

1-1-1989

Evaluation of a culturally contingent leadership model applied to multicultural, educational contexts.

Niki L. Glanz

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Glanz, Niki L., "Evaluation of a culturally contingent leadership model applied to multicultural, educational contexts." (1989). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 4434.

https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/4434

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.



312066012803059

EVALUATION OF A CULTURALLY CONTINGENT LEADERSHIP MODEL
APPLIED TO MULTICULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS

A Dissertation Presented

by

NIKI L. GLANZ

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September, 1989

School of Education

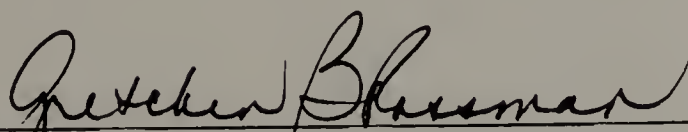
EVALUATION OF A CULTURALLY CONTINGENT LEADERSHIP MODEL
APPLIED TO MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS

A Dissertation Presented

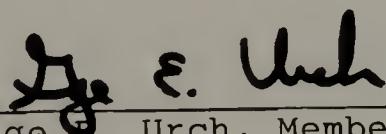
by

NIKI L. GLANZ

Approved as to style and content by:



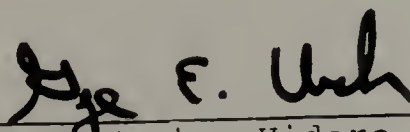
Gretchen B. Rossman, Chairperson of Committee



George E. Urch, Member



Marta B. Calas, Member



Marilyn Haring-Hidore, Dean, School of
Education

© Copyright by Niki L. Glanz 1989

All Rights Reserved

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank many who have helped me with this project: Gretchen Rossman, for her expertise at qualitative research and editing and understandings of educational leadership; George Urch, for his wide-ranging knowledge and conceptual insights and literary judgment; and Marta Calas, for her cross-cultural and management perspectives. Their support and assistance have been greatly appreciated. My gratitude also is extended to faculty and students of Amherst (Massachusetts) Regional High School for their involvement in the pilot study.

I further would like to thank the many School of Education and School of Management professors whose fine ideas and challenging perspectives I have attempted to incorporate in the study. University reference and circulation librarians also merit my sincere appreciation.

Beyond acknowledgements in the academic realm, I extend heartfelt gratitude to my children, Joy and Gregory Sellers; my father and stepmother, Edward and Eva Glanz; my aunt, Marion Edwards; and friends worldwide, whose encouragement has meant so much. The study has been dedicated especially to the memory of Phyllis Louise Davis Glanz (1920-1989), my mother.

ABSTRACT

EVALUATION OF A CULTURALLY CONTINGENT LEADERSHIP MODEL
APPLIED TO MULTICULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS

SEPTEMBER, 1989

NIKI L. GLANZ, B.A., NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

M.Ed., UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by: Professor Gretchen B. Rossman

This study articulated and evaluated a culturally contingent leadership model in multicultural, educational settings--formal settings in which different cultures interacted through curriculum, instruction/administration, and/or student/staff learning styles. Review of the literature indicated, indeed, that patterns exist between certain multicultural contexts and various educational leadership approaches. However, no systematic rendering of the culture-leadership relationship existed, particularly in regard to educational settings. The researcher provided and tested such a model.

A preliminary, dichotomous model was developed by applying a bifurcated definition of culture to the construct of collegial leadership. The cultural concept comprised six distinguishing characteristics and reflected various configurationalist and functionalist traditions, semiotic styles, and depictions of cultural

processes. Application of the model to an American high school regarding course selection processes used by Indochinese refugees indicated that the cultural concept had merit, but that additional constructs of leadership were needed. The researcher selected three: supervision, group analysis and celebration, and systematic planning. As with collegiality, their theoretical foundations were examined and all were critiqued.

The dichotomous cultural concept and four leadership constructs yielded an eight-celled model. The researcher enumerated components of each cell and applied the model to ethnographic case studies comprising 16 diverse culture-leadership intractions: urban magnet schools; a program for antisocial street boys; technological learning aids in developing settings; a flexible curriculum in a rural school; and second-language learning by disadvantaged students. Data were qualitatively analyzed for components of the model's various cells and patterns among components. That is, after noting data concerning leadership approaches from each case study, components of the eight preordinate categories and patterns among components were identified.

The researcher then evaluated the model's utility in terms of applicability and productivity. While applicability was high in regard to components identified, components of several cells overlapped and those of two

cells did not constitute distinct leadership approaches. Productivity also was high with rich, variegated insights generated.

Concomitantly, the researcher summarized general culture-leadership relationships revealed by data, comparing them with findings of the literature review. Several common leadership approaches for diverse cultural settings were noted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
 CHAPTER	
I. OVERVIEW	1
II. THE RESEARCH TOPIC	4
A. Research Questions	4
B. Importance of the Study	9
C. Literature Review	18
1. Introduction	18
2. Educational Leadership Approaches in Multicultural, Developed Contexts	21
a. Ambiguity of Educational Leadership	21
b. Culturally Relevant Leadership Approaches	24
c. Collegial Leadership Approaches	34
d. Involvement of Families and Communities	39
e. Language-Oriented Strategies	46
3. Educational Leadership Approaches in Multicultural, Developing Contexts	51
a. Western-Style Leadership Approaches	52
b. Ideology as a Leadership Approach	56
c. Combined Centralized- Decentralized Organizational Structure	60
4. Cross-Cultural Comparisons of Multicultural Leadership Approaches	61

a.	Successful Adoption of Western- Style Leadership Approaches.	61
b.	Retention of Indigenous Leadership Approaches.	64
5.	Conclusion	67
III.	RESEARCH METHODS	72
A.	Pilot Study.	72
B.	Methodology.	79
1.	General Perspective.	79
2.	Selection of Case Studies.	81
3.	Articulation of a Culturally Contingent Leadership Model.	84
4.	Evaluation of the Culturally Contingent Leadership Model and Conclusions Concerning General Culture-Leadership Patterns.	86
C.	Limitations.	89
1.	Philosophical Limitations.	89
2.	Cultural Limitations	90
3.	Limitations due to Models and Case Studies	93
4.	Limitations Reflecting the Researcher	94
IV.	EXPLANATION OF CULTURE AND LEADERSHIP CONSTRUCTS AND CULTURALLY CONTINGENT LEADERSHIP MODEL	97
A.	Definition of Cultural Construct	97
1.	Review of Various Perspectives Regarding Culture.	97
2.	Selection of Hall's (1977) Construct of Culture	104
3.	Delineation of Hall's (1977) Construct of Culture	110
a.	Introduction	110
b.	Six Distinguishing Characteristics.	112
(1.)	Language	112
(2.)	Cognition.	113
(3.)	Group cohesiveness	114
(4.)	Organizational behavior.	116
(5.)	Time and space	117
(6.)	Social change.	119

4.	Critique of Hall's (1977)	
	Construct of Culture	120
	a. Oversimplification	120
	b. HC-LC Contradictions	122
	c. Situational Factors.	123
	d. Bias Against LCs	124
	e. Omission of Cultural Commonalities.	126
B.	Elaboration of Leadership Construct.	127
	1. Introduction	127
	2. Delineation of Four Leadership Models	128
	a. Developmental Supervision.	128
	(1.) Description of model	128
	(2.) Theoretical foundations.	131
	(3.) Critique of model.	135
	b. Group Effectiveness.	138
	(1.) Description of model	138
	(2.) Theoretical foundations.	142
	(3.) Critique of model.	148
	c. Cultural Revitalization.	151
	(1.) Description of model	151
	(2.) Theoretical foundations.	154
	(3.) Critique of model.	158
	d. Systems Analysis	160
	(1.) Description of model	160
	(2.) Theoretical foundations.	163
	(3.) Critique of model.	167
C.	Conceptualization of Leadership Models for Differing Cultures	170
	1. Introduction	170
	2. Four Leadership Models	171
	a. Developmental Supervision.	171
	(1.) Application to LC cultures	171
	(2.) Application to HC cultures	180
	(3.) Conclusion	185

b.	Group Effectiveness.	186
(1.)	Application to LC cultures	186
(2.)	Application to HC cultures	192
(3.)	Conclusion	196
c.	Cultural Revitalization.	197
(1.)	Application to LC cultures	197
(2.)	Application to HC cultures	202
(3.)	Conclusion	206
d.	Systems Analysis	207
(1.)	Application to LC cultures	207
(2.)	Application to HC cultures	211
(3.)	Conclusion	213
V.	RESEARCH FINDINGS.	215
A.	Introduction	215
B.	Results of Application of Culturally Contingent Leadership Model to Case Studies.	218
1.	Magnet Schools in Urban United States	218
a.	Description of Schools and Specific Findings.	218
(1.)	Adams School	220
(2.)	Owens School	227
(3.)	Mann School.	234
b.	General Findings	241
2.	Program for Street Boys in Bogota, Colombia	244
a.	Description of Program	244
b.	Research Findings.	249
3.	Introduction of Technology into Lesotho's Elementary Schools	255

a.	Description of Program	255
b.	Research Findings.	257
4.	Application of a Flexible Curriculum in Rural Honduras	265
a.	Description of Program	265
b.	Research Findings.	267
5.	Second-Language Learning by People of Disadvantaged Backgrounds	273
a.	Description of Cases and Specific Findings.	273
(1.)	Nzamba	274
(2.)	Ruth	278
(3.)	Anya	280
(4.)	Phyl	282
(5.)	Marvina.	285
(6.)	Rebeca	289
b.	General Findings	293
C.	Summary of Research Findings	296
1.	Findings Concerning General Culture-Leadership Patterns.	296
2.	Findings Concerning Specific Cells of the Culturally Contingent Leadership Model	303
a.	LC Developmental Supervision	303
b.	HC Developmental Supervision	304
c.	LC Group Effectiveness	305
d.	HC Group Effectiveness	307
e.	LC and HC Cultural Revitalization	308
f.	LC Systems Analysis.	309
g.	HC Systems Analysis.	309
VI.	CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.	311
A.	Usefulness of the Culturally Contingent Leadership Model	311
1.	Applicability of the Model	312
2.	Productivity of the Model.	315
B.	Multicultural Leadership Approaches.	317

1. Educational Goals.	318
2. Educational Processes.	321
APPENDIX: ENDNOTES	329
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	330

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
1. Summary of Factors Incorporated in Case Studies.	83
2. Summary of Results from Application of Culturally Contingent Leadership Model to Case Studies.	219

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
1. Culturally Contingent Leadership Model.	172
2. Modified Culturally Contingent Leadership Model.	316

CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW

This dissertation explores the utility of a culturally contingent leadership model. The general context consists of educational settings characterized by a confluence of different cultures. The method used is document analysis of various ethnographic case studies from the last ten years. General conclusions about the model's effectiveness in such settings then are offered.

The central constructs employed in the dissertation consist of culture and leadership. Both have had rich and variegated histories, which are reviewed. In regard to culture, following a general review, a dichotomous definition of the construct is stipulated. In the case of leadership, a review of historical and theoretical roots is integrated with a description of four widely recognized educational leadership models. Thus, no single notion of leadership as a construct is provided. Rather, by using four different models that address different levels and aspects of organizational life, a more generalized construct is conveyed.

Following the explication of culture and leadership, the two constructs are related by applying the four leadership models to the dichotomous definition of culture. This yields an eight-celled, culturally

contingent leadership model. The ability of this general model to describe and illumine educational settings involving contrasting cultures then is determined. A prior, pilot field-study had suggested a general model, indeed, to be both an appropriate and productive tool in such settings. By using the model to qualitatively evaluate written ethnographic studies representing many, different educational settings, a more accurate assessment of the general model is possible. The culturally contingent model, indeed, proves useful both in describing multicultural contexts and illuminating significant aspects of them. Thus, it constitutes a new means for understanding and appreciating leadership as a culturally contingent phenomenon. It also provides a means for prescribing certain strategies for educational situations encountered under varying cultural conditions.

At the same time, significant findings concerning leadership in multicultural contexts are offered. Since cases involving such contexts provide the raw data for evaluation of the culturally contingent leadership model, a simultaneous examination of their leadership dynamics is possible. Findings are described in depth and subsequently are compared to results of an extensive literature review concerning general culture-leadership patterns. Conclusions concerning leadership approaches

of various multicultural, educational settings then are stated.

The dissertation is divided into chapters and sections that correspond with these stages of the inquiry. Chapter II addresses the research topic-- first by defining the research questions and then by relating it to other scholarly endeavors. The latter consist of management and educational studies in which the importance of culture is stressed and multicultural, educational literature in which leadership approaches are discussed. Chapter III delves into research methods. The pilot study is reviewed, after which methodology of the current study is elaborated. Limitations both in terms of conduct and interpretation of the study are noted. Chapter IV presents the culturally contingent leadership model, following an elaboration of the constructs of culture and leadership. Chapter V then describes results of the model's application to five case studies. Culture-leadership patterns discerned in the studies also are highlighted. Finally, in Chapter VI, the utility of the model is determined. Also, conclusions concerning culture-leadership dynamics in multicultural, educational settings are offered.

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH TOPIC

As discussed in the previous chapter, the first stage of the inquiry consists of a definition of its purposes, an explanation of its theoretical significance, and a description of relevant literature. Each of these topics is addressed in separate sections below. In toto they explicate the inquiry's context internally (i.e., goals) and externally (i.e., perceived import and research trends).

A. Research Questions

The major research question was: Does the culturally contingent leadership model (described in Chapter 4, part C) constitute a useful tool for understanding multicultural, educational settings? The criteria for determining utility were applicability and productivity of the general model.

Applicability meant that the leadership model, indeed, described the settings. That is, one or more of the eight, articulated culture-leadership cells fit the data. As defined by Guba (1978, cited in Patton, 1980), the cells would be characterized by "internal homogeneity" (p. 311) (i.e., data within each cell were interrelated meaningfully) and "external heterogeneity" (p. 311) (i.e., data between cells were differentiated

significantly). The existence of data that appeared extraneous to the cells or overlapped several cells would suggest a faulty model.

Productivity, the second criterion of the model's utility, was indicated by the number and richness of insights generated. A major purpose of categories of the various culture-leadership cells was to suggest "causes, consequences, and relationships" (Patton, 1980, p. 324) among the data. Thus, the ability of the model to provide significant insights about leadership in multicultural, educational settings would be an indication of the model's utility.

At the same time that the culturally contingent leadership model was being evaluated, a subsidiary research question was addressed. It was: What culture-leadership patterns characterize multicultural, educational contexts? The question was open-ended, answered by an inductive analysis of the five ethnographic case studies. Of course, the simultaneous application of the culturally contingent model to the case studies meant that the analysis was influenced by the model's preordinate categories. A prior, extensive review of the literature concerning culture-leadership dynamics in multicultural, educational contexts, however, suggested other concepts and perspectives. Moreover,

the researcher was aware that the two research questions were separate, albeit related.

