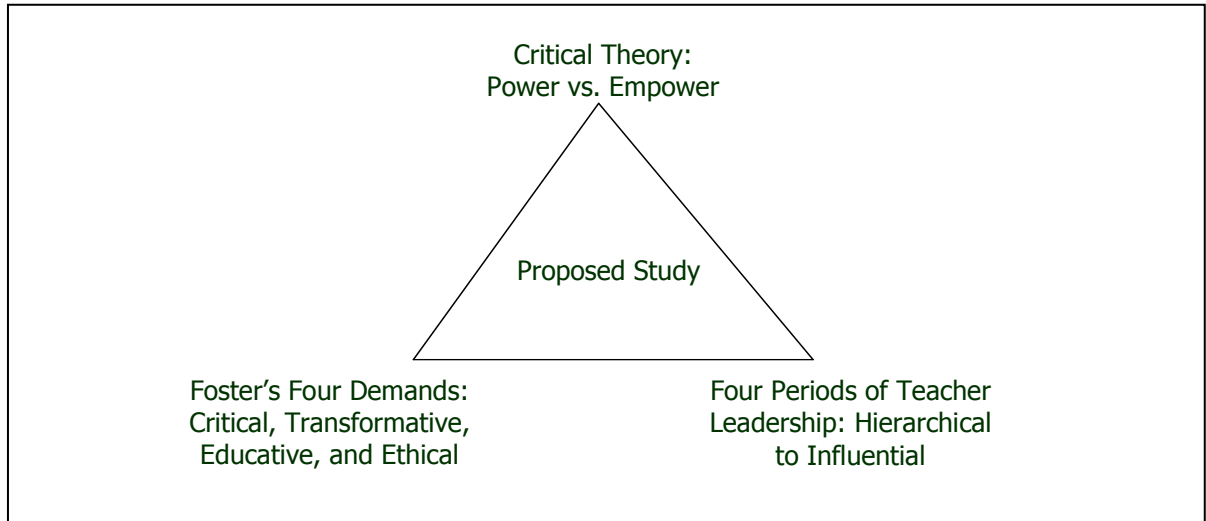
The link between critical theory and teachers

Within the critical theory tradition, Freire's (1970, 1993) pedagogy of the

oppressed is relevant to teaching and teacher leadership in that it relates directly to the

idea that teachers are an oppressed group within the education profession as well as being

potential oppressors in their role as teacher. Freire (1970, 1993) maintained that "to

surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognize its causes, so

that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes

possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity" (p. 47). This pedagogy asks teachers to behave

authentically. Fain (2002) explains that becoming authentic means recognizing

oppressive situations and empathizing with the oppressed, as well as taking responsibility

for oppression and finding one's place in the oppressive relationships. Authenticity grows

out of a sincere concern about tangible issues (Frost & Durrant, 2003). Therefore, critical

pedagogy summons teachers to question their core beliefs and confront them with

personal change. Teachers may be in a unique position to do this since it can be argued that they have experienced oppression as a profession.

Second, pedagogy of the oppressed insists that teachers struggle *with* their oppressed colleagues and students rather than *for* them. Teachers cannot do the work alone; they must work in cooperation with oppressed groups around them. According to Freire (1970, 1993), "true solidarity with the oppressed means fighting at their side to transform the objective reality which has made them these 'beings for another" (p. 49). This means that teachers must construct experiences with their colleagues and students that make "oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed" (Freire, 1970, 1993, p. 48). Only through critical activities will the oppressed and the oppressors "perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform" (Freire, 1970, 1993, p. 49). This is a dual call for teachers as it asks them first to advocate for social change in their school and community by working with oppressors as well as oppressed groups in the struggle for emancipation. In addition, teachers must work to bridge divisions between teachers and administrators within their school and district as well as the education profession as a whole.

Critical educational theory developed from the wider critical theory tradition. According to Kincheloe and McLaren (2003),

> A critical social theory is concerned in particular with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class, and gender, ideologies, discourses, education, religion and other social institutions, and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system. (p. 436-37)

They propose a new conception of critical theory for the 21st century that includes critical "enlightenment" and "emancipation" whereby power relations are studied to determine

which individuals or groups are advantaged and which are disadvantaged, and oppressive authorities are uncovered to allow struggling groups to form the "decisions that crucially affect their lives" (p. 437). In other words, this new theory calls teachers to take a greater role in reconstructing the power relationships present among all stakeholders in education. Their new conception also seeks to understand how each person is both empowered and unempowered, an idea that describes the dichotomy of the teaching profession whereby teachers have much power over individual students but little power over school or systemic policies.

The link between critical theory and educational leadership theory

Working from Yukl's (2006) definition of educational leadership as "a process whereby intentional influence is exerted by one person over other people to guide, structure, and facilitate activities and relationships in a group or organization," it becomes clear that leadership minus a critical perspective can be either positive or negative. For example, school leaders may exercise their influence to alter inequities within the system or they may utilize influence to resist reforms that might require them to change their practice. However, by applying the principles of critical theory to educational leadership, it becomes possible to extend the definition of educational leadership to a definition that specifies positive influence. Foster (1989) created a vision of critical leadership through his development of the four "demands" for educational leadership.

The four demands require leaders to be critical, transformative, educative and ethical. To be critical, school leaders must democratize their practice and work for social change, challenging their colleagues to do likewise (Foster, 1989). To accomplish this, leaders engage in constant questioning, acknowledging the inequalities in social

structures and opportunities, and working toward a more egalitarian future (Furman, 2003). For example, critical school leaders would conduct equity audits within their school to "uncover, understand, and change inequities that are internal to schools and districts in three areas—teacher quality, educational programs, and student achievement" (Skrla et al., 2004, p. 133). Moreover, Foster (1986) calls for reflective leaders who scrutinize and confront existing inequities, focusing on who has power, privilege, and voice (Cunningham & Cordeiro, 2000). Through such critical questioning, school leaders begin to see alternate possibilities.

Second, Foster (1989) calls for transformative leaders to work toward renovating the way power is distributed in their schools. For example, transformative leaders allocate leadership responsibilities, empowering all members of the school community to make important decisions about how best to serve students equitably and fairly. According to Quantz, Rogers and Dantley (1991), such educational leaders use the power of democracy to free and empower people while transforming the system through more egalitarian relationships. From this perspective, school leaders become concerned with relationships among administrators, teachers, students, families, and community members. Marshall and Ward (2004) maintain that democratic leaders are activists who work for social transformation in their schools and communities, acknowledging that social issues are at the core of the educational endeavor. Democratic and transformative leadership paradigms help establish school structures that support leading and teaching for social change.

Third, Foster demands that school leaders be educative. When leaders are educative, they challenge themselves and others to "question aspects of their previous

narratives, to grow and develop because of this questioning, and to begin to consider alternative ways of ordering their lives" around social issues (Foster, 1989, p. 54). For example, educative school leaders go beyond thinking critically and begin to respond to critical reflection by making changes within their schools. These leaders invite their colleagues to experience the discomfort of realizing their privilege, and help them become advocates of the oppressed. Rost's (1991) definition of leadership as a multidirectional and noncoercive influence relationship challenges all members of the school community to become both leaders and followers, who as Freire describes, "restore the humanity of both oppressors and the oppressed" (p. 44) through influence rather than intimidation.

Finally, Foster (1989) insists that leaders be ethical, or question the dehumanizing effect of the "use of power to achieve an individual's ends only," and work toward a new social vision (p. 55). This requires an ethic of care where leaders realize the humanity of all people and work toward restoring and sustaining it. For example, ethical school leaders take an interest in social issues as they relate to the school, community, and world, and they work for change at all levels. According to Starratt (1986) leaders who work for social change are ethical because they surpass their limitations, constantly challenging themselves to do what is right instead of what is uncomplicated (Cunningham & Cordeiro, 2000). These leaders also challenge their colleagues to surpass selfish desires, putting students' needs first and working consistently for social change in their schools and communities.

Foster's (1989) four demands provide the necessary link between critical theory and educational leadership. School leaders who meet Foster's (1989) four demands are

focusing on overcoming oppression just as critical theorists advocate and that Freire specifically advocates in pedagogy of the oppressed. They are struggling against oppression in educational settings through their ethical work of critically assessing the system, transforming oppressive situations within the system, actively working for social change, and educating and challenging their colleagues to do the same. Thus, Foster's four demands create a vision of educational leadership that we can call "critical" because it embodies the core elements of critical theory.

The link between critical educational leadership and teacher leadership

Although the concept of critical educational leadership as proposed by Foster requires empowering all members of the school community, it is especially important that teachers be called to critical educational leadership because they are the educators who work most closely with students and therefore, have the greatest effect on students' lives. However, the concept of teacher leadership requires not only support from traditional school leaders such as the principal, but also movement from within the teaching profession. It calls teachers to step up their work, take more responsibility and become accountable to their students and colleagues. Teacher leadership is a call that both demands and empowers teachers to make important decisions that will affect teaching and learning.

The concept of teacher leadership has existed for at least 30 years. However, there has been some growth and change in the definition of teacher leadership since its inception. After reviewing 20 years of research on teacher leadership, York-Barr and Duke (2004) formulated a comprehensive definition of teacher leadership as:

> The process by which teachers, individually or collectively, influence their colleagues, principals, and other members of school communities to

improve teaching and learning practices with the aim of increased student learning and achievement. (p. 287-288)

The following discussion of the four periods of teacher leadership helps illuminate the history of teacher leadership that resulted in the above definition.

Hatch, White and Faigenbaum (2005) discussed four periods of teacher leadership, which overlap, representing a continual expansion of the first conceptions of teacher leadership. For instance, the first teacher leadership positions still exist in many schools today despite the growth of the conception of teacher leadership. During the 1970s, teachers were invited to become positional leaders, which included opportunities to become department heads. Not unlike the factory foreman, these department heads were utilized by administrators as middle-managers whose responsibility it was to compel teachers within their departments to be cooperative team-players (Little, 2003). Thus, teacher leadership became embedded in the existing school hierarchy, drawing teachers into roles that could either empower or oppress their teaching colleagues. The power and authority they had was allocated to them by their principals and utilized to perform managerial and supervisory tasks.

The second period of teacher leadership was more empowering for individual teacher leaders as they began to be recognized for specific professional knowledge. This period saw the expansion of teacher leadership to include expert positions such as curriculum or staff developer (Little, 2003). However, like the first period, the second period of teacher leadership reflected a hierarchical philosophy of leadership where authority rested in position and was allocated to teachers from above. Principals often controlled the work of these teachers, utilizing them to implement curricular reforms. But research done during these periods found that this type of teacher leadership did not

impact broad instructional changes or create professional learning communities in schools (Hatch et al., 2005). Thus, although these opportunities might have empowered the individuals who became expert teacher leaders, they did not change the power structure of the education profession or the teaching and learning that happened within schools.

The third period of teacher leadership saw a significant shift in focus to colleague support roles such as mentoring. Unlike the positional roles listed above, where administrators placed power and authority in one teacher leader, the colleague support roles offered opportunities for many teachers to become leaders. Thus, power and authority were spread horizontally rather than vertically, giving many more teachers the opportunity to lead. These teacher leadership roles also called greater numbers of teachers to become accountable for their teaching. As teacher leaders reflected on and changed their own practice, they became more than just examples of good teachers. Their colleagues respected them and thus, these teacher leaders were able to influence their colleagues to become more reflective and innovative teachers. Thus, because teacher leaders were able to hold themselves and their colleagues more accountable, they began to be given greater responsibility and status within their schools. This brought about the fourth period of teacher leadership, distributed leadership.

Spillane and Sherer (2004) outline the definition of distributive leadership as a "perspective on leadership (that) moves us beyond seeing leadership as synonymous with the work of the principal or head teacher and therefore involves a recognition that the work of leadership involves multiple individuals including teacher leaders" (p. 6). Thus, leadership is distributed to many members of the school community, and is not assigned

by those at the traditional top of the conventional school hierarchy. Furthermore, distributive leadership is defined by how leaders act together as well as the situation they must act within. In some situations, leaders work together to accomplish a task while in others they work independently to achieve a goal. Thus, as leadership became distributed across the school, more teachers act as leaders and professional learning communities are established where teachers are able to influence each other's practice (Hatch et al., 2005). However, this influence, as discussed in the previous section, has the potential to be either positive or negative. For example, teacher leaders can influence colleagues to resist change as much as they can encourage them to make change. There is no value attached to the influence inherent in distributive leadership. Thus, there is a need to formulate an extended conception of teacher leadership as having a positive influence on colleagues, or becoming as Foster described, critical teacher leaders.

The continuum of teacher leadership opportunities from positions embedded in the conventional school hierarchy to influential relationships among colleagues across the school represents a challenge to traditional constructions of authority and power within schools. For the first time, influential associations have empowered teachers and given them a voice within their schools and districts. This is a significant redistribution of power that has the potential to bring about an end to the low status and oppression of teachers and thus, an end to the oppression of students, especially students who are members of traditionally oppressed groups. For example, as teachers become more empowered and accountable, they might feel safer to try alternative instructional methods in order to meet the needs of greater numbers of students. The influential nature of teacher leadership creates a teaching environment where many more teachers are

challenged to teach and lead critically. Therefore, teacher leadership becomes a natural link between critical theory and critical educational leadership. In addition, by extending Foster's demands for critical educational leadership to the concept of teacher leadership, we see an opportunity to expand the concept of distributive leadership to include the exercise of positive influence that moves teachers toward critical change.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although a few studies have evaluated teacher leader preparation programs, the role of leadership preparation in teacher leaders' formation of critical consciousness and enactment of critical teacher leadership is unclear. Research has shown that teachers feel alienated by traditional constructions of leadership, and therefore, seek leadership opportunities that are collaborative and inclusive; teachers are also more likely to become teacher leaders in environments where they feel appreciated and believe in the direction of current leadership structures and philosophy at their schools (Lambert, 2003). Conversely, it is possible that teachers who feel unsatisfied may seek teacher leadership opportunities in order to alter the current direction of the school or even the education system as a whole. All of these teacher leaders are critical and work for a more equitable and just educational system. But whether critical teacher leaders exist and the nature of such leadership is yet to be determined. For these reasons, it is important to further study the critical nature of teacher leadership as it is embedded in practice.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will provide a clearer understanding of how critical teacher leadership is supported and developed through coursework situated within an educational leadership department that advocates for a social justice perspective. It will expand educational

leadership theory by applying Foster's concept of critical educational leadership to the concept of teacher leadership and by assigning a value perspective to Spillane's theory of distributive leadership. It may also serve as a guide for educational leadership departments that are attempting to create teacher leadership graduate degree programs that support development of a critical teacher leadership perspective. In addition, it may inform educational leaders especially administrators who are interested in supporting critical leadership within their schools and districts. Particularly, I hope to communicate to school leaders the distinction between teacher leaders who are so as a result of formal position and the potential for every teacher to be a teacher leader as a result of influence. Moreover, I want to make the point that critical teacher leadership is only possible through a conception of teacher leadership as influence-based rather than positional because the positional conception maintains the conventional school hierarchy, disempowering teachers and resulting in minimal effects on teaching and learning as the existing literature will demonstrate. Finally, this study may bring us closer to understanding how teacher leaders are critical and whether the oppression of teachers has had any influence on teachers' ability to empathize with traditionally oppressed groups.

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

For this study, I conducted an 18-month ethnographic study of a group of teachers pursuing their master's degree as part of a teacher leadership cohort at Middle University (MU). The vision and purpose of the Educational Leadership and Policy Studies Department (ELPS) at MU is to prepare critical educational leaders, which is relatively uncommon among schools of education. The ELPS department has developed a number of partnerships with school districts to create cohort programs that cater to the needs of

both the district as well as advancing the ELPS vision beyond the academic world. The

partnership between the ELPS department and the Alexia County School Corporation

(ACSC) is natural since MU is located in the same rural county as ACSC. ACSC is a

mid-sized, small-town school district in a Midwestern state. Demographically, ACSC is

83% White, 6% Multiracial, 4% Asian, 4% Black, and 2% Hispanic with 30% of children

receiving free or reduced lunches. The corporation has consistently scored just above the

state average on ISTEP.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to determine how teacher leaders become critical through a leadership

training program, this study will seek to answer the following research questions:

1. What, if anything, exists in these teachers' histories and character that has allowed them to already meet one or more of Foster's four demands?
2. Given the cohort context, how have their courses helped or hindered these teachers in meeting Foster's four demands?
3. Now that they have finished their master's, how do these teachers connect Foster's four demands to their daily work?

METHODOLOGY OVERVIEW

Data was gathered for this study using critical qualitative methodology, a

theoretical approach grounded in critical theory (Carspecken, 1996). According to

Carspecken (1996), critical theorists "share a concern with social theory and some of the

basic issues it has struggled with since the nineteenth century" including "the nature of

social structure, power, culture, and human agency" (p. 3). Critical school leaders must

not only believe that injustice exists, but work toward eliminating that injustice through

action (McLaren, 1998). The critical nature of this research as discussed above demands

this type of methodological approach.

Three data sources were collected for this study. First, participants were observed in four of the educational leadership courses they took as a cohort. Field notes of observations focused on the things they said during class discussion and activities including cooperative learning groups, presentations, debates, and chat room postings. Second, assignments from three of the participants' educational leadership courses were collected as a check to determine if their written work reflected the ideas they expressed during class. Third, four key informants were interviewed three times to discover how class meetings and assignments affected individual teachers. Each interview invited participants to talk within the domain of one of the research questions. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. All three data sources offered the opportunity to examine how teachers enacted a critical teacher leadership perspective.

For data analysis, observation notes, interview transcripts, and course assignments were read and coded using reconstructive analysis, a technique recommended by Carspecken (1996) for use in critical qualitative research. This system unearths multiple meanings by assigning first low-level, or more objective, codes, and then high-level, or more abstract, codes. To increase validity a search for negative cases was conducted. Member checks and peer debriefing were also used.

DELIMITATIONS

This bulk of data for this study exists in the self-reported positions of the four key informants as expressed during in-depth interviews. This data is privileged over the observational data or document analysis because it was the most detailed and revealing. Observation field notes and course assignments were primarily used to corroborate the interview findings. Therefore, it is possible that the findings reported here are biased by

the personal experience or perceptions of the key informants. In addition, the participants

of this study were motivated to pursue their master's degree not so much because they

were drawn to the concept of teacher leadership, but because they considered the

opportunity convenient, lucrative, and a way to improve their status in the district. That

does not mean that they were disinterested in the concept of teacher leadership, but it may

have affected the nature of their responses to course assignments and activities as well as

their responses during interviews.

<div align="center">ORGANIZATION OF DISSERTATION</div>

Chapter 1 presents a discussion of the conceptual framework for the study, the

problem and purpose of the study, the research questions used to guide the study, an

overview of the methodology used, and the delimitations of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on major studies about teacher leadership. It is

divided into two major sections, the first detailing research that defines teacher leadership

as positional, and the second discussing the concept of teacher leadership as influential

and examining research that utilizes an influence-based conception of teacher leadership.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methodologies used in this study. In addition to

providing a rationale for the methodologies used, this chapter includes the procedures for

field entry and participant recruitment, data collection and analysis, and validity checks.

Chapter 4 presents the findings relevant to teacher leadership preparation

including the application of beliefs about teacher leadership, developing critical

consciousness through courses, and relational aspects of leader development.

Chapter 5 examines the key informants' constructions of teacher leadership as

positional or influential including discussion of how the low status of teachers serves as a

condition affecting their attitudes about teacher leadership, beliefs about potential opportunities for teacher leaders, and what complicates or enables the enactment of teacher leadership.

Chapter 6 offers an explanation of how the findings answer the three research questions, how the findings add to what we know about educational leadership and teacher leadership, and how the findings expand the concepts of critical educational leadership and distributive leadership through critical teacher leadership. This chapter also includes suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE ABOUT TEACHER LEADERSHIP

This chapter reviews the existing literature about teacher leadership. It is divided into three sections relevant to this study. First, I review the many research studies that define teacher leadership as positional, including research on teacher career ladder initiatives, and structural and curricular reforms. This section also reviews studies that discuss ways that positional conceptions of teacher leadership maintain the established school leadership hierarchy and how positional conceptions are limited by the cultural norms of teaching. Second, I review the few research studies that define teacher leadership as influential and then share the perspectives of many scholars who advocate a new conception of teacher leadership based on influence rather than position. Third, I review studies about teacher leadership preparation programs. I have chosen to organize the literature in this way because it allows us to consider the findings relevant to the first three periods of teacher leadership separately from the findings of the fourth period of teacher leadership. In the larger section that discusses teacher leadership as positional, I have grouped studies with similar findings together under subheadings. However, I have decided to take the time to describe each study in detail so that we can consider not only the findings, but also the definition of teacher leadership as well as the methodology utilized by the researchers as they conducted each study.

The differing conceptions of teacher leadership utilized by scholars in the studies discussed here are particularly relevant to my study of teacher leadership because they help to explain a certain academic confusion about the definition of teacher leadership that I have identified within the literature. What I mean when I say confusion is that there does not appear to be a common definition of teacher leadership within the literature. For

this reason, I have chosen to use the term, "positional teacher leadership" to describe the conception of teacher leadership studied by researchers whose participants hold formal teacher leadership positions. The use of this term helps to distinguish across the literature the difference between those studies that define teacher leadership as formal and positional versus those that define teacher leadership as an influence relationship. Often researchers have discussed the influence that teacher leaders exercise, but they have linked this influence to formal teacher leadership positions. I join scholars who believe that influence can occur among teachers who do not hold formal positions, but would still call this influence "teacher leadership." Moreover, I argue that our inability to come to a common understanding of what defines teacher leadership explains why many of the findings concerning the effects of teacher leadership on teaching and learning have been disappointing, and why teacher leadership initiatives have often fallen short of their objectives. The research below points to a need to clarify the meaning of teacher leadership within scholarship so that as new teacher leadership initiatives and reforms are implemented, and as teacher leadership preparation programs are developed, they realize a greater success than those of the past. In addition, as we will see, new conceptions of teacher leadership have the potential to create a more collaborative, responsive, flexible, scholarly, empowered and egalitarian teaching profession where all teachers are teacher leaders.

TEACHER LEADERSHIP AS POSITIONAL

Rowan (1990) and Smylie (1994) wrote comprehensive reviews of literature on teacher career ladders and redesigned work. Rowan's (1990) review focused on school improvement literature including the development of teacher career ladders. He utilized

two strategies of organizational design to categorize findings, the control strategy and the commitment strategy. He noted that the use of career ladder positions such as lead or mentor teachers have been used by some to hold teachers accountable for implementing school improvement programs, a control strategy. However, he also recognized that in some contexts, career ladders can be utilized to permit "teachers to act as mentors and support one another outside the system of hierarchical and bureaucratic controls in education" (p. 372), a commitment strategy. His summary of research findings indicated that teacher leaders are often identified as those who lead formally through positions such as department head, master teacher, or committee chair. These roles resulted in "higher levels of commitment and satisfaction" among teacher leaders and those directly affected by their work. Conversely, Rowan noted that teacher leader positions did not broadly change teaching and learning within the school. In his review, Smylie (1994) noticed that the majority of studies defined teacher leadership as positional and authoritative. In addition, studies were overall unsuccessful in altering the nature of teachers' work within the classroom, a finding that confirmed Rowan's earlier conclusion. Smylie suggested that utilizing teacher leaders in ways that change the nature of teachers' work will have a greater impact on achievement than creating new teacher leadership positions alone.

Leithwood and Jantzi (1999; 2000) conducted a quantitative study relevant to Smylie's conclusion that positional teacher leadership has little effect on teaching and learning. They used two surveys, one administered to teachers to gather evidence about school conditions and leadership, and one administered to students to gather evidence about student engagement and family educational culture. Their findings indicated that teacher leadership did not have a significant effect on student engagement while principal

leadership had a significant, but small effect on student engagement. Leithwood and Jantzi explain that the results may indicate the differing professional development resources available to those interested in teacher leadership and those aspiring to the principalship, and the need for specific teacher leadership preparation programs. Another potential design issue would be that their surveys did not indicate a clear definition of teacher leadership. Instead, teachers were allowed to determine their own definitions, which likely included conceptions of teacher leadership as positional. This is a problem present within many of the studies discussed in this chapter including the following.

Silva, Gimbert, and Nolan (2000) also studied the relationship of teacher leadership to teaching and learning. They utilized the case study approach, selecting three teachers who were identified by at least three peers as teacher leaders, who had more than 10 years of teaching experience, and who had served in various teacher leadership positions within the district and school during their tenure as teachers. Although the researchers indicated a desire to study teacher leadership as it springs from the classroom, their selection criteria clearly indicates a definition of teacher leadership as positional. In addition, because they asked teachers to identify colleagues they thought were teacher leaders at their school, those chosen are more likely to represent positional teacher leaders, which has been the traditional view as indicated by further studies discussed below. Nonetheless, Silva and colleagues contributed an illustration of teacher leader activities that included negotiating school structures, building relationships, promoting change inspired by personal and professional growth, and confronting "the status quo by raising children's voices" (p. 16). Despite the conceptualization of positional teacher

leadership utilized in this study, these findings suggest that teacher leaders were able to engage in a number of more influence-based teacher leadership activities.

These literature reviews and studies above introduce the concept of teacher leadership as positional and indicate some of the drawbacks to such a conception, namely that positional teacher leaders have little effect on teaching and learning. They also introduce the participant selection issue inherent in asking teachers to identify who among them is a teacher leader since most teachers will select those in traditional leadership positions, as will be supported through several studies discussed below. This established definition limits the findings of these studies and may even cause the effects of teacher leadership on teaching and learning to appear lesser than they actually are.

Positional teacher leadership maintains conventional school leadership hierarchies

The following studies discuss the idea that positional teacher leadership maintains conventional school leadership hierarchies, and that as such, many teachers are reticent to become positional teacher leaders or resist the work of their colleagues who choose to be positional teacher leaders. Collay (2006) studied teachers who were reluctant to become school leaders because they believed that leadership positions might distract them from their primary role as classroom teacher. Her study found that positional leadership roles sometimes separated teacher leaders from their colleagues, resulting in isolation. In addition, the identification of teachers as semi-professionals by policy makers and administrators as well as traditional management structures complicated teacher leader identity formation since teachers often did not believe they had anything to offer outside of their instructional work with students.

Likewise, Conley and Muncey (1999) studied how team leader positions within the school affect their acceptance of conventional school leadership hierarchies. They shared the experiences of four teachers who had been assigned as leaders of integrated teaching teams, finding that these positional teacher leaders talked about their role on their teams in one of two ways based on their position within the school. For example, the two team leaders who focused on the "quasi-administrative" (p. 7) role of team leaders were curriculum and program coordinators within their schools while the two team leaders who were classroom teachers focused on the support role of the team leader. In other words, the team leaders whose primary role within the school was as a positional teacher leader indicated that as leader they had greater responsibility or authority than other members of the team whereas those who were classroom-based leaders downplayed their team leader role, emphasizing their membership on the team and identifying that the "skills needed to be team members and leaders were fairly similar" (p. 8).

Another study that reveals how positional teacher leadership maintains the conventional school leadership hierarchy was Ryan's (1999) qualitative study of the effects of teacher leaders on the school and students. Her participants were nominated by their teaching peers as teacher leaders. As mentioned above, this was problematic because the teacher nominators appeared to automatically assume that teacher leadership was synonymous with position. Thus, the teacher leaders Ryan studied were all department heads, assistant department heads, or guidance counselors. Ryan noted that as positional teacher leaders, they were part of the existing school hierarchy and thus, had greater power over school-level decisions. They also did not suffer from time constraints since their positions allotted time for them to complete their leadership work. In fact, the

authority assumed through their positions protected them from colleague resistance because teachers had identified such power as inherent in their positions. Nonetheless, Ryan found that these positional teacher leaders had a positive effect on teaching and learning, citing that they offered innovative opportunities for students and teachers to learn. They also held significant power to affect their school because their positions allocated responsibilities including hiring new teachers and assigning teaching loads as well as budgeting within their departments.

Conversely, Wasley (1991) found that positional teacher leadership did not foster personal or professional growth either in the teacher leader or in her colleagues. She studied the leadership work of three positional teacher leaders; one coordinated an externally-funded program within his school, and the other two worked as instructional support teachers (ISTs). In all three cases, Wasley found that positional teacher leaders experienced considerable resistance to their formal roles. The two ISTs in particular were viewed differently by their colleagues and thus, treated with different levels of resistance. The first IST worked part-time within one school and was considered a full member of the school staff, which resulted in less resistance to her work because her colleagues viewed her as a supportive colleague. However, the other IST, who worked full-time in two middle schools, was considered a district-level employee, and experienced greater resistance because she was viewed as an authority figure within the conventional school leadership hierarchy. Based on her results, Wasley identified positional teacher leadership as narrow because positional teacher leaders "generally serve an efficiency function rather than a leadership function" (p. 4). For example department heads are "in most cases…responsible for coordinating the ordering of materials, for communicating the

curricular requirements for the district and the state, and for competing for limited resources by getting to the principal before the other department heads" (p. 4), all tasks that have little effect on teaching and learning.

Finally, Anderson's (2004) study of relationships between positional teacher leaders and their principals indicates that positional conceptions maintain the conventional school leadership hierarchy. Again, because his participants were nominated as teacher leaders by their colleagues, they tended to be positional teacher leaders. However, this was not the case in all six of the schools he studied. To better understand this difference, Anderson proposed three models of teacher leader influence: buffered, contested, and interactive. Within a buffered model, the principal "is surrounded with teacher leaders, but relatively isolated from other teachers in the school" (p. 107). In this model, teacher leaders, usually positional, are used to implement the principal's agenda, which "can impede more collegial forms of teacher leadership especially from informal teacher leaders" (p. 108). The contested model positioned the principal "against the teacher leaders" (p. 109). Teacher leaders "were often cited as having strong views and leadership was in some instances portrayed as 'being able to stand up to the principal.' The teacher leaders seemed to believe they were defending their view of their school from incursions of the principal" (p. 109). Teachers nominated as leaders at schools that operated under this model tended to be positional teacher leaders such as department heads or assistant principals.

Finally, the interactive model describes a different conception of teacher leadership altogether. At schools where Anderson found this model, "teachers are extensively involved in school decision-making as teacher leaders. The teacher leaders are involved

in areas they find meaningful, so there is no sense that they are being co-opted but they would recognize the necessity that many voices must be heard" (p. 108). At these interactive schools, all teachers were considered teacher leaders, a fact revealed by the variety of teachers nominated as teacher leaders by their colleagues. Thus, Anderson concluded that the conception of teacher leadership as positional hinders the overall influence of teacher leaders and maintains the conventional school leadership hierarchy, except in cases of interactive models which situate teacher leaders as influential rather than positional.