Educational contexts, in which the utility of the culturally contingent leadership model was weighed and culture-leadership patterns were identified, consisted of formal settings. This delineation was necessitated by the ubiquitous nature of education. As Taylor (1976) pointed out, education has occurred through a multitude of agencies, such as the family; religious institutions; depositories and purveyors of written, oral, and visual information; and peer groups. Such a broad view of educational contexts has rendered the concept unwieldy, however. For this reason, King (1983) suggested that educational contexts be viewed as a subset of social contexts, which he defined as comprising "subjectively intended meaning[s] of behavior" (p. 14, underlining in original) and "repeated patterns of behaviour, that is social structure" (p. 27). (Of course, meanings and social structure, themselves, are closely related [D'Andrade, 1984].) Durkheim's (1956, cited in King, 1983) definition of education, "a 'social fact'-- external to the individual and constraining his behaviour" (p. 16), also implied a formal system of meanings and structure.

This designation of educational settings as comprising formalized meanings and structure did not

refer to "formal" (Coombs, 1985, p. 23) education, as popularly used. Both the formal system (i.e., educational system deliberately established, usually by a national government, to instruct and train the populace through conventional ways and means) and the nonformal system (i.e., programs designed to provide particular educational experiences to subgroups in the population through more varied ways and means) were considered educational settings, as herein defined. Informal education (i.e., "the life-long process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment" [Coombs and Ahmed, 1974, cited in Coombs, 1985, p. 24]), also was included, if meeting the criteria delineated by King (1983).

Educational contexts, thus, included adults and extraschool settings, as well as children and primary, secondary, and higher education settings.

Significantly, all such contexts involved culture and leadership, the central constructs of the culturally contingent leadership model, in their incorporation of "meanings" and "structure" (King, 1983, pp. 14, 27).

In addition to including a variety of educational settings, the definition of educational contexts also incorporated different educational levels. That is, leadership and culture were conceived as occurring at the

personal level, in the classroom, at the school level, in a regional district, and at national and international levels. In fact, the applicability of the culturally contingent leadership model to various educational levels and settings was considered an important indicator of its utility.

The educational contexts to which the culturally contingent leadership model was applied thus consisted of formal settings (characterized by subjective meanings of behavior and social structure) at various educational levels. In addition, only contexts in which different cultures interacted were selected. Due to recent economic and demographic developments, such multicultural contexts are becoming more common, in the researcher's opinion. Gregory (1983) even argued that most settings are best depicted as being multicultural due to the presence of various ethnicities, as well as other factors.

The cultural interface in a given educational context might have comprised curriculum, instructional/administrative approaches, and/or student/staff learning styles. Whatever the particular components, different cultures, as commonly understood (discussed in Chapter II, part C) were involved. For example, imposition of curriculum from a developed, Western society on a developing, non-Western setting or introduction of

students from a closely knit, community-centered ethnic group to a modern, white-dominated educational system would constitute a multicultural interaction.

B. Importance of the Study

Several trends have indicated that a culturally contingent leadership model would be valuable. First, there has been a growing realization of culture's role in management. Adler (1986), for example, observed:

Until recently, most of our understandings of management came from the American experience. ...Both researchers and managers tended to assume that work behavior was universal. Today we no longer have the luxury of reducing international complexity to the simplicity of assumed universality; we no longer have the luxury of assuming that there is one best way to manage. Luckily, we also know that international complexity is not random. Variations across cultures and their impact on organizations follow systematic, predictable patterns. (p. vii)

Earlier scholars who addressed the role of culture (e.g., Simon, 1952, and Dahl, 1947, both cited in Waldo, 1969; Weber, 1968, cited in Willner, 1984) often were leaders in the field of management. Their references to culture, however, usually were tangential to other, major foci. In the 1960s, however, interest began to heighten. For example, in 1963 Haire (cited in Nath, 1969) concluded after researching the role of managers in 14 countries: "The pattern [of management beliefs about leadership] is more or less explicable in terms of cultural traditions in the countries" (p. 210). A 1966 cross-cultural analysis

(Haire et al., cited in Boddewyn, 1969) found 25-30% of the differences between managers related to culture. Several studies (e.g., Gonzalez and MacMillan, 1961, and Oberg, 1963, both cited in Negandhi and Estafen, 1969) conducted in Brazil during the 1960s also determined that "cultural differences from one country to another are more significant than many writers [in management theory] now appear to recognize" (Oberg, 1963, cited in Negandhi and Estafen, 1969, p. 86).

The trend toward "cross-cultural studies in organizational functioning" (Negandhi, 1983, p. 17) increased during the 1970s and 1980s. Five central issues have been: cross-cultural variance, cultural determination, convergence versus divergence, intercultural interaction, and synergy of cultural diversity (Adler, Doktor, and Redding, 1986). Observations concerning the first, cross-cultural variance, have run the gamut. For example, researchers have described cultural differences between first-line supervisors (Kenis, 1977) and have identified cultural components of training techniques and behavioral theories (Reddin, 1978). Many studies pertaining to intercultural interaction also have stressed the specificity of culture. For example, Adler et al. (1986) observed that cross-cultural managers' acceptance depended on their ability to present their "world view" (p. 1)

within "cognitive paradigms" (p. 1) of their foreign colleagues. Stull (1986) similarly found that business managers were regarded more favorably by their immigrant employees if able to empathize with them. In 1985 a wide-ranging analysis of culture from a comparative perspective occurred at a special Academy of Management symposium (Nath, 1988).

Related to this increasing recognition of culture's role in management has been the phenomenon of burgeoning world trade and its effects. Increased contacts of Americans with the Far East, as well as with Europe and Latin America, and the key role played by multinational corporations (MNCs) have rendered cross-cultural management perspectives a necessity. Perhaps best known has been Hofstede's (1980) differentiation of national cultures along four dimensions based on survey research of MNC employees. He noted: "Whatever a naive literature on leadership may give us to understand, leaders cannot choose their styles at will; what is feasible depends to a large extent on the cultural conditioning of a leader's subordinates" (p. 57). A number of recently published books (e.g., Adler, 1986; Foy, 1980; Kallinikos, 1984; Nath, 1988) also have delved into the topic, emphasizing the perspective of multinational corporations. In addition, fascination with Japan's dramatic development has prompted a number of cross-cultural studies on

management (e.g., Pascale, 1978, cited in Foy, 1980; Gorden, 1984; McClenahan, 1979; Dore, 1973, Kamata, 1982, Ouchi, 1981, Pascale and Athos, 1981, Sayle, 1982, all cited in Morgan, 1986; McGinnies, 1965, and Whitehill, 1964, both cited in Nath, 1969; Tulenko, 1987).

Organizational expert Gareth Morgan (1986) was moved to declare: "There is an enormous literature on the relationship between organization and culture from a cross-national perspective" (p. 360).

While an awareness of culturally relevant management approaches has been increasing on the international scene, there also has been a growing appreciation of varying cultural styles within countries. As early as 1914 American educator Boardman was counseling a rural development approach "native to the environment and atmosphere of the country" (Lesson III, p. 3). Studies such as those by Farmer and Richman (1969), Hingham (1978) Mintz (1978), and Rangnath (1971) attempted to define leadership approaches of various ethnic groups, both within the U.S. and other countries.

A third trend rendering a culturally contingent leadership model important has been the recognition of new, macrocultural trends. In reference to developed, Western cultures, some analysts (e.g., Kiefer and Senge, 1984) have cited an increasingly spiritual emphasis in management. Others (e.g., Peters and Waterman, 1982)

have perceived management shifts towards informality, flexibility, and emotionalism in such societies. Some observers (e.g., Goulet, 1971; Hofstede, 1980) have suggested that cultures of Third World countries also may be changing as a result of increased contact with modern, technological countries. If macrocultural changes have been occurring, a culturally relevant leadership model would be helpful in understanding both theoretical and practical nuances.

Despite, or because of, these three waves of research occurring both inter- and intranationally, the relationship of leadership to culture has remained unclear. As Nath (1969) lamented, basic concepts of culture used in the studies have differed. In 1952 Kroeber and Kluckhohn (cited in Negandhi, 1983) identified 164 different definitions of culture. The situation deteriorated further, to the point that Ajiferuke and Boddewyn (cited in Negandhi, 1983) concluded in 1970: "Culture is one of those terms that defy a single all-purpose definition, and there are almost as many meanings of culture as people using the term" (p. 19).

In addition, there have been more traditional research problems such as biased samples, use of secondary critiques, and unsatisfactory translations. Negandhi (1983) even questioned the veracity of so-called

"cultural variables" (p. 19) cited by many researchers. Since the label often has been applied to residual elements resulting from factor analyses, he suggested that the elements might well have been noncultural.

Moreover, because culture has been stressed by so many researchers, Negandhi (1983) feared that its impact might have been confounded with those of other environmental factors, such as technology, location, and political conditions. Indeed, several researchers (e.g., Khan, 1968; Rangnath, 1971; and Sociological Resources for the Social Studies, 1969) have recognized the influence of environmental factors on cultural styles within given societies. Bottger, Hallein, and Yetton (1985) went one step further in suggesting that leadership styles have reflected task structure and leader power, rather than culture. They found that participative leadership increased as task structure and leader power decreased in areas as diverse as Australia, Africa, Papua-New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands.

Thus, assumptions of a simple, direct, obvious relationship between culture and leadership appeared erroneous. Yet, recognition of culture's importance in organizations reached an all-time high in recent years. In part, this recognition has reflected a basic concern for social order. As Benedict (1934, cited in Smircich, 1983) observed, culture traditionally has functioned as a

"foundational term through which the orderliness and patterning of much of our life experience is explained" (p. 341). At the same time, however, culture has served as a valuable heuristic device. Smircich (1983) noted: "For academics, culture provides a conceptual bridge between micro and macro levels of analysis, as well as a bridge between organizational behavior and strategic management interests" (p. 346).

Despite the great emphasis on culture, the only attempt to define leadership models for certain cultures has occurred at Chelwood, BAT Industries' Group Management Centre (Ashton, 1984), to the researcher's best knowledge. Using findings of Hofstede (1980) and Laurent (1980, cited in Ashton, 1984), plus participants' own insights, Chelwood has sought to encourage a "'melting pot' which broadens the perceptions of managers about cultural differences and business approaches in different parts of the world" (p. 11). Resulting frameworks have been eclectic and idiosyncratic, however. As far as the researcher has been able to determine, no leadership models have been defined explicitly for certain cultures, or types of cultures.

Educators, in particular, have been affected by the dearth of such models. For many of them culture has referred to local aberrations within a more general cultural context, similar to that highlighted in

intranational cultural research previously discussed. Whether describing intranational, national, or universal patterns, however, culture has been cited by many educators as being of crucial importance. For example, Spindler and Spindler (in Rosenfeld, 1971) observed:

To understand education we must study it as it is--embedded in the culture of which it is an integral part and which it serves. When education is studied this way, the generalizations about the relationship between schools and communities, educational and social systems, education and cultural setting [sic] that are current in modern educational discussions become meaningful....Without this exercise of a comparative, transcultural perspective it seems unlikely that we can acquire a clear view of our own educational experience or view education in other cultural settings. (pp. ix-x)

Indeed, the recognition of culture's importance appears to be part of a growing, general emphasis on the role of context in education. Gorton and McIntyre (1978), authors of an extensive, empirical study concerning effective principals, for example, concluded:

Perhaps the main factor that characterizes the principals in this study is their diversity. Certain behavioral patterns can be seen in the exemplary principals that are somewhat different from those of principals in general, but the range in almost every trait or behavior category is extensive. This finding would seem to support situational and contingency models of leadership and cast additional doubt on the notion that there is a single set of personal qualities or a unique leadership style that is effective for all situations. (p. 55)

The emphasis on context in The Carnegie Foundation's widely acclaimed Portraits of High Schools (Perrone, 1985) corroborated such views. Some educators, such as Latin experts convened by the Organization of American States' Regional Program of Cultural Development (Etchepareborda, 1983) even argued the necessity of an education-culture link. "Complementary policies between the education and culture camps," they asserted, "[would promote] mastery of the most varied areas of knowledge, without abdicating their own identity and authentic expressions" (p. 1).¹

As an educator involved in cross-cultural settings, the researcher has been personally frustrated by the lack of a culturally contingent leadership model. The dissertation, thus, directly related to her work both as a teacher and administrator. In addition, she hoped that the dissertation would have both theoretical and practical significance for other educators and the greater public formally involved in education. Theoretically, the model delineates various approaches, styles, and understandings of educational leadership in different cultural contexts. As Arensberg (1978, cited in Gregory, 1983) observed, the commingling of these constructs often has appeared mysterious--"together leading to cooperative results, [which is] not merely planned and commanded, [but]...always partially spontaneous, responsive, both self-realized and

socially sanctioned and inspired" (p. 362). The dissertation attempts to illumine this process.

Practically, the model suggests specific strategies for vastly different types of leadership (i.e., supervision, collegiality, group analysis and celebration, and systematic planning) in various cultures. The intent is neither to enable managers to better control subordinates by understanding their cultural reactions nor to describe the impact of irrational cultural factors on rational organizational goals (Gregory, 1983). Rather, the variety of leadership models promotes both scientific and nonscientific (Gregory) perspectives of leadership. The strategies in toto emphasize the processes and goals of organizing, rather than organizational results per se (Smircich, 1983).

C. Literature Review

1. Introduction

Any attempt to summarize recent literature concerning leadership approaches in multicultural, educational contexts is fraught with hazards. For one, the number of relevant research studies is immense. Selecting or prioritizing certain studies runs the risk of bias, even if unconscious. Second, research methods used in various studies occasionally appear questionable. Readers may well wonder whether preconceptions concerning leadership and culture have determined findings, rather

than vice versa. Third is the risk of misinterpretation in analyzing and synthesizing research findings.

To guard against these hazards, the researcher took several steps. First, to collect a varied sample of studies, the data base was searched with several, different descriptors. "Multicultural leadership" yielded a core group of studies. In addition, the descriptors "community education," "problem solving," "developmental theories," "core curriculum," "decentralization of curriculum," "vocational education," and "microteaching" generated studies concerning leadership in various cultural contexts. Research concerning leadership strategies used by and with specific minorities, such as Indochinese refugees, also was reviewed. While all studies involved multicultural settings, they differed in depicting various ethnic and socioeconomic interactions.

As a further precaution, the researcher used only studies characterized by solid research methodology. Those stressing normative statements, albeit based on reflection and experience, were duly noted. Also, in comparing and consolidating findings the researcher aspired to accuracy. Studies were read carefully and summarized in sufficient detail to prevent oversimplification. The resulting literature review, thus, mimicked, although on a smaller scale, Fagerlind and Saha's (1983) penetrating review of education and national-development research:

Our work is not intended to provide a thorough analysis and critique of any particular theory or theorist....Our choice of case studies was based on their perceived (by us) importance for influencing and stimulating our own and the ideas of our readers, and also for their ability to illustrate the principles and processes we have tried to stress throughout this book. (p. ix)

Since educational leadership models of supervision, collegiality, group analysis and celebration, and systematic planning comprised the researcher's culturally contingent leadership model, studies discussing these approaches were emphasized. However, these models did not serve as preordinate descriptors. Rather, categories emanating from the studies were used to organize findings.

The following sections summarize results: one section describing educational leadership in multicultural, developed contexts; another section describing educational leadership in multicultural, developing contexts; and a final, brief section noting cross-cultural comparisons of multicultural leadership approaches. The intent throughout is to provide a theoretical base against which the culture-leadership dynamics discerned in the ethnographic case studies can be weighed. Conclusions concerning culture-leadership patterns are described in Chapter VI.

2. Educational Leadership Approaches in Multicultural, Developed Contexts

An enormous body of literature has focused on educational leadership approaches in multicultural, developed contexts. Findings are organized around five central themes: (a) ambiguity of educational leadership, (b) culturally relevant leadership approaches, (c) collegial leadership approaches, (d) involvement of families and communities, and (d) language-oriented strategies. Most studies pertained to classroom and school levels, although some examined district and regional trends.

a. Ambiguity of Educational Leadership

Several studies have suggested an overwhelming sense of confusion concerning educational leadership in multicultural, developed contexts. According to House (1978, cited in Fagerlind and Saha, 1983), pluralism of the United States has hampered the implementation of large-scale reforms. Emmerij (1974, cited in Fagerlind and Saha), after reviewing many studies, correlated investments in education, particularly those of reform, to a society's consensus concerning objectives and priorities.

Several recent studies have supported this conclusion. Rudduck and Kelly (1976) related Britain's increasingly multicultural context to educators' reluctance to

experiment or develop locally relevant curriculum. Much of the blame, they asserted, lay with Britain's "rapid rate of social change" (p. 80). The reluctance was all the more notable in view of Britain's structural features deliberately designed to promote diverse programming (Rudduck and Kelly; Taylor and Lowe, 1981).

Murphy (1987) similarly identified "the science of muddling through" (p. 6, quoted from Lindblom, 1959) as Canadian educational administrators' favored leadership approach in multicultural contexts. As practiced, it has amounted to slightly modifying existing programs in response to pressures (Murphy). Although politically expedient, several Canadian educators (e.g., Miklos and Chapman, 1986; Campbell, 1979, and Peach, 1975, both cited in Murphy) have fretted whether it would suffice Canada's ever-increasing pluralistic pressures. In addition, Murphy noted Canadian administrators' "minimal knowledge of multiculturalism and multiracism, ...creat[ing] a multitude of difficulties for school leaders when they endeavor to establish race relations policies or deal with race relations issues" (pp. 10-11).

A study by Ortiz (1983) found a similar phenomenon in multicultural, southern Californian contexts. There increased cultural diversity was correlated with teachers' increased emphasis on maintaining programs and nurturing students. Students' achievement was deemphasized.

Administrators also began supporting diverse student behaviors and goals. The result, according to Ortiz, was "greater gaps intellectually and socially between the groups, rather than a movement toward a common culture evident in common activities and attitudes in which all participants engage" (p. 25).

An ambiguous education leadership approach also was discerned in Alaska's cross-cultural teacher-training program (Kleinfeld, McDiarmid, Grubes, and Parrett, 1983). Most of Alaska's rural teachers have faced unusual situations: relatively small groups of minority students spanning several grades. Teacher trainers believed effective-teaching research studies to be inapplicable.

Research attempts to specify universal scientific rules but in many situations these rules do not apply....Abstract prescriptive lists also avoid the difficult questions which are concrete and particular....[Alaskan] teachers wrestle with specific issues in complex situations. Yet, if researchers attempt to answer these kinds of specific pedagogical questions the result will not be generalizable knowledge; it will be a laundry list, a grab-bag of ideas that worked for me. (Kleinfeld et al., p. 23)

Teacher trainers also judged "culturally congruent" (p. 25) research inadequate. Not only had it not related culturally congruent approaches to increased learning, in their opinion, but it also had not differentiated between such approaches and "good teaching" (p. 32).

As their instructional device, trainers of rural Alaskan teachers finally selected stories from actual teaching experiences, dubbed "teacher tales" (Kleinfeld et al., 1983, p. 32). They explained that the stories "usually deal with trouble--because trouble is interesting, trouble provokes reflections" (p. 5). Teachers would "develop skill in analyzing complex, ambiguous situations--the typical situations in cross-cultural teaching--and more varied strategies for handling them" (p. 5). Thus, teacher training of rural Alaskan teachers avoided prescriptions, and, instead, encouraged reflection of real-life episodes.

In summary, the general observation that multicultural, developed contexts have been characterized by ambiguous educational leadership approaches (Fagerlind and Saha, 1983) was corroborated by studies conducted in Britain, Canada, and the United States.

b. Culturally Relevant Leadership Approaches

Despite Kleinfeld et al.'s (1983) rejection of culturally congruent research, mentioned above, a number of studies have appeared to support the use of culturally relevant leadership approaches in multicultural, developed contexts.

Andrews' (cited in Brandt, 1987) study of "good principals" (p. 9) found them strongly committed to multicultural education, albeit not defined. Moreover, unlike

results of the previously mentioned southern Californian study (Ortiz, 1983), these principals combined a multicultural emphasis with high student achievement. In fact, the average incremental growth in mathematics for Black students in schools administered by such principals was twice as high as gains by white students. By contrast, Black and white students' mathematics scores fell at the same rate in schools administered by weak principals. In addition to stressing multicultural approaches, these high-performing principals emphasized high-order thinking skills, practical applications of learning, and general academic excellence. They also had a distinctive administrative style: high visibility, emphasis on a school vision, and instructional assistance for staff (Brandt).

Another researcher, Burlingame (1985), challenged the view that behavior of principals has prompted certain reactions among teachers and students. He instead claimed, on the basis of qualitative case studies, that certain leadership styles were effective because they fulfilled local norms of leadership. Thus, Burlingame viewed the "cultural milieu" (p. 17) and the type of "following" (p. 18) within that milieu as the keys to effective leadership. Indeed, the multicultural emphasis of Andrews' "good principals" (Brandt, 1987, p. 9) might well have measured the match between leadership styles and cultural expectations.

A study identifying the most effective teachers in rural Alaska (Kleinfeld et al., 1983) found evidence of this leadership-culture interplay. Effective teachers were not necessarily involved in their local communities. Rather, they combined an academic emphasis and craft skills (e.g., lesson planning, class discipline) with affective qualities, such as rapport, empathy, and concern. The authors summarized interviews with parents concerning effective teachers:

A critical question is "Can we trust this person to care for and teach our children?" Once villagers have decided the teacher is trustworthy, then they usually allow the teacher to make his or her own decisions about how best to accomplish the job. Teachers enjoy this trust until they violate it by behaving contrary to local values. (p. 20)

Other affective qualities of effective teachers in rural Alaska were enthusiasm, dedication, and high expectations.

Studies focusing on successful leadership approaches with Indochinese refugees similarly identified specific cultural expectations. Ascher (1985) stressed taking time, showing empathy, and speaking gently. Redick and Wood (1982) also noted that loud speech, particularly "baby talk," and touching and hugging were unacceptable to refugees. When working with those of Chinese ancestry, proper attire was deemed essential because dress has served as a means of communicating one's opinion of others in the Chinese culture (Redick and Wood).

Redick and Wood (1985) further found that Indochinese refugees tended to express displeasure through sullenness and passivity, to which Americans responded better with actions than with discussions. Ascher (1985) also identified Indochinese signs of displeasure, but noted American reluctance to confront refugees' grievances:

The Southeast Asian emphasis on shame or "losing" face prevents many refugees from expressing stress, asking questions, reaching out for help, or even speaking up with complaints that might embarrass others. At the same time, the American emphasis on conformity includes a belief that American (often local) ways are best and that only stupidity or stubbornness would prevent a newcomer from adapting. (p. 148)

To introduce educators to culturally relevant leadership approaches, training programs were devised. For example, Rio Hondo College of Whittier, California, succeeded in changing administrators' attitudes towards Mexican-Americans in several key areas through an in-service program (Luna, 1975). In-service programs also were used by the renown St. Cloud, Minnesota, school system to sensitize classroom teachers to Indochinese refugees' culture (Scherer, 1985). Several educators (e.g., Brown, 1981; LeCompte, 1985) noted the importance of such programs. According to LeCompte, without adequate preparation, teachers

fall into culture shock, or a reaction to situations where the sights, sounds, smells, attitudes, values, and behavior patterns they

encounter are different from those they usually expect and where their customary patterns of belief and behavior do not elicit the expected response. While initial contact with culturally different people can be exciting, even euphoric, being forced to accommodate for a prolonged period of time with a world full of shocks and surprises eventually results in fear, hostility, paranoia, and even physical illness. It is hard to understand what is happening, hard to be understood, hard to feel successful in whatever endeavors one is engaged in. (p. 121).

This movement among educational administrators and teachers to learn and utilize culturally relevant leadership approaches was complemented by a similar movement among counselors. For example, the concept of "cultural intentionality" require[d] the integration of individual and multicultural awareness" (Ivey, 1987, p. 170). With this approach, an initial multicultural perspective was followed by an appreciation of the person as a unique human being.

Another concept touted to facilitate multicultural counseling was "flexibility" (Parker, 1987, p. 176). This approach demanded that counselors know themselves, as well as "broaden their perceptual fields" (p. 177) (e.g., history, sociology, economics) to better understand various cultural perspectives. In addition, Pedersen (1987) identified ten "assumptions of cultural bias" (p. 16) that have impeded multicultural counseling: assumptions about normal behavior, emphasis on individualism, fragmentation of clients' concerns

according to discipline areas, emphasis on independence, misuse of language, neglect of client support systems, reliance on linear thinking, inability to address problems with the system, lack of historical knowledge, and inability to perceive one's own cultural limitations.

Several counselors (Tracey, Leong, and Glidden, 1986) even suggested surreptitious strategies to meet particular cultural needs. For example, they found vocational counseling services a convenient means of addressing Asian-American college students' personal counseling needs. Despite higher than normal levels of disturbance, these students were reluctant to approach traditional counseling services. Yet, they overused career counseling centers. Thus, the surreptitious approach provided a convenient solution. Whatever the actual format, Tinsley (1981, cited in Leong, 1986) recommended that counselors of Asian-Americans pursue a "structured and direct approach" (p. 198), because they would be perceived as authority figures by such clients.

Perhaps the most extreme culturally relevant counseling approach was suggested by a study (Bernstein, Wade, and Hoffman, 1987) that investigated correlates of a positive therapeutic relationship. Perceived similarities between counselors and clients, particularly race, were found highly significant. However, the researchers also noted that "preferences for a counselor

of the same race may be stronger among clients with personal and emotional concerns than among clients with educational and vocational concerns" (p. 61).

In summary, a number of studies involving principals, teachers, administrators, and counselors have found culturally sensitive leadership successful with a great variety of clients in a great diversity of settings. Additional research documenting educational failures of particular cultural groups has supported this conclusion. Reck (1982), for example, discovered that Appalachian children had negative self-concepts in school settings, causing them great education-related anxiety. The culprit, in her opinion, was a school program more oriented toward urban values than rural values. Reck noted:

Most schools tend to center on formal activities, athletics and games, personal skills and traits, and white collar occupations and concerns; all of which were found to be important components of the self-concept of the urban non-Appalachian children but not of the rural Appalachian children.
(p. 20)

Reck, thus, recommended "an honest acceptance of the human equality of individuals who exhibit cultural and social differences, ...an attitude that these constitute differences rather than deficiencies" (pp. 5-6).

A massive needs analysis of American Indian students in Wisconsin (Philbrick, Garrard, and Lincoln, 1980)

revealed a similar situation there. After interviewing Indian parents and local school district administrators, the authors concluded:

Formal education...is itself a cultural invention. In the United States, it is a system which serves primarily to prepare middle-class children to participate in their own culture....For many [Indian] students this is a bewildering experience which eventually leads to rejection of the system.... Misunderstanding the scope of culture often leads school administrators to characterize the rejection of the system in terms such as poor attendance, dropouts, parental apathy towards education, lack of confidence, shyness, overconsciousness of criticism or an inferiority complex. (pp. 11-12)

Indeed, the researchers found few materials or programs relating to Indian cultures in existence.

Lockhart (1981) corroborated these findings in reviewing trends in American Indian education. There was not only a lack of culturally relevant curricular materials, but also a value system alien to Indians. Value differences related to personal beliefs (e.g., importance of the group, discipline, freedom, respect for elders, patience), notions of time, and concepts concerning the wholeness of life and knowledge as the basis of leadership. These differences were exacerbated by what Indians, themselves, termed a "loss of old ways" (p. 14) due to increasing urbanization and physical disabilities. The result has been massive educational failure among Indian students (Lockhart;

Philbrick et al., 1980). To counteract this trend, Indian parents stressed the need for a relevant curriculum (Philbrick et al.).

Reck's (1982), Philbrick et al.'s (1980), and Lockhart's (1981) findings of educational failure resulting from culturally inappropriate programs and processes were underscored by Cox, Emslie, and Nigro (1985). These researchers found minorities unable to relinquish their cultural patterns, with the result that they became alienated from educational settings. Particularly galling were curriculum materials that portrayed minorities only as conquered peoples and failed to allude to the richness of their heritages.

Yet, a number of educators issued pleas for culturally relevant leadership approaches. For example, educators from five Northwestern states called on their respective departments of education to provide training programs, curriculum materials, and a data base concerning ethnic groups in their areas (Nelson and Hegg, 1987). Bagley et al. (1979) recommended changes in the definition and measurement of gifted education to facilitate recruitment of minority students. Educators (Glynn and Bishop, 1985) also appealed for inclusion of multicultural concepts in nurse-training programs in Southeastern United States, where current programs were termed "unicultural" (p. 16).

The literature review, thus, suggests through both positive and negative examples the importance of culturally relevant leadership approaches. Anthropologist Ogbu (1985), however, predicted that such approaches might be ineffective with ethnic groups that have experienced subordination and exploitation. These groups, Ogbu contended, have developed "secondary cultural differences...in opposition to the identity, language, and cultural frame of white Americans who control public schools" (pp. 861, 863). Since many of these cultural differences have been designed to demarcate the ethnic group, they often have been resistant to outside approaches, even if culturally relevant.

"Primary cultural differences" (Ogbu, 1985, p. 860), those existing before immigrants have entered the United States, on the other hand, have facilitated students' progress. Ogbu explained:

Immigrants interpret schools' rules of behavior and standard practices for academic achievement as appropriate means whereby they themselves can acquire the knowledge and skills essential for obtaining school credentials for future employment and self-advancement in America. Therefore, in school the immigrants tend to adopt what may be termed the strategy of "accomodation without assimilation"....They do not equate learning school culture and language with losing their own culture, language, or sense of identity. (p. 863)

The general success of Indochinese refugee students in American schools, including those who had experienced

torture and trauma and who lacked language and work-related skills (Norris, 1985; Whitman, 1987), supported Ogbu's theory of "primary cultural differences" (p. 860). The evolution of American Indian educational patterns (Lockhart, 1981), on the other hand, dramatically testified to "secondary cultural differences" (Ogbu, p. 861). Thus, cultural needs of resident ethnic groups may be more difficult to meet than those of immigrants. The literature review indicated, however, that they are no less important.

c. Collegial Leadership Approaches

While previously cited studies focused on supervision and systematic planning approaches to leadership, a number of studies also have linked collegial leadership with multicultural, developed contexts. Collegial leadership has been found particularly effective at the classroom level. For example, a massive review of literature pertaining to effective teaching in multicultural schools by Hawley and Rosenholtz (1986) identified collegiality as a viable approach. According to the authors, "significant and lasting change [in students' achievement] is likely only when interracial contact occurs in conditions of some equality of circumstances" (p. 10). Interracial teams, particularly when instructed to use diverse problem-solving approaches, and, to a lesser extent, multiethnic curriculum materials, were found

helpful. Such collegial strategies abounded in magnet schools and cooperative learning programs. Additionally, human relations programs integrated with the regular curriculum were found helpful, while "add-on" presentations were not.