The normative teaching culture limits positional teacher leadership

Studies reviewed here show that not only is positional teacher leadership rejected by many teachers because it maintains the conventional school leadership hierarchy, but it is also limited by teachers due to the norms present within the teaching culture. First, Smylie (1992) conducted a quantitative study focusing on relationships between positional teacher leaders and their teaching colleagues. In order to assess the perspectives of hundreds of teachers who worked with positional teacher leaders, he utilized surveys, which assessed three domains: "opportunity for interaction, school social context, and teachers' beliefs concerning teachers' working relationships and interactions" (p. 90). Smylie found that "the more strongly teachers believe that exchanging advice with other teachers implies obligation and the more strongly they believe in professional equality among teachers, the less likely they were to interact with teacher leaders about matters of classroom instruction" (p. 92). In other words, the findings imply that the success of positional teacher leadership may depend on changing

norms within the teaching profession including the norm of privacy and the norm of equality.

Second, Little (1988) studied teachers' acceptance of positional teacher leaders' ingenuity. She administered a survey asking teachers to what extent a positional teacher leader should assist colleagues. Her findings indicated a "pattern of hesitant approval" where teachers supported positional teacher leadership ingenuity when it came to mentoring novice teachers or when experienced teachers asked for assistance, but otherwise were not enthusiastic about colleagues interfering in their work. Only one school, the one with the "greatest shared responsibility for students, curriculum, and instruction (as determined by case-study findings), also showed the greatest involvement in leadership by teachers" (p. 96). At this school, the principal asked positional teacher leaders to lead professional development activities often. Little suggests that "the prospects for school-based teacher leadership rest on displacing the privacy norm with another that might be expressed this way: 'It's part of your job to ensure that all the teaching here is good teaching" (p. 94).

Third, Lieberman, Saxl, and Miles (1988) conducted a qualitative study of teachers who had taken on curricular teacher leadership positions. They found that most of these positional teacher leaders had teaching expertise including advanced training and practical knowledge, experience in curriculum development and administrative skills, and advanced interpersonal skills. However, through their teacher leadership positions, they continued to learn about how the teaching culture complicates the change process, how to create supportive and collaborative communities of learning to advance change, and how to work more effectively with a variety of individuals to advance change. The study also

contributed to knowledge about building collegiality within schools. Findings indicated six different clusters of "skills, abilities, and approaches to building collegiality" (p. 153): establishing trusting relationships, understanding and diagnosing school cultural issues, controlling the change process, allocating and using resources, managing the work required for the change process, and fostering skills and confidence in others. Lieberman, Saxl, and Miles explained that as leaders facilitated opportunities for teachers to share expertise, "the leaders began to develop shared influence and shared leadership" with the teachers (p. 154), a finding that suggests the importance of revising the conception of teacher leadership as positional.

Fourth, LeBlanc and Shelton (1997) studied five positional teacher leaders' perceptions of themselves as teacher leaders. They defined teacher leadership as "(a) modeling positive attitudes and enthusiasm; (b) devoting time to doing whatever it takes to make the school work better; (c) enhancing student learning through working with other teachers on improving pedagogy; and (d) being recognized, appreciated, respected, and/or valued for such efforts" (p. 32). Their findings indicated that positional teacher leaders believed they were caring, enthusiastic, and positive people who love their students. In addition, they were drawn to leadership because they wanted to learn and build relationships with their colleagues. To build successful relationships, positional teacher leaders said they needed to value their colleagues' opinions and needs, support their colleagues by providing helpful feedback, and understand what inspires or motivates their colleagues. LeBlanc and Shelton concluded that the teacher leaders' need for learning and relationships are in conflict since their leadership work may lead colleagues to believe that "they are trying to 'out do' their peers" (p. 44), implicating the teaching

norm of equality and suggesting the importance of creating new conceptions of teacher leadership.

Finally, Smylie and Denny (1990) studied a teacher career ladder initiative that created lead teacher positions. They utilized a mixed-methods approach, first interviewing the positional teacher leaders and then administering a survey to the classroom teachers who worked with them. The interview data showed that positional teacher leaders defined their roles as primarily supportive in that they assisted colleagues with everyday teaching tasks as well as improving classroom practice. Positional teacher leaders also believed that their work was influenced by "the support they received from the district, the knowledge they possessed about classroom practice and about how to work with other teachers, the needs of their schools, their authority to perform their roles, and what they wanted to achieve as leaders" (p. 246). On the other hand, these leaders wondered whether their colleagues and principal understood their role. Thus, the positional teacher leaders worked hardest to establish positive working relationships with other teachers and the principal. The element of leadership work that challenged them the most was finding time to do teacher leader work without taking too much time away from their classroom responsibilities.

Conversely, the survey findings indicated that teachers felt the leadership positions had more positive influence on district- and school-level work than on teacher work. However, they did identify personal benefits such as a greater "sense of professionalism and commitment to teaching" as well as "increased activity related to curricular and instructional innovation and enhanced professional climates in their schools" (p. 249). However, teachers identified that teacher leadership positions created

inequitable status distinctions between teachers and positional teacher leaders. Colleagues also criticized positional teacher leaders for becoming too involved in their leadership work, which negatively affected classroom responsibilities. In response to these findings, Smylie and Denny suggested the importance of utilizing teacher leaders in instructional work rather than district- and school-level work. However, they pointed out that the reason teacher leaders might have chosen to engage in more school- and district-level work resulted from their interest in maintaining professional norms such as privacy, equality, and independence. The positional teacher leaders did not wish to set themselves apart from their colleagues, choosing a support role when working with them. For this reason, Smylie and Denny point out the importance of allowing positional teacher leaders to define their work so that they may establish positive working relationships with teachers, a recommendation linked closely with the findings presented in the next section.

The ambiguity of teacher leadership positions disempowers teachers

The following four studies all examine the effect of teacher career ladder initiatives meant to enhance the professional status of teachers by empowering them to affect change within the school. First, Feiler, Heritage, and Gallimore (2000) studied the work of teachers selected by their principal to participate in a teacher career ladder initiative. Those chosen to become positional teacher leaders exhibited curricular expertise, leadership skills, and positive relationships with their peers. Feiler and colleagues found that typical leadership activities for these positional teacher leaders included goal-setting with the principal, observations of colleagues, conducting demonstration lessons, continual professional learning and development in curricular areas, and school-wide curriculum development. As a result of their findings, the authors

suggest that such programs can be improved by formulating leadership positions around areas of the greatest need, selecting or appointing teachers with leadership skills and credibility among faculty, clearly defining the teacher leader's position, allocating the greatest amount of teacher leader time to working with colleagues in classrooms with a focus on student learning, and establishing full principal support of teacher leader work with attention to maintaining strong working relationships between teachers and teacher leaders, and building trust at all levels. However helpful these suggestions are intended to be, they do little to address the lack of empowerment present within this particular career ladder initiative, where the principal controlled both the selection and activities of the teacher leaders. This suggests a problem inherent in the conception of positional teacher leadership, and the need for constructing a new conception.

Hart (1994) also studied a district-level teacher career ladder initiative where positional teacher leaders were expected to mentor new teachers, write curriculum, design and deliver professional development, and lead committees or department groups. They were also allowed to support experienced colleagues, but by invitation only, a stipulation that reflected the findings that Little (1988) reported above, and acknowledged the expectation of teacher resistance to the positional teacher leaders. Hart compared teacher responses to the positional teacher leaders at two schools. She found that at one school, the teaching staff embraced the positional teacher leaders and utilized their expertise to the extent that the positional teacher leaders had little time to meet the need while at the other school, the teacher leadership positions were viewed as a burden on already overworked teachers since they focused on helping individual teachers rather than addressing school-wide issues. In the initial stages of the reform, many teachers at

both schools felt that the teacher leader positions were "administrative work in disguise" (p. 482) because teacher leaders were given responsibilities that had traditionally been left to principals including evaluation and professional development; these activities are not unlike those described above by Feiler and colleagues, indicating the possibility of resistance to the positional teacher leaders in their study. However, Hart found that after almost a semester of implementation, teachers at one school began to see the positional teacher leaders as helpful. Conversely, the teachers at the other school became upset about a positional teacher leader's evaluation of new teachers. In addition, teachers at the first school identified the career ladder as a way to enhance the status of all teachers while teachers at the second school felt that teacher leader positions depleted the status of those who chose not to become positional teacher leaders. Despite colleague resistance, the positional teacher leaders in the study reported feeling more appreciated in their new roles.

In addition, Hart (1994) found that ownership of the new teacher leadership positions differed at each school. At the first school all teachers held positional teacher leaders accountable by requiring them to submit summaries of their work at the end of the year so the school community could determine if the positions had been helpful. The teacher leaders at this school collaborated to clearly define their roles so that they could convince their colleagues of their value. At the second school, the positional teacher leaders worked independently and maintained the conventions of teaching such as privacy and individualism. In this context, positional teacher leaders were excluded and even bullied by teachers, resulting in increased stress. Hart determined that the role of the principal was important in providing support to these positional teacher leaders. At the

first school, the principal supplied positional teacher leaders with time at faculty meetings as well as illuminating their roles when controversy arose whereas at the second school, the principal provided no support, giving the impression that positional teacher leader work was directed by district-level mandates. Finally, teachers at the first school felt that the career ladder initiative enhanced the work of every teacher in the school. They felt supported by the positional teacher leaders, and believed that the career ladder improved overall staff morale and created a more collaborative learning community. However, at the second school teachers felt the teacher leadership positions had little impact on their work. In fact, they felt the teacher leadership positions created a sense of division among the staff and led to increased teacher isolation. These findings show that the success of career ladder initiatives depends heavily on whether opportunities exist for positional teacher leaders to collaborate with their teaching colleagues to define positional teacher leadership work. It also points to the importance of principal support rather than principal control in empowering teachers to become school leaders.

A third study of teacher career ladder initiatives also points to the importance of clearly defined teacher leadership positions. Hayes, Grippe, and Hall (1999) interviewed teachers who became Building Resource Teachers (BRTs). Their findings indicated that the program was successful due to the clearly defined roles of the BRTs. This resulted in a positive view of BRTs as supportive of the whole school community. For example, novice teachers found these positional teacher leaders to be helpful mentors and despite early resistance, experienced teachers eventually turned to them for classroom assistance as well. The authors do not go into great detail about the nature of resistance to their

positions, but we can assume that they are similar to the resistance described in the above studies.

Finally, Smylie and Brownlee-Conyers (1992) conducted a study exploring the developing relationships between principals and positional teacher leaders appointed as part of a teacher career ladder initiative. The new teacher leadership positions allowed teachers to stay in the classroom while taking on further responsibilities working with colleagues on improving teaching practice. Three primary objectives governed the initiative: to expand professional development for teachers within the district, to create professional communities that stimulated professional accountability and support, and to advance school improvement plans. The positional teacher leaders were selected to these positions after an application process headed by a district committee including administrators and peers, and were given a reduced teaching load to create time for them to do their leadership work. Although some of the positional teacher leaders worked across the district, seven were assigned to work primarily in one school; these were the participants interviewed in this study along with their principals. These new roles were purposely left undefined to leave flexibility for teachers and principals to utilize the positional teacher leaders in ways that best met the needs of each school. However, Smylie and Brownlee-Conyers (1992) found that the lack of clear definitions left both positional teacher leaders and principals feeling uncertain about their responsibilities and working relationships, as well as whether they could trust each other to do the work required of the new roles. Thus, positional teacher leaders and principals worked to more clearly define their individual roles and expectations of each other. In response to an interest in maintaining positive relationships with their principals, the positional teacher

leaders were careful to concede managerial tasks that are traditionally the domain of administrators including budgeting, evaluation, and public relations. In addition, the study revealed the importance of strong principal support for the teacher leadership positions since "where expectations were high and support strong, teacher leaders seemed to become more quickly involved in a broader array of planning and development activities and decision making" (p. 166). Therefore, the level of positive principal support affected positional teacher leaders' quality of work, sense of empowerment, and leadership success. In fact, most of the principals found ways to manage the positional teacher leaders' work by assigning tasks with deadlines, expecting regular reports on their work, and regularly meeting with them to discuss the direction of their work. Principals utilized these management strategies in order to "shape the agenda for teacher leadership" and "create a sense of obligation and accountability on the part of the teacher leader for implementation of that agenda" (p. 167). Thus, we see that teacher leadership positions created under this career ladder initiative again did not empower teacher leaders.

Positional teacher leadership has little effect on the reform process

The last group of studies reviewed considers a number of issues related to how positional teacher leaders are involved in school reform initiatives. These include research on the contested definitions of positional teacher leadership roles within reform and the importance of positional teacher leaders to reform success. First, Brooks, Scribner, and Eferakorho (2004) conducted a case study to explore the relationship between teacher leadership and school reform. Fourteen teachers identified as teacher leaders by their principals and colleagues were interviewed along with their principal.

Again we see the issue of asking teachers to identify who they think the teacher leaders are because they often assume that leadership is positional, and thus, the participants identified were all positional teacher leaders. Brooks and colleagues organized their findings across two thematic domains, the first dealing with differing expectations of positional teacher leaders among the principal and teachers, and the second addressing positional teacher leadership within the reform. Within the first domain, the researchers found that the principal expected positional teacher leaders to work in the area of instruction rather than building-level decision-making. However, he thought positional teacher leaders could eventually become more involved at the school policy level. On the other hand, positional teacher leaders identified leadership as being involved in policy decisions as well as being identified as excellent teachers by colleagues. Many positional teacher leaders felt that leadership activities were a distraction from their classroom work because they were not allocated enough extra time to do their leadership work.

Within the second theme, Brooks and colleagues found that teacher leaders regardless of position, were uninformed about the reform model and thus, less interested in becoming involved in leading it. In addition, the reform model led to the formation of shared planning teams, which were meant to reorganize the decision-making structure of the school. However, at least one positional teacher leader felt these teams were "superficial, and believed to be an empty gesture: a decision-making hierarchy persisted and always would" (p. 26). The authors concluded that even within what appeared to be a clearly defined reform model, the role of positional teacher leaders was unclear. Without clear definitions, three types of positional teacher leaders emerged within the school: those who placed their leadership within the context of the classroom, those who led at

the department level, and those that saw themselves as whole-school leaders. The principal identified the whole-school positional teacher leaders as essential to the reform effort but the structures he created to allow teachers to be involved in decision-making were made unilaterally. Therefore, many teachers responded with resistance to the reform, and the positional teacher leaders were unable to make a significant difference to the success of the reform. It is not surprising that the lack of defined roles negatively affected the reform process since this was a common finding of the studies focusing on reform efforts specific to teacher career ladder initiatives.

A second study looking at the conflicting roles of positional teacher leaders within the reform context was done by Little (1995). She utilized the concept of contested ground, or areas of conflicting ideology, to study positional teacher leadership in the context of structural reform at two high schools. She gathered data through observations and interviews with 53 teachers including 21 positional teacher leaders. At one high school, restructuring led to diminished authority for some teacher leadership positions including department heads due to the implementation of a house system that shifted authority away from subject departments and toward a new chain of command based on cross-curricular planning and instruction. Thus, the contested ground at this high school emerged as teachers redefined identities that were formerly connected closely with subject area expertise in their attempts to embrace new conceptions of integrated curriculum and greater collaboration across subject areas. The new positional teacher leaders were also challenged because their new cross-curricular roles called into question their credibility to lead curricular reform outside of their subject area specialty. The new teacher leader roles were more risky because "leaders' actions and relationships are thus

subject to greater administrative and collegial scrutiny and less open to idiosyncratic interpretation than are the roles and relationships forged by department heads under more ordinary circumstances" (p. 35). In other words, teacher leaders found themselves caught in the middle of a conflict over their positional authority and their credibility to lead curricular reforms outside of their subject within the house structure.

Research done by Snell and Swanson (2000) attempts to resolve the conflict over positional teacher leadership roles by determining the relationship between standards-based reforms and positional teacher leader characteristics. The researchers asked 10 positional teacher leaders attending the Second Teacher Leader Conference in June 1999 to assist them in constructing a conceptual framework of teacher leadership including the following elements: empowerment, expertise, reflection, collaboration, and flexibility. During this conference, positional teacher leaders developed a journey map citing experiences that had provided them with key learning opportunities within the five areas of the framework. They reported that empowerment, expertise, and reflection were areas of strength while collaboration and flexibility were areas of weakness. The experiences they cited most often as having a positive effect on the five areas were professional development activities and further education. Additional findings included that positional teacher leadership roles were important in creating the credibility necessary to both persuade colleagues to change their practice and to initiate collaboration among colleagues; reflection on personal practice was a stepping stone to challenging colleagues' practice; and opportunities to affect district and school decisions was a source of empowerment. This study shows that structures to support collaboration and professional development are important to facilitate the reform process. It also

illuminates the fact that positional teacher leaders linked credibility to the authority given them through their positions, a finding that supports Little's (1995) conclusions.

The next study considers how important positional teacher leaders are to the success of school re-structuring reforms. Griffin (1995) informally interviewed five teachers once each month over 40 months to determine what they believed were the classroom-level consequences of site-based management reforms at each of their schools. The participants had all been chosen to serve in various positional teacher leadership capacities to move the reform forward among their colleagues. Findings indicated that the positional teacher leaders felt more empowered by the reform, citing their input into school decisions as an improvement upon being mere "recipients of other's expectations" (p. 33). However, they reported feeling overwhelmed with the responsibilities allocated to them by site-based management, and feared that the relevant policy tasks were taking them away from their work with students. Even though the positional teacher leaders were provided with extra time to complete tasks, they nonetheless worried that they were spending too much time with leadership work and that they were shortchanging their students in the process.

Another important finding of Griffin's study indicated that the positional teacher leaders did not utilize existing school structures that might have positively affected the reform process. Although teachers at these schools worked collaboratively with colleagues more often, creating a greater sense of overall professional community and individual contribution to and responsibility for changing teaching practice, the positional teacher leaders reported that they did not believe the goal of the reform was to monitor teaching practice as much as it was to give teachers a voice in school-wide policies.

Moreover, despite having little first-hand knowledge of what their colleagues were doing in the classroom, the positional teacher leaders nonetheless believed that other teachers were effective, and did not believe a goal of the reform was to change instructional practice. They also maintained the "culture of isolation" (p. 40) common in teaching, expressing discomfort at the idea of interfering with colleagues' classroom work. In addition, the positional teacher leaders were uncertain that there were superior teaching methods and believed that all teachers find their own style, which is typically successful with students. Griffin concluded that the intentions of reform must be clarified to positional teacher leaders, especially if said reforms are intended to change teaching and learning.

The last study reviewed serves as a good transition to the next section of research on teacher leadership because the authors' conclusion questions whether positional teacher leadership roles are helpful in institutionalizing successful reform. For their study, Heller and Firestone (1995) defined leadership as "a set of tasks to be performed rather than the work of a role," a description meant to imply that leadership was enacted by many people rather than just a few. To test this new definition, they studied nine schools that had successfully implemented the Social Problem Solving (SPS) reform model and were in the institutionalization stage. Data collected through semi-structured interviews showed that positional teacher leaders were more important to the institutionalization process than previous research had found. Under SPS, teachers were given opportunities to become positional teacher leaders on the SPS Resource Committee. These positional teacher leaders received supplemental pay as well as extra time to "inspire, observe, monitor, and encourage their colleagues in the SPS program"

(p. 80). However, these formal structures were only part of the success of the positional teacher leaders. Findings indicated that administrative support and willingness to "share influence" (p. 81) was also essential to successful institutionalization. Heller and Firestone concluded that successful teacher leadership does not require positional roles or vast structural changes, but opportunities for teachers to engage in reform implementation in meaningful ways as well as empowering administrative support.

Overall, the research on positional teacher leadership indicates that the positional conception of teacher leadership has little effect on teaching and learning. In addition, this conception maintains conventional school leadership hierarchies and thus, limits the influence that teacher leaders have on their colleagues. Moreover, this conception is often rejected by teachers because it challenges the normative teaching culture. Although the norms of teaching such as privacy and equality may need to be challenged, the findings of the studies discussed above show that utilizing positional teacher leadership in an effort to change the teaching culture is ineffective. A number of these studies also reveal that ambiguous definitions of the roles of positional teacher leaders actually disempower teachers, forcing them to act according to outside agendas rather than creating their own. Finally, we see that positional teacher leadership has not contributed positively to school reform initiatives. Therefore, it appears that there is a need for a new conception of teacher leadership.

TEACHER LEADERSHIP AS INFLUENTIAL

The following studies all utilize a broader definition of teacher leadership as having influence over others. These researchers do not assume that influence is always connected to position. Thus, the teacher leaders who participated in the studies discussed

in this section all enacted leadership through influence. Unlike many of the positional

teacher leaders discussed in the previous section, these teacher leaders did not take on

teacher leadership positions, but asserted influence from their role as classroom teachers.

Although there are few studies that define teacher leadership as influential rather than

positional, the studies discussed in this section show that teacher leadership does not need

to be hierarchical or positional to have an influence on teaching and learning. These

studies respond to an extensive demand for a new conception of teacher leadership,

which will be reviewed following the discussion of the five research studies below.

The first study presents a conceptual framework of influential teacher leadership

that will help us understand a possible source of influential teacher leadership. According

to Spillane, Hallett and Diamond (2003) influential teacher leadership depends not only

on the teacher leader's self perception but also on potential followers' values. Their study

applied theories of capital to teacher leadership, examining the extent to which teachers

value human, social, cultural, and economic capital in their leaders and the ways that

school leaders enact these forms of capital. Using the definition of human capital as

"skills, knowledge, and expertise" their findings indicated that teachers expect such

capital in teacher leaders more often than they do in school principals (p. 1). However,

teachers valued cultural capital, or "acquired ways of being and doing" in both principals

and teacher leaders, linking having cultural capital to having influence in the school (p.

3). Study participants also indicated that social capital was most important in making

teacher leaders influential, and associated it with the ways that teacher leaders are able to

share their human capital with colleagues. Finally, teachers indicated that they expect

administrators to have access to funds more often than teacher leaders; therefore, few

teachers valued economic capital in teacher leaders. Therefore, Spillane and his colleagues demonstrate that followers' values will dictate the influence that a teacher leader has on his or her colleagues.

The next two studies show the importance of administrator support for influential teacher leadership within the reform process. First, Crowther, Kaagan, Ferguson, and Hann (2002) carried out a five-year study of teacher leadership "to illuminate the work of extraordinary teachers whose impact on their schools and communities had won the acclaim of their principals and colleagues" (p. xx). The study monitored the organizational dynamics of nine high-performing schools in an attempt to understand what made them successful. For the study, Crowther and his colleagues defined teacher leadership as "action that transforms teaching and learning in a school, that ties school and community together on behalf of learning, and that advances social sustainability and quality of life for a community" (p. xvii).

Findings from their study led Crowther and his colleagues to propose a model they called "parallel leadership" which distributes leadership among teachers and administrators with teachers taking responsibility for "pedagogical development" and administrators taking responsibility for "strategic development" (p. 44). Pedagogical development refers to instruction and curriculum while strategic development includes creating vision and identity, aligning and managing multiple innovations, distributing leadership, and networking. Crowther and his colleagues also proposed a framework for influential teacher leaders summarized by York-Barr and Duke (2004) as:

> Conveying conviction about a better world; striving for authenticity in
> their teaching, learning and assessment practices; facilitating communities
> of learning through organization-wide processes; confronting barriers in

the school's culture and structure; translating ideas into sustainable systems of action; and nurturing a culture of success. (p. 265)

Finally, based on their findings, the authors formulated a set of exercises to help build leadership capacity within schools. The three exercises determine consciousness of and readiness for leadership, establish a foundation for leadership, and create influential teacher leadership leading to successful school reform. Thus, we see from this study that mutual collaboration and support among teachers and administrators before and during the change process led to school success.

Conversely, Acker-Hocevar and Touchton (1999) found less positive interaction between teacher leaders and administrators engaged in reform. They interviewed six elementary teachers of the year in order to understand how these teacher leaders employed influence, or agency, in their practice and within the reform effort. The researchers chose teachers of the year for their study because the criteria for selection included leadership skills, communication skills, collaborative skills, and a commitment to effective teaching. Therefore, Acker-Hocevar and Touchton determined "that these select teachers have mastered political power arrangements in a way that allows them to be seen as highly successful practitioners with influence" (p. 3). Their findings indicated that the influential teacher leaders felt they were powerless despite structures created by administrators to empower them because the structures were created by the administrator rather than the teachers. Therefore, the influential teacher leaders believed that these structures served administrative needs rather than teacher interests. Overall, Acker-Hocevar and Touchton found that teacher leader influence is mediated by "how well they know how to work the system, their perceived expertise, the influence afforded them, the collective agency of the group, and the norms within the school and district" (p. 24).

Those teacher leaders with the most influence knew how to work around systemic

constraints including limiting structures and relational hierarchies. In conclusion, the

authors' suggestions for influential teacher leadership indicate the importance of

soliciting teacher input in the formation of reform efforts as well as the creation of

collaborative communities to support teachers through the implementation process.

The last two studies discussed here exemplify the potential of a new conception of

teacher leadership as influential. In response to their hypothesis that school-based teacher

leadership positions may have little effect on teacher authority or influence, Darling-

Hammond, Bullmaster, and Cobb (1995) suggested utilizing teacher leaders within

professional development schools (PDS). They conducted case studies of teachers

working in established PDSs and found:

> That teacher leadership is inextricably connected to teacher learning; that
> teacher leadership can be embedded in tasks and roles that do not create
> artificial, imposed, formal hierarchies and positions—and that such
> approaches may lead to greater professionwide leadership as the "normal"
> role of teacher is expanded; and that the stimulation of such leadership and
> learning is likely to improve the capacity of schools to respond to the
> needs of students. (p. 89)

According to the authors, PDSs opened leadership opportunities to all teachers including

those who were part of the pre-service education program. Moreover, this conception of

influential teacher leadership helped to alleviate some of the challenges discussed across

other research studies such as resistance to the expansion of leadership hierarchies.

Instead, the leadership that grew within PDSs was about accomplishing change rather

than controlling people. In addition, Darling-Hammond and her colleagues pointed out

that PDSs have the potential not only to change the teaching profession, but also to

reform schools because they empower teachers to "pose and solve problems" causing

them to "assume leadership for change from within rather than looking upward or outward for leadership" (p. 100). The authors concluded by pointing out that structural supports for influential teacher leadership including "restructured time and relationships that enable teachers to take on the leadership tasks" (p. 102) are more important to the development of teacher leadership than titles and positions.

Utilizing institutional theory, Hatch, White and Faigenbaum (2005) were able to explain how influential relationships shape the work of teacher leaders, create more egalitarian school structures, and challenge the cultural norms of teaching. Institutional theory suggests that the individual influence of teacher leaders grows as they participate and collaborate with their colleagues in common events and actions, and generate and share clear understandings of their work. In their case studies, Hatch and his colleagues found that teacher leaders worked against the traditional role of authority, leading in ways that were neither authoritarian nor domineering. They avoided oppressive behaviors connected to hierarchical conceptions of leadership by humbling themselves, maintaining equity among colleagues, and empowering other teachers to find their own solutions to problems. Although these influential teacher leaders were recognized as expert teachers by their colleagues, they supported other teachers in cooperative rather than authoritative ways. Among their colleagues, these influential teacher leaders often functioned as informal leaders, offering peer support and sharing their successes and failures to further professional development and teacher growth across the whole faculty.

The call for a new conception of teacher leadership

The studies reviewed above represent a relatively small proportion of the overall teacher leadership literature, which mostly utilizes the positional conception of teacher

leadership. However, the lack of empirical research is not necessarily an indicator that conceptions of teacher leadership are not changing. In fact, there is a significant amount of theoretical work calling for a new conception of teacher leadership. This work is important in establishing the need for a new conception of teacher leadership, which necessitates professional development designed around this new model and further empirical research that utilizes it.

To begin, Duke's (1994) conception of the teaching profession as a "crab-bucket culture" where teachers resist any colleague's attempt to become a leader by pulling them down just as "one crab tries to scuttle out" (p. 269) establishes a profound reason to pursue less hierarchical and more egalitarian conceptions of teacher leadership. Duke asserted the need for teacher leadership to go beyond positional notions toward a conception drawn from "expertise and experience" (p. 269). This notion opens leadership to all teachers, a concept supported by Fullan (1994), who argued that "teacher leadership is not for a few; it is for all" (p. 246). In order to achieve this broad conception of teacher leadership, Fullan proposed six domains of professional commitment including knowledge of teaching and learning, collegiality, educational contexts, and the change process through continuous learning. He maintained that once these domains were consistent across the teaching profession, teaching and leadership would be synonymous.

The definitions of teacher leadership have developed according to assessments of the overall educational system and the teaching profession. Smylie, Conley, and Marks (2002) noted that the definition of teacher leadership has changed since the mid-1990s, when there was "a shift away from individual empowerment and role-based initiatives toward more collective, task-oriented, and organizational approaches to teacher

leadership" (p. 165). They cited as the reason for this shift the ambivalent results of early research studies, which showed that the creation of teacher leadership positions did not necessarily affect teaching and learning. Conversely, they reported that the conception of teacher leadership then consisted of "the 'appointment and anointment' of individual teachers to new 'quasi-administrative' positions—rungs on career ladders, lead and mentor teachers, and membership on decision-making bodies—to share in managerial work" (p. 165). A more recent definition of teacher leadership is offered by Katzenmeyer and Moller (2001) as teachers who "lead within and beyond the classroom, identify with and contribute to a community of teacher learners and leaders, and influence others toward improved educational practice" (p. 5). Here we see an emphasis on teacher leader influence over formal position.

Many scholars identify position as irrelevant to new conceptions of leadership, and argue for a less hierarchical conception of teacher leadership. For example, Neuman (2000) argued that "leadership is no longer seen as a function of age, position, or job title" but that "it is a characteristic less of an individual than of a community and is the responsibility assumed with the consent of the community" (p. 10). In addition, she asserted that this concept of leadership goes beyond "assigning tasks to people—which often results in responsibility without authority" (p. 10), and suggested that professional learning communities establish this type of leadership.

Likewise Childs-Bowen, Moller, and Scrivner (2000) argued for a more communal and less hierarchical definition of teacher leadership as "a fluid role that extends beyond positional roles, such as department chairpersons" (p. 27). Their conception of teacher leadership required principals to identify where school needs and

teacher passions intersect, and then provide the necessary support to allow teachers to accomplish change. To foster this type of teacher leadership, Childs-Bowen and her colleagues asserted that principals must construct opportunities for teachers to lead such as granting them "flexibility in implementing curriculum and instruction, planning for school improvement, and designing professional development" (p. 30) as well as building professional learning communities where teachers share leadership, vision, and personal practice within a supportive climate driven to positively affect student learning.

Similarly, Forster (1997) criticized hierarchical notions of teacher leadership, rejecting the industrial model, which focused on power and control, and limited the opportunities for teacher leadership in schools. She pointed out that the bureaucratic model of leadership most often adopted by schools relies on committees that merely shift management responsibilities, but do little to empower. Moreover, she noted that early career ladder programs allocated teacher leadership positions such as department heads, which rewarded teachers by taking them out of the classroom, aligning them with administrators, and alienating them from their peers. Thus, Forster argued that a paradigm shift is necessary, with a new focus on utilizing teacher leadership within the context of professional learning communities focused on teaching and learning. This new "teacher leadership may be broadly defined as a professional commitment and a process which influences people to take joint actions toward changes and improved practices that enable achievement of shared educational goals and benefit the common good" (p. 6). Finally, Forster concluded that a new conception of teacher leadership must be fostered within the teaching profession, becoming an inherent part of it and beginning with pre-service training.

In addition to arguing for a less hierarchical vision of teacher leadership, Hart (1995) criticized the first initiatives to professionalize teaching through teacher leadership. Acknowledging that teacher leadership is no new concept, she explained that teachers have exercised both positive and negative influence over each other's work for some time. She discussed a number of teacher leadership initiatives and reforms that have attempted to give teachers more influence. First, mentoring programs allowed mentor teachers to influence teacher initiation into the profession as well as the overall direction of the profession. Second, teacher ladder initiatives meant to attract, retain, reward, and motivate the most talented teachers, provided teachers with additional leadership opportunities. Third, site-based decision making structures invited teachers to become school-level policymakers and to become more dedicated to "the ideals of commitment to community and group achievement" (p. 16). However, Hart argued that these programs simply upheld existing hierarchical structures and were not effective in improving teacher practice and student learning. Moreover, she criticized existing graduate programs in educational leadership as tending to "emphasize traditional, role-based behaviors and actions" and of separating "leadership training, adult coaching and development, supervision and evaluation, and planning from teachers' graduate study programs" (p. 25).

In response to her work with the City Schools of Excellence reform model, Coyle (1997) advocated for a school structure that "is integrated and centrifugal, with all positions emanating from the central core of teaching" rather than one where "teaching is weighted down by a hierarchical, managerial chain of command" (p. 236). During the reform process, she noticed that administrators remained more interested in managerial

tasks than in classroom work, and often misinterpreted teacher initiative as "attempts to garner power" (p. 3). In addition, Coyle recognized a number of impediments to the reform including "the structure and intractability of the school schedule, the school bureaucracy, teacher complacency and isolation, overreaction to state mandates, and the tacit belief that wisdom must come from at least fifty miles away" (p. 2). She concluded by calling for school structures that foster leadership at all levels.

Ash and Persail (2000) also considered the reform context when advocating for a less hierarchical conception of teacher leadership. Their belief that traditional teacher leadership roles such as department head, curriculum coordinator, mentor, and trainer "fall far short of the level of teacher leadership that current school reform efforts demand" (p. 19) inspired them to construct a theory that promotes a conception of leadership separated from positional authority and supportive of teacher leadership, where administrators serve as one of many leaders. The principles of Formative Leadership Theory include a transition from top-down school structures meant to control and limit decision-making to collaborative learning structures that encourage mutual problem-solving, an emphasis on leaders building trusting relationships that encourage "innovation and creativity" (p. 16), a shift from completing tasks to focusing on "people and processes" (p. 16), and an emphasis on service to the school community with an interest in empowering community members and protecting them from "outside interference" (p. 17). In addition, formative leaders are visible within their school communities and exercise flexibility when dealing with the uncertainties of change.

Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond (2001) also proposed a less hierarchical and positional framework for studying leadership that is focused on "a rich understanding of

how and *why*" leaders do what they do (p. 23). Thus, they proposed a distributed perspective of leadership that considers leaders' actions rather than their positions or roles. They also highlighted the belief that leadership tasks are "distributed across multiple leaders in a school" (p. 25) making it impossible to understand leadership by focusing only on one leader within a school such as an administrator. They referred to their work in Chicago Public Schools to demonstrate this theory. For example, a principal noted a high level of privacy and isolation among the teachers at his school and thus "established breakfast meetings in order to create a forum for teachers to exchange ideas about instruction" (p. 26). This new structure reduced isolation and offered teachers the opportunity to share ideas. Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond considered this use of school structures a way to encourage distributed leadership as teachers become instructional leaders of each other.

In an attempt to explain the role of influence in leadership, Ogawa and Bossert (1995) proposed an institutional perspective of organizations, which "explains that the behavior of actors, both individual and collective, expresses externally enforced institutions rather than internally derived goals" (p. 231). Thus, actions performed by leaders serve the purpose of preserving the organization and require individuals to utilize influence rather than relying on positional authority by building relationships within the organization. Ogawa and Bossert also pointed out that the institutional perspective allows for members of organizations to exert varying levels of influence and thus, everyone can become a leader. In the school context, that means that both administrators and teachers can be leaders, and that leadership is multi-directional in that it flows among all members of the organization.

I conclude this section with a look at Barth's (2001) recommendations for how teachers can overcome the barriers to exercising influential leadership. First, he recommended that teachers "lead by following" or "influence the life of one's school beyond the classroom" (p. 3) by supporting other teachers who are trying to lead. Second, he suggested that becoming part of a committee or team allows teachers to influence colleagues. Third, he advised teachers to take the initiative to lead alone through covert methods such as applying for a grant or presenting at a conference. Finally, he proposed that teachers who lead by example "are more likely to have a positive influence upon the larger school community because they take the risk to provide a constant, visible model of persistence, hope, and enthusiasm" (p. 4). Barth also noted that principals can support teacher leadership through the following: expecting all teachers to lead, surrendering authority, building trust through everyday teacher support, empowering teachers to help make school-level decisions, including teachers in school issues that they feel "passionately about" (p. 6), protecting teachers from the criticism of peers, recognizing teachers' hard work and accomplishments, and sharing "responsibility for failure" (p. 6). He concluded that although this construction of teacher leadership is challenging for teachers, it will ultimately reduce their isolation and lead to a more democratic school community.

In summary, these scholars have argued that conceptions of teacher leadership be revised to be less hierarchical and more collaborative. They have also asserted that teacher leadership ought to be based on influential relationships rather than positional ones, and that there ought to be many leaders in a school, not just a few. Finally they have advocated for a conception of teacher leadership as influential because such a notion

will positively affect teaching and learning by challenging the cultural norms of teaching and engaging teachers in school reform.

<center>TEACHER LEADER PREPARATION</center>

The final section of this chapter shares several scholars' recommendations for teacher leadership preparation programs. The overall lack of empirical data about this subject provides the justification for the present study and the need for further research on teacher leadership preparation. To begin, Rogus (1988) identified three elements necessary to teacher leadership training programs: "school improvement, effective teaching, and leadership" (p. 50). To link these elements together, he stated that "professors and teachers who serve as instructors in the program must model effective instructional behaviors, work to empower teachers within both individual and group interactions, respect what is known of adult development and learning in carrying out instruction, reflect an inquiry orientation toward their own work, provide affective support to those students engaged with them in struggle, carefully monitor program effects, and otherwise behave as an effective leader" (p. 50). In addition, Rogus demanded that faculty members involved in teacher leadership programs work to "create a student culture characterized by collegiality, collaboration, and risk-taking" (p. 50), which he believed was essential if a desired outcome is for teacher leaders to translate their training to practice. These requirements bring to light the importance of content, instructional approaches, and structures utilized to facilitate successful teacher leadership preparation.

To prove that teachers are now expected to be leaders, Clemson-Ingram and Fessier (1997) cited a number of standards including the Interstate New Teacher

Assessment and Support Consortium, the National Board for Professional Teaching

Standards, and the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium Standards for School

Leaders. The authors then discussed two teacher leadership preparation programs

available at Johns Hopkins' Division of Education, which appeal to teachers who wish to

stay in the classroom but also aspire to be school leaders. Through these programs,

teachers focused on personal and professional growth by learning how to conduct action

research, working for social change, coping with resistance and increased responsibility,

and understanding how organizational processes intersect with interpersonal dynamics.

Both preparation programs include elements that relate to the concept of critical teacher

leadership described in Chapter 1.

Finally, Caine and Caine (2000) developed a learning community model that

resulted in a number of positive outcomes. The learning community groups met several

times per month for at least an hour to carry out structured discussions involving turn-

taking and speaker time limits. Caine and Caine maintained that this structure reduced

competition and encouraged a collaborative culture where everyone's ideas were shared.

The researchers found that those who were part of these communities moved from a need

for control to a relinquishing of control in favor of relationship and community building.

Participants in the model also moved toward considering the conditions that serve as

barriers to change rather than focusing on planning for change. Caine and Caine

concluded that supportive and safe learning communities of this nature are necessary

within schools that wish to "support good teaching and effective leadership" (p. 14).

These results indicate the importance of considering group dynamics and the building of

trust among participants when facilitating a teacher leadership preparation program.

SUMMARY

This literature review has made a case for the fact that the conception of teacher leadership needs to be revised, moving away from the emphasis on formal positions and toward a distributed model based on individual influence and action. The empirical studies that utilized the positional teacher leadership definition showed that positional teacher leadership maintains the conventional school leadership hierarchies, is limited by the norms of the teaching culture, fails to empower teachers, and does not lead to successful reform. However, studies that defined teacher leadership as influential found that this conception challenges the conventional school leadership hierarchies, disrupts the cultural norms of the teaching profession, distributes leadership power to all teachers, and meaningfully engages teachers in the change process. Moreover, there is a need to recognize that it is the influence that makes a teacher a leader, not the position. It seems clear that the arguments of scholars for a new conception of teacher leadership are justified and reasonable when these findings are considered. Nevertheless, the brevity of the last section of this review proves that altering the conception of teacher leadership will require revised and consistent leadership preparation programs for teachers and administrators as well as further research that utilizes an influential conception of teacher leadership.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

CRITICAL INQUIRY

According to Carspecken (1996), critical inquiry examines "power relationships closely to determine who has what kind of power and why" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 129). Carspecken extends the work of Weber by identifying four types of power: normative, coercive, contractual, and charming. Normative power is based on position and expectation. An example relevant to this study would be a teacher who follows instructions given by an administrator even though she does not agree with them simply because the administrator has greater authority within the system and because as a teacher, she knows she is expected to follow her superior's directives. Another type of normative power relevant to this study exists in what French and Raven (2001) call referent power, which acknowledges that teacher leaders also have power because of their relationship to those with positional power such as the principal or district administrators. Coercive power is more discreet but could work similarly to normative power. For instance, a teacher may again follow a given directive but her consent is based on fear of being sanctioned by the administrator should she argue or refuse to comply. Contractual power is the result of an exchange between two parties. The teaching contract itself represents contractual power in that it requires teachers to work a certain number of hours per day in exchange for a certain salary and a specific number of sick days. Finally, charismatic power is based on personality and loyalty. For example, a teacher who chooses to comply with an administrator's instructions simply because she appreciates some of his personal characteristics such as a sense of humor or a kindness towards others would be succumbing to the power of charm particularly if part of the motivation

involves wanting to gain the recognition of the administrator on a personal level, even showing her loyalty by defending him in the face of criticism from her colleagues.

These four types of power relate directly to this study. In chapters 1 and 2, we have seen that since the start of common schooling in America, teachers as a group have had little power when it comes to defining and controlling the nature of their work while educational leadership has been embedded in conceptions of hierarchy and authority. By their very nature, these conceptions have excluded teachers from dialogues thereby limiting teachers' ability to work for positive change within their schools. However, given the opportunity to reflect critically on the power structures embodied in the education profession, teachers may be in a unique position to identify with oppressed groups including some of the students with whom they work. Critical reflection has drawn many teachers to work for social change within their schools, districts, and communities. Linked to this work the most recent period of teacher leadership, as discussed in chapter 1 not only challenges the traditional notions of leadership but also empowers teachers to be influential among their colleagues. It is this influence that allows teacher leaders to work even more effectively for social change. Given these prevalent power structures, critical inquiry is the most appropriate framework for this study.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to determine how teacher leaders become critical through leadership training, this study will seek to answer the following research questions:

1. What, if anything, exists in these teachers' histories and character that has allowed them to already meet one or more of Foster's four demands?
2. Given the cohort context, how have their courses helped or hindered these teachers in meeting Foster's four demands?

3. Now that they have finished their master's, how do these teachers connect Foster's four demands to their daily work?

These questions explore the critical life space of teacher leaders, or in other words, the ways that teacher leaders explore critical issues and enact teacher leadership in their schools. The data collection and analysis draws off of insights from critical epistemology including critical distinctions between types of truth claims and their validity.

RESEARCH DESIGN OVERVIEW

The design of this study is critical micro-ethnographic. The characteristics of a micro-ethnography include long engagement in the field with multiple approaches to data collection as well as having the purpose of understanding the micro-culture and being able to describe its nuances from an insider's point of view. Data collection for this study lasted for 13 months from January 2007 to February 2008, a relatively long period of time for interaction with participants. The micro-culture in this study is teacher leaders as they are developing. My role as participant observer allowed me to become part of this micro-culture and thus, describe it with an insider's perspective. Finally, this study is critical because it examines how leadership development through courses in teacher leadership empowers teachers, challenging the traditional constructions of educational leadership. It further examines how teacher leaders through critical reflection come to empathize with their students and work for social justice in education.

Table 1.

Question	What, if anything, exists in these teachers' histories and character that has allowed them to already meet one or more of Foster's four demands?	Given the cohort context, how have their courses helped or hindered these teachers in meeting Foster's four demands?	Now that they have finished their master's, how do these teachers connect Foster's four demands to their daily work?
Data Source(s)	Interviews Leadership paper	Interviews Chat room discussion Class observations	Interviews Reflective papers (4)
Analysis Techniques	Coding Reconstructive analysis	Coding Reconstructive analysis	Coding Reconstructive analysis
Validity Checks	Member checks Peer debriefing Triangulation	Member checks Peer debriefing Triangulation	Member checks Peer debriefing Triangulation

SITE

Middle University Educational Leadership and Policy Studies Department (ELPS)

In 1991, the faculty of the Educational Leadership and Policy Studies Department (ELPS) at Middle University (a pseudonym) decided to revise their conceptual framework to "view school leadership as both intellectual and moral craft" (p. 4). This decision was motivated by the award of a Danforth Foundation doctoral and principalship development grant meant to assist educational leadership departments to reconstruct school leader preparation programs. As a result, the faculty determined that the program would be

> Guided by the belief that school leaders are moral and transformative agents committed to the principles of equity, justice, and diversity as they

confront the problems of practice rooted in the perennial problems of class, race, gender, ethnicity, and (dis)ability. (p. 4-5)

The revisions were theoretically based on the conceptions of transformational and moral leadership as proposed by Burns (1978), Foster (1989), and Rost (1991). Graduates of the program are expected to:

- demonstrate moral and ethical leadership
- engage the school and community
- recognize power and politics
- organize and create change
- support the teaching and learning of diversity
- advocate equity and social justice
- design school improvement

Each of these skills has been integrated into the curriculum and instruction of the various leadership preparation programs designed by the ELPS department over the last 17 years including the Teacher Leadership Master's Cohort discussed below.

Alexia County School Corporation (ACSC)

The partnership between the ELPS department at Middle University (MU) and the Alexia County School Corporation (ACSC) is natural since MU is located in the county seat of Alexia County, a county in a Midwestern state. ACSC is a mid-sized school district incorporating the town and the surrounding rural areas. Demographically, ACSC is 83% White, 6% Multiracial, 4% Asian, 4% Black, and 2% Hispanic with 30% of children receiving free or reduced lunches. The corporation has consistently scored just above the state average on ISTEP.

ACSC Teacher Leadership Cohort

Around 2002 the MU School of Education began noticing that local districts were becoming less and less interested in taking student teachers. The Dean of the School of Education approached ACSC administrators to find out why this was happening. They

felt that the connection between MU and ACSC was weak because the School of

Education was not serving the needs of local teachers, who needed masters programs that

were both flexible and that built leadership and capacity within ACSC. The dean of the

School of Education invited faculty members from the Curriculum Studies Department to

create a masters degree program the district might find compelling for its teachers.

However, that faculty was unable to create the desired program. Therefore, the dean

approached the Educational Leadership and Policy Studies Department, and they came up

with the idea for the teacher leadership masters' program. After a series of conversations

between ELPS faculty and district administrators at ACSC, the first cohort began in 2003

and was recruited via an email message sent to all teachers in ACSC who did not have a

master's degree yet. The cohort requirements included attending monthly meetings for

research and collaboration, sharing what they were organizing, and attending weekly

class meetings. The Teacher Leadership Master's Cohort was formulated to solve

problems of practice, discuss real work situations, take a look at the district agenda to see

what was working, complete action research that aligned to the district's vision, and

present research findings to the school board. It was hoped that many teachers across the

district would choose to participate because their work was being noticed with interest by

the district leadership. Several teachers from the first cohort were promoted to principal

positions when they finished the degree in 2005. The second cohort began classes at the

beginning of 2006 and will complete their work in 2008.

<div align="center">PARTICIPANTS AND RECRUITMENT</div>

The cohort teachers

The teacher leadership cohort was comprised of 17 teachers, 12 women and 5 men, all of whom identified themselves as white or Caucasian. Of these, 9 were elementary level teachers and 7 were secondary level teachers. These teachers had been teaching between 3 and 16 years, with 6 having taught for less than 10 years and 3 having taught for 10 years or more. All but 1 of the teachers have spent their entire career in ACSC. Finally, the majority of teachers joined the cohort to get their master's degree or principal's license. Many also said that they were attracted by the convenience of the class schedule and location of the classes as well as by the fact that they would be taking their courses with their colleagues as a cohort.

All teachers in the cohort were invited to participate in this study. However, only 8 chose to do so. Of those, 6 were women and 2 were men. The participants had been teaching between 3 and 10 years with 4 teaching at the elementary level and 4 teaching at the secondary level. All but 1 of the participants had taught for their entire career in ACSC. The participants' reasons for joining the cohort were representative of the greater cohort.

Participants

There were two levels of participation in this study. Those that opted to participate only in the observation and document analysis portions were considered level 1 participants while those who participated in the in-depth interview portion of the study in addition to the observation and document analysis portions were level 2 participants. Of the 8 participants, 4 agreed to participate as level 1 participants and 4 agreed to participate as level 2 participants. Pseudonyms have been used to preserve all participants' anonymity.

Liz. An elementary teacher, Liz has been teaching for 8 years, all within ACSC. She joined the cohort to pursue her administrators license and because she was interested in learning more about teacher leadership.

Alex. A secondary teacher, Alex has been teaching for 7 years, all within ACSC. He teaches in an alternative-to-expulsion program for early adolescents, and joined the cohort because he wanted to earn his master's degree.

Megan. A secondary teacher, Megan has been teaching for 6 years, all within ACSC. She joined to cohort to pursue her master's degree, but also had an interest in becoming a school principal. In fact, during the last year of the program, she was promoted to assistant principal at her school.

Stephanie. An elementary teacher, Stephanie has been teaching for 4 years, all within ACSC. She joined the cohort because she wanted to earn her master's degree and felt the program would be convenient. She also thought the classes sounded interesting and she liked the idea of being part of a district-wide cohort.

Those participants who were level 2 participants became key informants. They were interviewed three times over the course of three months toward the end of their master's program.

Audrey. A secondary teacher, Audrey has been teaching for 7 years, all within ACSC. She spent three years as a district substitute teacher before becoming a full-time social studies teacher at one of the district middle schools. She was the co-chair of the Climate Committee at her school for three years and has been a member of the School Improvement Team. She was also the Chair of the Social Studies Department for two years, and is a Critical Friend's Group Facilitator. She joined the cohort because she

wanted to earn her principal's license and because she was drawn to the incentives offered by the district.

Allison. A secondary teacher, Allison has been teaching for 5 years, 2 of those within ACSC as a math teacher in a special program designed to support "at-risk" ninth grade students in their transition to high school. She has since left ACSC to take a position at the high school she attended. She served on the ISTEP Data Analysis Committee in her first teaching position. She has also been a cheerleading coach, a student council sponsor, and a show choir choreographer. She joined the cohort because she wanted to be a teacher leader but not an administrator.

Pauline. Pauline entered the teaching profession after several years working in business. She is licensed in K-12 special education but has taught elementary inclusion classes in ACSC for all 6 years that she has been a teacher. She has been a member of the School-wide Planning Committee and has been the Chair of the Family and Community Involvement Committee. She joined the cohort because she wanted to earn her master's degree, and because she is passionate about life-long learning.

Phil. Phil became a teacher after a career in telecommunications, earning his master's degree in elementary education. He has taught the upper elementary grades at the same school for all of his 10 years of teaching including his student teaching. He has served as PTO Liaison and PBS Facilitator as well as participating in the formulation of the school improvement plan as an InSAI Committee member and the implementation of the school improvement plan as a School Improvement Committee member. He joined the cohort to earn his principal's license and plans to pursue a principal's position.

ENTRY INTO GROUP AND OBSERVATION

Because I wanted a chance to get to know the teachers in the cohort before I asked them to participate in my study, I asked the professor who was teaching the next cohort course, School Community Relations, if I could audit the class, which met on Tuesday evenings. This professor suggested that I be his graduate assistant (GA) for the class so I began field entry in this role. As a GA, I assisted the professor in planning class activities. However, I did not lead class or participate in any assessment because I wanted to establish a "supportive, nonauthoritarian relationship" with them to increase trust (Carspecken, 1996, p. 90). In addition, I was careful not to participate too much in class discussions because I did not want to influence the teachers' thinking although I did participate in student-led group activities to further establish myself as a peer. As a trusted peer, I hoped to create a relationship that would encourage those who agreed to participate in the study to question my perceptions when asked to member check my analysis documents. During discussions, I observed and noted down the things the teachers talked about, paying close attention to what each teacher said and tracking comments made by individuals throughout the semester. These observations totaled about 27 hours. In addition to these observations, I utilized the course chat room posted online. Class discussions were continued through this chat room and therefore, I considered this part of the observation data. The chat room discussion proved to be especially valuable because it allowed teachers who may have been silent during class to share their ideas. It also allowed teachers to clarify their positions and to further question each other's assumptions.

Subsequent to this course, I was able to observe the teachers in three other courses, Legal Perspectives in Education, Education and Social Issues, and Teacher

Development and Evaluation for a total of about 18 hours from May to December 2007.

The cohort took all four of the courses that I observed during the second year of the

program, which meant that my observations began after they had the opportunity to settle

into the program including getting to know their fellow cohort members, and learn about

the foundations of leadership. During my observations of the three courses listed above, I

chose not to participate in class activities or discussions so that I could focus on watching

the teachers' behavior as well as jotting down the things they said. I made an effort to

observe classes where the teachers might be challenged to think critically or classes that

would specifically address social justice issues. For example, I observed the teachers

debate controversial issues in the education law course as well as observing a discussion

about how Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* related to a teacher's responsibility to

serve all students' needs. All four of the courses I observed included critical elements

within the course readings, assignments, discussions, and class activities.

I recorded observation notes on a legal pad. These notes included some

description about actions, but focused primarily on verbal expression. At the conclusion

of each class, I jotted down further notes about my impressions in a field journal. These

notes had more to do with interactions among the cohort members. Finally, I printed the

chat room postings each week and added them to my observation note record.

<div align="center">IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWING</div>

Carspecken (1996) lists three reasons for using interviews in qualitative research.

First, interview data lends itself easily to validity checks. Second, interviews allow the

researcher the flexibility to "continuously revise her understanding of core cultural

categories employed by her subjects of study" and then to reformulate interview

questions before, after, or during the interview process (p. 75). Third, interviewing probes the "layered subjectivity" of participants, allowing them to discover and revise their initial thoughts and emotions through each stage of the interview process (p. 75). Thus, the interviewer has the ability to not only follow the participants' stories, but also to help bring awareness and clarity to elements of the story that may have been suppressed or a part of the subconscious. In addition, interviewing is particularly important for critical research because as "dialogical data" it allows participants to become empowered through exploratory conversation (Carspecken, 1996, p. 154). These conversations help us discover "who we are, becoming more certain of our potentialities and capacities" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 169). Thus interviews offer participants the opportunity to "claim the existence and validity of entire worlds within which an identity is defined and located" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 169).

Four individual teachers were interviewed as key informants for this study. These participants were interviewed three times. Interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, and were conducted in locations chosen by the participants including their homes, their classrooms, coffee shops and bookstores, and classrooms where the cohort was meeting for class. Interviews were conducted using the semi-structured style advocated by Carspecken (1996). Interviews were audio-taped and transcribed by a transcriptionist. Each transcript was sent to the participant shortly after the interview so that she or he could check it. Teachers were invited to add further thoughts or reflections after reading their transcripts.

The interview protocols were developed following the observations to probe ideas brought up during class discussions. Each interview centered on a specific topic domain.

The first domain invited participants to talk about their motivations in becoming teachers and teacher leaders, things that disturbed them and things that inspired them about education, and people who have influenced them in the past and present. Sample questions included: Why did you become a teacher? What is your favorite part of being a teacher and what is your least favorite part? and What, if anything, disturbs you about education and what, if anything, inspires you about education? The second domain invited participants to share their ideas about the master's cohort experience including cooperating with other teachers, building trust, and responding to new ideas presented by professors and course materials. Sample questions included: If someone were to contemplate joining a cohort like this, what experiences would you share with the person in an effort to help him/her make a decision? How have course assignments and activities affected your thinking about teaching and learning? and Who has most influenced your thinking since you began your master's degree—why? The third domain invited participants to explore the ways their work has changed since they finished their master's and how they are able to influence their colleagues to think differently about education. Sample questions included: How do your beliefs about teaching and learning conflict with or support your daily work? Describe a time when you were able to convince a colleague to think differently about a situation; and How should teacher leaders be utilized in schools?

<div align="center">DOCUMENT ANALYSIS</div>

Finally, in an attempt to determine the consistency of what I had observed in courses, read among the chat room postings, and discussed with the key informants, I collected a number of course assignments from the participants. These included an essay

on their philosophy of leadership, 4 reflective analysis papers asking them to connect

course readings to situations they observed around their schools, and 6 discussion briefs

requiring them to reflect on course readings. I chose these assignments because of their

reflective nature and their link to critical perspectives. Most of the course readings linked

to these assignments represented critical theoretical thinking and thus engaged critical

thought in the participants. In addition, these assignments were completed over the course

of one year and therefore represented changes in the participants' thinking as they

progressed through their program. These documents provided another way for me to

double check what participants had said during class discussions and interviews, and to

further understand their views as well as the reflective process itself.

DATA ANALYSIS

All data was coded in an "attempt to discover regularly occurring patterns of

action" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 91). First, low level codes were applied to represent the

objective features of the data that are accessible to almost anyone who might read the

data. Using these low level codes, preliminary reconstructive analyses were conducted on

commonly occurring actions and statements. The steps followed to conduct this type of

analysis included first reading through the low level codes for "routine events and

unusual ones" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 95). The expressions or actions connected to these

codes were then listed in a new document where meaning fields were created for each.

Meaning fields represented all of the possible meanings that the expression or action has

for those involved (e.g. the participants). The experiences I shared with the participants as

a teacher and graduate student meant I became a "virtual participant" and provided me

with greater familiarity with the participants' professional and educational experiences

(Carspecken, 1996, p. 98). This improved the accuracy of the meaning fields I created during preliminary reconstructive analysis since generating meaning fields means taking the participant's position as well as those present during the act—in this case other cohort teachers and the professor. Utilizing "hermeneutic circle" features such as position taking and consideration of personality factors, I was able to construct plausible and representative meaning fields (Carspecken, 1996, p. 99). (See Appendix A for a list of codes and code families.)

After constructing meaning fields, I began the process of pragmatic horizon analysis to begin the development of high level codes. Pragmatic horizon analysis explores the "horizons of intelligibility" or the possible claims of an action or expression (Carspecken, 1996, p. 103). Carspecken (1996) has constructed four types of claims: objective, subjective, identity, and normative. Objective claims are those that are most obvious, on the surface, and accessible to many people. These are represented by low level codes. However, subjective, identity, and normative claims are explored through the process of pragmatic horizon analysis. Subjective claims represent the actor's feelings in relation to a particular action or expression. Identity claims express the things the actor wishes to believe about herself in relation to her actions or expressions. Finally, normative claims signify rules or judgments that the actor has about herself or others based on her action or expression. To conduct this type of analysis, one possible meaning field is taken aside, and explored to identify each type of claim. Another element of the analysis is the search for the most surface or fore-grounded claims to the most subconscious or back-grounded meanings. Thus, the analysis is two dimensional in that it investigates horizontally across the four claims while searching vertically from the

conscious to the subconscious for each type of claim. (See Appendix A for an example of pragmatic horizon analysis.)

After conducting pragmatic horizon analysis on the meanings fields I had constructed for the low level codes, I was able to develop high-level codes. These codes represented the full range of possible claims made by participants through their actions and expressions, and were each supported by one or more pragmatic reconstructive analyses. Once I had constructed high level codes, I went back through the data to apply the high level codes. Utilizing both low level and high level codes, I constructed common themes which will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

VALIDITY CHECKS

A number of validity checks were utilized throughout the data analysis process. First, prolonged engagement, represented through the length of time I was in contact with the cohort as well as the number of hours I observed them in their classes and talked to them during interviews, served to "heighten the researcher's capacity to assume the insider's perspective" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 141).

Second, peer debriefing was utilized in a number of ways. For example, I had multiple discussions about my observation notes with the professors teaching the courses I observed. As trained researchers, they were able to offer a second reliable perspective of the things that had happened during class. For example, during one of these discussions, the professor confirmed my observations of the bullying tactics being used by some of the teachers in the cohort. She said she had noticed them as well, thus confirming my impression. That same professor debriefed my analytic documents. There were also a few students outside the cohort who were able to take the courses with them including

doctoral students who needed the course at a time when it was only being offered to the cohort and other ACSC teachers pursuing their master's degree outside the cohort. These students, especially those who were doctoral students trained in qualitative methods, were able to check the observation notes for possible bias as well as checking the inference level of codes. Other graduate students familiar with critical ethnographic methods were also asked to peer debrief the interview stages of data collection by reading the transcripts in search of leading questions or comments. They also peer debriefed my preliminary and pragmatic reconstructive analyses as well as interactive power and role analyses.