Programs cited by Hawley and Rosenholtz (1986) as detrimental to minority students' achievement included tracking and ability grouping and whole-class instruction in which drill work and narrow academic goals were stressed. Rather than promote interracial contacts, such approaches "confirm[ed] stereotypic beliefs about the intellectual competence of each racial group" (p. 20). Indeed, American Indian parents interviewed in the previously mentioned Wisconsin needs assessment (Philbrick et al., 1980) favored open classrooms and a more egalitarian discipline policy.

Hawley and Rosenholtz (1986) further identified several aspects of multicultural settings often rendering collegiality difficult: low parental involvement, large school size, incoherent curriculum, minority discipline problems, and lack of school-wide norms supporting achievement and order. The importance of the setting was corroborated by the ESL coordinator of the St. Cloud, Minnesota, school system (Scherer, 1985). "We're lucky in St. Cloud," she said. "We're large enough to do

something with substance and small enough to do something personal" (p. 48).

Heterogeneous grouping, or mainstreaming, as advocated by Hawley and Rosenholtz (1986) to promote learning in multicultural settings, has been supported by other educators. Wang (1987), for example, noted:

Reliance upon the "set-asides" strategy to improving educational outcomes of students with special needs often leads to piecemeal remediation in segregated environments. Such programs have often resulted in discontinuities and interruptions in the instructional-learning process for teachers and students, loss of control by school district leadership over specialized programs, and the fostering of narrow categorical attitudes and instructional programming. (p. 26)

However, the school system of St. Cloud, Minnesota, discovered that special steps were needed when it attempted to mainstream Indochinese refugees (Scherer, 1985). Classroom tests had to rely less on language and teachers had to be sensitized.

In making such adjustments, St. Cloud's counselor devised a collegial approach to handle white students' abuse of Indochinese refugees (Scherer, 1985). With himself as mediator, refugees recounted their experiences in front of violators. The approach proved very effective, fostering changes in American attitudes toward refugees, as well as facilitating Indochinese communication. A similar program was instituted in a junior high school described by St. Clair (1986). There refugee-white contention was given

to the student government to handle. It devised an all-school human rights policy, thus making fair treatment of Indochinese students "a right that [the] most influential students support[ed]" (p. 28).

Consortiums established for particular purposes, such as southern New Jersey's leadership consortium for disadvantaged students (Oliver, 1988), also have been effective instruments for change. Collegiality was evident in its seminars, community internships, and gifted/talented pullout programs. During the 1960s Flint, Michigan's adult education program used similar collegial approaches to combat racism in its community. Integrated study classes on Black and white heritages and recreational programs promoted new attitudes and interactions (Totten, 1970).

In fact, the Flint, Michigan, school system has been long regarded as a pioneer in developing such collegial programs. For example, its Better Tomorrow for Urban Youth (BTU) program incorporated community involvement and visitation within a compensatory education approach (Totten, 1970). Another program designed to combat delinquency, Positive Action for Youth (PAY), arranged weekly "rap sessions" for students with school, court, police, and social service authorities (Totten).

While both BTU and PAY were highly successful, Flint's Personalized Curriculum Program (PCP), designed

for actual or would-be dropouts, was most renown. Each student's program was individualized around several common elements: free movement into the community, enrollment in cooperative-work positions, discussions with community business leaders, vocational counseling, and close home-school relationships (Totten, 1970). Sponsors of a vocational education program for inner-city youth of Melbourne, Australia, also discovered benefits of collegiality. A center at which students were able to talk freely with educators proved as important as skills training (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1981).

In summary, case studies focusing on Black-white, Indochinese-white, and Indian-non-Indian relations, plus Hawley and Rosenholtz's (1986) review of literature pertaining to multicultural schools, indicate the merits of the collegial leadership. Yet, the strategies used differed significantly from those cited in the previous section, which discussed culturally sensitive leadership. Rather than stressing cultural relevance, the collegial strategies sought dialogue between members of different cultures under "conditions of some equality of circumstance" (Hawley and Rosenholtz, p. 10). Such collegiality usually evolved from supervisory or systematic planning leadership.

An additional study by Ramirez (1979) provided concrete support for the collegial leadership strategy. Citing research findings on Mexican-Americans, American Indians, bilingual residents of Quebec, and Maoris in New Zealand (Fitzgerald, Lambert et al., McFees, no dates given, cited in Ramirez), Ramirez claimed that people with a "multicultural orientation" (p. 19) excelled at leadership, problem solving, cognitive skills, verbal ability, motivation, and human relations. Further research revealed that meeting and interacting with people of different socioeconomic backgrounds, without foregoing original ethnic ties, fostered this orientation. In fact, many of these experiences occurred early in life, "under conditions of mutual cooperation and equality of status" (p. 19)--the very essence of collegiality. Smith and Lischin (1986) similarly expounded on the enhanced capabilities of people trained in multicultural settings, whom they termed "culturally fluent leader[s]" (p. 1).

d. Involvement of Families and Communities

The literature review of educational leadership approaches in multicultural, developed contexts revealed many cases of parental involvement. It occasionally occurred spontaneously, suggesting the group analysis and celebration leadership approach--i.e., that minorities might employ it to enhance their particular perspectives. In other cases, it was deliberately promoted by educational

institutions, suggesting that leadership approaches of supervision, systematic planning, and family/community involvement might be linked. As with collegiality, parental involvement appeared to be a viable leadership approach most often at the classroom level.

For example, researchers (Burrell and Christensen, 1987) discovered minority students at an urban Canadian high school relying on their families, rather than school counselors, for most of their career information. Ascher (1985) also found Southeast Asian parents seeking involvement in their children's education, particularly when problems occurred. Marjoribanks (1985), in fact, correlated parental support with students' academic success for most, although not all, ethnic groups.

Research conducted in various European contexts suggested that parental involvement, itself, might constitute an aspect of a group's general culture. In Denmark and rural Norway, where the Populist movements of the late nineteenth century left a marked imprint, parental volunteerism was common (Lauglo, 1977). In Sweden and Scotland, however, historically centralized educational systems apparently inhibited parental involvement (Lauglo, 1977; Mackenzie, 1977). Even Scottish School Councils formed in 1973, which included parents, participated only marginally in school programs (Mackenzie).

Chicano parents in the United States also appeared to have an established tradition regarding involvement in schools. As explained by Valverde (1976), they sought participation in curricular programs regarded as essential to their children's future, but avoided extracurricular activities felt to intrude into their children's personal lives. This pattern was at odds with mainstream American expectations (Valverde).

Several school systems promoted parental involvement even when not part of an ethnic group's tradition. For example, Flint, Michigan, schools included parental counseling and visitations in many programs directed toward students-at-risk. Home-school counselors, with directives to pursue any area impinging on students' well-being, contacted other parents. Parents of poor-performing students also were encouraged to volunteer in the schools in an attempt to promote positive attitudes among their children, as well as assist the educational system (Totten, 1970).

Indeed, parent volunteers contributed greatly to many multicultural educational contexts. Flint, Michigan, parents participated in a multitude of programs, from health monitors to literacy tutors (Totten, 1970). St. Paul, Minnesota's multicultural Open School also used parents in a variety of capacities: teachers, area

supervisors, drivers, tutors, and office aides (Shoup, 1978).

Leadership approaches in which parents were involved beyond the levels of home-school visitations and volunteering appeared rare. However, Flint, Michigan, schools, again pioneered a number of different strategies. For example, parents were trained to promote academic learning of their children, especially in the area of reading (Totten, 1970). More recently, Patterson, New Jersey, schools (Williams, 1987) and Stanford University's accelerated schools (Levin, 1987), both operating in multicultural settings, found parents' academic support helpful.

Flint, Michigan, schools also trained parents in practical living skills and attempted to foster family recreation and cultural activities (e.g., father-son shop projects) (Totten, 1970). Furthermore, Flint's schools sought to incorporate parents and children in community support groups. A Parent Partners program, for example, arranged for community residents to assist parents of children with learning problems (Saxe, 1975). Block meetings held under the auspices of schools addressed health and safety, as well as educational issues (Totten). Children needing adult companionship also were assisted through programs such as Big Brother/Sister and rural exchanges (Totten).

In fact, Flint, Michigan's school system evolved into a community school framework in which lifelong learning was provided by and for a highly diversified and needy populace. Groups addressed included convicts, prostitutes, juvenile offenders, Indian and southern Black migrants, homemakers, senior citizens, and unemployed factory workers, as well as middle-class citizens. Participation, both as educational providers and consumers, reached a staggering 50% of Flint's total population each week (Totten, 1970). Yet, such success might have reflected unique, local factors, since community involvement strategies were relatively rare in multicultural settings (Van Voorhees, 1972, cited in Burback and Decker, 1978; Hopkins, 1978).

Much more common was employment of parents and community members in adjunct roles, such as members of school-related boards and committees. These were utilized in multicultural settings such as Chicago (Cibulka, 1974, cited in Saxe, 1975) and Cincinnati (Van Meter, 1976, cited in Wallat and Goldman, 1979). Goodrich (1976, cited in Wallat and Goldman) and Buskin (1975, cited in Wallat and Goldman), after reviewing a number of such cases, found them generally effective given sufficient information and dedication. The paucity of instances in which parental groups contributed to reform in the United States and Canada, however, was noted by Loughran and Reed (1980).

Recognizing the potential of such strategies, various educators issued pleas for parental involvement. For example, a needs assessment of Northwestern United States schools (Nelson and Hegg, 1987) listed "student, teacher, administrator, parent, and the community involvement" (p. 16) as a top priority. Brown (1981), in promoting greater involvement of minority families in special education programs, similarly advocated parental participation as paraprofessionals and/or volunteers. The Wisconsin needs assessment of American Indians (Philbrick et al., 1980) discovered Indian parents, themselves, seeking such roles. They believed that their participation would help schools better understand Indian children's special needs and would alleviate friction between Indian and non-Indian students.

Indian parents contacted in this study (Philbrick et al., 1980), however, were hesitant about presenting Indian studies courses due to their felt lack of qualifications. Evidence from the Chicano movement has suggested the opposite--that lack of preparation need not be an obstacle (Palomares, 1975). In the 1970s Chicanos were suddenly brought into schools in a variety of capacities as a result of federal legislation. Yet, as Palomares noted, most "learned after many years not only the requisite cycles of administration and subject matter,

but have retained much of the spirit with which they entered the programs" (p. 9).

Another leadership strategy, somewhat akin to involvement of parents and community members in the educational process, was participation of students in their communities. For example, Foxfire, headquartered in the Appalachian Mountains of Georgia, became renown for its oral histories. As founder Wigginton (1985) explained, "The only new wrinkle I added to that process was to have such collecting done by the grandchildren--not by the professionals--and to add those findings to our own literary magazine" (p. 216). Funded by its own profits, Foxfire expanded to cable television, publishing, and environmental education.

Community-based programs also included classes held in the community and taught by community resource people, internships at community settings, and community service projects (Fantini, 1970; Shoup, 1978). Such approaches proliferated in the United States from the late 1960s to late 1970s. Since then, most community-centered programs have been vocational in nature. For example, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools accredited programs offered by "nonschool" institutions, such as armed service training centers, correctional centers, and Job Corps centers (Kline, 1987). In western Kentucky, southern California, and Michigan, public schools extended

course credit to technical training programs at nearby industries, such as General Motors, Lockheed, Heath, and Whirlpool (Kline). Britain also introduced senior secondary students to community-based vocational experiences (Taylor and Lowe, 1981).

In conclusion, involvement of parents as a leadership strategy in multicultural settings appears to be very potent. Yet, it infrequently occurred. Even less frequent were community education strategies and/or involvement of students in their communities. Again, however, several cases (e.g., Flint community schools, Foxfire) were among the most noteworthy educational movements of post-World War II America.

e. Language-Oriented Strategies

The literature review reveals that language programs constitute a major leadership strategy in multicultural, developed settings. Often proposed as part of a supervisory or systematic planning approach, they also were employed as a means of fostering collegiality. Despite extensive use, however, great disagreement concerning the proper language approach existed.

Studies focusing on Indochinese refugees (e.g., Scherer, 1985; Tollefson, 1985) stressed the importance of English as a Second Language (ESL). Significantly, it appeared to provide the only vehicle for adults and older students to learn English. Tollefson even

described ESL as "the key...to the entire resettlement process" (p. 761). Perhaps due to the importance of ESL, various ESL approaches (e.g., competency-based, grammar-based, task-based) were debated (Tollefson). Studies (Scherer, 1985; Vanikar, 1985) agreed, however, that favorable attitudes enhanced second-language learning.

Bilingualism constituted a somewhat different language-oriented leadership approach from ESL approaches. In many cases it involved culture as well as language, even being called biculturalism on occasion. For example, in the late 1970s a three-year English-Ukrainian bilingual program was initiated in schools of Manitoba, Canada (Chapman, 1981). Both children of Ukrainian descent and other Canadian children participated in the program. Evaluations determined that, while learning the Ukrainian language and culture, children's performance in other academic areas and integration into their respective schools were at norm-level. Indeed, the program's greatest problem was limited availability of Ukrainian language materials.

Evaluations of Pacific island territories' educational programs also found bilingual programs successful (Christensen, 1980). While developing proficiency in English or Japanese for international interactions, residents retained their mother tongues. As Riley (1974, cited in Christensen) noted: "The best

way to preserve the 'soul' of a culture is through its own language" (p. 23). However, problems with the bilingual approach also surfaced, as Samoan bicultural scholar Kneubuhl (interviewed by Christensen) expounded:

We teach them [islanders]--or try to teach them --a second language, and we judge them exclusively by the standards of that language and the cultural values of that language....We pay no attention to the simple, human fact that the Samoan student himself is already full of language which he brings to the classroom encounter, his own language. With that language, he brings preconceptions about language. It would be insane to suppose the student can empty his mind of those preconceptions when he enters the classroom. But that is what we do, and in doing so we slide easily past the whole problem of first language interference. (p. 22)

Walsh (1987) documented the problem of first-language interference in Puerto Rican students participating in English-Spanish bilingual programs. She found that, although students might have learned to speak English, their concepts, communicative patterns, and many word meanings were Spanish. A similar pattern was discovered among even the most English-fluent Indochinese refugees attending a multicultural high school (Glanz, 1987).

Walsh (1987) further discerned an "assimilationist message" (p. 198) in Puerto Rican bilingual programs. While providing Spanish support and gradually increasing instruction in English, they eventually "disallow[ed]... Puerto Rican students' knowledge and discourse" (p. 203). In fact, several studies (Glanz, 1987; Philbrick et al.,

1980) identified continued instruction in students' original language as an important aspect of bilingual programs. Other educators promoted a number of Freire's (1985) tenets: a "critical" (Roth, 1984, p. 302) view in which both immediate and cultural components of experience are related to literacy; "self-reflection" by students concerning their native cultures while learning a new language (Briere, 1986, p. 206); and "forg[ing] links between old [i.e., native tongue] and new [i.e., second language] knowledge" (Walsh, p. 204). Indeed, several successful programs appeared to incorporate such approaches (Glanz; Scherer, 1985).

Palomares (1975) labeled these latter approaches "biculturalism" (p. 10), or, even, "multiculturalism" (p. 10), explaining:

The school attempts to make use of the cultures and languages in the community to educate the children in all aspects of learning: reading, writing, social studies, spelling, arithmetic, etc. By learning everything via two cultures and two languages, the Chicano [for example] and his Anglo counterpart feel good about all dimensions of their existence. (p. 10)

At the same time, Palomares admitted resistance to such an approach from bilingualists, educational administrators, legislators, and many Chicano parents. Although he claimed a victory for multiculturalism over such obstacles, another researcher, Rodriguez (1981), vehemently disagreed.

In addition to the problems of first-language interference and assimilation in employing language-oriented leadership strategies, "functional English" (Lockhart, 1981, p. 27) hampered efforts. Ohannessian (1967, cited in Philbrick et al., 1980) observed that "interference from non-native English learned from parents by first generation monolinguals in the language, [and] lack of vocabulary and experiential background" (p. 39) were common. American Indians, for example, experienced enormous language difficulties in American schools (Lockhart; Philbrick et al.). Yet, American educators appeared oblivious. In Wisconsin few school systems reported Indians as limited English communicators, none provided bilingual teachers, and those in areas of highest Indian-language fluency offered no language studies programs (Philbrick et al.).

A final problem occurring in language-oriented leadership approaches was the influence of "silent language" (Lockhart, 1981, p. 27). As Rodriguez (1981) explained, speaking style, gestures, and postures augmented language difficulties due to faulty grammar. Differences in style, posture, etc. were marked among many ethnic groups, such as Black and white Americans (Hall, 1977), American Indians and whites (Lockhart, 1981), and Indochinese and whites (Ascher, 1985).

To summarize, language is an oft-used leadership strategy in multicultural, educational settings. However, much disagreement concerning approaches (i.e., second language learning, bilingualism, multiculturalism) was expressed in the studies. In addition, serious problems and ethical issues concerning the use of language (e.g., first-language interference, functional English interference, assimilationist pressures, differences in nonverbal communicative patterns) were raised. Although documented among all ethnic groups, these problems were addressed only to an extent in the cases of Hispanics and Indochinese refugees, and rarely in the case of American Indians.

3. Educational Leadership Approaches in Multicultural, Developing Contexts

A number of studies focused on educational leadership approaches in multicultural, developing contexts. Of course, tremendous differences were identified among and within such settings. Due to the researcher's concern for developing a leadership model applicable to broad cultural settings, however, studies were reviewed for general findings.

The major finding is an adoption of Western-style leadership approaches. Exceptions centered around the use of ideology and a combined centralized-decentralized organizational structure. In contrast to the focus on

classroom, school, and district educational levels in the previous section on multicultural, developed contexts, studies concerning developing contexts stressed regional and national educational levels. Findings are organized around three major themes: (a) Western-style leadership approaches, (b) ideology as a leadership approach, and (c) combined centralized-decentralized organizational structures.

a. Western-style Leadership Approaches

Dogbe (1987), after conducting a survey of educational leaders at different institutions of higher learning in Ghana, observed:

Ghana's intelligentsia acknowledges the relevance of and necessity for a philosophical paradigm that is closely related to their own endogenous [sic] concept of communal democratic institutionalization of education. While they proffer this, they prefer an aristocratic decision-making [sic] and policy-formulation.
(p. 8)

Dogbe similarly labeled Nigeria's educational system a "totalitarian" (p. 20) attempt to "Europeanize" (p. 20) its citizenry. The reason given for such systems was Africa's "captive mind" (p. 8)--its adulation of and control by the developed world.

An earlier study by Christensen (1980) in the Pacific islands territories found much the same phenomenon there. Both formal, political links and informal links, such as the media, undermined indigenous educational practices,

according to his research. One administrator interviewed by Christensen remarked:

We have to educate for assumption of a culture which is not ours. We have to live in a western culture. But as a result of the western culture we have to develop the aggressiveness, the cold-heartedness, the possessiveness....We've got to acquaint people with the new values that are being put in here. (p. 20)

Most educational leaders interviewed by Christensen (1980), however, believed traditional and Western cultures to be merging, constituting "cultures in transition" (p. 17). Thus, Western educational practices that were adopted were judged to yield contradictory results. For example, American insistence on categorical grants for the elderly harmed the extended family system, while simultaneously promoting dissemination of traditional customs and folklore. Educational leaders agreed that, although the context might be multicultural, leadership strategies tended to be American.

Several countries attempting to resist the Westernization of their educational leadership styles were stymied. Perhaps best known has been the case of Tanzania. Disturbed by the irrationalities of the Western educational model as applied in a developing, African context, President Julius Nyerere launched a program of "self-reliance" (1967, cited in Thompson, 1981) in which educational programs were decentralized along "ujaama" (i.e., socialist) lines. Despite tremendous governmental

efforts and both the financial aid and expertise of Scandinavian countries, the plan failed. As Court (1979) explained, Western educational credentials remained the "sole route to material reward and status" (p. 38). In addition, local communities did not appear to understand their role in developing locally relevant educational programs (Nyerere, 1979, cited in Thompson, 1981). Furthermore, as Court noted, schools were unable to "institute values which [were] not yet reflected in the structure and accepted by the populace of the wider society" (pp. 45-46). Tanzania's most recent education plan reverted to Western-style centralization and organization of curriculum (The Ministry of Education, 1984).

Another notable example of a nation unsuccessful in fostering indigenous leadership approaches was Sri Lanka. Much like Tanzania, Sri Lanka's experience with a Western-style, "bookish" approach had been negative (Asian Center of Educational Innovation for Development [ACEID], 1977). Thus, a program to integrate academic and vocational education for grades six through nine was launched. Community members were involved in selecting vocations for study, developing curricula, and presenting and evaluating programs. Teachers and school administrators received special training. Yet, as in Tanzania, both groups continued to favor a Western-style approach oriented

toward white-collar positions (ACEID, 1977). An ambitious vocational program initiated in Malaysia also succumbed to academic preferences of students and parents (UNESCO, 1981).

Goulet (1971), a well-known development theorist, postulated that the inability of developing societies, such as those of Africa, the Pacific islands territories, and Asia, to retain indigenous leadership strategies might emanate from the cohesiveness of their cultures. Although characterizing developed societies as having "normative schizophrenia" (p. 223), Goulet perceived developing societies as "not psychologically prepared to dissociate economic values from more intimate value spheres" (pp. 223-224). Thus, adoption of Western economic goals might have brought Western educational leadership styles in their wake.

Ironically, one developing society used Western leadership strategies in an effort to retain its own culture. Affected by American materialistic values, Mexico implemented a "cultural counteroffensive, with the institution of education spearheading the effort" (Bixler-Marquez, 1984, p. 150). In four regions judged most threatened, a program was launched utilizing typically Western approaches, such as articulating objectives, training teachers, and designing a delivery system. However, the latter included school assemblies, thus incorporating several traditional Mexican leadership

approaches (e.g., community involvement, physical activities, music, theatrical productions, poetry-readings). Educator Bixler-Marquez, in fact, discerned a "cultural synthesis...where two cultures coexist and, in the process, affect each other, often creating new cultural norms" (p. 156).

Within general, Western-style leadership strategies, developing societies, then, may incorporate some indigenous aspects. A careful review of the literature does suggest two ways in which indigenous aspects were retained.

b. Ideology as a Leadership Approach

A number of studies indicate that developing societies often utilize moral/ideological leadership strategies. In most cases the impetus was a supervisory or systematic planning leadership approach. As articulated, however, the use of ideology promoted two other leadership approaches: collegiality and group analysis and celebration.

For example, Singapore implemented "Education for Living" (ACEID, 1977, p. 55) to foster an appreciation of both Eastern and Western values. Designed to promote a sense of national identity for a "young, rapidly changing and industrializing, multi-ethnic population" (p. 55), it was presented in students' three, major mother-tongues. The program featured an interdisciplinary

approach to the study of history, geography, civics, and moral-social themes.

Following Singapore's lead, India developed a Framework for a National Curriculum for Primary and Secondary Education ("Core Curriculum Plan," 1986). It, too, utilized a core curriculum to inculcate social, spiritual, and cognitive goals. Pride in being an Indian, an understanding of citizens' rights and responsibilities, and basic social values were to be emphasized. However, many challenges to the Framework's implementation surfaced: fears of member states regarding promotion of a national perspective, lack of trained personnel and resources, and difficulties in producing curriculum materials in a multitude of languages. The Framework, thus, languished ("Core Curriculum Plan").

An example of a leadership approach successfully utilizing ideology in a developing society was South Korea's Saemaul Movement, or New Community (or Village) Movement of the 1970s (ACEID, 1977). A key goal was the promotion of cooperative and self-reliant attitudes. The program succeeded in those terms, as well as providing adults with new skills and promoting more prosperous, closely knit communities (ACEID).

Another case of successful implementation of ideologically oriented strategies in a developing society

was Sri Lanka's Sarvodaya Shramadana movement. Based on ideas akin to those of Mahatma Gandhi, who conceived a "Sarvodaya Samaj" (Gajanayake, 1984, p. 75; i.e., confederation of self-sufficient villages based on agriculture, handicrafts, and basic industries), this movement promoted indigenous community development in 3,000 Sri Lankan villages. A key element in the process was consciousness-raising in which community members identified relevant traditions and strengths. As explained by Gajanayake:

A Shramadana Camp normally is inaugurated [sic] in the evening with traditional ceremonies. This is followed by a meeting of the villagers, called the "family gathering," the idea being that all the people gathered consider themselves members of one family, and in that spirit, discuss problems facing the village and lay down plans for the camp. In these camps each day, six to eight hours of labor are given by the people, both young and old. This labor is used for satisfying a common need of the community, such as the construction of an access road to the village or an irrigation channel. (p. 90)

At the same time, of course, villagers learned significant skills and developed cooperative attitudes.

A similar approach was utilized in the Gonobiddalayas (Community Schools) of Bangladesh. There a private agency, the Bangladesh Association for Community Education (BACE), designed a training program relevant to rural life. Funded by the Danish International Development Agency, it sought to teach vocational skills while instilling

enthusiasm for village life (Chowdhury, 1984). Results of the program were unknown, however.

In addition to the large-scale successes of South Korea's Saemaul Movement and Sri Lanka's Sarvodaya Shramadana movement with ideologically oriented leadership strategies were small-scale successes. For example, in 1986 a sex education program originally developed in rural Idaho was adapted by Native Americans for use in isolated Indian settings (Mokler, Bates-Soriano, Randolph, and Koping, 1986). Native American ideological elements inserted into the program included: a spiritual approach to sexuality, a respect for childhood and children's ideas, emphasis on the extended family as primary educators, and a view of touching as nurturing children. Stylistic changes, such as talking "around the subject" (p. 63); increased use of humor, games, everyday speech, tribal designs and quotations, and Indian translations; pacing to allow more discussion of difficult topics and particular groups' needs; and emphasis on common experiences, also were made.

Thus, the literature review suggests that indigenous leadership approaches may succeed in developing societies if utilizing and enhancing prevailing social/moral beliefs of the populace.

c. Combined Centralized-Decentralized Organizational Structure

Another finding is the success of strategies in which local organization and outside change agents are combined. A 1980 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] report summarized the experiences of many programs in Asia and Oceania:

The prior existence of an organizational nucleus at the community level has been found to facilitate grassroots-level participation in education, even if such organizations did not originally envisage any role in education. In fact, to view educational problems intertwined with other aspects of community participation, has proved to be a successful strategy. Further, a combination of trained change agents from outside together with local leaders appears to be the most effective means of mobilizing grassroots-level participation in education.
(p. 38)

Clearly, both the Saemaul Movement of South Korea and the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement of Sri Lanka supported this conclusion. In the former, local communities received national support, according to centralized guidelines, in implementing programs designed to increase their productivity and income (ACEID, 1977). In the latter, six Development Education Institutes, each with many, subsidiary Sarvodaya Extension Centers, were organized. The extension centers coordinated education and training activities of 20 to 30 villages in their environs (Gajanayake, 1984). Buddhist monks, traditional

village leaders in much of Sri Lanka, were used extensively as leaders.

In summary, both a combined centralized-decentralized organizational structure and a relevant ideological stance appear to provide effective indigenous leadership strategies in developing societies.

4. Cross-Cultural Comparisons of Multicultural Leadership Approaches

In addition to studies that have focused on leadership approaches in developed and developing multicultural contexts, summarized in the previous two sections, several studies stressed cross-cultural perspectives. These studies focused on the dynamics of implementing Western curriculum, instructional/administrative approaches, and/or student/staff learning styles in a non-Western context. Findings indicate both the successful adoption of Western-style leadership approaches and the retention of indigenous leadership approaches, each of which are discussed in the two following sections. Educational levels addressed in the studies ranged from national and regional levels to school and classroom levels.

a. Successful Adoption of Western-Style Leadership Approaches

A number of studies appear to suggest the universality of educational leadership--i.e., that Western leadership approaches may be transplanted

successfully to non-Western settings. Educational levels reported in these studies varied from national systems to classrooms.

For example, an American (Martin, 1982), preparing Bahraini trainers for a middle-management training program, used collegiality to promote "quicker and better progress toward acquiring the skills they need[ed]" (p. 397).

Initially, however, students resisted this approach. As Martin explained:

The role relationship I proposed to the trainers shortly after my arrival was one in which they would plan, design, and deliver the training program and I would be their "coach." This approach was...initially frustrating to the trainers who thought of me as an "expert" and wondered why I didn't just tell them what to do, or better yet, do it for them while they watched and "learned." (p. 395)

Martin (1982) succeeded in implementing collegiality in her classroom, but was unable to do so in contexts controlled by Bahrainis. Neither a long-term view of management training nor the role of her course in the general program were articulated with superiors. Martin attributed this inability to their uncertainty regarding power and personnel, low levels of conceptual thinking, daily work pressures, and need to demonstrate their own expertise and authority. Collegiality, thus, was dependent on a favorably-disposed supervisory approach, similar to findings reported in section 2, part c above.

Another study (Safi and Miller, 1986) also suggested that non-Westerners might be trained to use a collegial leadership approach. When Kuwaiti University administrators launched a Western-style course and instructor evaluation project, the major obstacle, they felt, was a Kuwaiti cultural norm that "teachers are considered the sole authority on the subject matter and the students are...receivers" (p. 17). As a result, major steps were taken to assure professors of respect, and a committee representing all university sectors jointly developed the evaluative form. The experiment succeeded in greatly increasing the number of university courses evaluated. It also appeared to foster more critical views of professors by students, particularly concerning their professorial expertise. The process of collegiality, thus, appeared linked to a collegial "product"--greater perceived equality between professors and students.