Third, member checks were utilized at the conclusion of the data collection stage and throughout the analysis stages. Participants were asked to review the observation notes and interview transcripts to check for accuracy. They were also invited to write a response to the notes that I then used to introduce possible codes. During analysis, I asked them to review my low level codes, various analysis documents, and high level codes. They were encouraged to challenge my interpretations and add some of their own. These were all taken into consideration as I progressed through the analysis stages.

Fourth, strip analysis and negative case analysis were utilized in the development of themes. For strip analysis, I focused on individual participants' responses by placing excerpts from various observations, interviews, and documents side by side to see if the same themes appeared across all three data sources as well as across the engagement period. When I noticed discrepancies among the strips, I either did further horizon analysis or I conducted negative case analysis. This type of analysis was utilized when one incident conflicted with or was inconsistent with a code or theme.

Fifth, I used consistency checks to determine whether participants were reliable. I did these checks by comparing what participants said during classes to what they wrote in the course assignments that I analyzed. I also compared what the key informants said throughout the interview process to what they had said during classes and in their assignments. When I saw inconsistencies, I confronted participants in an attempt to better understand what was truly happening and whether I had misinterpreted these expressions.

Finally, I conducted three interviews with all four key informants because I wanted to build trust with them while establishing a comfortable relationship. I did find that each interview was longer despite the fact that the individual protocols had roughly the same number of questions. Therefore, I interpreted their increased willingness to share with me as an increase in comfort and trust levels. It also seemed that with each interview, the key informants became more aware of their beliefs and more capable of expressing them.

CHAPTER 4: LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

This chapter discusses the leadership development process as reflected through the participants' course assignments and class discussions. It also explores how the cohort structure created a space and the conditions for the development of critical consciousness. The first section focuses on the participants' development of a definition of educational leadership through the culminating assignment they completed for their Introduction to Leadership course. This represents one of the few assignments that allowed them to reflect on what it means to be an educational leader and/or a teacher leader. In this class, they were introduced to Foster's demands for critical educational leadership, and thus, analyzing this assignment in particular allows us to investigate the teachers' developing beliefs about critical educational leadership. We can also see if and how they apply the critical elements of Foster's conception of educational leadership to teacher leadership. The second section of this chapter focuses on other course assignments as well as class discussions and activities that were intended to develop within the teachers a critical consciousness about specific social issues. The findings from these assignments, discussions, and activities show us the struggles and conflicts that teachers experience as they become more critically aware. The third section investigates the cohort dynamics, especially emphasizing how these dynamics might have affected leadership development for participants. The data presented in this section privileges the interview data and utilizes the observational data to check the reliability of each key informant's perspective. The chapter as a whole provides a foundation for the detailed exploration of the key informants' conceptions of teacher leadership as they relate to position versus influence.

DEVELOPING BELIEFS ABOUT LEADERSHIP

This section discusses the ways that some participants applied Foster's demands for critical educational leadership to their own developing philosophy of leadership. The culminating project of the Introduction to Leadership course was to write a reflective paper about their philosophy of leadership, with the possibility of focusing on how this concept might have changed as a result of class readings and discussions. Although most of the participants approached the assignment as a solution paper, writing about how leaders should solve school problems, a few discussed theoretical aspects of leadership as reflected in the course readings. Several teachers utilized Foster's language to express their views of leadership. The papers of those teachers who chose to employ Foster's demands reflect recognition that these ideas are legitimate and that they have integrated them into their conception of educational leadership and in some cases, of teacher leadership. This section will first examine the articulated change in beliefs about leadership of the only two participants who wrote about how the course had changed their view of educational leadership. Next, the teachers' definitions of leadership will be explored around two of Foster's four demands: the demand to be ethical, and the demand to be transformative. Although not all teachers chose to reference Foster's demands in their papers, we are able to see how those who did utilized his ideas.

Changing definitions of leadership: From legitimized authority to moral credibility

Alex and Pauline both wrote about a change in their reflection papers, a notion that did not come up in the other papers as a point of emphasis. Alex began his paper by comparing leadership to being a parent, a coach, and a politician. He explained that his conception of leadership was formed as he observed his mother, his sports coaches, and

the U.S. presidents enact leadership. These examples taught him that school leadership was about completing tasks rather than about making ethical decisions. For example, Alex said:

> I thought that being a leader meant making the decisions. It was not about morals; it was about deciding which teacher goes to what classroom and what money is needed for what program. Being an educational leader was not that deep to me. Looking back now, I do not know how I could have ever overlooked the multi-dimensional aspects of being a leader, as well as the implications that come from leading in a negative fashion.

Upon reflection, Alex considered the positive influence his mother's persistence had on him, as well as the negative influence of his sports coaches and politicians. This recognition that leadership, in itself, is not necessarily morally good led him to reconsider his perception of educational leaders, especially the school principal. For instance, Alex said:

> I have also found a new meaning for what the educational leader does. I had preconceived notions about what principals and assistant principals do each day, but the level that they must connect themselves to their work is much more in-depth than most careers. Now when I look at a principal, I respect what they are trying to do. Before this class, I respected the principal because of their authority and the power that they had; now I morally respect them for what all they have to think about and make decisions about because it is not easy.

Alex began to question the action-oriented perception he had of school leaders, realizing that leadership is about making consistent ethical decisions. However, he also acknowledged that there is power and authority within positional leadership without fully connecting that the misuse of such power is the reason why being ethical is such an important component of leadership.

Like Alex, Pauline previously believed that leadership was based on a series of actions made legitimate through formalized authority. For instance, she said:

> I saw the person who occupied the office with the words, "principal" on the door as the person that led the school, interviewed and hired personnel. This leader was also in charge of all discipline involving teachers, students, and all other staff that worked for him. The followers were told what their goals were and had no voice.

This conception of the principal brings to light the activities that principals do, but also the power they have to discipline everyone in the school including teachers. In addition, Pauline believed that the principal, as primary leader of the school, determined the direction that the school would take. For example, she said:

> Leadership directly attached authority to the leaders over followers and those followers under this leadership style worked toward achieving the leader's goal and objectives without input.

Pauline summarized her own initial perspective of leadership by stating that she thought leadership was primarily positional and did not realize that it could also be influential, shared, and multi-directional. For example, she said:

> The assumption is that leadership is a function of organizational position; the leader is the person of superior rank in an organization.

Although Pauline saw the need for teacher leaders, she did not know how to become a teacher leader in her school. She also doubted she had the authority and credibility among her colleagues to be a leader. However, once she realized that there was more to leadership than action and positional authority, she began to flourish as a teacher leader in her school. For instance, she said:

> In the process of redefining leadership, I have had to unlearn the many years of business/management training. I have had to rethink what I knew and reexamine my attitudes and perspectives toward teaching. I had to look within myself and be willing to be disturbed and take chances.

Pauline expressed the difficulty of changing her definition of leadership. She recognized that to be more effective she would have to challenge herself to think outside of her

business training and begin to think of leadership as something that is based more on influence or credibility than on position or authority.

Ethical leadership: Tensions between authoritarian action and egalitarian opportunity

Four participants wrote about ethical leadership, one of Foster's four demands, in their papers. Foster states that ethical leaders question how power might be used by an individual to further his or her agenda. Instead of this use of authoritarian power, Foster calls ethical leaders to activate the power within others in order to construct a community-based agenda directed at social change. Thus, ethical leaders construct egalitarian opportunities, which activate the power within all members of the school community, empowering them to identify problems within the school and community, and formulate solutions. Through these structures, students, teachers, and parents are able to work together for social change. Ethical leaders are ultimately interested in serving students' needs, but also in working for social change alongside school community members rather than defining or acting on this work in isolation. However, analysis of the leadership papers showed that those teachers who chose to write about ethical leadership struggled to come to terms with the tension they experienced between what they believed about the authority of school leaders and Foster's demand for ethical leadership. For example, several teachers indicated that being an ethical leader called one to empower all members of the school community to identify and address needed social change. But at the same time they located final decision-making authority within a few positional school leaders. This reflected their struggle to embrace Foster's demand for ethical leadership while maintaining their established notions of who has or should have authority to create change within schools.

Megan defined ethical leadership in her paper, focusing on the difference between

what the leader desires and what is best for the students. She believed that ethical leaders

put student needs before personal agendas or egos. For instance, she said:

> The goal of the leadership is not to attain what the leader wants; it is to
> make the school a better learning environment for the students, the second
> crucial component of Foster's ethical leadership.

Megan believed that school leaders are primarily responsible to students and that it would

be irresponsible to ignore student needs. She also suggested that a leader with an ethical

or moral purpose enables other stakeholders to become leaders. For example, she said:

> The leader must enable teachers, parents, and the community to have stake
> in the educational process and become leaders themselves. The leader
> must have a moral purpose, question practices, allocate necessary
> resources, and be present in the process of change.

But right after saying that leaders enable others, Megan listed the tasks of a leader as if

these are things the leader does despite the desires of others. Therefore, it is difficult to

see how she thought a leader should enable leadership in others as it appears that she

placed the authority to determine the moral purpose or areas of needed social change in

the hands of the leader alone. This illustrates the tension between the actions that Megan

identified as embodied within authoritarian school leadership and the egalitarian

opportunities that she felt school leaders needed to create in order for others to act. Such

tension might make it difficult for Megan to divorce the concepts of positional authority

from teacher leadership, and to embrace the conception of teacher leadership as

influential and shared across all teachers in the school. The struggle that we see Megan

experiencing is especially important in light of the fact that she is now an administrator at

her school. In order for her to be able to create structures to support an influential

conception of teacher leadership that facilitates a communal effort to work for social

change within her school, she will need to let go of the need for authority and embrace a more egalitarian perspective.

Alex constructed a similar view of ethical leadership. However, Alex's explanation was more nuanced in that he acknowledged that the leader has a responsibility to reflect the community's values and to build relationships among community members whereas Megan assumed that morality was universal. Alex also incorporated the idea that ethical leadership is connected to social change, a key point to Foster's demand for ethical leaders. For instance, Alex said:

> Being a principal is about making the tough moral decisions; it's about building relationships with the community, parents, teachers, students, and everyone else who has a vested interest in education. Being a principal is about nurturing the leadership that you can create in your staff. It is about bringing social change in order to meet the community's vision of what a graduate from their school will look like.

Alex described how a leader might enable leadership in stakeholders by suggesting that leaders appreciate the leadership capabilities of others and that leadership as a whole ought to be more communal and contextual. He mentioned the need to nurture leadership, which implies creating spaces and opportunities for communal leadership. On the other hand, Alex indicated that when conflicts arise, it is the leader, through positional authority, who must make the final judgment about what it right. For example, he said:

> It is the leader's job to know when something is not right, even if someone has not communicated that vocally. It is the leader's duty to be critical and to name the problem that exists. It is only then that a resolution to that problem can start to be formed.

Thus, Alex placed greater authority in the hands of the person or people who have leadership positions. Despite Alex recognizing that the morality involved in ethical leadership needed to be derived from the community context, he still expressed a tension

concerning the leader's ultimate authority to identify social issues that need to be addressed, and find ways to tackle these problems without the input of other school community members. Both Megan and Alex believed the positional school leader is the one who names the problem, not that this leader invites others to participate in naming the problem and working toward a solution.

Liz's view of ethical leadership was also based on position, but it balanced positional authority with influence created through egalitarian opportunity. Like Megan, she discussed the responsibility that ethical leaders have to meet their students' diverse needs. But Liz introduced the idea that ethical leaders also have a duty to inspire their colleagues, and through this inspiration to influence their work. For example, she said:

> To lead with a moral purpose means to act with the intention of making a positive difference in the lives of those around you. In an educational setting such as a school, the driving force behind this idea would ultimately be to positively impact the lives of the students. However, as a principal, your job is not only to positively impact students' lives, but also the lives of your teachers and staff. Teaching is an extremely rewarding experience, and this is heightened when you are reminded of and inspired by the moral purposes behind your day-to-day work.

Liz associated ethical leadership with reminding colleagues that they are ultimately responsible to students and that meeting the need of all groups of students ought to be their primary purpose as teachers. This construction also places authority in the hands of one positional leader, but calls that leader to serve members of the school community as well. Her construction of ethical leadership calls the leader to serve both students and colleagues.

Conversely, Audrey discussed ethical leadership from a more collaborative perspective, but also focused on the role of leaders to influence their colleagues. She

utilized an example from media to explain how leaders experience ethical leadership

themselves. For instance, Audrey said:

> Oprah Winfrey often talks about having an 'Aha!' moment. She talks about how when that light bulb goes off in your head, and you say, 'Aha!' or 'I never thought of that!' you feel alive. The 'Aha!' lets you know you're still growing, still breathing. I think what is really going on there is the raising of one's moral consciousness, which is a hallmark of ethical leadership.

To understand how this experience translates to the leader's colleagues, she goes on to

explain that ethical leaders arrange opportunities for followers to make ethical decisions

and lead by example. For instance, Audrey said:

> Ethical leadership is about bringing individuals and whole communities to their "Aha!' moment together. In that way, they become alive and growing again.

Thus, Audrey advocated for a construction of ethical leadership that is communal,

something accomplished in unity rather than individually. Through collaboration,

colleagues determine together what social change is needed and how they all can work

toward this change through shared ethical leadership.

Analysis shows that ethical responsibilities are acknowledged as part of

leadership, but views on the derivation of ethics through which one leads differ. For

example, Megan, Alex, and Liz identified ethical leadership as originating in the

individual beliefs of leaders assumed to be correct based on the authority embodied in

their position. However, Audrey expressed a more collaborative view of ethics as she

expressed how leaders should arrange opportunities for their colleagues to collaboratively

develop their moral purpose and social change agenda. It appears that the tension

between authoritarian action and egalitarian opportunity shows up most when school

leaders must make tough or controversial decisions. For instance, Alex advocated for

collaborative structures to address community needs, but then allocated the ultimate power to make decisions on behalf of the community to the principal. Finally, the tension also appears as leaders attempt to negotiate the contrast between serving students' needs and supporting teachers to do their work, a tension apparent in Liz's call for ethical leaders to support students and teachers.

Transformative leadership as multidirectional and shared

Foster's demand for transformative leaders also surfaced in two teachers' leadership papers in similar ways. According to Foster, transformative leaders work to build positive relationships among all members of the school community, engaging and empowering each member in the work of the school. Thus, these leaders transform the school environment, creating collaborative, trusting, and supportive structures for individuals to work toward change. Transformative leadership leaves no room for questions of positional authority, which is one reason why it may have been discussed less often than ethical leadership. However, Megan, who exhibited the tension between authoritarian and democratic leadership also talked about transformative leadership in her paper. Of course, it is possible that although she felt conflicted, she was attempting to write a paper that her professor would appreciate. Nonetheless, she did discuss transformative leadership in the spirit of Foster's demand in her paper.

Pauline and Megan discussed the relational nature of being transformative, and began to show an understanding of Foster's definition that transformative leaders change the power distribution within schools. Although Pauline did not directly talk about redistributing power, she recognized that to empower others means sharing authority. For example, she said:

> Transformational leadership requires that leaders engage with followers and that leaders and followers become interchangeable. To achieve my goal of becoming a transformational leader, I will need to become reflective and critical of interactions and strategies when dealing with colleagues.

Unlike the discussion of ethical leadership above, Pauline sensed that empowering others means more than just telling them what is ethically right. She knew that leaders would have to share leadership, allowing others to lead, especially to accomplish the ethical goal of doing what is in the best interest of students. Pauline named the exchange of leadership, "multidirectional," describing it as an opportunity for leaders and followers to work together to achieve a common moral purpose. To explain this idea, she said:

> There is not one person who is the leader but that leadership is multidirectional. Leadership is not always about (being) right or wrong, but about working toward a common goal or purpose that is morally right and takes into consideration the will of the majority.

Although Pauline did not specifically say what the moral goal is, she acknowledged that the goal is not created by one leader, but by the group, which comes to common consensus and where everyone has input. This point relates to ethical leadership as well since it calls school leaders to create a context-based moral purpose. To accomplish multidirectional leadership, Pauline believed that leadership must be relational, not positional. For instance, she said:

> Talking about leadership in this context is to follow a transformational style of leadership. Leadership is not being a function of position but rather where leadership is shared and transferred between leaders and followers.

Thus, Pauline implied that transformational leadership is that which results in more significant social change because the best interest of the group is considered and more stakeholders have a voice. Pauline's ideas take the discussion of ethical leadership above

a step further by calling for shared leadership across all members of the school

community in the effort to develop a moral purpose and work toward social change.

Megan also discussed the idea of leadership being multidirectional. Despite her

belief that leaders hold positional authority to determine moral purposes, she

acknowledged that leaders must sometimes follow and followers must be allowed to lead.

For example, Megan said:

> Teachers and administrators must work together as leaders and followers—anyone can be a leader and anyone can be a follower. These roles are constantly changing depending on a person's involvement in the process.

It is unclear whether Megan believed that positional leaders ultimately have the authority

to offer, or not, leadership opportunities to followers. Based on what she said about

ethical leadership, however, we can assume that positional leaders such as principals still

hold more power than teachers from her perspective. The emergence of this distinction

between positional leadership and influential leadership are discussed in detail in the next

chapter.

The above conceptions of leadership as reflected in the leadership papers for the

Introduction to Leadership course represent the most commonly discussed references to

educational leadership theory. Although teachers read a variety of texts about educational

leadership, Foster's four demands formed a foundation for the course with most of the

readings and activities relating to them in some way. Therefore, it is not surprising that

the participants most often utilized Foster's perspective in their papers. In addition to the

inclusion of Foster's demands for ethical and transformative leaders, a few teachers also

made references to the demands for educative and critical leaders. However, since these

demands were only mentioned in one or two papers, they did not seem to be widely

understood or viewed as important to the participants. In addition, the perspectives shared above represented more than just a regurgitation of school leadership theory. For example, some teachers mentioned Foster and/or other authors in their leadership papers as if they wanted to prove that they had done the required reading for the course. They did not attempt to apply the theories, but rather relied on quotations or paraphrases of what these authors stated in their texts. The analysis above represents the attempt by five of the participants to demonstrate understanding and apply this understanding to real or possible situations. This is why they have been included while other references have been omitted.

DEVELOPING CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS THROUGH COURSES

Reflecting the goal of the Educational Leadership and Policy Studies department to prepare leaders who leave the program with a desire to work for social change, participants took a number of courses designed to lead them toward developing a critical consciousness. This section explores how level 1 and 2 participants' development of critical consciousness is reflected through their class discussions as well as how the level 2 key informants were able to talk about these issues in more detail during in-depth interviews. The analysis shows that it was easier for them to identify with social issues when they could access them within their own school context. However, when removed from their school context, they struggled to speak confidently about these issues, relying on their class readings to provide expert support for their assertions. They also expressed a sense of helplessness when considering how they might individually change the status quo surrounding educational reform or the greater problems of societal inequity and injustice.

Translating developing critical consciousness to school situations

The participants were given many opportunities to develop critical consciousness in their courses and this translated in some instances to an ability to apply this consciousness to issues relevant to their individual school contexts. Professors used not only course readings and assignments, but in-class cooperative learning projects and multi-media to challenge the teachers to think differently than they had before, and to develop a critical awareness of social issues. Thus, as described below, some of them began to question the implications of school programs and policies for students they served. Others began to think more critically about their perceptions of their students or their expectations of parents. This process of coming to critical consciousness asked teachers to become disturbed, to question, and to reflect on social issues surrounding their work that they realized were unjust. Each of them describes how they moved from this new awareness to action within their schools.

Allison, Pauline, and Audrey all talked about how course content had set in motion new ways of thinking about typical educational issues such as parental involvement, student expectations, and school initiatives. Allison discussed experiencing a raised awareness of social issues including educators' expectations of parents, especially when it comes to meetings. She explained that she had not thought of the issue of finding common ground until it was discussed in one of her classes where the professor challenged the teachers to rethink what they thought was a reasonable expectation that parents come to the school for meetings. For example, Allison said:

> I had never thought about things in that way before. Thinking about the social issues that [the professor] brought up, I don't think I even understood that those were issues until he brought them up. I never thought about that. Little things like, one thing that has always stuck with

> me from that class is why we always ask parents to come to the school...They are not comfortable here. Why don't we go to them? I've started to use that a lot now that I've thought about that. I go to neutral places. I never ever thought about that until that class. I think he just brought up a lot of new issues that I was totally not aware of.

Once Allison had begun to question some of her assumptions about what was a reasonable expectation of parents, she was led to think more critically about her expectations of students in relation to their family background and parents' expectations. She started to realize that she had different values than some of the families with whom she worked. For instance, she said:

> Am I wrong then for wanting more for that student? Is it my place to say that a job at McDonalds or at a factory or as a janitor isn't a good job? So, I do feel that the motivation often comes from the parents. Now, how does that tie in with teacher-parent relations? Should we be at our students' homes having these conversations with the parents? I guess I'm still stuck on the discussion from the earlier weeks of this course. How do we 'involve' parents? Or is that the wrong question in the first place? Should it be, how do WE get involved with parents?

Allison realized that being able to ask the questions was only the first step to rethinking her expectations for her students. She still struggled to find the answers to her many questions. But undoubtedly, she had begun the process of thinking more critically about the social issues affecting teacher and parent relationships. She felt challenged by course discussion and readings to think differently.

Allison was perhaps the participant who was able to critique a program at her school most acutely through the raising of her critical consciousness. As she described above, she felt she began to question general educational issues more through her courses. However, by the time she had finished her courses, she was able to render a serious critique of the program for "at-risk" students in which she was a teacher. For example, Allison said:

> I was a teacher in [a program for at-risk students]. I had a lot of those kids—I hated that more than anything--[Teachers] called them 'those' kids. Here they are and then here are 'these' kids. They were just grouped [as] these low socioeconomic kids. Poor them, they are not going to do very well. Well, if we all had that expectation for them, are they going to do well?

Allison sensed that labeling the students in the program was problematic and led teachers to have preconceived notions about their academic abilities and behavior. She had experienced situations where her colleagues had actually made their assumptions very clear, a phenomenon that disturbed her. For instance, she said:

> It seemed like any teacher who heard that a student was in the program, they were like 'ohhhh,' the reaction that they had. One teacher told me my second year that he had five of my [at-risk] kids in his second period class, like this is a horrible thing. It was crazy their idea of these kids. They didn't want them. I had one teacher who thanked me every day for doing the program so that he didn't have to have them. He was a math teacher. It was difficult to deal with every day.

One of the palpable problems Allison identified with the program was that the students were not just isolated in certain classes but that their classrooms were clearly marked so that other students and teachers in the school could easily identify that they were in the program. Allison wanted this sign removed, but noted that other teachers who taught in the program felt the sign showed unity and helped the students feel more confident. For example, Allison said:

> I hated (the sign that said the name of the program). I actually wanted that taken. It's outside on the wall. There is like a huge label. Here they are and this is their class and this is where they stay the majority of the day. That was demeaning for them. The other teacher was very adamant that they needed to be proud of that. There was no reason for them to be ashamed of why they were in there. I'm thinking, but why are they in there…There was really no rhyme or reason. It was pretty much they failed the NWEA (test).

Allison felt that the sign just led to further labeling by teachers and other students. She

feared that the students would feel bad about themselves and noted that they were aware

of being treated differently than students who were not in the program.

Allison's critical consciousness about the negatives of this program was almost

entirely driven by her concern for the students. She wanted them to succeed and to feel

valued in the school. Yet, she noticed that often they experienced unfair treatment not

only in individual teacher's classes but also on a larger scale by administrators across the

school. Allison noted that the students already had a lot to deal with at home and did not

think it fair that they had to then come to school to be harassed by those with power. For

instance, she said:

> A lot of the students did have a lot of home issues and we were dealing
> with a lot of drug testing. A student would come in and they would be
> really tired from the night before. Maybe they had been up all night with
> fighting, you never know. They would go to their first period class, which
> was not one [in our program]; when they came to 2nd period the kid would
> be really upset because they had been told that they had to be drug tested.
> It's because they looked very groggy and they were tired. It was just that
> everybody had these labels on these students. Automatically they thought
> they were drug users. We need to go through drug testing and here is a
> student who is struggling anyway and they are taken out of class. It was
> crazy what all these kids had to deal with. They would come to 2nd period
> and we would spend 20 minutes of class talking about why it is that that
> happened to them and how we can deal with it and why it's not their fault.

She recognized that part of her role was to support the students, and often spent

instructional time counseling them or giving them opportunities to discuss the challenges

they faced within the school. Perhaps the worst part of the program that Allison noted

was that despite being set up to help students feel hopeful about their ability to achieve, it

had the opposite effect. For example, she said:

> Really I think the biggest thing in the program that bothered me was the
> way it made the students feel about themselves…it made them feel kind of

> down about themselves. Then how do we deal with that being a teacher in the program and trying to support the program…My role in that was to try to explain to them they should be proud of themselves. They are there doing the right things, that being in a program doesn't necessarily mean that they are stupid. That is how they felt about themselves. They felt like they were in a special education program…I often talked to them about how to overcome almost bullying from other students.

Allison struggled between her role as a teacher in the program who was meant to support its goals, and the clearly negative affects that she saw her students experiencing as a result of being in the program. She wanted to help them, but also wanted to advocate for them.

Allison's desire to advocate for her students led her to do her culminating master's project about the program. Teachers were meant to conduct an action research project, and Allison chose to study this program for "at-risk" students. For instance, she said:

> That is part of my action research and by biggest question was what do they mean by at-risk…the first thing I asked my administrators was: what do you mean this is a program for at-risk students? What does that mean? Does that mean they are at risk of failing? Are they at risk of dropping out? Are they at risk because they have bad home lives? What is at-risk? It never got completely answered.

Allison had noted that the label, "at-risk" could mean a number of things, but that the students in the program had been chosen based only on the fact that they had failed the NWEA test. She saw that this was a contradiction. In addition, she recognized that there were a lot of students who were excluded from the program who might have benefited and wanted to challenge this notion as well. For example, Allison said:

> No special ed students were included so it was completely regular ed. What they tried to do was weed out the discipline problems before they put them into the program so any student who had an extensive discipline record would not go into the program. My thought with that was students who are at risk of failing or dropping out are usually the students who

have the discipline issues. Maybe we shouldn't be weeding them out. Maybe we should be including them in this and giving them the opportunity to succeed. I felt like they had a lot of students in the program who didn't need to be in the program. A lot of students who weren't included needed to be. That to me was not right and their selection process was not right. What was even more interesting to me…(was) they never included the teacher in the selection process.

Allison asked the critical questions about how students were selected. Through her action research, she brought this issue to the minds of her colleagues, including administrators at her school. She challenged them to think critically about the program and their definitions of "at-risk" as well as how they were stereotyping students in the program. Finally, she recognized the effect the program was having on her students and worked to support them. This is an excellent example of one participant who developed critical consciousness through courses, but then acted on that consciousness in her school.

Like Allison, Audrey discussed how professors had affected the way she thought about her practice. Her school had been using the work of Ruby Payne in an attempt to understand the characteristics and values of their student demographic. However, a significant amount of time spent critiquing Payne's work in one class had caused her to question how the school was using the texts. These class discussions caused Audrey to feel so discomforted that she took her queries back to the faculty at her school and challenged them to rethink how they were using this work. For instance, she said:

There was some criticism of Ruby Payne that we read in [a professor's] class. We took those to a faculty meeting because we had been a Ruby Payne school and we did a real text rendering of those criticisms.

Audrey was able to take what she learned through courses a step further by moving her colleagues to begin thinking critically as well. In addition to starting the critical discussion of Ruby Payne, she also began a reading group to study critical race theory.

This was a topic only mentioned in class, but she was so interested by it that she wanted to study it further. For example, she said:

> We are having critical race discussions…I am doing the readings but there is a critical race discussion group that is going to start meeting. The critical friends group that I'm in has been reading about white privilege. That has been really cool.

Rather than stopping with a personal study, Audrey took her interests to her colleagues, starting a study group at her school. This shows how what teachers learned in their courses impacted their school communities. Whole groups of teachers outside the cohort were challenged to think more critically about social issues because the teachers within the cohort shared their new knowledge as teacher leaders in their schools.

The courses served as a starting point for coming to critical consciousness for Pauline as well. After watching a video in class about an illiterate African American grandmother who cared for her many grandchildren despite living in extreme poverty, Pauline began to think about the parents of children at her school. She noted that the grandmother in the film valued education a lot more than some teachers might assume and began to see parallels between the film and situations at her school. For example, Pauline said:

> You start to realize that this grandmother brought a lot to the classroom. Having her children and her values added to the school. She had to really value education. The odds were really stacked against her, even her children, and she still pushed all these grandchildren. That is amazing…There are a lot of parents like that in our building. You think you hear the whispers and the gossips (from teachers) and I think after reading and watching that movie and talking about Ruby (Payne) and then being involved in, being a person in a lunch room and hearing the conversations, all of the sudden—I've heard them before—but now I'm really hearing them.

Pauline began to feel more uncomfortable about conversations she heard her colleagues

having about parents she identified as being similar to the grandmother in the video. She

explained that she had not really paid attention to these conversations in the past, but that

after becoming more critically conscious, she could no longer ignore them. They made

her feel upset and disturbed. For instance, she said:

> You hear them but you kind of tuned them out. Now I was really hearing
> what the teachers were saying. They were really discounting the students
> because of family. I had to stay away from the lunch room for a while
> because it was very disturbing to me. I would hear my principal even say
> things: 'Did you see how she looked?' Are we really having these kinds of
> conversations? I think it opened my eyes to how schools treat parents and
> devalue what parents bring to the building. That's a long way to get
> around to it.

Pauline felt disappointed that her colleagues, the principal among them, made

disparaging remarks about parents. She did not believe that they were being fair toward

the families and wanted to do something about it. But before she could respond or act on

the situation, she had to remove herself from it so she could think about how to address it.

She eventually was able to join these conversations, bringing new perspective about the

families being discussed. She shared some personal details about the families with her

colleagues so that they would know that they were making hasty judgments.