Safi and Miller's (1986) and Martin's (1982) findings were corroborated by those of studies pertaining to problem solving: Students in developing societies successfully adopted Western modes of thinking as a result of Western-style educational leadership. For example, preference of form over color in selecting and grouping objects and use of superordinate language for classifying were related to attendance at Western-type schools for

non-Western children (Bruner, Olver, and Greenfield, 1966; Deregowski and Serpell, 1971; both cited in Cole and Scribner, 1974). Similarly, students experiencing Western-style schooling were found more likely to impose mental structures on objects for recall (Scribner, no date, cited in Cole and Scribner, 1974) and to conserve (Bruner et al.)

Anthropological studies (Fortes, 1938, and Mead, 1964, both cited in Cole and Scribner, 1974) suggested that cognitive differences between children attending Western-style schools and other children emanated from contrasting leadership modes. Traditional education in developing societies stressed learning through observation and practice with a knowledgeable adult; verbiage and abstract explanations, so typical of Western-type schools, were minimal. Thus, the implication is that leadership approaches of Western-style schools may foster Western-style thinking, regardless of context.

b. Retention of Indigenous Leadership Approaches

While the aforementioned studies suggest the universality of Western-style leadership approaches, several studies challenged this view. They, instead, indicate cultural limitations to certain leadership approaches. Most pertained to lower educational levels, such as classrooms and schools.

For example, a number of researchers identified important differences among "Western" schools in middle-class, Western contexts and non-Western and lower-class, Western contexts. Hall (1977) found greater direction in Western-style schools of developing societies. For example, during the 1960s South Korea used a highly regimented curriculum to substitute for vocational teachers, who were in short supply. A four-stage model with 81 sets of instructional materials, each with appropriate tools and problem-solving tasks guided students and aides (UNESCO, 1981). Cooley and Lohnes (1976, cited in Fagerlind and Saha, 1983) similarly found highly structured teaching approaches more successful with lower-class American children than open-ended and student-centered approaches. Indeed, researchers (Avalos and Haddad, 1981; Heyneman, 1976; Noonan, 1978; Saha, 1983; all cited in Fagerlind and Saha) discovered teaching methods and teacher training to exert more influence on children in developing societies than in developed societies.

When American-conceived microteaching programs were transplanted to African settings, greater structure and more definite authority roles also were necessitated. Implementers Miltz and Marks (1976) adopted several changes to reflect indigenous leadership patterns: combining disparate skills into more general categories;

providing ample time for instruction and study; practicing the skills before peers, rather than students; and receiving formal, rather than informal, feedback from supervisors. Microteaching also was more successful in African settings when conducted as part of a course or workshop, rather than on an individualized basis.

A study of educational practices in Pacific island territories (Christensen, 1980) corroborated Miltz and Marks' (1979) findings that educational leadership in developing societies was characterized by formal authority, simple concepts, and ample time for study. The author (Christensen, 1980) summarized:

So where we [i.e., Americans] are used to elaborate coordination arrangements, using documentation, they can move quickly to a solution....And where we move readily to the data and procedures, they often spend time setting the social stage before even approaching the action process....Adult educators from the states tend to carry with them the compulsion to transmit a maximum amount in the minimum amount of time. They are often insensitive to the much slower pace among the islanders. Language is used by the islanders to set the stage, to evoke emotion, to manifest feelings of satisfaction and esteem and cooperation. And it is unproductive to pack presentations and conversations with information at the expense of the other uses of language. (pp. 18, 30)

Thus, a lengthy rehearsal time, albeit followed by faster and more cohesive implementation, characterized leadership in the Pacific islands territories compared to that of the United States. This rehearsal time was used by islanders

for social, psychological, and organizational purposes, rather than simply informational ones.

Significantly, these studies stressing indigenous approaches focused on supervisory and systematic planning leadership perspectives. Collegiality, emphasized in several studies in the preceding sections, was not cited as an indigenous approach. (However, feelings of esteem and satisfaction promoted by indigenous leadership styles might have represented a form of collegiality.) Even the collegiality therein documented, though, was promoted by favorably-disposed supervisory and systematic planning leadership.

5. Conclusion

Findings of the literature review summarized in the previous sections suggest several intriguing conclusions concerning leadership strategies in contrasting cultural contexts.

First, agreement on goals appears to be essential in both developing and developed societies. Leadership strategies that attempted to implement values which were not accepted by the populace, usually in developing societies, failed. These values usually were at variance with prevailing international emphases on academic learning. Likewise, ambiguous strategies in which values were not clearly defined, usually in developed settings, failed as measured by students' achievement and

intergroup harmony. In fact, stress on academic excellence appears to be a successful leadership approach in such settings, as long as culturally relevant techniques are used.

Thus, a major finding suggested by the literature review is the importance of orienting leadership strategies in all cultural settings toward the same goal--the type of learning valued by the world's prevailing system. As construed in recent years, this goal constitutes abstract, academic learning. Indeed, educational leadership oriented towards this goal was found to succeed in all kinds of cultural settings.

Second, within this general, worldwide agreement on goals, unique leadership strategies for various cultures appear effective. Specifically, teacher-centeredness in developing and lower-class, developed societies; and ideology, a combined centralized-decentralized organizational structure, simple concepts, ample rehearsal time, and emotional/social uses of language in developing contexts appear to be culturally relevant. A number of studies emphasized culturally relevant approaches (e.g., bicultural programs, special presentation and communication styles) for particular groups. Training educators concerning these approaches also was important. Nearly all studies stressing culturally relevant approaches addressed lower educational levels such as classrooms and schools.

Third, collegial leadership approaches also seem to succeed in developed settings. Significantly, collegiality almost always occurred as part of a supervisory and/or systematic planning leadership approach, usually at the district or school level. Collegial strategies highlighted in various studies included: promoting meaningful interaction among diverse students; exhibiting empathy, rapport, and enthusiasm with one's students; involving students in the resolution of conflicts and problems; including families and local communities in the education process; and offering bilingual/bicultural programs.

As exemplified by the latter, collegial and culturally relevant leadership approaches appear, at times, to merge. Yet, a difference in perspective undergirds them, too. Collegial leadership strategies assume the need for a dialogue among culturally different, but equal, participants in the educational process. Culturally relevant strategies focus on approaches specific to particular cultural groups. The fact that the two strategies occasionally resemble one another, as in the case of biculturalism, constitutes a fourth significant finding--that the two strategies appear to reinforce each other on occasion.

However, the studies did not report this happening routinely. Culturally relevant leadership strategies were

stressed much more frequently than were collegial strategies. Also, culturally relevant strategies often were viewed as top-down, rather than joint, ventures. Indeed, the dichotomy between culturally relevant and collegial strategies that often was found in multicultural, developed educational leadership approaches may, itself, indicate a significant irony--an ethnocentric application of culturally relevant strategies.

A final observation relates to studies of leadership in multicultural, developing contexts. Most emphasized macroeducational levels, such as nations or regions. Also, many studies, particularly those stressing ideology as a leadership approach, documented the group analysis and celebration leadership approach. This approach was not found in multicultural, developed societies, except when used by minority families. Thus, macrolevel and ideological leadership appears more prevalent in multicultural, developing contexts.

While the foregoing conclusions appear to be generated by research findings, several caveats must be expressed. First, an exact definition of culture has been elusive. As generally used, it referred to ethnic and racial groups and varying levels of economic development. Indeed, as Brown (1981) pointed out, socioeconomic differences often have been more profound than ethnic or racial differences within a given society.

Thus, culturally relevant leadership styles may overlap with effective-teaching techniques for different levels of student performance, as described by Good (1979) and Brophy (1979).

A second caveat concerns the inadequacy of the research to date. Valverde's observation in 1976 has remained all too accurate: "Because there is a lack of thorough research concerned with finding leadership modes successful in multicultural community schools, assumptions and untested premises are guiding practitioners in schools today" (p. 34). Williams (1971, cited in Brown, 1981) further noted that "there has been little systematic research explaining characteristics of different cultural groups in terms of their unique strengths and characteristics" (p. 95). The paucity of rigorous research renders conclusions based on the literature review tentative. At the same time, however, this paucity argues for further investigation of culturally contingent leadership strategies--the purpose of this study.

In fact, the literature review, in its entirety, corroborates the thrust of management and educational experts described in part B. Leadership, indeed, appears related to culture. Thus, the research questions, delineated in part A, appear both significant and feasible.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

Having set the stage for the inquiry in the previous chapter, more specific matters must be addressed. Of crucial importance, of course, is the methodology. Research methods, including both general perspectives and specific operations are discussed in part B below. First, however, a pilot study in which a preliminary version of the culturally contingent leadership model was used is described. To a large extent, research methods evolved from that study. After methods are delineated, limitations on the conduct and interpretation of the study are described.

A. Pilot Study

As mentioned earlier, a simplified version of the general model was field tested in a pilot study. The researcher investigated the curricular decision-making process of Indochinese high school students in a modern, American high school. Using Hall's (1977) criteria for defining HC and LC cultures (discussed in Chapter IV, part A), the refugees were designated as members of an HC culture, while the high school was described as being LC. By crossing the Indochinese students' HC cultural style with collegial leadership, the researcher predicted that they would base curricular decisions on

advice received from relatives or friends through a "refugee grapevine." They were not expected to use LC approaches for course selections, such as consulting counselors, reading catalogues, or being alert to economic trends. Thus, though not formally articulated, Indochinese students were expected to use leadership strategies of the Group Effectiveness model (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983).

A comprehensive review of the literature was conducted to seek support for this prediction and to suggest related phenomena. No concrete findings concerning Indochinese students' course selection process were located, but several studies suggested that families and a refugee network might play an important role. The literature review also identified instruction in English, culturally sensitive interpersonal approaches, mainstreaming, and new counseling techniques as important facilitators of Indochinese students' adjustment to American schools. Their unique psychological and cultural background also was highlighted in many studies.

The specific site selected for the pilot study was a large, multicultural high school. It had a population of 31 Indochinese refugees (primarily from Cambodia), one of the highest in the region. In addition, the school was renowned for its academic excellence. The researcher

anticipated that this reputation might have influenced its approach to the Indochinese students, thereby providing an interesting case study.

The unit of analysis was the individual Indochinese refugee. Using a "maximum variation sampling technique" (Patton, 1980, p. 102), seven students of varying nationalities, academic performance, family situations, (i.e., living with both parents, with a mother only, or as an unaccompanied minor), position in the family, general psychological adjustment, sex, age, year in school, and length of time in the U.S. were selected.

Interviews were conducted with questions roughly standardized in clear and concise terms. They proceeded from the specific (e.g., present or recent experiences in selecting courses) to the abstract (e.g., feelings concerning the course selection process), as recommended by Patton (1980). Also, two questions were deliberately framed to elicit overlapping information--a necessity, given the tendency of "people to lie about things that matter most to them" (VanMaanen, 1979, p. 544).

Flexibility in the questioning procedure was used to accommodate students' various levels of English and to encourage elaboration outside the LC-HC preordinate categories. Interviews also were conducted with students' English as a Second Language (ESL) and Khmer teachers, the school's principal, parents, and American

sponsors of refugees. In addition, the researcher observed an all-day Public hearing conducted by the Governor's Advisory Council on Refugee Resettlement at a nearby community college, in which many of the students, parents, sponsors, and school faculty members participated. Testimony by others provided a basis of comparison for school-generated data.

Qualitative research methods were used to identify Indochinese students' curricular decision-making process. First, students' responses were recorded verbatim by the researcher throughout the 30-minute interviews, using a personalized shorthand system. At the conclusion of the interviews, material was expanded from recall to provide a greater data base. Once interviews were complete, data were content analyzed with HC and LC descriptors. General factors within LC and HC categories were assigned labels and prioritized according to perceived significance. Two subsidiary patterns (i.e., systematic variations among students) pertaining to the categories also were noted.

Next, material extraneous to the LC and HC descriptors was analyzed for additional "patterns, categories, and themes" (Patton, 1980, p. 309). Two general categories of English facility and achievement motivation subsumed nearly all data and meaningfully differentiated it. Findings then were compared to data collected from other interviews, providing

a means of triangulation. When discrepancies appeared, students' interpretations were accepted, especially if agreed upon by a majority. The triangulation material also provided background or context information for the more specific factors identified by students. Finally, plausibility of rival explanations for the data was considered, using the method of "ramification extinction" (Campbell in Yin, 1984, p. 7).

Findings did not support the initial hypothesis of an HC collegial leadership style among Indochinese students. However, HC and LC preordinate descriptors were useful in revealing refugees' curricular decision-making process. Although not formally stated, a combined HC Developmental Supervision/Systems Analysis leadership approach (described in Chapter IV, part C) was discovered. The ESL teacher assumed a directive role in determining refugees' curriculum, using an informal, integrative manner. She also exhibited a concern for students' personal and academic needs, thus providing a holistic approach. In addition, the school arranged a plethora of support activities for Indochinese students, which also influenced their selection of courses. They included: a Khmer teacher who taught Cambodian history and literature, a special after-school tutoring project in which local university students helped refugees, Upward Bound

summer programs at the university, subject area teachers who provided individualized programs for a number of refugees, and special athletic events.

This HC system proved a tremendous benefit to Indochinese students, given their lack of English and their different cultural background. Traditional sources of support, such as families and religion, were non-existent or incapacitated. In addition, students often entered the school in psychological disarray due to their experiences as refugees and the absence of local social services. The school, in effect, filled these voids through its protective, nurturing programs. Indeed, the most plausible theoretical explanation for the school's comprehensive, culturally congruent approach was its customary "family-like" character, evident in many organizational policies and patterns. The influx of downtrodden refugees appeared to prompt enactment of that tradition.

Within this general HC system, erected by the school to facilitate Indochinese refugees' adjustment, including their curricular decision-making process, two trends were noted. First, students with a better facility in English (thus rendering them less dependent on the ESL teacher for course selection) experienced real difficulties. Counselors did not assist them in choosing electives. And, despite their own English

proficiency, they seemed unable to select electives in a methodical manner. The result was that most chosen were unrelated to refugees' career goals.

Second, boys entered the school's HC system with less knowledge and emotional support than did girls. Refugee sponsors appeared to lavish attention on Indochinese girls, but to withhold it from boys. The result was a less informed and less confident male refugee student.

In addition to these findings, which reflected the researcher's use of HC-LC preordinate descriptors, two factors were identified as significantly affecting refugees' curricular decision making. First, facility in English influenced students' course selection. A number of students were unable to enroll in electives, even when technically able to do so, due to teachers' concerns about their lack of proficiency. Other students, due to poor speaking abilities, were too timid to approach teachers or counselors. Furthermore, most students' achievement in courses, even subjects such as math and science, appeared to be depressed by language difficulties, thereby restricting future course options.

Second, refugees' achievement motivation appeared to play a prominent role in their curricular decision-making process. Virtually all students aspired to attend college, resulting in an extremely high motivation to

achieve. In a number of cases, this motivation meant that students' own interests and capabilities were disregarded, with courses selected solely on the basis of academic status.

The research project was praised by both school officials and a university professor, under whose guidance it was conducted, for its significant findings concerning Indochinese students' curricular decision-making process. Use of Hall's (1977) HC-LC cultural construct was felt to be particularly helpful in describing and illuminating data. Upon further reflection, the researcher realized that various models of leadership had been implicit in the study. She, thus, sought to articulate a more general and comprehensive culturally contingent leadership model and explore its utility in a greater variety of multicultural, educational settings--the topic of this investigation.

B. Methodology

1. General Perspective

The general methodology used in the study was qualitative. As defined by Taylor and Bogdan (1984), it is characterized by an inductive approach; a holistic view of social reality; a naturalistic and unobtrusive manner of working with people; an attempt to understand people

from their own frame of reference; a suspension of one's own predispositions; an appreciation for all perspectives and settings; a humanistic view of social life; a profound concern for the validity of research findings; a flexible, craftlike stance toward conduct of a study; and a phenomenological perspective in which human behavior is perceived as a product of people's definitions of their world.

A qualitative perspective was manifested in two respects. First, the five ethnographic case studies "placed human actors and their interpretive and negotiating capacities at the center of analysis" (Angus, 1986, p. 61). Second, application of the culturally contingent leadership model to the case studies was done with a thorough, holistic, humanistic view of social reality. Perspectives of people involved in the case studies were given prime consideration in determining research findings.

Although a phenomenological, inductive perspective was maintained, preordinate descriptors also were used to describe and illumine data. As Angus (1986) aptly pointed out, pure ethnography has certain limitations. First, it overlooks the crucial role of "social structures" and a "wider, external social reality" (p. 62). Also, in stressing descriptions of social interactions and contexts, judgments and theories usually are absent or are

carefully "grounded" in the data (Patton, 1980, p. 80). Such a perspective mimics the positivist dichotomy of theory and data. Believing theory and data to be inextricably interrelated, the researcher initially used preconceived descriptors (i.e., the eight cells of the culturally contingent leadership model) to organize data from the case studies. Afterwards, remaining data were examined for other categories, with one, indeed, being identified. Thus, the approach was not entirely inductive. As Patton (1980) observed, "holistic-inductive analysis and naturalistic inquiry are always a matter of degree" (p. 46). Smith (1987) labeled this qualitative approach "theory driven" (p. 181) because people's meanings are used as a "point of departure...[for] more basic and supraindividual social structures and forces" (p. 181).

2. Selection of Case Studies

The method for selecting specific case studies consisted of three steps. First, the card catalogue, doctoral dissertations, cross-cultural bibliographic experts, and selected bibliographies were consulted to generate a list of all possible ethnographic case studies concerning multicultural, educational contexts.

Approximately 30 cases were identified. Second, five case studies were selected on the basis of diversity. Factors considered were: issue addressed, geographic

location, educational level(s) addressed (i.e., regional, district, school, classroom, or individual), cultures involved, and publisher. Those incorporated in the dissertation's literature review (through articles that had discussed broad areas of multicultural education) were rejected. Finally, cases were evaluated on the basis of the richness of their ethnographic descriptions.

The final five case studies, thus, represented a cross section of recent, multicultural ethnographic studies. (See Table 1, p. 83, for a summary of factors incorporated in each study). One case perhaps requiring elaboration is that concerning the application of a Flexible Curriculum. The study was conducted in a primary school of a poor, rural community in Honduras. A university team, which had developed a new curricular format, was dispatched by the Ministry of Public Education to the community to replace its traditional educational program with a Flexible Curriculum. Ironically, they intended to promote an educational program more relevant to the community's needs. The real cultural diversity in the case, however, was that of the poor Agua Blanca Sur rural community and modern, middle-class educators.

Another point also requiring clarification is the inclusion of two case studies published by University of Massachusetts' School of Education. This was deemed

TABLE 1
 Summary of Factors Incorporated in Case Studies

<u>Case Study</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Educational Levels</u>	<u>Cultures</u>	<u>Publisher</u>
1. Magnet Schools (Metz, 1986)	Desegregation	Midwestern, U.S. City	Schools, Classrooms	Black and White Americans of Different Socioeconomic Levels	Routledge and Kegan Paul
2. Street Boys (Ardila, 1983)	Transforming Antisocial Boys	Bogota, Colombia	District	Gamine Youth and Modern, Urban Lifestyles	O.A.S
3. Technology (Kumar, 1986)	Use of Learning Aids	Lesotho, Africa	Region	Developed and Developing Societies	Univ. of Massachusetts
4. Flexible Curriculum (Chavez, 1980)	Changing Community School's Curriculum	Agua Blanca Sur, Honduras	School	Rural Poor and Urban Middle Classes	U.N.E.S.C.O.
5. Second-Language (Halsted, 1981)	Learning English	Africa, Asia, U.S.	Individual	"Disadvantaged" and "Prestige" Speech	Univ. of Massachusetts

unfortunate. Yet, selection of other cases would have duplicated crucial factors, such as issues, location, and educational levels. These two cases, by contrast, dealt with important multicultural issues (application of technology and second-language learning), incorporated a wide range of locales, addressed levels often omitted in ethnographic educational studies, and provided rich descriptions. For these reasons, both were used.

Thus, the unit of analysis in the study was the individual case study. Although five case studies selected with a "maximum variation sampling strategy" (Patton, 1980, p. 102) did not permit generalization to all multicultural case studies, they did suggest general trends. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) even argued that saturation of the total population range can be assumed when additional cases yield no new information. The researcher appeared to attain this stage, with findings of the fifth case approximating those of the first two cases.

3. Articulation of a Culturally Contingent Leadership Model

First, the basic constructs of culture and leadership were defined. In terms of culture, an initial, thorough review of various perspectives regarding culture was provided. It included an examination of configurationalist and functionalist

traditions and various semiotic styles. Viewpoints expressed at recent conferences concerning cultural processes also were presented, with points of agreement highlighted. Next, anthropologist Edward T. Hall's (1977) construct of culture was described and related to the various perspectives discussed in the preceding section. Its six distinguishing characteristics, which yielded a dichotomous LC-HC definition of culture, then were described in depth. Finally, Hall's cultural construct was critiqued.

In regard to leadership, a single definition was not sought, as was done for culture. Rather, due to the ambiguity of the concept, four leadership models developed for educational settings were selected. Each focused on different levels and processes of organizational life: supervision, collegiality, group analysis and celebration, and systematic planning. The researcher described each model as conceived by its author, examined its theoretical foundations, and critiqued it.

Second, the culturally contingent leadership model was created by applying the four leadership models to Hall's (1977) dichotomous LC-HC definition of culture. As Patton (1980) explained, "creating cross-classification matrices is an exercise in logic" (p. 314). The researcher worked back and forth between

the culture and leadership constructs, attempting to generate as many descriptive components as possible. Since both constructs of culture and leadership were based on extensive research, the descriptions of their intersections (i.e., categories) were well-grounded. Precise or operational definitions of descriptors were not possible, however, because they represented oversimplifications of complex thought and behavior processes. Rather, broad categories were defined, each with a number of components.

The researcher anticipated that inclusion of divergent theoretical positions (i.e., among the four leadership models) might increase the utility of the culturally contingent leadership model. However, the most crucial determinant of a valuable model is the thoroughness of the researcher's organization and description of categories. Each of the eight cells is described in detail in Chapter IV, part C.

4. Evaluation of the Culturally Contingent Leadership Model and Conclusions Concerning General Culture-Leadership Patterns

The major purpose of the dissertation was to evaluate the culturally contingent leadership model. This transpired through a series of steps. First, data from each case study concerning leadership approaches were carefully noted by the researcher. No attempt was

made to apply labels or categories. Rather, the data were listed, usually in the words of the case study's author.

Second, preordinate categories (i.e., the eight cells articulated by applying the four leadership models to the dichotomous definition of culture) were used to weigh data from each case study. That is, the researcher assigned gross labels, or categories, to data. Next, data and labels were reviewed in their entirety for accuracy. More precise components of the appropriate category(ies) also were identified. Finally, patterns among components were identified and linked to one another and results of the leadership approach, as evidenced in the case study.

In this way, the culturally contingent leadership model was used to describe and illumine each case study. Findings (i.e., components of the category[ies] that fit, and insights generated by relationships among categories) are summarized in respective sections of Chapter V, part B. After each case study was examined in this manner, research findings from the entire group were analyzed and synthesized (Chapter V, part C).

Using these general findings, the researcher then evaluated the culturally contingent leadership model's utility: its general applicability to data of the case studies, and its productivity in identifying relationships

among applicable categories. Evaluations in both areas were supported with explanations and examples. In addition, unanticipated findings were noted. The evaluation appears in Chapter VI, part A.

Although subsidiary to evaluation of the culturally contingent leadership model, conclusions concerning general culture-leadership patterns in multi-cultural educational settings also were offered. The researcher used a similar process in developing conclusions to that described above. First, general findings concerning culture-leadership patterns, as portrayed in the case studies, were determined (Chapter V, part C). Next, these findings were compared to major findings of the literature review (Chapter II, part C). Similarities and differences were noted (Chapter VI, part B), with a number of conclusions stated.

Unfortunately, triangulation, as traditionally understood, was not incorporated in these stages of analysis and interpretation, due to the nature of the study. It simply was not possible to corroborate the researcher's determination of applicability and productivity in using the culturally contingent model with case studies. Nor was it possible to obtain independent judgments concerning general culture-leadership patterns beyond those cited in the literature review. In an attempt to compensate for the

lack of triangulation, evidence and reasons for the researcher's decisions were provided. Also, the great number of leadership approaches used in the case studies (16) permitted a quantitative verification of sorts.

Yet, it must be admitted that reliability and validity were dependent primarily on the researcher's intellectual rigor. While an awesome responsibility, it also reflected an important aspect of research. As Percy Bridgman, Nobel prize-winning physicist observed: "There is no scientific method as such, but the vital feature of a scientist's procedure has been merely to do his utmost with his mind, no holds barred" (1961, cited in Patton, 1980, p. 339, underlining in original).

C. Limitations

1. Philosophical Limitations

All studies, of necessity, have limiting conditions (Locke et al, 1987). First, and most important, is the negation of any final, absolute truth. Pelto and Pelto (1978, cited in Patton, 1980) expounded:

"The truth" or "the facts" about the real world are always seen and interpreted by means of our observational equipment, our perceptual categories, and our general theoretical outlook. ...The truth value of our information is best measured by criteria of usefulness--in predicting and explaining our experience in the natural world. (pp. 271-272)

Thus, the study's topic (i.e., evaluation of a culturally contingent leadership model and identification of general culture-leadership patterns) can only represent the best attempt of one researcher to understand reality at a given time and place in human history. In fact, the very emphasis of the study on the model's utility connotes a pragmatic philosophical position.

2. Cultural Limitations

Such denials of absolute truth are pro forma in research, particularly qualitative research, which acknowledges a phenomenological perspective (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). However, this particular study also was limited by cultural constraints. Simply stated, it appeared impossible to develop a culturally contingent leadership model that would be universally comprehended. All models reflect the culture of their progenitors. As Hofstede (1980) explained:

Today we are all culturally conditioned. We see the world in a way we have learned to see it. Only to a limited extent can we, in our thinking, step out of the boundaries imposed by our cultural conditioning. This applies to the author of a theory as much as it does to the ordinary citizen: Theories reflect the cultural environment in which they were written. (p. 50)

Goulet (1974), too, stressed the inherent "ethnocentrism" (p. 17) of all reflections:

Whatever be his formal intent, his cross-cultural sensitivity, or his sophisticated use of protective devices to safeguard objectivity, any philosopher or social scientist will

propound truths derived from limited, cognitive experience in a given cultural mode. (p. 18)

Gregory (1983) argued that researchers should seek to depict "native-view" (p. 366) paradigms based on a cultural-relativist view. Even Hofstede (1980), himself, tried to assume a "neutral viewpoint" (p. 59) in negotiating between Scandinavian "feminine characteristics" (p. 59) and American masculinity. While such positions might be tempting, particularly for cross-cultural researchers, the very futility of a neutral cultural perspective must be acknowledged. Using Gregory's terminology, cross-cultural research, by its very nature, is "external-view research" (p. 363).

A major reason for such cultural limitations is language. A review of different linguistic modes suggests the vast array of thinking/knowing styles: nature-oriented Navajo which emphasizes verbs; pragmatic Hopi that relates everything to the senses; the American Black dialect which features a different syntax from white English and use of "signifying" (communicating special messages through indirect use of manifest speech and analogies); Indian languages that use verbs related to "validity modes" (i.e., different words depending on whether the knowledge is gained by hearsay, observation, etc.); Chinese which has 214 radicals (categories around which words are organized), four spoken tones, and

commingling of history and art forms (Hall, 1977). The patient, conjectural approach to problem solving in Latin countries may reflect their use of the verb "esperar" to mean both "wait" and "hope" and their widespread use of the subjunctive tense. A distinguishing characteristic of English is its profusion of words, especially adjectives. While providing an abundance of mental tools, it also has promoted an overly verbal emphasis (Adams, 1979). At the same time, however, its use of asexual nouns in contrast to other languages, such as Arabic and Spanish, may permit a more sexually liberated mode of thinking. Language is so crucial that some linguists (e.g., Levi-Strauss, 1966, cited in Cole and Scribner, 1974) have claimed that world views evolve from it.

Without doubt, the culturally contingent leadership model, as well as the evaluation of its utility, were culture bound. Thus, they are meaningful only to members of the modern, Western, intellectual culture from which the researcher hails. However, this caveat does not denigrate the study. Indeed, the goal of illumining cultural contexts and corresponding leadership approaches may have special merit for such an audience, given its immense power worldwide. The caveat, rather, merely indicates that for members of other cultures, who understand reality in very different ways, the study is of limited value.

3. Limitations due to Models and Case Studies

In addition to philosophical and cultural limitations, the study was limited by its use of models. As Hall (1977), whose model of culture was used in the study, explained:

The purpose of the model is to enable the user to do a better job in handling the enormous complexity of life....All theoretical models are incomplete. By definition they are abstractions and therefore leave things out. What they leave out is as important as, if not more important than, what they do not, because it is what is left out that gives structure and form to the system.
(pp. 13-14)

Thus, both culture and leadership constructs were limited, due to their reliance on models. The researcher attempted to explore these limitations by critiquing each. By pointing out omissions and ambiguities in Hall's (1977) definition of culture and the four leadership models, readers were encouraged to consider and use the culturally contingent leadership model with care. Also, the evaluation of the culturally contingent leadership model in educational contexts suggested shortcomings in the original leadership models. No such evaluation, necessarily limited in breadth and depth, can be considered definitive, however.

While models used in the study, by their very nature, were limited, so, too, were case studies. Each was an ethnographic rendering of a given multicultural, educational setting involving leadership. Yet, as Patton

(1980) observed, "human perception is highly selective" (p. 122). What was observed and reported by authors of each case study was dependent on their unique filters for perceiving reality. Additionally, some provided more ethnographic detail than did others. In several instances, the researcher noted the absence of important data (mentioned in respective sections of Chapter V, part B). However, while such omissions and/or predispositions might be regrettable, they also are inevitable. And, the fact that the five case studies were written by different authors from different cultures mitigates against severe distortion of data.