Each of the three teachers whose stories are shared above related these stories in

the context of course discussions as well as the in-depth interviews. They were willing to

bring these issues not only to their school communities, but also to their fellow cohort

teachers. This shows a willingness to take responsibility for affecting social change not

only within their schools but also across the district. They sought to challenge cohort

teachers who may not have been willing to embrace the sense of disturbance and

reflection that they were experiencing. Thus, they were meeting Foster's demands for school leaders to become critical as well as educative.

Developing critical consciousness of educational policies

Developing critical consciousness concerning school-level issues was perhaps the least difficult for the participants because these were issues they faced every day and that directly affected their work. At least they were able to feel that becoming disturbed about things happening in their school was not a waste of their energy. They could do something to address injustices happening to their students. Conversely, it was more challenging for them to develop critical consciousness about policies and broad social issues. Or rather, they could easily talk about these issues, but felt much less empowered to do anything about them. Thus, they struggled to determine how they could make a difference, and often relied on experts whose work they had read in class to support their arguments. For example, when commenting on high-stakes testing, Liz said:

> Reforms designed to raise test scores are ignoring the overall development of the child; especially at the elementary level, it can be appalling the amount of testing and expectations that are being placed on students. To add this level of anxiety to children's lives seems so unnecessary. This is elevated even more when we talk about structures in schools as described by Kozol. All of the high-stakes testing seems to be the opposite of what these students are needing.

Liz recognized that the emphasis on testing put too much pressure on the students. However, she did not suggest any possible solutions, indicating that she did not feel empowered to do anything about this situation as the tests have been mandated through state and federal policies. To support her point, she referred to education reformer, Jonathan Kozol (2005), whose work the participants read for a course.

Pauline was also uncomfortable with high-stakes testing, pointing out that test results are only a snapshot of students and do not reflect their ability. However, like Liz, she felt the need to reference the institutional authority of the state and universities to lend power to her argument. For instance, Pauline said:

> Think back to your school pictures. They were not your best. No one would say that my school pictures would be something that I would think of as the best pictures I've ever had. (Like school pictures), these test results are one day. We build them up. The kids can't help but be stressed. You have to wonder when states and major universities are not using SAT and ACT scores to get students that has to say something. They don't even see (test scores) as a valid picture of a student.

Pauline made a compelling point that tests only reflect one day in a student's life and that they cause undue stress for students. In addition, she pointed out that tests are not considered valid by institutions, a fact that Pauline could point out is ironic since one of these institutions, the state, is responsible for the testing policies. On the other hand, Pauline was able to utilize controversial educational policy to advocate for change at her own school. She pointed out that the No Child Left Behind Act may have some positive effects in that it is holding schools and teachers accountable for meeting the needs of all students. For example, Pauline said:

> It can't just be an inclusion school because at this point that makes administrators happy and teachers feel warm fuzzy, that we're meeting all (the kids') needs. I think we have to dig down deeper and if we're going to teach these kids we're going to have to get very uncomfortable with the way we're doing things now and be willing to remake instruction and stop blaming parents and other colleagues and other schools and the state. None of those things are going to change. I think we have to turn (No Child Left Behind) around and make it a positive. It's like okay, No Child Left Behind: there have got to be some good things we can pull out of this. If No Child Left Behind pulls out the demand to look at students and meet their needs, then I'm all for No Child Left Behind.

As a special education teacher, it was not surprising that Pauline felt strongly about meeting students' individual needs. When considering her special needs students, Pauline utilized the authority of a policy to challenge her colleagues' teaching practice despite her obvious discomfort with the use of high-stakes testing as part of the policy.

Audrey and Megan both expressed concern over school funding policies. Again, Audrey referred to Kozol as support for her statement about needed reforms to the school funding formula. Through her reading of Kozol, she had begun to think more critically about how schools are funded and how funding affects the quality of education a school may offer. For instance, she said:

> Funding is SO key to this discussion. Often, I've wondered at the idea of 'throwing money' at a broken school in an urban district…but when I read Kozol's point about the parent who spent $30,000 on his kid's private school education…it solidified my belief that the funding formula MUST be changed. I really think it's immoral.

Audrey used Kozol's example to explain her change in perspective and to support the changes she sought. Megan also referred to an authority as she argued for changes to the funding formula. However, she made a less obvious reference to course reading when she referenced the "cycle of social reproduction." In one course, the participants read a book that used the Bowles and Gintis (1976) social reproduction theory as a theoretical framework. Thus, Megan employed an expert source as well. For example, she said:

> This has to start with changes outside the school and with funding. The schools cannot choose where people live, but they can improve (with money) and entice people to move into the district. But even with school improvement, some kids are at such a disadvantage when they start school it may be impossible to catch them up and get them out of this horrific cycle of social reproduction.

Megan suggested a number of reforms, all related to school funding. She pointed out that the problems are multiple and that funding is only a start. Interestingly, Megan turned the

theory of social reproduction on its head with her comment since the theory actually argues that schools are reproducing the existing social structure. However, Megan used the theory as a way to say that schools have a positive effect on where kids end up, showing an optimism about the potential of education that Bowles and Gintis did not share.

In all of the above examples, participants utilized an expert to support their ideas concerning state and federal policies. Although they could reflect critically on injustices they recognized with policies as well as the school system, they were less capable of suggesting solutions or acting on their reflections. This could reflect their sense that they lack the power or agency to affect change at the policy level. These findings are not surprising as they reflect the reality that teachers feel they are the recipients of policy rather than the shapers of policy at the school, state, and federal levels. However, their coursework began the process of providing them the agency they needed to work for social change at the school and district level and had the potential to motivate them to become socially active on a larger scale as well. The more they felt they could ground and support their ideas in the work of social and educational reformers, the more empowered they felt to identify problems and suggest solutions.

Developing critical consciousness in reference to broad social change

As participants began to develop a critical consciousness about broad social issues, they again often relied on expert authorities to ground their claims. In addition, they became less confident in their ability to make a difference in these broad areas of societal injustice. In addition, they express a need to justify their critiques, which might align with things like evidence-based practices where there is a sense that we need to be

able to justify decisions based on something that is trustworthy such as research or scholarship. This sense is reflected in the ways the teachers utilize external sources to validate their beliefs, prioritize their values, and interpret their previously unquestioned views.

Audrey used de Carvalho (2000) to justify her belief that social reproduction may be linked to segregation or other inequities that exist in society. Like Megan, Audrey felt the school did not reproduce the social structure as the theory suggests, but rather that schools have the power to disrupt these inequities. Audrey utilized the theory to validate her conviction that families had more effect on how children approach school and whether they are successful than schools or teachers. For example, she said:

> Let's go back to de Carvalho and social reproduction theory…something that disturbs me about education is that there are families who don't seem to understand the value of it. Some are not able to transfer that to their children because unfortunately they didn't get a good education. I think de Carvalho is talking about that. If you can play school with us and if you like it like I do then you will do fine. If you can't play school and you don't like it, sorry.

Although Audrey appeared to misunderstand the theory of social reproduction, placing more responsibility on families who do not "understand the value" of education than on schools, she did recognize that the school has a role in excluding some children who are from specific backgrounds. She noted that school is like a game and that if parents do not know the rules, they will not be able to instruct their children in how to play this game. She began to understand the idea that school is based on middle-class values, but stopped short of believing that the school or teachers should change what they value in order to reach more students. After conducting a member check with Audrey, it became clear that she felt torn between a sense of responsibility for not meeting the needs of certain groups

of students and her belief that she had done all she could to reach all of her students. She wanted all students to be successful in school, but she did not want to admit that her own privilege is part of the reason that some students are not being served in schools. Acceptance of this realization meant that she must change her values and her teaching practice, which she was not yet ready to do.

Despite her misunderstanding of the theory of social reproduction, Audrey was able to link inequity to race and to how much families value education. However, she continued to utilize the theory to justify her belief that schools do not participate in reproducing existing social inequities. For instance, she said:

> They see very little value in schooling now and in the future. I see that as connected to students of color whose families have been slighted when it comes to an equal education, who have internalized a negative self-image. I think a lot of my kids who are from poor, white families have also, over generations, internalized these same feelings. It is a terrible cycle to break.

Like Megan, Audrey referred to a "cycle" that somebody needs to "break" but she did not specify who should be breaking the cycle. Audrey did not believe that there was much that teachers or schools could do to stop the "negative self-image" she believed students of color and poor students might have developed as a result of inequity. For example, when sharing a story about a mother who came to school and physically expressed frustration with the institution, Audrey said:

> All the positive signage and smiles in our building do nothing to compare to the negative (even physically hateful) feelings the mom had toward [the school], which surely have been shared with her daughter for years. What is a school to do with parents like that? Discount them or invite them in? I am not sure two years worth of family nights with free chili would do anything to change a lifetime of failed education, and negative internalization.

Audrey expressed a sense of frustration, feeling that there was little she could do to change the mother's attitude toward education or the institution of the school. However, she almost blamed the parent for passing her negative feelings on to her daughter, again referring to the family as having more responsibility for social reproduction than the school system.

The teachers also used external sources to prioritize their values. Unlike Audrey, Stephanie responded emotionally to the fact that some parents have experienced such inequity during their education that they have become disenfranchised with the potential of education. She valued the experiences of families, recognizing the same "cycle" that Megan and Audrey referred to but placing less blame on parents. For instance, Stephanie said:

> They have what I would refer to as the ripple effect. Parents do what their parents did and it goes on that way. The message I believe they have internalized is that no matter what they do, they do not matter and they cannot succeed. This, as a teacher, makes me upset. How do you overcome what these students have internalized? How do you get past what their parents and grandparents have done? There must be a way to move past it but it seems like the message is at times too much to handle.

Stephanie still alluded to a belief that families have some role in passing on their negative experiences to their children despite sensing that parents or grandparents are justified in feeling the way they do about education. She also felt a sense of helplessness when it came to teachers' power to fix these problems.

Alex identified the passing of responsibility for inequity as something that is common among educators. He felt that although it might seem silly to believe that teachers would treat their students differently based on ethnicity, race, gender, or social class, that discrimination does occur. Alex valued equity and utilized course readings,

discussions, and media to prove that discrimination exists within the education system.

For instance, Alex said:

> There have been many experiences shared in this class about inequity, and how some teachers are biased and discriminating to students of color, or students of a different culture. To think that this happens today seems ridiculous, but the equity traps are there and frequently being used. Many teachers and leaders see the challenge of educating all students as someone else's problem, each person blaming someone else, and nothing is being done to address the problem.

Alex indicated that it may be easier for educators to blame others than to take responsibility and change what they are doing on a daily basis. Although Alex called for educators to take more responsibility, it is perhaps an indication of teachers' sense of disempowerment that led some participants to feel they could not have an affect on issues of inequity.

Finally, teachers used expert sources to interpret some of their previously unquestioned views. For instance, after watching a video about segregation in a class, some of the teachers were astonished that segregation still exists. They clearly had not questioned whether schools are now desegregated. Alex responded emotionally, expressing feelings of sadness and surprise that segregation is still a problem in today's society. He also shared a sense of frustration because despite the hard work of many civil rights workers, the status quo has really not changed all that much since the days of *Brown v. Board of Education*. For example, Alex said:

> I started writing out some of the feelings I was left with after watching the video. My initial feeling was sadness. Watching all of the history and the effort that it took to start the process of equality, and then to see how today things are no better. It seems as though we are sitting back and just watching this take place. Looking at the facts, statistics, and hard data only provides concrete evidence to the already visible problem of re-segregation and inequality that is present today in our public schools. The second feeling I was left with was wonder. How can this be happening? I

don't understand why something can't be done to start reacting to these problems.

Alex expressed his disappointment that nothing is being done to end segregation and racial inequality, but he did not offer suggestions for how teachers might make a difference. Rather, he was not sure what should be done.

Like Alex, Phil had never questioned whether segregation still exists, preferring to assume that the problem had been solved. In response to a question Phil posed in class discussion, Liz said she felt that in general people are not aware that segregation is still a problem, and fail to question the accepted view that schools are desegregated or that desegregation is still an important goal for schools. For instance, Liz said:

> I would like to respond to an idea that Phil brought up earlier…he asked the question if people in society are aware that this segregation is going on in our schools TODAY…my guess is that most people would say that segregation ended many years ago…citing *Brown v. Board of Education*, etc. Even as a teacher, I have been shocked over some of the stories and statistics in Kozol's book. I think society in general would like to think that we have come much farther than what Kozol is showing and telling us.

Liz referred to Kozol's text, saying that what she read surprised her. She seemed to believe that as a teacher, she ought to be more aware of issues of inequity in schools.

On the other hand, Megan pointed out that if people aren't aware of segregation being an issue in society, then they likely will not know that it is still a problem in schools. She linked racial segregation to the more general problem of social class segregation. For example, Megan said:

> I think race segregation has to fall under the umbrella of SES segregation. Take into consideration low income housing. It tends to be in areas with poor performing schools and in poor communities that are most often homogeneous. There are not many cities that help residents of low income housing find housing outside their already low SES neighborhoods. Although I think that race falls under this umbrella, I don't think we can

completely ignore race as a factor in this issue. Kozol's book does not include very many white kids in these schools and communities. Most of the underserved children he speaks of are minorities.

Megan recognized based on what she had read in the Kozol text that being poor and being a minority are linked to having less access to quality schools. She and Liz both referred to Kozol as an authority as they attempted to interpret their previously unquestioned views about segregation, but neither teacher suggested how they might be responsible for creating change within the system.

Megan expressed her feelings of frustration concerning how much she, as a teacher can do to affect social change. Until reading Kozol's book, she had not questioned the fact that the students who are victims of inequity cannot "advocate for themselves." For example, she said:

> As Kozol points out, even at the secondary level students that want to take more advanced classes like AP are forced to take home economics, more vocational classes, in their secondary education. This student was trying to take responsibility for her education, but she was not successful. These students are already at such a disadvantage; if they are the only people advocating for themselves will it put them in an impossible situation?

Although Megan implied that teachers ought to be advocating for their students, she did not go so far as to say how they should do this. Instead, she simply pointed out that students are not empowered enough to create a more equitable school. In addition, Megan did not question her belief that school reform alone cannot solve societal inequities. She utilized Kozol and de Carvalho to support this view. For example, she said:

> I, too, agree with Kozol's view of reform. There is absolutely no way that schools can level all social and racial inequities. Most schools are based on middle class values as de Carvahlo points out, so students that are not middle class are at a disadvantage from day one. Reforming schools without reforming society cannot make a lasting impact on the schools as Kozol indicated when he referred to (the) temporary rise in test scores due to reform. School reform is such a delicate topic. It seems naïve to think

that what works in one school with one group of kids will work in another school with different kids if that was the case, all schools would be perfect by now.

Here, Megan showed that she understood that the theory of social reproduction is at least partly about what the school and teachers value, and how certain groups are disadvantaged from the start because their values do not align with those rewarded by the school. However, rather than holding the school accountable, she expressed a feeling that the problem was outside of the school's control. Although this may be true to some extent, it does not really embody the spirit of Kozol's call for social reform beyond the school. Kozol recognizes that schools cannot solve the problem of inequity single-handedly. But he still holds the school accountable and calls for reforms unlike those that policymakers have adopted thus far. However, Megan used Kozol and to some extent, de Carvalho to advocate for a view that serves to pass the responsibility from the school to policy makers and politicians.

Conversely, Liz felt that schools can have an impact on social inequity because they affect how valued students feel. She referred to Kozol to make her point that teachers cannot turn a blind eye to inequity despite the view of many that schools and individual teachers have little impact on changing the social system. For instance, she said:

> Coming from an early elementary school view point, the chapter in Kozol's book that really struck me was "Hitting Them Hardest When They're Small." It is a sad message that we are sending these young students and we would be naïve to think that the students are not internalizing these messages. Kozol sums it up at the end of the chapter: "If we were forced to see these kids before our eyes each day, in all the fullness of their complicated and diverse and tenderly emerging personalities, as well as their juvenile fragility, it would be harder to maintain this myth. Keeping them at a distance makes it easier". It is hard

to believe that in fifty years we are still sending these very destructive messages to such young children.

Liz believed that schools can affect the way children and families perceive their ability to succeed, their self-worth, and the value of education. In other words, inequities continue to cause parents to feel negatively about school, perpetuating what other participants called a "cycle" of apathy about the value of education. But based on her reading of Kozol, Liz begins to question the assumption that meaningful change cannot occur at the school level.

It is not surprising that some teachers did not question their inability to control inequity. For example, Phil pointed out that some children have advantages before they even reach the school gate, which teachers have no power over. He said:

> Some kids have a couple of years of preschool before they enter kindergarten. What a great opportunity that is for them, but those families that can't provide such as opportunity are at a real disadvantage. Making up a year or two of school experience must be nearly impossible at such a young age. The kid that can already read a little, write a little, and has some familiarity with numbers must be light years ahead of the kid that doesn't know the difference between numbers, letters, symbols, or even how to get in line to go down the hall.

Phil recognized that some students have the advantage from the day they begin school based on their family resources, and that teachers have very little impact on this. He did not question whether this advantage was right or whether educators have a responsibility to try to decrease this disadvantage; instead he simply chose to accept it despite having been exposed to many external sources that argued to the contrary.

Stephanie also did not question her feeling that teachers and even policy makers have little impact on issues of inequity. For instance, she said:

> Making two schools the exact same will never happen. No matter what NCLB does, inequity will still exist. It may not exist in test scores but it

will exist other places. Think about schools here. Even if the school buildings were the same which they are not, there would be inequities other places: money given to the school by PTO, books in the library, supplies the students have on day one. Inequity seems impossible to overcome but we need to try. What can we do as teachers? What can our corporation do? What can our state do? What can our country do besides NCLB?

It could be that Stephanie's questions expressed her feeling that no group can do anything to help to alleviate inequity. However, it is also possible that she was calling educators and policy makers to do something besides passing a law like No Child Left Behind. It appeared that Stephanie believed that NCLB was not enough to solve issues of inequity despite the rhetoric of its title. For example, she said:

Students are not equipped and given what they need to succeed. They see other schools with different things and wonder what makes them better.

She, like other participants, had realized that children were being left behind and that something ought to be done to repair the education system, reflecting a change in her perception as a result of the exposure to external sources she experienced in her courses.

Thus, although it is clear that participants were moving toward a critical consciousness, they were still struggling to feel legitimate and empowered in their beliefs. They were able to talk about critical issues on a school, policy, and societal level. However, they sometimes contradicted themselves or expressed feelings of uncertainly about their role in social change. In addition, they relied on the authority of external sources including academics and reformers to validate their beliefs, prioritize their values, and interpret their previously unquestioned views. But sometimes they still misinterpreted the ideas or intentions of the experts. These contradictions could reflect a sense of disempowerment or low status that is common among the teaching profession.

RELATIONAL ASPECTS OF LEADER DEVELOPMENT

This section focuses particularly on the four key informants' perceptions of the relational aspects of leader development, specifically related to cohort dynamics. I am focusing primarily on the perceptions of the level 2 key informants because during in-depth interviews, I was able to explore and probe how the cohort structure had assisted or hindered individual growth and development. I already had observed some of the issues discussed below during my course observations; however, I needed to check the validity of my interpretations. Therefore, one of my interview domains queried the key informants' perspectives on cohort dynamics. One intention of the cohort design had been to build trusting relationships among members so that critical issues could be discussed more openly. The cohort design was also meant to create cohesion across the district by bringing teachers from different schools together, and to mobilize a group of self-identified leaders to work together toward change in each of their schools. However, these intentions were undermined by some of the dynamics that developed among the cohort teachers, which I observed and which the key informants elaborated on during interviews. Dynamics such as the formation of cliques and bullying resulted in undermining the potential positive effects of the cohort structure, which in the end means that teachers may have been hindered in their development of critical consciousness.

Cohort structure creates space for growth and opportunity for collaboration

The key informants discussed the ways that the cohort structure supported their development as teacher leaders and their exploration of critical issues. These were the positive outcomes of the cohort, those that served to challenge the traditions of privacy within the teaching profession. Allison believed that learning within a cohort allowed her

to connect with a variety of colleagues working across the district, while Phil thought it offered chances to share ideas about critical issues. Course readings and assignments as well as class discussions provided opportunities for the cohort members to work together on problem-solving tasks. Because Allison felt isolated at her school and did not know many of the other cohort members when they began the program, she felt that opportunities to work together in classes helped her feel more comfortable opening up and sharing her ideas. For example, she said:

> In every class, we have had usually some type of a group assignment or group collaboration where we are talking with other members at some point and it's always been somebody different. I have been able to work with I think almost all of them in some type of a project or collaboration. That was really nice just getting to know them that way.

Allison pointed out that when she started taking master's classes with the cohort, she felt like an outsider. For instance, she said:

> All of the rest of the teachers that were in the cohort were on the same floor (at my school) and so they collaborated a lot at lunch and prep periods but I was kind of in my own little world in this other program so it was kind of hard for me to get in with them. I did collaborate with them some, just not as much as some other teachers.

Allison appreciated that group tasks in courses allowed her to get to know and collaborate with colleagues from her school with whom she would not normally get to work. This helped her to feel less isolated in general as it provided the space and time for collaboration.

Phil valued the opportunity to have critical discussions within the cohort, feeling that this created a safe space to share what might be considered controversial ideas by some of his school colleagues. The fact that cohort members listened to each other even if

they did not agree was an important element of supporting his growth. For example, he said:

> As far as within the cohort, I'm not sure we always agree on things, but we always listen to each other.

It appeared that Phil felt the cohort classes created a safe space for colleagues to share ideas even if the ideas expressed conflicted with other cohort members' ideas. The cohort structure allowed teachers the opportunity to listen and to critically assess the substance of the collaboration. However, other data indicated that there were challenges to community-building within the cohort.

Positive conditions necessary for leader development

The importance of building trust and mutual respect among the cohort members emerged as key informants discussed the group dynamics that developed within the cohort. Some of these dynamics undermined the positive outcomes discussed above, and caused negative effects such as doubt and conflict. During much of their coursework, cohort members were encouraged to explore critical issues in a way that challenged their thinking and actions as teachers. Phil felt that taking classes within a cohort structure usually allowed students to open up and take more risks, building positive and supportive relationships. For example, he said:

> Being forced to talk about the things we talk about in class and share things professionally that you wouldn't normally do, while it's not forced, that comfort level with your colleagues allows you to share more than you normally would.

Phil shared that he struggled at first to open up in classes because he did not feel he knew the other cohort members very well and the first class did not provide many opportunities for the group to build trust, which was something he identified as a condition for positive

relationships. He recognized that trust was not something that formed automatically

through the cohort structure itself. Furthermore, he thought the course content and

professor had something to do with whether participants were able to have meaningful

discussions. For instance, Phil said:

> That first class it wasn't that I disliked anybody because I just normally like everyone anyway but I definitely wasn't willing to share things. Then when we got the right class it all came together.

By "right class" Phil is referring to conditions present in the second course that were not

present in the first course that the cohort took. For instance, the first course was an action

research course taught by a faculty member outside of the ELPS department. Therefore,

there were few opportunities for discussion of critical issues. On the other hand, the

second course was the Introduction to Leadership course, which incorporated many

opportunities for cohort members to discuss relevant leadership texts and to challenge

their established conceptions of leadership with new ideas.

However, Phil recognized the need for mutual respect and equal commitment in

forming safe spaces for interaction and challenge. He explained that at times there was an

absence of these positive characteristics, which caused unsupportive dynamics to form

among cohort teachers. These negative dynamics caused Phil to feel that the cohort was

an unsafe space to share his ideas. For example, Phil said:

> There were a few people that…I thought might make fun of what I was going to say…they would hear me accidentally mispronounce a word and then tease about it. It's not a big deal and I really wouldn't care but it did distract me…there were people that weren't taking it as seriously as I am…There were certainly a group of people that I would be more than willing to talk to and another group of people that I really wouldn't want to say much to.

Though he used a word with relatively neutral connotations, "tease," to describe the

negative response he experienced and even associated the teasing with a sense of humor

that other cohort members had while he did not, Phil's reflection reveals a type of

bullying that occurred among cohort members. This bullying created an unsafe space for

all cohort members to explore critical issues. Though he claims this did not matter much

to him, Phil's fear of being mocked prevented him from engaging in meaningful

discussion with all members of the cohort. This meant that although he could explore

critical issues while in smaller groups, he was unable to fully share when the class met as

a whole group, thus limiting the potential benefit of the cohort structure.

Audrey also felt that the absence of supportive characteristics negatively affected

cohort dynamics. Therefore, she did not feel comfortable sharing some of her ideas

during classes. She indicated that trust was never fully established among the cohort

because cohort teachers did not have the opportunity to get to know each other and build

trust through cooperative learning activities. She believed the lack of community-

building led to the formation of "cliques" where some individuals were excluded by

small groups of teachers who already knew each other or who worked at the same school

in the district, and thus had established trust outside the cohort structure. This represents

the absence of inclusive dynamics among the cohort members, a phenomenon that

discouraged some teachers, and motivated them to limit their participation in class

activities and discussion. In addition, Audrey hypothesized that the sense of exclusion she

felt might be a result of her enthusiasm for expressing her thoughts. She shared that she is

the kind of student who likes to exchange ideas, and believed that others in the cohort

either did not like her ideas or felt she monopolized class discussion. For instance, she

said:

> I don't think there is trust that has been built. I can't approach a group and say hey listen up this is pretty cool. There wasn't that trust built because the cooperative learning groups never really happened. That was uncomfortable. Then there were cliques and everything. I tend to volunteer a lot with my ideas in class and that is something I tried to temper a lot. I think people probably got tired of hearing me talk. Maybe they got tired of me volunteering or my ideas. I could kind of feel the tensions from that sometimes.

Like Phil, Audrey curtailed her participation in class discussion, withholding her ideas

because she felt her colleagues were not interested in what she had to say. Thus, Audrey

associated the formation of exclusionary relationships within the cohort as the absence of

mutual respect or engaged interest that made her feel left out and undervalued. Though

Audrey's perception of collaboration among the cohort differed significantly from

Allison's, this could indicate different expectations of the cohort. While Allison joined

the cohort in order to feel less isolated, Audrey was looking for more concrete

acknowledgement of her expertise and leadership experience. Therefore, the fact that

Audrey's experience within the cohort was similar to her experiences at her school led

her to feel disappointed.

Audrey exhibited a high level of understanding when explaining the dynamics

that had developed within the cohort. She named and explained the absence of positive

characteristics, which none of the other key informants were able to do. She also

attributed the exclusionary behaviors to the exercise of power among cohort members,

noting that employing bullying techniques made one group feel better about themselves

while causing another group to feel worse. For example, she said:

> It is relational aggression. It is a power thing. What is relational aggression? It is when you damage a peer's relationship with others in order to elevate yourself. That is what people do when they whisper back and forth in class, making fun of [one student] or commenting on something [another student] said. They will say that to each other so that just in case the person sitting next to them had respect for what [one student] was saying, they don't now because they have just put her down. I like to think that didn't happen a lot. I like to think that the whispering that went on was about building gossip. I wish it wasn't like that. It could have been so much richer.

Audrey recognized that these negative behaviors were often directed at specific cohort members, making them feel less a part of the group. Audrey experienced a sense of loss as she reflected on the lack of support she sensed among her colleagues in the cohort. She expected more from the cohort experience and was disappointed to find behaviors that she viewed as unsupportive and disrespectful. For instance, she said:

> People were being relationally aggressive in class…there was a lot of eye rolling going on when a certain person would talk. Those conversations would not stop during class. That was rude to a lot of people and it was uncomfortable. It was hampering a couple of us in just kind of getting into the class.

Audrey acknowledged that what she called "relational aggression" curtailed her contributions as well as those of other cohort members, a fact supported by the behaviors and feelings discussed by other key informants. Audrey noted that some cohort members were even "relationally aggressive" toward professors. She saw one professor attempt to get the cohort members to stop a private conversation so she could proceed with class. For example, Audrey said:

> I think people were pretty chatty. I remember sometimes [the professor] would be talking and it was so obvious that she was trying to talk to get their attention and you know how teachers do—they talk a little louder perhaps or they use proximity. [The cohort members who were talking] still wouldn't stop their conversation. It drove me nuts. Maybe it didn't bother [the professor] at all but it bothered me.

Audrey observed that the professor used the same techniques that teachers use with their students to try to get the cohort members to stop talking and pay attention. But even given their own experiences as teachers, they ignored the professor's efforts and continued to talk.

Not only did Audrey feel limited in her own expression of ideas within cohort classes, but she also recognized the development of an insider and outsider mentality within the cohort. Audrey shared an example of when she felt uncomfortable with the power dynamic of the cohort. In this instance, a professor had asked which students taking his class were members of the cohort. Several students who had recently joined the cohort raised their hands. But since they were not part of the original group, Audrey noticed that several teachers expressed their annoyance with this with "looks." For example, she said:

> I got so many looks from other people in my cohort like 'they are not in our cohort. They haven't been here with us.' I just wonder what is behind that. It's true they weren't in our cohort. They thought they were going to be forming a new one but I think that fell through. It was like okay so [a professor] told them they were in the cohort but they're not. It was misunderstood. Let's move on. There was stuff like that that was just kind of like, oh.

Audrey expressed frustration with the fact that her colleagues seemed so upset with something that was simply a misunderstanding and sensed their interest in maintaining exclusivity within the cohort. To explain this, she referred to an article the cohort read for one class, which discussed how teachers monitor the critical discussions and actions of their colleagues by utilizing a "gaze" or discouraging look (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004). For instance, she said:

> People like [one cohort member] or myself or even [another cohort member] (were) not appreciated—outspoken (cohort members). There was

a lot of 'gazing' going on…There was a lot of that going on. I think [those two other cohort members] got the brunt of it.

Audrey sympathized with cohort members who she felt were targeted by "cliques" on a larger scale than she was. However, those who were most targeted did not curtail their class contributions or monitor their opinions in the way that Audrey did. She was more careful to withhold some of her thoughts, passions, and ideas during classes. Audrey said she did this for two reasons. First, she knew that she tended to be outspoken and did not want to dominate the discussion. But she also wanted to protect herself from the "relational aggression" she observed around her.

To address the issue of bullying, Audrey and another classmate led the cohort in coming up with classroom norms during one of the first cohort classes. She hoped that discussing common norms would curtail the bullying she had observed and help to establish greater trust among the cohort as they began their two-year program. For instance, she said:

> We wrote all the norms up and then we never talked about it again. A lot of people just thought it was bullshit. They didn't get it. It could have really helped carry us through.

However, taking the initiative to guide the cohort through this discussion may have caused an even greater separation between Audrey and other cohort members. Audrey's interest in creating common ground may have been received as overbearing or bossy, thus excluding her even further from the various cohort "cliques." Audrey was aware that letting other cohort members know that she disapproved of their behavior had a negative effect on their acceptance of her.

For example, when discussing the fact that cohort members talked while professors were trying to teach classes, she said, "I don't want to be a shusher because everybody hates a

shusher." She knew that other cohort members did not respond positively to having their behaviors monitored by their peers.

Pauline also noticed the insider and outsider dichotomy that formed within the cohort. She experienced first hand the lack of respect that some cohort members showed towards others and experienced a feeling of exclusion from the cohort. For example, Pauline said:

> This semester when we had to do our [group assignment] I was with [two students]. The cohort kind of laughed at us. We were kind of the laughing group. Everybody makes fun of [the students I worked with].

Pauline struggled to fit in with the cohort. She sensed that some cohort members did not appreciate or respect her contributions during class, and attributed this to their lack of maturity. However, observations indicated that age really did not correlate to the kind of behaviors Audrey and Pauline describe. Pauline was one of the older cohort members, and she recognized that she was considered an outsider by many cohort members. For instance, she said:

> I've disagreed with a lot of the cohort. I think some of my cohort colleagues are very full of themselves. Some of them I don't feel have enough experience under their belt…They haven't expanded their vision. There are others that don't see beyond their building. What has happened to me is that they are not expanding their minds. How I felt very uncomfortable. My thoughts weren't welcome, like I should just shut up and because there is very much a clique.

Similar to Phil and Audrey, Pauline experienced the absence of positive characteristics. She noted the lack of appreciation for diversity that other cohort members exhibited through the cliques that they formed. However, unlike Phil and Audrey, Pauline felt these negative characteristics were the result of other cohort member's inability to be open-minded participants in classroom discussions. Instead of attributing the negative

characteristics to having a different sense of humor as Phil did or to silencing the more

outspoken members of the cohort as Audrey did, Pauline placed responsibility on those

who were part of the cohort "cliques." She did not question her communication style or

her ideas, which showed a high level of self confidence.

Like the other key informants, Allison valued a safe and supportive space where

she felt comfortable sharing her ideas. However, unlike the others, who believed that the

cohort members were responsible for creating a positive learning environment, Allison

placed more responsibility for creating a safe space on her professors. She indicated that

she was not sure cohort members themselves could or would create such a space. For

example, she said:

> In all of the classes, all the professors have made it a very open discussion
> where you can say anything you want. You are not going to get bashed
> down for it. Also, it was nice to know that I had other people that also had
> the same opinion as me. That helped a little bit to know you had a little
> backing.

Allison's reference to getting "bashed down" for what she said in class suggests that she

knew this was a possibility or had experienced this in the past. Thus, she looked to

professors as advocates and hoped that getting to know the other cohort members would

decrease the occurrence of personal criticism.

Allison was able to find cohort members who were like-minded and who she

could talk to about critical issues. For instance, she said:

> I know their feelings on all of these issues. When I go to them, it is not a
> surprise. It's just nice to go to them and be able to talk to them about those
> issues.

However, Allison was conflicted about the value of discussing critical ideas with cohort

members who did not agree with her. This showed her desire to avoid conflict and

emphasized her need to feel less isolated in her work. After all, Allison's primary

motivation in joining the cohort had been to develop more relationships with colleagues

at her school and in her district. For example, she said:

> When you have someone who has a different opinion from you, then you really don't want their opinion anymore. Not that their opinion isn't useful because it is something that I probably could use…My instinct is to go with people that I usually agree with because we think along the same lines. If I ask them about something that I'm doing in my classroom, then I would more likely do what they suggest than I would someone who had a different opinion than me.

The fact that Allison recognized that conflict among the cohort was possible indicates

that she did notice the bullying that took place during classes. However, she tried not to

take the anti-social behavior personally. Instead, she tried to mediate her fear of conflict

with a rational belief that sometimes people disagree, but they are still nice people. For

instance, she said:

> Just reminding myself of earlier in that same class that me and so and so totally agreed on this and then later in that class me and that person totally disagreed on something. It doesn't matter. We are still effective teachers. I can't look at that person any differently. I can still go to them for collaboration on some things. You have to remind yourself of that.

Part of Allison's strategy to avoid conflict included doing a lot of listening and observing

during cohort classes. She said less and listened a lot more during class than Audrey or

Pauline, for example. Whereas Audrey felt she had a lot to share and had to curtail her

inclination to talk a lot, Allison was uncertain that she had much to offer to class

discussion. She often looked to professors for guidance when it came to how other cohort

members might respond to something she wanted to share. For example, she said:

> I don't know that I have ever disagreed with what a professor has said. I think that is mainly because I look at them as this, you know, everything type of person. I think I listen more to what they have to say before I make

an opinion. I feel like I need to do that more with my colleagues, listen to what they have to say before I form an opinion.

Allison acknowledged that she did form opinions based on what other cohort members said. However, she indicated a level of regret, as if there were times when she wished she had not shared her ideas so quickly or readily in cohort classes. She expressed that had she listened more carefully to what cohort members had said before she had spoken up, that she would have felt differently and perhaps would have shared a more popular idea with the class.

Thus, it is clear that the presence of positive characteristics and the absence of negative characteristics affected the way that the four key informants experienced leader development within the cohort structure. They identified the need for trust, mutual respect, and appreciation of diversity as important for leader development, especially when linked to developing critical consciousness. In the absence of these positive dynamics, they were less likely to openly share and fully contribute their ideas. They were certainly more inclined to avoid challenging the perceptions of other cohort members, a phenomenon that limited the critical development of all cohort members.

SUMMARY

This chapter has explored various elements related to the leader development process including the growth and application of participants' beliefs about leadership, their development of a critical consciousness through class discussions, readings, and activities, and the positive characteristics necessary to support the exploration of critical issues within the cohort structure. It is clear that through course assignments and class discussions, participants were able to construct some new understandings of leadership and challenge traditional notions of leadership. This process is necessary for teacher

leadership to become a reality in schools since teacher leadership demands distributed rather than hierarchical conceptions of leadership. In addition, teachers struggled to constructively apply their developing critical consciousness to social problems in an attempt to promote social change, relying heavily on expert sources to validate their experiences, prioritize their values, and interpret their previously unquestioned views. Finally, it is clear that there may be some resistance among teachers to construct their individual critical consciousness or to build supportive and safe spaces where teachers can develop critical consciousness collaboratively. This resistance was evident through the teachers' utilization of power to exclude and silence some cohort members, resulting in their leadership development being curtailed or at least disrupted. These are important issues to consider as departments of educational leadership expand their programs to include teacher leadership development.

CHAPTER 5: TEACHER LEADERSHIP AS POSITIONAL VS. INFLUENTIAL

This chapter focuses on the ways that key informants described teacher leadership as either positional or influential. These differing paradigms emerged as a major theme of this study and warrant an in-depth discussion. The theme is also related to literature reviewed in chapter 2 that describes various definitions of teacher leadership because it suggests a new way of categorizing teacher leadership as well as how it is constructed and utilized in schools. This chapter is divided into three sections. First, there will be a discussion of how the low status of teachers affected the conditions for teacher leadership for the key informants, especially linking the development of their perceptions of teacher leadership as either positional or influential to their motivations to become leaders and their perceived rewards of teacher leadership. Second, the key informants' beliefs about potential opportunities for teacher leaders will be explored, including their descriptions of teacher leadership as either positional or influential and explanations of how teacher leadership is facilitated in schools. Third, the chapter will conclude with a description of how the key informants enact teacher leadership with particular attention to how their colleagues' perceptions enable them to enact positional or influential teacher leadership as well as how they support or challenge their colleagues through the enactment of one of these teacher leadership paradigms.

LOW STATUS OF TEACHERS AS CONDITION FOR TEACHER LEADERSHIP

The historically low status of teachers affected the key informants' desire to pursue leadership as well as their ambitions to attain positional leadership or to master influential leadership. This section discusses how they each questioned their credibility as leaders and wondered why their colleagues should listen to them, respect them, or

support them as teachers enacting leadership. It also explores their struggles between conflicting definitions of teacher leadership that called for them to either respect the privacy and independence of their colleagues or to follow their instinct to advocate for changes they knew would have a positive effect on the school or students. Finally, it looks at the rewards they felt would or should accompany teacher leadership and helps to explain why some of them were drawn to positional leadership while others preferred influential leadership.

Motivation to pursue positional or influential leadership

Each of the key informants was drawn to either positional or influential leadership as a result of their previous experiences as teachers and as leaders. Like many teachers, Phil linked leader credibility to length of time working in the building, knowledge of the staff and students, and success in the classroom. Thus, he felt that his colleagues did consider him a leader because he met all three of these criteria. As a leader, Phil had the will to challenge his colleagues to change their practice, but he worried that taking the initiative might disrupt relationships between him and those colleagues he worked with most closely. For example, he said:

> I think I have the credibility in this building that while some [teachers] that get questioned might get mad, there might be some pouting, but it would blow over. It honestly wouldn't affect me but that is because it is someone that I don't deal with very often rather than someone that I work with. If it was somebody across the hall that is when it gets really difficult and then professional obligations are clouded by personal feelings. That is hard. I think for the most part we all like to say we would just step up and tell that person that they shouldn't have done that. I'm not sure how many people would do that. It feels pretty deep.

Phil accepted that as a leader, he could not please everyone but he was more willing to potentially offend a colleague if that person was not "somebody across the hall." Thus,

his need to maintain a sense of egalitarianism and relational connection among colleagues constrained Phil's willingness to act as a teacher leader. Conversely, Phil associated the right to challenge teachers with the positional authority held by administrators. For instance, he said:

> [Challenging colleagues] is one of the things that I struggle with. The funny thing is I feel if I were a principal I absolutely, positively would step in and say you are wrong. For some reason I feel like if I have this other label, then I have the credibility to say and do those things.

Phil felt that an administrative position would give him greater authority to challenge his colleagues while as a teacher leader, he was not as confident to confront colleagues about critical issues. This perception that leadership is embodied in authority and position explains Phil's ambition to become an administrator rather than a teacher leader. He simply does not believe that a teacher has the credibility to create change, suggesting the influence that low teacher status has had on his career plans. Phil desires change, but believes the only way to attain change is to move into a position of traditional school authority.

Audrey also associated leadership with authority and position. In an attempt to gain credibility among her colleagues, she had taken on a number of positional teacher leadership roles including chairing committees, leading critical friends groups, and guiding book study groups. Although Audrey worked hard to become credible through these positions, she still experienced struggles because she was a younger teacher. She had become a teacher leader not because her colleagues believed she had expertise or credibility, but because she was willing to do extra work and had the support of administrators at her building. For example, Audrey said:

There have been several times when it's been uncomfortable for me as a young teacher who took on a lot of responsibility in leadership from the get go. I was chairperson of committees and department spokesperson my first year under contract and it was because my principal believed in me and I said I could do it. I did. There were some veteran and also some not-so-veteran teachers, teachers who had been in for maybe five or six years and just starting to feel comfortable, and then here I am in my first year. There were a lot of times when I was leading professional development at our school based on the work of the committees. I could tell there was some eye rolling and stuff, but whatever.

Despite Audrey's perception that her colleagues did not support or respect her in her various teacher leadership positions, she expected them to comply with the initiatives that she led. For instance, she told a story about a teacher who asked if he could choose not to implement a new behavior initiative Audrey was spearheading. She told him that he did not have a choice and that she would hold him accountable for implementing the new system. Audrey relied on position to get things done, and it was obtaining greater authority through higher positions that motivated her to learn more about leadership.

Like Phil and Audrey, Allison experienced feelings of inadequacy when it came to challenging her colleagues. However, she was motivated to become a leader not because she wanted position or authority, but because she sought to be a positive influence on the way her colleagues viewed particular groups of students. Because she worked in a special program at her school, she felt isolated from teachers in her department. Allison was separated physically from other members of her department. For instance, she said:

I very rarely spoke with the [subject] department. I was on a totally different level of the building because of where our location was so even though I taught…classes that were outside of [the program for at-risk students]…I still never collaborated with anybody there in the [subject] department.

In addition to the physical separation Allison experienced, she was separated ideologically from her colleagues. As a teacher in a special program for students identified as "at-risk" she coped with other teachers' negative stereotypes of her students. Allison's colleagues made no secret of their perception that these students were difficult. Allison disagreed with this assessment and resented the attitudes of her colleagues. Thus, she was drawn to leadership because she wanted to learn how she could influence other teachers' assumptions without necessarily having a position of authority since she did not wish to be an administrator. Unlike Phil and Audrey, Allison felt that teacher leadership had the potential to change the status of teachers through individual empowerment.

Pauline was similar to Allison in her motivation to learn more about leadership. She felt she was not able to adequately advocate for her students without a better understanding of how she could influence her colleagues' thinking. She had noticed that she was not effectively able to convince her colleagues that specialized curriculum she had developed was in the best interest of the special education students she with whom she worked. In addition, Pauline sought more support from the school principal for the special education program and special education students, but she had not experienced great success in her attempts to garner such support. Pauline noted that taking leadership courses had improved her relationship with her school's principal and lessened the power differential that she felt existed before between teachers and administrators at her school. For example, she said:

> [Leadership courses have] informed me a lot about what happens behind the scenes as an administrator and as a leader and what happens so when other teachers are having fits and complaining, I kind of know what [the principal] is going through. I kind of know what all she has to look at when she has to make a decision. It has changed my relationship with [the

> principal]. I don't see her as my administrator. I see her as a colleague. She will say that about me. In fact, she did in my recommendation.

Pauline recognized that learning about leadership had helped her feel more confident and empowered in her role as teacher. She felt less defensive than some of her colleagues and was able to see the principal's perspective, which helped her negotiate what she felt was best for her students. She did not believe that the only way to feel comfortable challenging her colleagues' beliefs about special education students was to gain positional authority. Like Allison, she had faith in the power of teacher leadership to create more egalitarian relationships among teacher as well as administrators. Thus, she ultimately wanted to understand how to be an effective teacher leader who was able to influence her colleagues and administrators in service to her students.

The rewards of teacher leadership

Aside from their desire for positional authority, Audrey and Phil identified tangible rewards in becoming leaders. Audrey believed that her work as a positional teacher leader was in the best interest of students. However, she recognized that although positional teacher leadership may benefit students, it holds little reward for the individual teacher leader. She saw that despite putting in extra hours, there was no monetary reward, and as a teacher leader, she had experienced little gratitude or support from her colleagues. For example, Audrey said:

> There is no career ladder for teacher leaders. There is none. You start as a teacher leader if that is your natural ability and you can teach for 35 years and you haven't technically formally advanced. I think that is wrong. It's very wrong…So then you have to ask if teacher leadership is formalized though, do you end up creating another hierarchy then that has to be overcome?

In addition, Audrey questioned whether teacher leaders should hold greater authority than their colleagues. Because Audrey had experienced a general lack of support from her fellow teachers in her work as a positional teacher leader, she sensed that creating yet another hierarchy would further disrupt relationships among teachers. Thus, rather than pursuing the formalization of teacher leadership, she wished to leave teaching altogether to become an administrator, a position where she saw the opportunity for financial reward as well as greater respect and authority.

While Audrey had questioned the imbalance of power that positional teacher leadership might create among teachers, Phil saw nothing wrong with teacher leaders having some privilege compared to their colleagues as a reward for their expanded work. He described this privilege as having an influence on administrators, and felt that it was natural since teacher leaders would be more involved in school-wide committees and initiatives that would give them greater access to the principal. However, Phil talked about how positional teacher leaders can be utilized from an administrator's perspective, as if he is a principal rather than a teacher leader. For instance, he said,

> [Teacher leaders] can be used to find out how, not only how they feel about ideas, but how they feel about students. They need to be valued and that leadership needs to be nurtured. They feel like they are a little bit more on the inside on certain things. I think that is fine. If someone is willing to do the extra work it takes to be a leader then they should get some kind of reward out of it.

Phil acknowledged that positional teacher leadership means differing levels of privilege within the school, but thought this was an acceptable reward in light of the extra work that teacher leaders are expected to do.

Conversely, Allison and Pauline discussed rewards for teacher leadership in a more personal way. They both saw personal rewards such as feeling more confident in

challenging their colleagues, offering support, or asking for help. However, they also recognized that students would experience the greatest reward from teacher leadership because as teachers begin to challenge their colleagues, they will push each other to better serve the needs to students.

BELIEFS ABOUT POTENTIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR TEACHER LEADERS

As the above section points out, the four key informants' experiences as teachers affected their motivations to become positional or influential leaders, and their perceptions of the rewards of positional or influential leadership. This section includes a discussion of how the conditions of teaching have shaped their perceptions of what teacher leadership ought to look like and how it should be facilitated. The overall theme of positional versus influential teacher leadership will also continue to align with certain beliefs about potential opportunities for teacher leaders.

What teacher leadership looks like

The four key informants had differing ideas about what teacher leadership looks like. Phil was uncertain in his definition of what teacher leaders should do. He again brings up the issues of credibility, questioning whether teachers have the authority to challenge each other, especially since the teaching profession privileges experience as expertise. Phil struggled between supporting his colleagues' work and challenging them to change behaviors he felt were harmful to students. For instance, he said:

> One of my roles as a teacher is to be supportive of fellow teachers. When I'm watching a fellow teacher get on a kid that I don't think deserves it or needs it—that is something that I struggle with. I have been that teacher who has been frustrated with a kid and gotten onto a kid because they were acting in some disrespectful manner. That is something that is sometimes hard. Do I really have the credibility to tell this teacher that they're wrong? That is hard to do, especially if it is someone who has taught longer than you and has done this one hundred times before.

Phil empathized with his colleagues because he had been in similar situations, but still

felt that he should address what he identified as behaviors harmful to students. In

addition, he worried that because he had also "gotten onto a kid" that his colleagues

would consider him a hypocrite if he challenged them to change their behaviors. On the

other hand, as discussed above, Phil believed that once he became a principal, his

positional authority would provide him with the relational status to challenge his

colleagues when it came to behavioral issues. He would no longer have to maintain the

egalitarian relationships with his colleagues that hindered him from utilizing influence as

a teacher leader.

Though Audrey identified teacher leadership as positional and sought authority

through position, she did recognize that teachers as a whole influence each other.

However, she distinguished between positive and negative influence, identifying only

teachers who have a positive influence on their colleagues as teacher leaders. She

believed one of the roles of a teacher leader was to identify and re-culture their

colleagues who have negative influence so that they do not damage the morale of the

whole faculty. For example, Audrey said:

> Hence the problem you see with the whole toxic school culture because if
> you've got 15% of your teachers who are just toxic, before you know it, it
> is going to be 30% and then the whole school gets taken down…it is
> contagious. That is why I feel like I need to put pressure on this other
> teacher to quit being a bully because there are other young, impressionable
> teachers around and they may think that is okay and it's not.

Audrey identified part of her role as a teacher leader to address issues of negative

influence. In the case she mentions, she believed she should speak to the "toxic" teacher

and try to get her to change her attitude so that she does not negatively influence other "impressionable" colleagues.

In Audrey's case, having the support of her principal was essential to her becoming a teacher leader. Thus, Audrey's idea of what teacher leadership looks like was affected by her principal's definition, and because her principal defined teacher leadership as positional, Audrey also felt she must be in a position to be a teacher leader. She acknowledged that positional teacher leaders have power, but that it is the power to do the principal's "dirty work." For instance, Audrey said:

> [The principal] really advanced the idea of teacher leadership in the school. If she is in her office all the time, she has got to have teacher leaders. Somebody has got to be doing the dirty work. We did and she really gave us a lot of power on our committees to do what we needed to do. To restructure the discipline program, we restructured the parent involvement situation. To do all of these things, is she really going to teacher leadership and shared leadership or is it distributed because we didn't really share in the final decision.

Audrey questioned whether the power given her and others by the principal was truly empowering. She was uncertain whether the principal was sharing leadership, and seemed to suspect that the principal might be using Audrey and other teacher leaders to do what she wanted to avoid. However, during a later conversation, Audrey called this work "the most difficult, paradigm-shifting, policy-changing work" and went on to explain that although the principal could have addressed school-wide issues via mandates, she had given committee members the opportunity to find solutions and lead staff training on how to use them. Nonetheless, because Audrey considered position so important to being a teacher leader, her definition was more often based on "doing" actions like those mentioned above (e.g. selecting a reform model and implementing professional development) instead of influencing her colleagues' beliefs. For instance,

she served as chair of a number of school-wide committees where she was able to act out the role of leader, but she admitted to avoiding confronting a close colleague about her ill-treatment of students, an example that would have shown her use of influence rather than position.

Despite a power differential between teacher leaders and teachers that Audrey identified in her school, she believed that the concept of teacher leadership was supported by teachers. She revealed a distrust among teachers of administrators that was reflected in the quotation above, where teacher leaders are used to do the principal's "dirty work." If this is truly the case, then teacher leadership becomes a way for the principal to have power over teachers rather than to empower them. In addition, Audrey's use of the word, "dirty" suggests that it is dishonest work and would not necessarily earn the respect or support of her colleagues. However, teacher leaders remain teachers and therefore, there is a sense of trust. For example, Audrey said:

> Everyone is really positive about teacher leaders here. Even if they think—perhaps I'm being really negative actually, but if they think I'm being pushy or something, I think everybody feels like we would rather have teachers running the show in a sense than have somebody who is a principal. There is still enough of that mentality, which I disagree with, but it's still there. I think people respond to that and they feel more collegial and they feel more autonomous. Teacher leaders are appreciated and encouraged.

Although Audrey expressed discouragement that her colleagues would distrust administrators, she realized that without this token support for teacher leadership she would have even less authority to do her leadership tasks, especially since she is a younger teacher. Thus, Audrey was willing to take advantage of it so that she may enact her position as teacher leader and do the work she has been commissioned by her

principal to do. Her colleagues' preference for teacher leader action over administrative action gives her more authority.

Unlike Audrey and Phil, Pauline focused on the influential potential of teacher leadership rather than positional authority as she described what teacher leadership ought to look like. She thought that the influence a teacher leader has within her school is directly related to her passions rather than her position or her authority. Further, she implied that if every teacher were allowed to advocate for what she felt passionate about, then many teachers would be leaders. For example, Pauline said:

> If I were a principal and I had teacher leaders and they felt passionate and they showed real teacher leadership, I think I would support them in their passions. Their passions grow and improve the school. If that meant giving up part of my power so be it.

Pauline recognized that encouraging teacher leadership within a school would require a principal to empower teachers by providing them opportunities to develop their passions. Although she spoke hypothetically, Pauline sensed that allowing teachers to follow their passions would mean that more teacher leaders would emerge in a school, resulting in positive outcomes for students. For example, Pauline's passion to develop individualized curriculum for her students meant she attended countless workshops and professional development activities. Thus, she became well-versed in various instructional techniques and knew that her knowledge would allow her to become a better advocate for her students' needs. However, she found that her passionate advocacy for her students was not always appreciated by her colleagues, who sometimes questioned her methods and criticized her enthusiasm. She seemed to attribute this to a feeling of disempowerment or inability to follow passions that currently exists at her school. Therefore, Pauline saw a

need for her principal to empower all teachers so that as each is allowed to become passionate, they begin to feel empowered and more supportive of each other's passions.

Allison also believed that teacher leadership is about influence rather than positional authority. She acknowledged that teacher leadership may look different depending on who is enacting it. Allison contrasted two types of teacher leaders. She discounted the first type of leader, those who are more vocal leaders, saying that because they are more interested in expressing their ideas and being heard, they will have less influence over their colleagues than those teacher leaders who are willing to listen and want to give others the opportunity to be heard. For instance, Allison said:

> There are certain teacher leaders that are the strong-voiced teachers, kind of the strong-willed and strong-voiced, and always voicing their opinion…With those types of teacher leaders, I see a lot of eye-rolling and people looking at them like, 'Oh here they go again. They are going to say whatever' or 'Would they just shut up? I want to get out of this meeting,' things like that. There are always those certain people in the school that think that. Now there are other types of teacher leaders, though, that do it by influence, I guess you could say. Those teacher leaders are just perceived as being positive, someone that is easily followed. People kind of jump on their bandwagons…The ones I am thinking of in particular have that natural charisma, you know. They are just so positive that you automatically are kind of drawn to them. It's not overbearing like you want me to do everything this way or you want people to do everything your way.

According to Allison, not only do these more influential teacher leaders listen more to their colleague' ideas, but they also have a natural charm that helps them win approval. Allison favored this style of teacher leadership and felt more comfortable identifying herself as this type of teacher leader. She suggested that there was a time before she began leadership training when she worried that she was not "strong-voiced" enough to be an influential teacher leader. However, as her understanding of teacher leadership

developed, she realized that a more quietly influential teacher leader can be just as effective as a vocal teacher leader. For example, she said:

> There are a lot of teacher leaders in that cohort who are the very opinionated, 'I'm going to state my opinion. I'm a strong teacher and I'm going to state my opinion' and they are very effective teacher leaders. Then there are others that are able to sit back and they are very effective teacher leaders as well. So the biggest thing I took from that is that it is okay to be not that strong-voiced person.

Allison recognized that a teacher leader can have a significant influence on her colleagues by listening carefully, asking probing and clarifying questions, and making gentle suggestions, all behaviors that she utilized throughout the cohort courses.

Within the school setting, Allison, like Pauline, felt that a teacher leader's role was to be an advocate for her students and a supporter of her colleagues. She understood that some teachers need additional support from their colleagues to feel confident enough to share their ideas. Allison suggested that a teacher who looks passive or who does not seem to care enough to get involved may actually feel disempowered or ignored. She believed that teacher leaders should work to empower their colleagues rather than placing this responsibility on the principal as Audrey and Pauline felt was necessary. For example, Allison said:

> Those passive, sit-back-and-go-through-the-day-type of teachers, I feel like they don't feel empowered. They feel like they don't have a voice and they don't have any say in things like that when they do. I feel like they kind of need that push to say what you are saying is important. Say it. I feel like, kind of going back to the ideal situation, I feel like every teacher in the school should be a teacher leader. All of us have something important to say. I think if every teacher was a teacher leader, then we would accomplish a lot more, and a lot more really effective things within the school.

Allison felt that all teachers should be leaders who encourage each other to express their ideas, to believe in their power to change things, and to find their leadership paradigm.

Though Allison was more explicit in saying that all teachers should be leaders, Pauline certainly agreed with this belief even though Pauline thought principals should do the empowering while Allison believed that empowerment could happen among teachers. This suggests Allison's strong belief in the capacity of teacher leadership to influence outside of position or authority, a vision that none of the other key informants expressed so adamantly.

Allison also saw teacher leadership as reciprocal, a partnership where teachers with various strengths help each other improve their practice. Allison had experienced such help with her teaching from some of her colleagues. She said:

> Other teacher leaders that I have had contact with, they have just been so useful in my own teaching like seeing how they do things has completely influenced the way that I do things. I agree with everything that they say most of the time. That is how I feel like [teacher leaders] should be utilized the most. I feel like teachers should be helping teachers. Whether or not teachers should be influencing other teachers…I don't know that that is true. I feel like the students should always be our biggest influence. That is what I like about this school. We always look at what is going on with the students. That is another big thing is the teachers in this school that are teacher leaders are the ones who are saying, 'let's look at what the students are doing.' They are the ones who are kind of pulling it in that direction. They are influencing that.

Although Allison defined teacher leadership as influential, she also found the idea of teachers influencing each other problematic and ultimately believed that students should be influencing the work of teachers and school leaders. This definition of teacher leadership was a more egalitarian and critical view than other key informants expressed, and was reflected in the way Allison advocated for the at-risk students with whom she worked.

How teacher leadership is facilitated

The key informants all talked about how teacher leadership can be facilitated within schools. Phil and Audrey felt that school structures were essential for the enactment of teacher leadership. This related to their belief that teacher leadership was positional because they both felt that structures which allowed teachers to be in leadership positions were important. Phil acknowledged that just saying a principal supported teacher leadership was not enough if she did not back the words by providing structures that allowed teachers to be leaders. For example, he said:

> Unfortunately we don't really get to lead much…[Our principal] will stand in a meeting and tell us we're leaders but we are leading a committee? She is on the committee; there is nobody leading it but her. There is no way to sit in a committee and come to any other conclusion. I think that is one of the things our building lacks is we don't have the teacher leaders which is really too bad as I sit here and say that about myself. But I don't think it will happen or is close to happening.

Phil did not feel his principal utilized teachers as leaders or allowed them to enact leadership within appropriate school structures such as at meetings, a point that indicates Phil's desire for more balanced power within the school.

The importance of structures to Phil became even clearer as he talked about what kind of principal he hoped to be. He described setting up a meeting with teachers before the start of the school year to spend time talking with and listening to them. He felt this demonstrated his belief that teachers have a better understanding of what is truly going on in the school. For instance, he said:

> I want my teachers to understand that I will listen to them. I want them to know first of all I would hope in that summer before we start I could get everyone to come in and talk to me for 15, 30, 45 minutes so I can just listen. Show them that I can listen. Then after I've listened and they've shared and they've listened and I've shared, then hopefully at some point we will realize that we are working together a lot more than you are working for me. Even though technically they are working for me and my word will be the final word, I want the foundation to be filled from the

bottom and not be coming down upon them. I want to be on everyone's level.

Phil associated listening with providing support for teacher leadership and felt that by providing a structure for teachers to express their ideas, he would be constructing a more egalitarian school. However, he talked about teachers possessively, as if they will work for him rather than the school or the students. He indicated that listening to teachers did not necessarily mean that their ideas would be equal to his. Thus, there is an inequity in his view despite the structures that he wishes to establish for the sharing of ideas. On the other hand, since Phil was speaking from an administrator's perspective, he may be considering the greater extent to which he will be held accountable for what happens in the school. Therefore, he must take responsibility for what happens in the school, which explains why he privileges his ideas over teachers' ideas. Regardless of his motivations for speaking as he does, however, Phil's focus on the enactment of teacher leadership through structures such as meetings made teacher leadership a positional construct that lost some of its potential influence among teachers to affect social change within schools.

Like Phil, Audrey wanted clear structures to facilitate teacher leadership within the school. The structures she sought were even more practical and specific than those that Phil wanted. Audrey felt that the opportunity to lead was not enough because she had been given many opportunities to lead within structural contexts such as committees and working groups at her school. Despite these opportunities, she still struggled to be what she considered a good teacher leader because she needed additional structural forms of support. For instance, Audrey said:

> I need two preps. If I'm going to do all this leadership stuff and not kill myself in the process and do it in a sustainable way, I have got to have a prep period for my actual instructional time and I have got to have a prep

> period for my climate committee work. I can't do it. You can't expect anyone unless they were like I was until four months ago, either just married and hanging out or single and not doing much. You can't expect anybody to work like that.

Audrey recognized that this lack of further support structures excluded certain teachers who had leadership capacity but were unable or unwilling to invest extra hours in order to become teacher leaders. Audrey believed that these teachers needed not only the opportunity structures that Phil talked about such as invitations to lead committees or working groups. They also needed practical structures for their extra work such as extra planning time. Only with these structures in place would teacher leadership be possible for most teachers. For example, she said:

> There are teachers I know who have great ideas and want to get behind the new orientation program next year but they have already learned like I'm learning you can't do all of that. They have got more preps than I do. They have more classes to prepare for than I do so they need that time too. They would. They would jump all over it if they could have [an hour] every day.

Audrey herself was struggling with this issue as she, like several other cohort members, had recently become a new parent. She wanted to continue to be a teacher leader in the school, but felt she must go home earlier than before because she wanted to spend time with her family. Audrey believed that the fact that teacher leaders are expected to make significant sacrifices is a serious structural support issue related to the concept of teacher leadership, and must be addressed if teacher leaders are to be utilized to their full capacity. The type of structural support that Audrey advocated for has the potential to re-culture the teaching profession and redistribute power across a school if it is implemented at a school level. However, she did not advocate that administrators provide these structures for all teachers so that they may each have time to become teacher leaders.

Instead, Audrey believed that only positional teacher leaders ought to benefit from these structures, which she considered additional rewards for being a teacher leader.

Allison also focused on structures that would facilitate teacher leadership. Like Phil, she believed opportunities to enact teacher leadership were important and that these could be provided through structures. However, unlike Audrey, she did not link structures with rewards for only a few positional teacher leaders. Rather, Allison discussed a school-wide structure that not only gave all teachers the opportunity to lead, but also empowered them by giving them input into the school decision-making process. She explained that the administration was using a reform model that empowered teachers by setting up a structure allowing them to communicate their ideas. Within small groups, teachers shared their ideas about potential school improvements and changes. If there was a problem that the administration wanted to solve, they asked these working groups to come up with possible solutions. For instance, Allison said:

> In our small groups it is a much, kind of safer environment and we all get together and we give our opinions and then we give just notes, almost like an outlined bullet point note sheet about what everybody said. We don't all have to agree on something. We just say here are all the things that were said in our meeting. We don't say who said them. We just say here is what all was said and then that is all taken into consideration.

Allison believed that the structure of the small working group allowed teachers to share their ideas in a safe environment, and to become influential among their colleagues and the administration at her school. Though this concept is a type of structural support, it still focuses on a conception of teacher leadership as influential rather than positional. It also complies with Allison's belief that every teacher in the school should be a teacher leader. In fact, it is just this sort of structure that allows for that kind of expectation to come to fruition.

Pauline agreed that principals need to facilitate teacher leadership; however, she focused more on how principals can encourage teacher leaders to influence their colleagues through interactional structures. From Pauline's perspective, principals should notice how different teachers are influential among their colleagues, and then encourage them to pursue those passions. For example, Pauline's principal would notice that Pauline had a passion for creating and implementing individualized curriculum for special education students, and would support Pauline's pursuit of this passion by creating opportunities for Pauline to seek further training. The principal would also model through her interactions with Pauline the kind of respect she expected other teachers to have for Pauline's expertise. For instance, Pauline said:

> The principal should sit back and watch what [teacher leaders] are good at and then support the teacher leader in what they have a passion for.

This description complies with Pauline's belief that teacher leadership is about influence rather than position. However, Pauline put enough responsibility on the teacher to make an impression on principals by exhibiting their passions that the potential influence is limited. Pauline did not recognize the possibility that a principal might be blind to a teacher's strengths simply because that principal values something different than the teacher can offer. This again places more power in the hands of the principal, making it difficult for some teachers to enact influential teacher leadership.

WHAT COMPLICATES OR ENABLES ENACTMENT OF TEACHER LEADERSHIP

The key informants had all been enacting teacher leadership in some way at the school level before beginning their leadership training. Phil, Audrey, and Pauline had been on committees though Audrey had taken a leadership position on the committees more often than either Phil or Pauline. Pauline had also been offering her expertise about

special education to colleagues in an attempt to quietly influence their classroom practice. Likewise, Allison had been happy to share her knowledge on working with at-risk students with colleagues when they asked her for assistance. This section includes a description of how the key informants believed they were perceived by their colleagues as teacher leaders in light of their beliefs about teacher leadership discussed above. Then it discusses the potential conflict between support and challenge within teacher leadership enactment.

How enactment is affected by perceptions of teacher leaders

The four key informants believed that their colleagues identified them as teacher leaders. Phil felt he had been a teacher leader in his school for some time. He acknowledged that his colleagues perceived his leadership ability because they often asked him for advice or help. However, Phil valued his principal's perception a little more than his colleagues'. He felt frustrated by what he considered his principal's lack of support for his teacher leadership efforts. For example, he said:

> I would say that I would be one of the people that [teachers] would consider a leader. [My principal] will tell you that I'm a leader. I don't feel like I'm a leader because I don't feel like I'm ever given the opportunity to make a decision. I don't feel empowered. There was a time that I did. I convinced her to do some departmentalization a few years ago. I put this block schedule together. I put 5 pages and sat down with her. I had a meeting at somebody else's house. I went through all this stuff and we went to another teacher's house and laid all these things and discussed how we were going to approach [the principal] with it and she said yes. After one year she said no. She said we weren't going to do it again. She thought that there were problems with it.

Phil believed that his influence, hard work, and initiative was not appreciated or supported by the principal. The fact that his colleagues looked to him for advice meant less to him than having the authority of position and structures to enact leadership. Thus,

his experiences had led him to want to become a positional leader so that he would have

the authority to change how teacher leaders are perceived in schools. Phil believed that

his colleagues saw more leadership potential in him than his principal did. For instance,

he said:

> I've had a lot of people tell me they wish I was the principal there. I've
> been hearing that for five years. I think there is a generally positive
> feeling. I don't think every single person feels that way. I think there are a
> few people that see me as a little standoffish. I think I'm generally
> pleasant to everyone but I'm definitely, you know, I like some people
> more than others.

Phil felt that being a leader did not always mean he would be popular, but he recognized

that as a principal he would have more authority to create change than he had had as a

teacher leader.

Audrey believed that most of her colleagues considered her a teacher leader

because of the positional teacher leadership work she did across the school. They

recognized her as leader of committees, book studies, and critical friends groups. She was

always volunteering to take on further responsibilities, and her colleagues could not help

but notice this. In addition, Audrey felt that since her colleagues came to her for help, she

was well-respected. For example, she said:

> I think I am perceived definitely as a teacher leader. That is for sure. That
> is a given. People come to me. I'm not always the one that stands up and
> presents things at faculty meetings and runs activities but oftentimes I get
> a lot of follow-up emails or questions or 'Can you point me to this
> resource? Can you point me to that resource?' I tend to have pretty good
> follow-through so I think people appreciate that. That is why they keep
> asking me.

Audrey noted that her colleagues' perceptions of her as a teacher leader were not just

about the positions she held on committees or the professional development activities that

she led. They also sought her advice because she was willing to give help and she showed

commitment to responding to their needs. She identified this skill as something that her colleagues valued.

However, Audrey felt frustrated by teachers who did not appreciate her leadership skills, and she believed these teachers actively interfered with her work as a positional teacher leader. She reacted to these colleagues with tolerance, but did seem concerned that they might negatively influence her other colleagues' perceptions of her as a leader. For instance, Audrey said:

> I think I'm well liked. I think some people think that I'm an overachiever, probably accurately. I think that the three teachers in my building who are just do nothings—and everybody knows that they are on the margins, everybody knows that they are definitely mediocre—they don't like me. They probably think that I am pushy, maybe a know-it-all. Those are those three people. No one cares about what they think because if we based all of our decisions on what those people thought then we wouldn't do anything. I ignore them. I listen to what they say and I reply diplomatically. In fact, just last week I had to reply to this one badgering email in a very diplomatic way and I did. Problem solved. Whatever. It doesn't get to me. Those three people don't get under my skin.

Audrey wanted her colleagues to appreciate her teacher leadership work so the fact that she recognizes that some of her colleagues do not appreciate or support this work angered her. These teachers are also reminders that she does not have the kind of positional authority necessary to affect significantly their attitudes and behaviors.

Allison and Pauline believed that they had expertise in working with certain groups of students. However, unlike Allison, Pauline did not feel her colleagues valued her expertise. Pauline recognized that in the past she had offered her expertise in a "cocky" way that resulted in her colleagues often ignoring her advice. But since beginning leadership training, Pauline had worked on building her relationships with her colleagues by offering advice in a more positive and less condescending way. For

instance, she had praised a colleague for her success in working with a difficult student, which had improved the relationship she had with that teacher. She also noticed that her relationship with the principal at her school had changed. Now the principal perceived her as a teacher leader. For example, Pauline said:

> [The principal] has come to me about her decisions she has had to make as an administrator. She asks what I feel. What do I think? 'What would you do?' I've asked her about some decisions she's made and asked her to explain things to me. I ask her why she has made certain decisions. So we've had a lot of good conversations. I think I'm a stronger teacher now. Not strong as in personality out there but stronger because I feel I can do my job better.

Pauline believed that improving her relationships with her principal and colleagues had changed their perception of her. She noticed that her colleagues were taking her advice and that her principal was asking for her opinions. Thus, she was experiencing a greater influence within her school and felt she could identify herself as an influential teacher leader.

Conversely, Allison had not had to work on changing her relationships with her colleagues in order to be perceived as a teacher leader. As a naturally unassuming person, she had found that her colleagues did not feel intimidated by asking her for advice. Rather, they had identified her as an expert on specific groups of students she had worked with in the past. Allison did not need to promote herself as an expert on these groups of students; her experience of having worked with them was enough to bring her colleagues to her with questions and concerns. For example, Allison said:

> A lot of my colleagues come to me because they know that my first two years of teaching were strictly junior high and they know that my experience at [my former school] was with at-risk students. That helps them too. They come to me a lot for things with lower achieving students and discipline issues, and students not being interested in something. 'How do you get them interested?' Things like that.

Allison approached her role as a teacher leader with humility, and thus found she was

able to support her colleagues without coming off as arrogant. Thus, Allison found that

her colleagues perceived her as a teacher leader without her having to assert her expertise

in a way that she felt uncomfortable doing. She was influential without being too

assertive or pushy.

Teacher leadership enactment as supportive versus challenging

All four key informants struggled with how to balance the support element of

teacher leadership enactment with the challenge element. Phil wanted to be both

supportive and challenging, but found it easier to be a supportive teacher leader and thus,

avoided challenging his colleagues too much. However, his desire to advocate for his

students sometimes caused him to feel conflicted though it appeared that Phil valued his

relationships with colleagues more than his role as student advocate. For example, Phil

did not challenge a colleague's treatment of a student even though he thought she was

wrong. He said:

> I'll ask [the student] what does he want to say about this. I listen. I walk
> away thinking if he is telling the truth, she was wrong. Is my role as a
> teacher to tell her she is wrong? That is a good question because maybe it
> is, maybe it's not. I wasn't there. Maybe there was more to it. Maybe there
> isn't. If I open up this conflict with this teacher, because it will be a
> conflict because I'm questioning her judgment, in the long run is it going
> to be worth it? Is this teacher going to change? Of course my answer is no,
> not after 30 years. Is the kid hurt by it? Not anymore, if he ever was. I'm
> not sure he ever was. It's been going on for two years.

Phil did attempt to be supportive of the student, showing that he cared for the boy by

giving him an opportunity to share his side of the story. But it is also clear that Phil

believed that as a teacher he could not influence his colleague to change her behavior. He

would need greater positional authority to be able to do this kind of leadership work.

Conversely, Phil was willing to go out of his way to support his fellow teachers in situations that were less controversial such as instructional matters. For instance, he was happy to share curricular materials and instructional expertise with his colleagues. He said:

> The guy across the hall is doing a novel right now. The last three years he didn't do one. He's heard me say a few times that kids hate the Basel [Reader]. I don't know if I had an influence on that or not. I got him the novels. I gave him some of mine. I even found this old teacher-created material, like a packet, I gave him that. I even gave him a summary of the books. He wouldn't even actually have to read it. I'm sure he didn't but he is doing that right now.

Phil felt that offering such assistance to his colleagues would be well received whereas confronting them about behavioral issues might cause conflict, something that he wished to avoid until he had adequate positional authority to challenge his colleagues. Phil also seemed to feel more confident about his expertise and credibility when it came to instructional issues. For instance, he said:

> If I really believe I'm doing things the right way, I will gladly not only tell a teacher about it. I'll go in and do it. I'll go in and teach it. They can just sit and watch me.

When it came to teaching issues, Phil felt a certain expertise that he did not feel about challenging his colleagues concerning behavioral issues. Thus, he enacted teacher leadership using support skills he had developed throughout his career.

Another way that Phil found to build positive and supportive relationships with his colleagues was to compliment their work. He used this support skill as a way to get his colleagues to open up and talk about their work. For example, he said:

> Right now sometimes I see people do things well and I make sure I compliment them and see if I can get them to talk about it. There was a 5th grade teacher who did something really neat last year…I made sure I complimented her on that. She was appreciative.

Phil believed that using support skills to enact teacher leadership helped him build positive relationships with his colleagues. These relationships helped him build credibility and authority in the area of instruction. However, it may not have helped to change the behavioral climate at the school or pushed his colleagues to change the ways they treated their students.

Although Audrey felt that her various teacher leadership positions gave her the authority to challenge her colleagues when it came to committee work or authorized school-wide improvement initiatives, she found it difficult to challenge her colleagues on a more personal level. Like Phil, she wanted to avoid conflict, especially with the teachers with whom she worked closely. However, Audrey was happy to assist colleagues when they came to her for help. For instance, she said:

> I guess you could say when I see a colleague in trouble or struggling, when I notice it—not when they come to me, that is different (because) then I just try to help them. If I notice it then I am not real straight forward about it.

If her colleagues made the first move by asking her for help, Audrey would assist them. However, she avoided confronting her colleagues when they did not seek her help because she was afraid that she would be perceived as pushy or haughty. This desire to avoid conflict could have something to do with Audrey's perception that her colleagues felt she was too inexperienced to be a teacher leader. Nonetheless, she recognized in herself a need to become more confident in confronting colleagues when she noticed they needed help. Just such a situation had come up with one of the teachers on her team, who had become stressed out about the behavior of a couple of students. When planning how she would deal with the situation, Audrey said:

> I can even point out to her that I noticed yesterday when you and I were here so late, I just wonder if that really affected your day and how it makes you feel and I'm worried about you. I don't see anybody, especially this teacher, thinking that I'm picking on her.

Audrey realized that the way she framed her offer of support was essential if she wanted the offer to be well-received and did not want the teacher to be insulted. She utilized this support skill to build positive relationships with her closest colleagues as she challenged their practice.

Pauline considered herself a teacher leader because she had particular expertise about special education. She felt that support was an essential component of this role, which she enacted by attending meetings, taking responsibility for helping students, and offering her expertise when teachers needed it. Sometimes Pauline supported her colleagues by offering to take on a student they were having trouble reaching. For example, she said:

> How do I support them? If they have a problem with a student that they can't handle and ask if they can come to my small group, I have no problem with that. If they need me to do something to the best of my knowledge, I will do it for them. I go to every one of my grade level readings. I go to every one of my collaborative meetings.

However, like Phil and Audrey, Pauline did not always feel confident challenging her colleagues. Pauline wanted to challenge her colleagues' perceptions of students when she saw that a teacher was making assumptions or stereotyping a student because he or she was identified. However, Pauline was reticent about challenging her colleagues because they had ignored her efforts to challenge them to think differently so many times before. But she believed her leadership training had helped her learn how to speak challenging words in a more positive and influential way. For instance, she said:

> [The courses] gave me the words but I still fight to say them because I still wonder, 'what are they going to think when I say this?' You still have to work with those people.

Pauline had begun to develop ways to be less confrontational and more positive when she challenged her colleagues, but she still needed to build her confidence to enact this kind of teacher leadership.

Allison described teacher leadership enactment as being part of a community of teachers who were also leaders and who enacted leadership by helping each other in various ways. Allison's community perspective called for a more egalitarian enactment of teacher leadership where all teachers are encouraged to both support and challenge each other. For instance, Allison said:

> I'm not one of the few leaders. There are lots of leaders. I am able to learn from them and I'm just kind of in that middle place right now where I am able to learn but yet still kind of influence others as well.

Allison believed that creating a community would build trust and therefore allow teachers to more comfortably challenge each other to change their practice. She recognized that the positional view of teacher leadership limited the interactional influence that could occur within a community of leaders who were also learners. She also acknowledged that some teachers become leaders because they are influential and not because they take on extra responsibilities or are appointed to lead by administrators. For example, she said:

> It's the teacher leaders that want to do something, the people who I perceive as a teacher leader whether they think they are or not. I feel like those are the teachers who would initiate something.

Like Pauline, Allison believed that the enactment of teacher leadership was related to each member of the community being able to initiate change by following their passions. Within this model, Allison felt that teachers would become leaders in areas that most

interested them or where they were experts. Thus, all teachers would have the opportunity to lead, distributing power across the school and building trust within the community. Allison's view of teacher leadership enactment was the only one that allowed for supportive and challenging behaviors to exist comfortably.

SUMMARY

This chapter has explored two conflicting paradigms of teacher leadership revealed through this study: teacher leadership as positional and teacher leadership as influential. The positional paradigm follows a more traditional view of leadership in that it maintains a leadership hierarchy within the school, allocating power to individuals in specific and defined positions. It is a more comfortable paradigm for many teachers and administrators because it is easier to define and control. Its popularity with Phil and Audrey may be attributed to their previous experiences with leadership including how leadership has been constructed by administrators in their schools. They may also be drawn to it because they see it as a stepping stone to the administrative positions they both seek.

On the other hand, the influential teacher leadership paradigm calls into question traditional constructions of leadership. It requires that power be distributed among all teachers and calls teachers collectively to become leaders. This is challenging to both administrators and teachers because it requires the former to relinquish power and the other to take greater responsibility and initiative. The low status of teachers presents a significant challenge to this paradigm, but could be the reason why Pauline and Allison are drawn to it. They seek professional empowerment as well as the opportunity to follow their passions for teaching. They want to remain teachers, but feel that their work is

impacting student learning not just in their own classrooms, but throughout the school.

Further implications of these findings will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter concludes the study by addressing the ways that the findings answer the three research questions, how these answers contribute to what we know about teacher leadership and educational leadership theory, and the implications this study has for future research and teacher leader preparation programs.

ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to determine how teacher leaders become critical through a teacher leadership master's degree program, this study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What, if anything, exists in these teachers' histories and character that has allowed them to already meet one or more of Foster's four demands?
2. Given the cohort context, how have their courses helped or hindered these teachers in meeting Foster's four demands?
3. Now that they have finished their master's, how do these teachers connect Foster's four demands to their daily work?

To answer each of these questions, we must consider each of Foster's four demands in reference to the findings. Foster calls educational leaders to be critical, transformative, educative, and ethical. Critical leaders reflect on and question inequities within the education system; transformative leaders create democratic structures that activate the power within each member of the school community; educative leaders challenge others within the school community, especially those who hold the most power, to join them in becoming critical; and ethical leaders work toward a communal vision of a more just society. These four demands, when applied to teacher leadership, create an image of what we can refer to from here on as "critical teacher leadership." In the following sections, the three questions will be discussed as they pertain to the findings with the four demands being addressed in separate paragraphs.

Question 1: Teacher histories and characteristics

The first question explores the participants' histories and characteristics, asking if and how their life experiences have allowed them to begin their teacher leader preparation with notions of what it means to be a critical teacher leader. Beginning with Foster's demand to become critical, there is evidence that some teachers were already questioning inequities within their schools prior to beginning their training program. For example, before starting the program, Allison had realized that the way students were placed in the program for at-risk students at her school was arbitrary in that there were some students who were not truly at-risk while others who would benefit from the program had been purposely excluded. She had also recognized that the labeling of these students as at-risk caused them to be unfairly judged and stereotyped by teachers, administrators, and other students, and that students in the program were subjected to unjust treatment as a result of this labeling. We know that Allison was reflecting critically on these issues prior to beginning her teacher leadership coursework because she talked about designing her action research project around these observations. The action research course was the first one taken by the cohort, and because that was one course taught outside of the ELPS department, it can be assumed that there was likely not a significant critical component to the course.

It is more difficult to determine whether teachers were transformative prior to beginning their leadership training. Since most of them were not in situations where they had been given opportunities to establish more democratic school structures or where they were able to activate power in their colleagues, they may not have had opportunities to talk about, write about, or display this quality early on. However, it could certainly be

argued that some teachers were likely to have at least been interested in transformative

leadership. The teacher who comes to mind most readily is Pauline. In her role as a

special education teacher, she had attended many workshops and professional

development activities. She talked about how these activities had inspired her to try new

methods with her students, some of which she described as empowering. Another

example of transformative leadership was when Allison encouraged her students to

engage in a debate about whether a sign in the hallway that identified the location of the

at-risk program's classrooms should be taken down. She hoped through this debate that

the students would find a voice and become empowered to seek the change that they

desired. Therefore, although Pauline and Allison did not necessarily identify these as

examples of transformative leadership, they both activated power within their students

and were thus, transformative.

When it came to the teachers exhibiting the demand to be educative, there is some

evidence that some of them were already engaging in educative behaviors before they

began their training. Allison again comes to mind as she talked about having gone to the

administrators in her building to question the way that students were identified to be part

of the program for at-risk students. She attempted to challenge them to think differently

about the purpose of the program and how labeling the students was negatively affecting

their behavior, performance, and self-esteem. Although her effort was not rewarded with

a change in how students were identified, she nonetheless took a chance by confronting

the administrators, who had greater power over policy within the school. Audrey also did

some educative work when she led a school-wide initiative to implement positive

behavior management. Although some of her colleagues were resistant to the idea, she stood up to them, telling them that this would be better for the students.

Lastly, being ethical prior to starting the program would require a teacher being able to show that he or she was engaged in what we could call school or community activism. There is little evidence that shows this kind of involvement before, during, or even after the teacher leadership training. Overall, what we might call advocacy occurred on a small-scale basis as teachers like Pauline or Allison campaigned for the special groups of students with whom they worked. This level of advocacy occurred at the school level only. None of the teachers were engaged in community-level activism.

Question 2: Critical teacher leader development

The second research question asked how teachers were engaged in critical teacher leadership development through their courses and the cohort structure. Much of the data address this question since most of the findings reported in Chapter 4 were about the leadership development process. But let's take a moment to concentrate on how these findings relate specifically to Foster's four demands. First, the courses undoubtedly pushed teachers to become more critical. Course assignments, class discussions, and multi-media were all used to challenge each teacher's thinking. There is plenty of evidence from class discussion alone that teachers developed critical consciousness during their preparation. For example, they questioned why segregation is still a problem, why school funding is not more equitable, and whether teachers have fair expectations of parents. However, it is less clear to what extent teachers actually became critical versus learning to espouse critical beliefs during class or in course assignments in order to please their professors. For instance, Megan wrote a paper that incorporated a critical

perspective of leadership, but did not participate in many critical class discussions so I wondered if she really believed in the ideas she wrote about or if she was simply writing what she thought her professor would like to hear. There is also evidence that teachers struggled to maintain a consistent critical perspective. For example, during a class discussion, Audrey criticized parents for not valuing education and for contributing to the cycle of poverty. When given the chance to member check the findings, she even commented on her reluctance to change this perspective because it would mean she would have to acknowledge her privilege and give up some of her power, which she said nobody wants to do.

The third section of Chapter 4, which discussed the relational aspects of leadership preparation speaks to whether teachers became more transformative through their training. Unfortunately, when given opportunities to create more egalitarian structures that would activate the power within each of their cohort colleagues, it appears that most of them chose not to do this. Instead of creating a trusting and supportive atmosphere in which to explore critical issues, they chose to intimidate, tease, and ignore their colleagues. Although it is certainly possible that this perception was not shared by all cohort teachers, it was something that was validated through member checks. My observations of these behaviors were confirmed by professors as well as by the key informants though they were aware of these dynamics to varying degrees. For example, Pauline and Audrey were able to talk frankly about what Audrey called "relational aggression" while Phil and Allison were less aware of the negative dynamics.

To some extent, the cohort dynamics affected how educative the teachers were able to become in their courses. Observations included many examples of teachers

challenging each other to think more critically. However, as many of the comments included in the section on developing critical consciousness showed, teachers more often agreed with each other. There are not many examples of teachers disagreeing. In fact, instead of sharing verbal disagreement, it was more often observed that teachers would show a negative response to a comment physically by rolling their eyes or whispering to the teacher sitting next to them. These were behaviors that Phil, Audrey, and Pauline all noticed. Thus, it appears that educative leadership was limited by relational dynamics within the cohort.

Finally, there is little evidence that the courses or cohort structure presented opportunities for teachers to become ethical through advocacy experiences. Although they could certainly share outside advocacy experiences with their classmates, these kinds of opportunities were not part of the program. The one opportunity that teachers would have had to participate in activism would have been through their action research project. However, since they took the action research course first and since they were encouraged to begin designing their project at the start of their training, it is less likely that they would have chosen topics relevant to Foster's demand to be ethical.

Question 3: Enactment of Foster's four demands

The final question asks how teachers were able to enact Foster's four demands through their work in schools during their training or after completing it. The evidence relevant to this question is found mostly in the last section of Chapter 5, where teacher leadership enactment is discussed. Again, we see evidence of all four key informants enacting the demand to be critical. For example, Phil and Audrey both talked about questioning their colleagues' behavior management strategies while Allison and Pauline

discussed how effectively the educational programs at their schools addressed students'

needs. We clearly see that all four key informants became more critical through their

teacher leadership preparation. However, being a critical teacher leader means enacting

all four of Foster's demands.

There is also evidence that teachers became transformative leaders although some

had not been given opportunities to enact this demand as yet. For example, Audrey had

opportunities to create democratic and empowering structures for teachers in her school

since she was part of a critical friends group. However, Phil was only able to talk about

how if he were principal, he would like to create structures to give teachers an

opportunity to share their thoughts and ideas. He talked about the importance of listening

to teachers, and expressed his frustration that his current principal did not listen.

Nonetheless, his interest in creating these structures shows that he had adopted the

transformative approach and hoped to enact it when he became a principal. Allison

presented another good example of enacting transformative leadership when she talked

about her participation in professional learning communities at her school. She liked the

fact that everyone was given the opportunity to share their ideas and that the ideas were

all written down to be reported back to the administration. She felt these structures

allowed all group members to voice their ideas, which she found empowering to

everyone in the group. Her support of and contribution to these groups engaged her in

transformative leadership.

Teachers were also able to enact educative leadership upon completing their

leadership training. The best example of this is found in Audrey's description of the book

study group she started which read about critical race theory, and the school-wide

professional development activity that she led to critique the work of Ruby Payne. These two initiatives were led by Audrey, inspired by her coursework, and intentionally educative. She wanted to challenge her colleagues to become more critical, and without her leadership, these initiatives would probably not have occurred. Other smaller scale examples also show that teachers became educative leaders. For example, Allison confronted teachers in her department on an individual basis when they stereotyped the students in the at-risk program. Pauline also was able to inspire one of her colleagues to think more positively about her ability to manage a special education student in her class. Moreover, it appears that this was a demand that at least some teachers did not feel comfortable enacting before their training and which their preparation helped them develop. For instance, Pauline and Allison both expressed that they felt they had found the words and the attitude to become educative through their teacher leadership courses.

To finish, it was again difficult to determine to what extent teachers were able to enact the demand for ethical leadership. They did talk about the idea of moral leadership in their leadership papers. However, just talking about moral or ethical leadership does not fully meet Foster's demand since to be ethical, leaders must actively work for social change. To me, this means working within the community. For the teachers who were part of the cohort, this could have been working at the district level as well. However, if there were few structures created to support this kind of work within the district, they would need to go outside of their schools or districts. None of the teachers discussed getting involved in this type of activism. Of course, if we consider ethical leadership only to be leading unselfishly and with good intentions, then some of our teachers were able to enact this demand. For example, Allison and Pauline really were advocates for their

students. They both made decisions that placed their students' needs first, and enacted

leadership with that motive in mind.

Therefore, to varying degrees, teachers were able to meet Foster's four demands.

They exhibited critical, transformative, and educative leadership prior to and after

completing their training. However, the cohort dynamics might have limited the extent to

which they were able to practice these demands during their leadership development

courses. There also seemed to be a need for expanded discussion of and opportunities for

the development of the advocacy element of ethical leadership.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE LITERATURE

The literature reviewed for this study indicated a need for an influential

conception of teacher leadership. We saw that overall, positional teacher leadership had

little effect on teaching and learning. More specifically, a number of studies found that

the conception of teacher leadership as positional maintains the conventional school

leadership hierarchy by utilizing teacher leaders as middle-managers, and that as such,

many teachers are reticent to become teacher leaders. Other studies indicated that

positional teacher leadership challenges the normative teaching culture, which leads to

teacher resistance to the work of these leaders. Finally, we saw that despite positional

teacher leadership being defined by titles and roles, there is significant ambiguity about

teacher leadership roles and responsibilities, and thus, those who become positional

teacher leaders find themselves with little power to determine the nature of their

leadership work. All of these issues explain why positional teacher leadership has not had

a significant impact on school change and reform.

Thus, scholars in the field have called for a new conception of teacher leadership, one that I have chosen to call "influential teacher leadership" throughout this study. However, there is little research that utilizes this conception of teacher leadership, which I would argue is the result of confusion among scholars as to how we define teacher leadership. For example, participants in studies about teacher leadership have included department heads, curriculum coordinators, mentors, instructional coaches, professional learning community leaders, committee chairs, union representatives, etc. Thus it appears that teacher leadership has most often been defined by the authority allocated to a position or role, and that past notions of teacher leadership ignore the call for a broader, more inclusive vision of teacher leadership as based on influence relationships. Moreover, I propose that it is quite possibly the result of defining teacher leadership as positional in most of our literature that we have seen such disappointing findings, and that the promise of teacher leadership has yet to be realized.

In addition, the findings of this study reported in Chapter 5 support the existing literature, demonstrating that ambiguity in the definition of teacher leadership extends beyond the scholarly community to schools. This was precisely why I argued in Chapter 2 that the way researchers identify participants can affect the results of a study. In asking teachers and principals to identify those they believed to be teacher leaders, researchers assumed that there was a common definition of teacher leadership among practitioners and scholars. However, it is certainly possible that had researchers asked which teachers had influence in the school, teachers and principals would have identified a completely different set of participants. Therefore, it is important that we distinguish between positional and influential conceptions of teacher leadership. We saw in this study how

having a positional versus an influential view of teacher leadership affected the motivations of teachers to become teacher leaders, teachers' beliefs about the potential of teacher leadership, and teachers' enactment of teacher leadership within their schools. Furthermore, because no clear definition of teacher leadership was ever presented to the teachers within the leadership preparation program, their possible misconceptions about the nature of teacher leadership were never addressed. Therefore, some of them were unable to see the potential discussed by many scholars of an influence-based notion of teacher leadership.

It is impossible to have academic conversations about teacher leadership when we are each using different definitions and conceptions. It is also difficult to determine the validity of studies on teacher leadership when there is no certainty about what each researcher is studying. Therefore, I propose that we begin using another word that embodies the notion of teacher leadership as influential such as Nuevo Teacher Leadership or some other such designation. This would provide a common ground for scholars and practitioners to talk about and study teacher leadership as influential rather than positional. It would distinguish between the first, second and third periods of teacher leadership, and the fourth period, which is markedly different.

CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY

Foster's four demands for educational leadership have been described in this study as embodying a definition we could call "critical educational leadership." It is perhaps confusing to call it "critical" since one of Foster's demands is to be critical, but since the demands are clearly located within the critical theory tradition, it makes sense to call it "critical." Thus, we have a definition of critical educational leadership. However,

this definition has not been specifically applied to teacher leadership despite the fact that the teacher leadership literature has shown us that all conceptions of teacher leadership address issues of power and/or empowerment. For example, positional teacher leadership has been rejected by many teachers particularly because of its link to authority and hierarchies whereas influential teacher leadership proposes to empower all teachers to become leaders.

In addition, the idea of influential teacher leadership has been linked to the distributed leadership design. Distributed leadership, as Spillane describes, is empowering, but not necessarily critical. For example, distributed leadership spreads the responsibility and power across all members of the school community including teachers—it gives teachers the opportunity to be both leaders and to support the leadership of others by becoming followers. However, distributed leadership, although based on influence relationships, does not specify whether influence should be positive or negative. The findings of this study have shown how influence can be negative. For instance, we saw how the relational dynamics of the cohort members prevented some teachers from meeting all four of Foster's demands. Thus, there needs to be a further clarification that influence relationships ought to be positive if they are to impact change in schools. For this reason, I am also calling for a new conception of teacher leadership that we can refer to as "critical teacher leadership," which applies Foster's four demands to the concept of distributed and influential leadership. We can incorporate this critical component of teacher leadership into the definition proposed above so that Nuevo Teacher Leadership describes both influence-based and critical conceptions of teacher leadership as these go hand in hand.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The discussions above show us how important it is that scholars continue to conduct studies on teacher leadership. Due to the use of positional teacher leadership conceptions in defining teacher leadership for so long, it is uncertain to what extent the findings of existing research are valid. Scholars have noted that these findings are disappointing at best. However, the promise of teacher leadership still seems real. Therefore, we need further research on Nuevo Teacher Leadership. In addition, scholars need to integrate the concept of critical teacher leadership, which acknowledges the link between teacher leadership and critical theory. Only through further study will we begin to see how the notion of critical teacher leadership affects school reform and change.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER LEADER PREPARATION

Finally, the findings of this study indicate the importance for teacher leadership preparation programs to make explicit what teacher leadership means. It is not enough to design a program meant to prepare Nuevo or critical teacher leaders if the concept of teacher leadership is never fully explored during the program. It is also not enough to situate a teacher leadership preparation program within an educational leadership department that calls itself critical, and expect that the mission of that department will be adopted by teacher leaders without a struggle. Findings from Chapter 4 indicated that course assignments and class discussions did affect teacher leaders' construction of leadership. However, teachers struggled to apply their developing critical consciousness to social problems in an attempt to promote social change through activism in their schools, districts, and communities. These findings also indicated that there may be some resistance among teachers to construct their individual critical consciousness or to build

supportive and safe spaces where they can develop critical consciousness collaboratively.

In addition, those teacher leader preparation programs interested in creating Nuevo or

critical teacher leaders need to provide further opportunities for teacher leaders to become

activists through their coursework. For example, providing teacher leaders opportunities

to explore how the decisions they make in their classrooms, schools, and communities

affect broad social change and encouraging them to participate in service projects or

social activism will assist them in developing a confident critical consciousness and in

meeting Foster's demand to become ethical. These are important issues to consider as

departments of educational leadership expand their programs to include teacher

leadership development. For these programs to prepare Nuevo or critical teacher leaders,

they must create structures that are conducive to critical development because otherwise,

teacher leadership work will simply be administrative work in disguise.

Furthermore, departments of educational leadership need to consider how they

might support the development of teacher leadership within schools through their

principal preparation programs. Findings from this study indicated that the creation of

structures within schools that support influential conceptions of teacher leadership are

essential. Thus, as principals are prepared, they need to experience a re-culturing

concerning the need for teacher leadership, the goals of teacher leadership, and the

definitions of teacher leadership. They especially need to understand the difference

between positional and influential conceptions of teacher leadership, and how they might

go about creating spaces for influence relationships among their staffs. Principals must

also be prepared to scope out teacher strengths, supporting the development and growth

of these through the provision of professional development opportunities. Finally,

principals must be prepared to activate the power within teacher leaders to define their

work, become more critical, and become advocates for their students.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF CODES AND THEMES

Action (30)
Administration (59)
Anger at injustice (21)
Authority (20)
Care (63)
Challenged (35)
Change (38)
Cohort (54)
Community (81)
Confidence (43)
Critical leadership (13)
Critical thinking (25)
Definition of success (11)
Discouragement (50)
Disturbed (35)
Diversity (3)
Educative leadership (2)
Empowerment (31)
Family of teachers (5)
Family support (15)
Follower (9)
Gender (4)
Individual needs (59)
Inequity (31)
Influence (44)
Inspiration (7)
Isolation (5)
Kids energize (9)
Leadership (36)
Learning (8)
Listening (27)
Maturity (13)
Moral leadership (11)
Motivation to teach (24)
Ownership (7)
Parents (56)
Persistence (9)
Policy (26)
Power (84)
Questioning (67)
Racism (9)
Re-culturing (20)

Reform (23)
Relationships (97)
Resistance (22)
Segregation (5)
Social justice (11)
Support (74)
Teacher leadership (82)
Teaching as caring (2)
Teaching as controversial (1)
Teaching as fun (2)
Teaching as profession (10)
Teaching as thankless (1)
Think differently (33)
Transformational leadership (5)
Trust (30)
Unaware (8)
Uncomfortable (9)

(Major themes or "super codes" are in bold)

CODE FAMILIES

Community – Power – Influence
Community – Relationships – Trust
Community – Support

Teacher leadership – Power
Teacher leadership – Influence
Teacher leadership – Support
Teacher leadership – Action
Power – Care
Power – Relationships

Critical consciousness (inclusive of: Individual needs – Questioning – Think differently –
   Parents – Disturbed – Discouragement – Critical thinking – Change – Challenged
   – Anger at injustice)

Leadership – Critical leadership
Leadership – Administration
Leadership – Support

PRAGMATIC HORIZON ANALYSIS EXAMPLE

Audrey: I think I'm well liked. I think some people think that I'm an overachiever,
            probably accurately. I think that the three teachers in my building who are
            just do nothings—and everybody knows that they are on the margins,
            everybody knows that they are definitely mediocre—they don't like me.
            They probably think that I am pushy, maybe a know-it-all. Those are those
            three people. No one cares about what they think because if we based all
            of our decisions on what those people thought then we wouldn't do
            anything. I ignore them. I listen to what they say and I reply
            diplomatically. In fact, just last week I had to reply to this one badgering
            email in a very diplomatic way and I did. Problem solved. Whatever. It
            doesn't get to me. Those three people don't get under my skin.

Meaning Field:
   • "I want my colleagues to like me."
   • "I work hard and people notice."
   • "A few (mediocre) teachers don't like me because I work hard."
   • "Most of my colleagues value hard-working people."
   • "I don't want my work to be any more difficult than it already is."
   • "I don't want to become isolated from my peers."
   • "I don't care what mediocre teachers think about me."
   • "We need our colleagues' cooperation in order to do our work."
   • "I am able to negotiate potential negative interactions."

- "I am skilled at dealing with difficult, resistant teachers."
- "I don't let these things get to me."

Table 2.

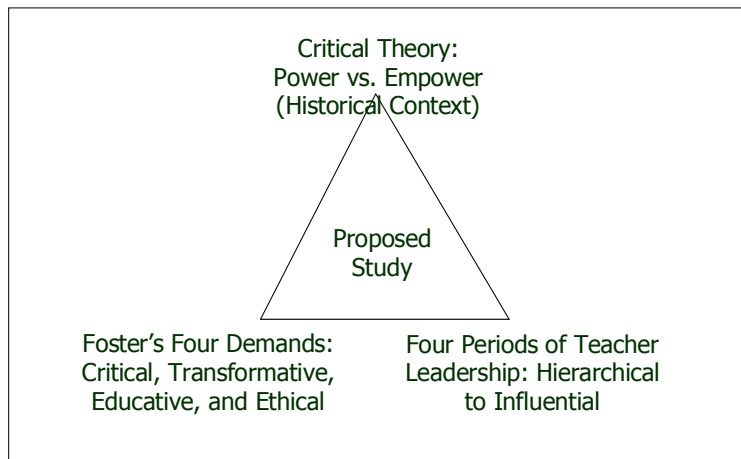|	Highly Foregrounded	Foregrounded	Backgrounded	Highly Backgrounded
Objective	I do my job. I am social. My work is sometimes difficult.	I can't do my job alone. I am social and want to be part of a group. My colleagues can help make my work easier.	I need my colleagues to help me do my job. I care what people think about me.	My colleagues might be able to do my job better than me. My colleagues might not accept me.
Subjective	I feel social.	I feel uncomfortable that my colleagues might not like me.	I feel conflicted about what I think I should do and the fact that I want to be cooperative.	I feel irritated that my colleagues aren't supportive of my work.
Normative	Cooperation is good. Hard work is good. Being diplomatic with resistant teachers is good.	Everyone in a peer relationship should contribute positively. People's work should be respected.	Teachers should work together. Teachers should be supportive of each other.	Some teachers should have more to contribute than others. Some teachers' opinions or feelings should be more important than others. Some people should be silenced.
Identity	I am an open-minded person. I am a fair person. I am a diplomatic person. I am an independent person.	I am a generous person (for putting up with mediocre teachers).	I am a realistic person.	I am a weak person because I will not confront mediocre teachers head-on.

APPENDIX B

DISSERTATION DEFENSE PRESENTATION

The role of leadership preparation in teacher leaders' formation of critical consciousness and enactment of critical teacher leadership

Jill Bradley-Levine
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Dissertation Defense
November 3, 2008

Why this study?
Conceptual Framework

Critical Theory:
Power vs. Empower
(Historical Context)

Proposed
Study

Foster's Four Demands:
Critical, Transformative,
Educative, and Ethical

Four Periods of Teacher
Leadership: Hierarchical
to Influential

Why these questions?
Research Questions

- What, if anything, exists in these teachers' histories and character that has allowed them to already meet one or more of Foster's four demands?

- Given the cohort context, how have their courses helped or hindered these teachers in meeting Foster's four demands?

- Now that they have finished their master's, how do these teachers connect Foster's four demands to their daily work?

Why this method?
Critical Inquiry

- "Examines relationships closely to determine who has what kind of power and why" (Carspecken, 1996)

- Types of power: normative (positional authority—referent), coercive (fear of sanction), contractual (exchange), and charismatic (personality or loyalty)

- Teacher leadership as influential challenges existing power relationships in schools
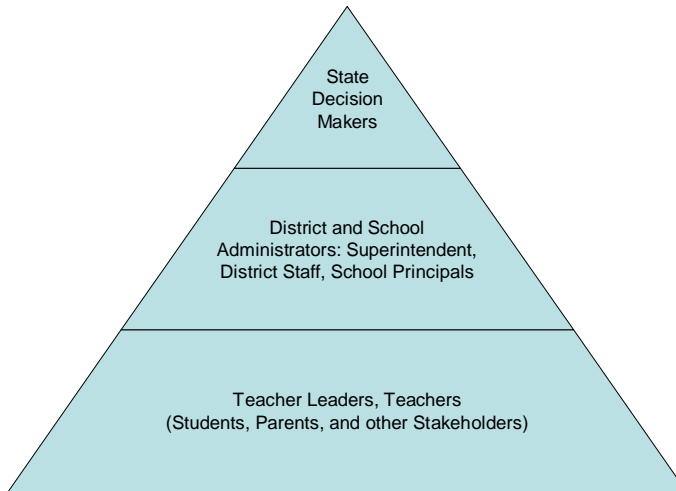
Research Design

Question	What, if anything, exists in these teachers' histories and character that has allowed them to already meet one or more of Foster's four demands?	Given the cohort context, how have their courses helped or hindered these teachers in meeting Foster's four demands?	Now that they have finished their master's, how do these teachers connect Foster's four demands to their daily work?
Data Source(s)	Interviews Leadership paper	Interviews Class discussion Class observations	Interviews Reflective papers
Analysis Techniques	Coding Reconstructive analysis	Coding Reconstructive analysis	Coding Reconstructive analysis
Validity Checks	Member checks Peer debriefing Triangulation	Member checks Peer debriefing Triangulation	Member checks Peer debriefing Triangulation

Literature Review Summary

Why teacher leadership?	Professional Empowerment	Implement Reform
Goals	Give teachers more authority over decision-making at the school and district level	Get teachers on board in implementing reforms by utilizing teaching colleagues
Examples in literature	Teacher career ladders	Reform initiatives
Intended Outcomes	Motivate teachers by empowering them and providing greater opportunity with the profession	Horizontal implementation will be more successful than vertical implementation
Unintended Outcomes	Resistance by colleagues because teacher leadership positions challenge the norm of equality	Resistance by colleagues because teacher leadership positions challenge the norm of privacy
Charge (+ or -)	Positive—empowerment good for profession?	Negative—teachers used as pawns?

Model of Leadership: Hierarchical

```
                    State
                  Decision
                   Makers
  _____

          District and School
    Administrators: Superintendent,
    District Staff, School Principals
  _____

         Teacher Leaders, Teachers
   (Students, Parents, and other Stakeholders)
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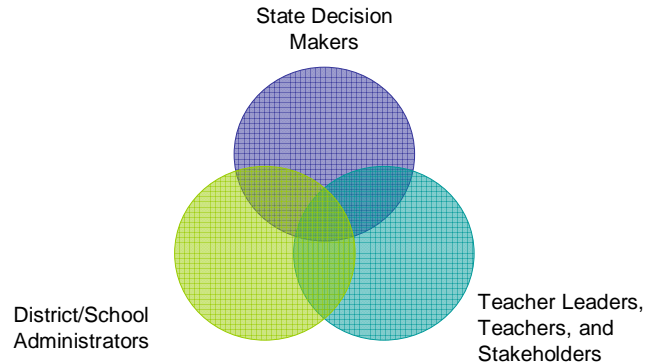
Why this literature?
Positional Teacher Leadership

- Leadership is identified as a positional construct by teachers and administrators
- Position exemplifies authority and power, placing a few teachers within the traditional school hierarchy
- The norms of teaching (a result of the historical background of teaching) cause teachers to resist positions that attempt to allocate more power and authority to a few
- An awareness of this resistance affects the tasks allocated to teacher leaders (by administrators) as well as their identity formation and work
- Thus, teacher leaders are mostly ineffective in positively affecting teaching and learning, and implementing reform despite some evidence of individual empowerment and professional development for those appointed as teacher leaders

Model of Leadership: Relational

State Decision
Makers

District/School
Administrators

Teacher Leaders,
Teachers, and
Stakeholders

Why this literature?
Influence Relationship

- Scholars acknowledge that teacher leadership as positional has been ineffective in empowering teachers or creating change in schools, and that there is a need for a new conception of teacher leadership as an influence relationship

- All teachers influence each other in some way and can thus, be teacher leaders, which creates egalitarian structure rather than hierarchical one, and is therefore, more likely to be accepted by teachers given the norms of teaching

- Leadership preparation programs must re-culture teachers and administrators alike to work more collaboratively, creating structures that activate the power within all teachers to influence teaching and learning

Findings: Developing beliefs about leadership

- Changing definitions of leadership
  - Moved from accepting leadership as task-oriented to a process of making ethical decisions and rejected the view of leadership as residing in positional *authority*
- Ethical leadership
  - Struggled to embrace Foster's demand for ethical leadership while maintaining their established notions of who has or should have authority to create change in schools
- Transformative leadership
  - Transformative leaders activate the power within stakeholders to lead though authority may still play a role in who and under what circumstances stakeholders are permitted to lead

Findings: Developing critical consciousness

- Translating developing critical consciousness to school situations
  - Comfortable challenging situations at the school level, with which they have the most first-hand experience
- Developing critical consciousness of educational policies
  - Utilized experts to legitimize their ideas, potentially because they felt they lacked power or agency to impact change at this level
- Developing critical consciousness in reference to broad social change
  - Utilized external sources to validate beliefs, prioritize values, and interpret unquestioned views

Findings: Relational aspects of leader development

- Cohort structure creates space for growth and opportunity for collaboration
  - Cohort provided space for collaboration, opportunity to get to know other teachers, and to discuss critical issues safely and opening, even if members disagreed about the issues
- Positive conditions necessary for leader development
  - Professors and/or cohort members contributed to the safety of spaces for critical discussion
  - Formation of cliques led to discomfort sharing ideas and self-imposed restriction of class contributions
  - Insider and outsider dynamic connected to maturity and commitment
  - Desire to avoid conflict and build relationships led to sharing with like-minded cohort members
  - Teasing prevented full exploration of critical issues for Phil

Findings: Teacher status as condition for teacher leadership

- Motivation to pursue positional or influential leadership
  - Linked credibility to experience, knowledge and success, but feared disrupting collegial relationships
  - Connected teacher leadership to credibility, but struggled for recognition and support
  - Sought individual empowerment to influence colleagues' perceptions of and successfully advocate for students
- The rewards of teacher leadership
  - Frustrated with lack of reward (respect, time, money) for teacher leadership efforts
  - Accepted that positional teacher leadership led to differing levels of privilege
  - Felt rewards were personal including increased confidence, support, and exchange of help among colleagues

Findings: Beliefs about opportunities for teacher leaders

- What teacher leadership looks like
  - Torn between challenging colleagues and maintaining egalitarian norms of teaching
  - Recognized that teacher leadership was dictated by principal, but accepted that teachers more likely to trust other teachers than administrators
  - Linked influence with ability to listen, ask questions, and make gentle suggestions, and felt that teachers could empower each other to become teacher leaders where leadership was reciprocal and based on individual strengths
- How teacher leadership is facilitated
  - Described structures such as opportunity to lead created by principals, but prioritized principal goals over teacher leaders' ideas
  - Believed teachers must exhibit passions that principals identify and provide opportunities for teachers to develop, leading to influence among colleagues

Findings: What complicates or enables enactment of TL

- How enactment is affected by perceptions of teacher leaders
  - Frustration with principal's inability to identify leadership potential as well as colleague resistance led to belief that administrative authority was the only way to create change
  - Building relationships and approaching leadership with humility positively affected ability to influence colleagues' practices and increased overall influence
- Teacher leadership enactment as supportive versus challenging
  - Preferred supportive teacher leadership role and felt more comfortable responding to requests for help
  - Relied on positional authority to legitimize challenges, but was careful to frame personal challenges as supportive
  - Developed ways to be less confrontational and more supportive when challenging colleagues to think differently about students

Discussion: Answering the research questions

- Question 1: Teacher histories and characteristics
    - Evidence among key informants that they were critical, transformative, and educative prior to leadership preparation
    - Not as much evidence of teachers being ethical beyond school-level advocacy
- Question 2: Critical teacher leader development
    - Teachers struggled to maintain a consistent critical perspective despite being challenged through coursework
    - Relational dynamics disrupted potential for the creation of egalitarian structures or engaging debate within the cohort
    - Few opportunities to engage in advocacy or activism within cohort
- Question 3: Enactment of Foster's four demands
    - Evidence among key informants that they became more critically reflective through their coursework, enacted transformative leadership through participation in PLC-type action groups, and challenged colleagues to become more critical
    - Though some advocacy for students enacted, none of the key informants became involved in district- or community-level activism

Contributions and Implications

- New definitions of teacher leadership necessary
    - Nuevo Teacher Leadership: TL based on influence relationships among all teachers as well as administrators, students, parents, and stakeholders
    - Critical Teacher Leadership: The application of Foster's four demands or "critical educational leadership" to the concept of distributed leadership where *positive* influence is "critical"
- Further research suggested
    - Studies using new leadership definitions imperative to determine true potential of teacher leadership
    - Research linking teacher leadership to existing literature on organizational theory, Professional Learning Communities, and pre-service teacher education essential to determine promise of, relationships with, and potential contributions to these areas
    - Imperative that teacher leadership preparation programs are explicit, and that teacher leadership is understood within the historical context of the teaching profession as well as linked to critical and distributed leadership theories

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EDUCATION

PhD Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Indiana University School of
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   *Dissertation Title: The role of leadership preparation in teacher leaders' formation of
   critical consciousness and enactment of critical teacher leadership; Committee
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M.A. Secondary Education, Ball State University Graduate School, 1998-2001, GPA:
3.9
   *Final Research Paper: Possible used of cooperative learning in the English
   classroom; Advisor: Dr. James Powell*

B.A. English Education, Ball State University Honors College, 1994-1998, GPA: 3.88
   *Thesis: Analysis of Carmel Clay Student Teaching Internship; Advisor: Dr. James
   Powell*

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE: CURRENT APPOINTMENT

Research Fellow, Center for Urban and Multicultural Education (CUME), Indiana
University, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 2007 – Present.

- Wrote and submitted an AmeriCorps grant proposal on behalf of the Martin Luther
  King Center.
- Designed the program evaluation plan and negotiated the contract for the Art with
  a Heart Kindergarten Program.
- Worked with the Archdiocese of Indianapolis Mother Theodore Catholic
  Academies to design and conduct the evaluation of Project RELATES
- Coordinated the Project RELATES and the Art with a Heart research and
  evaluation teams by scheduling observations and interviews, communicating
  regularly with site directors and program staff, organizing and leading team
  meetings, facilitating analysis and reporting procedures, and writing both
  formative and summative reports
- Contributed to an implementation study of New Tech High School at Arsenal Tech
  by conducting observations and interviews, participating in team meetings and
  brainstorming sessions, and working on data analysis

- Organized the research team for a study on action research by recruiting new team members, organizing the literature review process, collecting and analyzing data, preparing a conference paper and presentation, and coordinating an article for publication
- Trained research team members in data collection and analysis strategies
- Represented CUME at national conferences and within the IUPUI School of Education by presenting research findings from various projects

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE: ACADEMIC

Associate Instructor, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, August 2004 – May 2007.

- Taught the online Secondary Education Student Teaching Seminar (M420).
- Communicated regularly with Director of Student Teaching, university supervisors, and student teachers.
- Contributed to on-going course curriculum and evaluation instrument revisions.
- Analyzed and reported course evaluation data.
- Collected data for the Office of Student Teaching through surveys, observations, and interviews.
- Contributed to survey revision.
- Analyzed quantitative and qualitative data.
- Prepared reports for distribution to faculty and university supervisors.

Graduate Assistant, Indiana University, January 2007 – April 2007.

- Assisted Prof. Gerardo Lopez in School & Community Relations (A510) through co-planning class activities.

Teaching Assistant, Indiana University, August 2006 – December 2006.

- Assisted Prof. Leonard Burrello in teaching Introduction to Educational Leadership (A500) through co-planning class activities, co-teaching all classes, communicating with students regularly, and providing feedback on student assignments.

Graduate Assistant, Indiana University, August 2006 – December 2006.

- Assisted Prof. Bill Black in Political Context of Education (A560) through facilitating the on-going course chat room, co-planning class activities, and teaching selected classes.

Researcher, Indiana University, October 2005.

- Researched and prepared summary documents to contribute to the grant writing process for a grant submitted by Indiana University to the Wallace Foundation.

Graduate Assistant, Indiana University, March 2005 – August 2005.

- Researched and built databases on Indiana school statistics, communicated with school administrators to organize interview schedule for field researchers, transcribed interview data, organized planning meetings, and distributed meeting notes to attendees for the Reading First Grant.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE: SECONDARY TEACHING:

Literacy across the Curriculum Coordinator and English Teacher, Brentside High School, London, England, July 2002 – July 2004.

- Planned and facilitated on-going staff development workshops to support implementation of literacy across the curriculum.
- Observed colleagues teaching and provided constructive feedback.
- Taught Key Stage 3 English, Developmental Reading, and reading remediation, Key Stage 4 English Language and Literature, and Key Stage 5 English Language.
- Co-planned and co-taught with special needs and LEP support teachers to better serve the needs of diverse learners.
- Participated in school and district workshops designed to support teacher implementation of the National Literacy Strategy.
- Served as the English Department representative to the Numeracy across the Curriculum Committee and the Arts Week Planning Committee.
- Sponsored the student Debating Society.

English, Journalism, Speech, and Debate Teacher, Carmel High School, Carmel, Indiana, January 1999 – June 2002.

- Taught American Literature, Literary Movements, English 10, Speech 1, Debate 1 and 2, and Yearbook 1.
- Served on the English & Language Arts Curriculum Evaluation Committee and the English & Language Arts Textbook Adoption Committee.
- Revised and rewrote existing curriculum to address Indiana State Standards.
- Participated in the Professional Learning Academy for two years.
- Sponsored the National Honor Society, and coached the Debate Team.

English Teacher, Forest Gate Community School, London, England, September 1998 – December 1998.

- Taught years 7-9 English.

- Co-planned and co-taught with special needs support teachers to better serve the needs to diverse learners.
- Worked with many LEP students.

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Articles:

Bradley-Levine, J. (2008). The Private Finance Initiative: Teacher perceptions of job satisfaction, support, and morale at one PFI school in the UK. *Journal of School Public Relations, 29*(1), 74-90.

Bradley-Levine, J. (2008). The Road to Degrees for Teachers in England: 1833 to 1944. *American Educational History Journal, 35*(1), 81-92.

Bradley-Levine, J., Smith, J., & Carr, K. (Under Review). The role of action research in empowering teachers to change their practice. Under review with the *Journal of Ethnographic and Qualitative Research.*

Technical Reports:

Bradley-Levine, J. & Smith, J. S. (2008). *Evaluation of the Project RELATES Great Spirits Camp, 2008.* Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Center for Urban and Multicultural Education.

Bartholomew, S. S., Ortloff, D. H., Smith, J. S., Bradley-Levine, J. & Klosterhoff, E. (2008). *New Tech implementation research: A case study design for Arsenal Tech, Decatur, and Rochester Schools.* (Research Report No. 13). Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Center for Urban and Multicultural Education.

Bradley-Levine, J. & Smith, J. S. (2008). *Evaluation of the Project RELATES After-school program: Final report.* Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Center for Urban and Multicultural Education.

Bradley-Levine, J. & Smith, J. S. (2007). *Evaluation of the Project RELATES After-school program: Formative report for the first semester.* Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Center for Urban and Multicultural Education.

Smith, J.S., Bradley-Levine, J., Hilgendorf, J., Turpin, E., Blackerby, J., Dunn, T., & Bruns, E. (2007). *Evaluation of the Great Spirits Camp, 2007.* Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Center for Urban and Multicultural Education.

PEER-REVIEWED RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

Bartholomew, S. S., & Bradley-Levine, J. (2008, Oct.). Cultural resources for constructing the meaning of teacher leadership in a technology-driven urban high school reform. Paper presented at the University Council for Educational Administration Convention. Orlando, FL.

Bradley-Levine, J., Smith, J., & Carr, K. (2008, June). The role of action research in empowering teachers to change their practice. Paper presented at the Ethnographic and Qualitative Research Conference. Dayton, OH.

Ortloff, D. H. & Bradley-Levine, J. (2008, May). Moving beyond the Evaluation Paradigm: Working with Community Partners to Produce Translational Evaluation. Poster presented at The Fourth International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry. Urbana-Champaign, IL.

Bradley-Levine, J. (2008, Mar.). The critical nature of teacher leadership: Preparing teacher leaders who work for social justice in schools. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. New York, NY.

Bradley-Levine, J. (2007, Apr.). The Private Finance Initiative: Effects on teaching staff at one PFI school in the UK. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Chicago, IL.

Bradley-Levine, J. & Sparks, T. (2006, Oct.). A lifetime approach to evaluation: An emerging framework for assessing teacher education programs. Paper presented at the Phi Delta Kappa Education Summit. Washington, D.C.

Bradley-Levine, J. (2005, Oct.). The growth and change in the role of teachers at teachers' institutes from 1835 to 1930. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society. Chicago, IL.

Bradley-Levine, J. (2005, Sept.). The relationship between facility quality and teacher perceptions of learning. Paper presented at the Midwest Comparative & International Education Society Conference. Lansing, MI.

INSTITUTIONAL GRANT-WRITING ACTIVITIES

Bradley-Levine, J. & Ortloff, D. H. (Under Review). AmeriCorps program for the Martin Luther King Center. (90,000/over three years for research).

INDIVIDUAL GRANTS AND AWARDS

Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Indiana University School of Education, *Fay L. Arganbright Fellowship*, 2008. ($3000)

Tobias Center for Leadership Excellence, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, *Tobias Center Research Support Award for Leadership Studies*, 2007-08. ($5000)

SERVICE AND MEMBERSHIPS

- Education Policy Student Organization (EPSO). Executive Board Member. Indiana University, Bloomington. 2004-2006.
- American Educational Research Association, Student Member since 2006
    - AERA Division A: Administration, Organization & Leadership
    - Special Interest Group: Leadership for Social Justice
- Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Member since 2006
- Comparative & International Education Society, Student Member since 2005
- Association of Teacher Educators, Indiana Unit, Student Member since 2004
- Phi Delta Kappa, Member since 2001

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