4. Limitations Reflecting the Researcher

A final limitation involves the researcher herself. Since qualitative methodology was used in conducting the study, the researcher constituted the instrument for perceiving and measuring data. This was most obvious in the articulation and evaluation of the culturally contingent leadership model and identification of general culture-leadership patterns. However, such involvement does not necessarily imply bias. As Guba (1978, cited in Patton, 1980) explained, "There seems to be no intrinsic reason why the methods of a properly trained naturalistic inquirer should be any more doubtful a source of such data than the methods of an investigator

using a more quantitative approach" (p. 337). More important in Guba's estimation was neutrality.

The researcher did regard herself as neutral, i.e., "not predisposed toward certain findings on an a priori basis" (Patton, 1980, p. 337). In several projects conducted as part of her graduate studies, such as the pilot study concerning curricular decision making by Indochinese refugees, referred to earlier, findings differed from initial expectations. The reality revealed in each case, however, was interesting and challenging, calling forth the researcher's creative powers. Patton alluded to such competence, "demonstrated by building a 'track record' of fairness and responsibility" (p. 378), as a major hedge against bias.

Related to concerns regarding neutrality are those concerning intellectual independence, especially when conducting studies related to cultural perspectives. In referring to the work of noted anthropologist Paul Radin, Vidich (in Radin, 1966) observed:

As a student of society, the anthropologist has the special problem of being imbued not only with his professional baggage, but also with his own culture's perceptual blinders.... In Radin's view, the task of understanding the primitive could not be accomplished without alienating oneself from the dominant and accepted values of contemporary Western civilization.... In other words, personal alienation is a professional requirement for the ethnological observer, and the alienation that is achieved must be based on a full intellectual awareness of that from which one is alienated. (pp. xxi-xxii)

The researcher had unusual opportunities to aspire toward such independence. Although spending much of her life in typical, Western settings, she also lived and worked in multicultural settings, poor rural areas, and a Latin American nation. In addition, she was associated closely with Black Americans, Indochinese, Latins, Native American Indians and whites of many ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. However, even a varied background cannot guarantee cultural neutrality, as explained earlier. Again, this matter is mentioned so that readers, themselves, may weigh the articulation and evaluation of the culturally contingent leadership model and conclusions concerning general culture-leadership patterns.

In summary, this study, like all studies, was circumscribed by various factors, both in terms of its operations and its conclusions. At the same time, results from the pilot study suggested that meaningful findings might be expected. The careful delineation of research methods was intended to increase their likelihood. By describing these matters, readers are alerted to the study's processes and limitations.

CHAPTER IV

EXPLANATION OF CULTURE AND LEADERSHIP CONSTRUCTS AND CULTURALLY CONTINGENT LEADERSHIP MODEL

As seen in scholarly works concerning leadership and specific studies describing culture-leadership dynamics, a general consensus that culture and leadership are related has emerged. However, no attempt has been made to link them systematically. This is particularly true in the area of education. For this reason, the researcher developed a culturally contingent leadership model and tested it on five ethnographic case studies. Findings from the applications are reported in Chapter V. In this chapter, the model, itself, is elaborated. The first section addresses the concept of culture; the second section describes a multifaceted view of leadership. In the third section, the two constructs are interrelated to yield a two by four matrix --the model.

A. Definition of Cultural Construct

1. Review of Various Perspectives Regarding Culture

An attempt to link leadership with a particular construct of culture must first explicate the construct being used. Few concepts in the social sciences have been as variously defined as culture. A basic division exists between configurationalists, who perceive culture as the

gradual adaptation and selection of certain tendencies, often yielding a particular configuration, and the functionalists, who base culture on an organismic model, with each aspect contributing to a structural or biological need (Sanday, 1979).

Among configurationalists were highly regarded anthropologists such as Mead (1959, cited in Sanday, 1979), Benedict, (1932, cited in Sanday), and Kneller (1965). The latter's definition of culture, "the total way of life of a given people comprising their modes of thinking, acting and feeling that are expressed, for example, in law, religion, art, and custom as well as in material products" (p. 4), typifies a configurationalist perspective. Kneller stressed that the definition seeks to understand culture as more than a sum of its parts--to understand how the parts are interconnected and organized to form a whole. The resulting structure, thus, reflects certain, basic beliefs and attitudes.

The functionalists became renown through work of anthropologists such as Malinowski (1952, cited in Sanday, 1979) and Radcliffe Brown (1949, cited in Sanday). With the influence of sociologists, particularly Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton, the perspective dominated the social sciences for several decades (Fagerlind and Saha, 1983). As Sanday observed, "the desire to interpret behavior as it fits a particular configuration

[was] almost lost" (1971, p. 531). However, criticism of structural-functionalism increasingly has been voiced, especially in regard to its conservatism. Since functionalists assume a system's harmony and integration a priori, elements of change and conflict are subsumed within the context of regulation. The possibility of radical change, thus, is denied (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Fagerlind and Saha, 1983). In addition, a system's supposed attributes may reflect the observer's teleological assumptions, rather than reality (Hodnett, 1978).

Another way of differentiating among varying perspectives of culture is in terms of semiotic style. According to Geertz (1973, cited in Sanday, 1979), "the whole point of a semiotic approach to culture is to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them" (p. 532). In comparison with configurationalist and functionalist perspectives, which tend to use researchers' terms and concepts in analyzing culture, the semiotic perspective is more phenomenological. That is, it assumes that behavior results from people's own interpretations of their world.

Semiotic styles include "symbolic interactionism" (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984, p. 9), in which social meanings

learned through interactions are studied; "thick description" (Geertz, 1973, cited in Sanday, 1979, p. 233) or "symbolic anthropology" (Geertz, 1973, cited in Smircich, 1983, p. 342), in which clusters of symbols regarded as meaningful are depicted and theoretically interrelated; "ethnoscience" (Goodenough, 1971, cited in Smircich), in which conscious rules and unconscious logic are assumed to generate systems of knowledge and beliefs; and "ethnomethodology" (Taylor and Bogdan, p. 10), in which applications of meanings in concrete situations are examined. The latter includes both emic analysis, focusing on "experience-near" (Kohut, 1971, cited in Geertz, 1984, p. 124) concepts and etic analysis, concentrating on "experience-distant" (Kohut, cited in Geertz, 1984, p. 124) concepts. Needless to say, considerable overlap exists among these various semiotic styles and between them and configurational/functional perspectives.

As these various semiotic styles have evolved, so, too, have various perspectives concerning cultural processes (D'Andrade, 1984; Keesing, 1987; Geertz, 1981, cited in Shweder and Levine, 1984). Some scholars (e.g., Geertz, 1984) held that culture resulted from internal manipulation of symbols, while others (e.g., Quinn and Holland, 1987; Spiro, 1984) believed that it evolved

from mental schemas. The latter view emanated from a 1950s shift in which culture came to be regarded as something "in people's heads," rather than something people "were in." As Shweder and LeVine explained, "culture became a branch of cognitive psychology" (p. 7) for awhile. However, in recent years this cognitivist perspective of culture has been "breaking up" (D'Andrade, 1981, cited in Shweder and LeVine), with a plethora of ideas being generated.

The concept of a "hierarchy of cultural models" (Quinn and Holland, 1987), with each model composed of a prototypical sequence of events in a simplified setting, appeared to dominate a 1983 interdisciplinary conference at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. Yet, one participant, R. M. Keesing (1987), expressed concern that such a "cognitive view" (p. 372) would obscure the "transcendence" (p. 372) of culture. He, therefore, promoted another perspective of cultural models--"set[s] of operating strategies, ...shortcuts, idealizations, and simplifying paradigms" (p. 380) at more superficial levels of human behavior. Meanwhile, symbolists such as Geertz (1981, cited in Shweder and LeVine, 1984) pursued even less cognitivist perspectives.

Despite such diversity, these recent concepts of culture shared several features. First, in the words of Geertz (1981, cited in Shweder and LeVine, 1984), all

emphasized "mind as meanings and ideas, with the implication that minds, just like meanings and ideas, change and differ" (p. 8). Second, they agreed that culture is organized (LeVine, 1984), thus hearkening to earlier configurationalist views. Third, an assumption that culture is collective, although often individualized and variegated, pervaded various perspectives (D'Andrade, 1984; LeVine, 1984).

While such consensus fosters confidence in culture as a construct, substantial disagreement among experts has persisted. Shweder (1981, cited in Shweder and LeVine, 1984) pointed out that, in this regard, culture resembles other social concepts: "Social concepts are 'essentially contestable'--there will always be divisions between evolutionists, universalists and the relativists" (p. 6). LeVine (1984) held formal differences in definitions of culture to be of little import, in any event, since "clarification is only possible through ethnography" (p. 67). Geertz (1984) and Keesing (1987) even argued that such differences are helpful by encouraging various interpretations of reality. Thus, disagreement concerning the construct of culture has not been considered an obstacle to using it.

Rather, a hazard in employing the construct of culture has been reification (Keesing, 1987). In the first place, what commonly is called culture might

represent "similarities in being human" (p. 374), rather than a "universal cognitive organization of information" (p. 374). The demarcation between cultural knowledge and general knowledge has not been clear.

In the second place, what is termed culture may be a construction of ethnographers and their subjects. Keesing (1987) elaborated:

I am concerned that some of what we take to be folk or cultural models may not exist until our strategies of questioning lead informants to create them; or worse yet, until their responses provide fragments out of which we create them. (p. 383)

Language also may contribute to the reification of culture. Contrasts among cultures may represent differences in communication styles, rather than reality (Keesing, 1987). Indeed, scholars such as D'Andrade (1984) and Quinn and Holland (1987) testified to the large role played by language in the acquisition and retention of culture.

Fourth, reification might spring from confusion concerning the individual-collective relationship. The tendency has been to study culture at the individual level and interpolate to the collective level (Keesing, 1987). An "idealized version" (p. 377) of culture often resulted. D'Andrade (1984) elaborated: "Ideas, values and attitudes that are shared by a group are culture, but these same

things, if idiosyncratic, are personality" (p. 113).

Spiro (1984), too, appeared befuddled:

As thinking and feeling are properties of persons, and as culture...does not consist of persons--though society does--it is hard to see how either could be a part of culture. Although not a part of culture, thinking and feeling are often determined by culture. That is,...many of our thoughts and emotions are (what might be termed) "culturally constituted." (p. 324)

Indeed, the problem may lie in the individual-collective distinction that traditionally has characterized Western thought (Santa Maria, 1988).

In summary, there is an abundance of cultural perspectives. However, agreement concerning culture's ideational basis, organization, and collectivity exists. Furthermore, scholars accept, and even encourage, research in which particular perspectives of culture are used. The greatest danger in employing the construct may well pertain to reification, rather than definition.

2. Selection of Hall's (1977) Construct of Culture

The above "descriptive definition" (Soltis, 1978, p. 8) of culture, in which various meanings are outlined, is useful in demonstrating the richness and profundity of the concept. However, to actually utilize the concept in concrete terms, a more "stipulative definition" (p. 8) of the concept is required--"one that is invented or given by an author to be used throughout an ensuing discussion"

(p. 8, underlining in original). Hence, the researcher sought a definition of culture that is both specific and balanced (i.e., has a definite referent, but reflects several of the aforementioned perspectives). At the same time, a definition that addresses organizational behavior was desired. After some consideration, the construct elaborated by anthropologist Edward T. Hall in Beyond Culture (1977) was selected. There were several reasons for doing so.

First, it has been widely regarded (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Nath, 1969, in reference to Hall, 1959, a forerunner of his 1977 book) as one of the most comprehensive analyses of culture to date. While other research emphasized culture in terms of particular regions (e.g., Nath, 1969 and 1988) or ethnic/social group interactions (e.g., LaBelle and White, 1985), Hall sought a more universalistic construct. It thus resembles an "ideal type" (Weber, 1948, cited in King, 1983, p. 58) as used in classical sociology--applicable to all regions and all types of societies. In Smircich's (1983) words, the construct serves as a "root metaphor" (p. 347) by conceiving of reality "as a pattern of symbolic relationships of meanings sustained through the continued processes of human interaction" (p. 353).

Second, at the same time, Hall's (1977) construct is quite specific. Adopting an ethnoscience approach, he

portrayed culture as a system of general beliefs (also called "collective representations" [Cole and Scribner, 1974, p. 20]) that regulate thought processes in a group. Culture thus resembles "mind, ...the nonverbal, unstated realm of culture" (Hall, pp. 166 and 16). Hall termed areas such as art, religion, and philosophy, which often are emphasized in a definition of culture, as "metaculture" (p. 192) because they represent "conventions" (p. 214) developed as a result of a particular mind-set.

By roughly equating culture with mind, Hall (1977) provided a more limited definition than those of other anthropologists, such as Kneller (1965). He also avoided the ambiguity of definitions that attempt to incorporate widely differing perspectives of culture (e.g., Adler, 1986). In both respects, Hall's (1977) construct becomes more easily applied to leadership models.

Third, within these limits, Hall's (1977) construct does meld competing views of culture. For example, it reflects both configurationalist and functionalist perspectives:

Cultures are wholes, are systematic (composed of interrelated systems in which each aspect is functionally interrelated with all other parts), and are highly contexted as well.... A given culture cannot be understood simply in terms of context or parts. One has to know how the whole system is put together, how the major systems and dynamisms function, and how they are interrelated. (p. 222)

The various semiotic styles also come into play with Hall's stress on the mind and meticulous descriptions of cultural patterns in order to reveal their meaning and role. Many of the patterns diagnosed by Hall have direct bearing on organizational behavior. Furthermore, like other scholars (e.g., Quinn and Holland, 1987; Shweder and Levine, 1984), Hall recognized culture's organization and collectivity.

The creativity of Hall's (1977) construct can be seen in terms of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) "four key paradigms based upon different sets of metatheoretical assumptions" (p. viii). Both its assumptions concerning social science and social change include ideas from "rival intellectual traditions" (p. xi). In terms of the nature of social science, Hall's construct recognizes tangible structures that are causal and systematically related, but also accepts a relativistic and nominalistic definition of these structures. In terms of the order-conflict debate, the construct again straddles the paradigms by citing cultural tendencies toward both regulation and structural change. By combining aspects of various paradigms, the construct becomes a richer instrument to use in conjunction with various leadership models.

Fourth, the construct of culture developed by Hall (1977) facilitates understanding by proposing a dichotomous "level of context" (p. 92) as its most crucial attribute. Context refers to the number and type of cues or

directions necessary to prompt individual and group behavior. Hall explained: "The level of context determines everything about the nature of the communication and is the foundation on which all subsequent behavior rests (including symbolic behavior)" (p. 92). In high-context cultures (HCs) cues are formally coded for various settings and often are heavily laden with emotion. Low-context cultures (LCs), on the other hand, emphasize informal, transitory, partial directions.

Such an HC-LC bifurcated continuum fosters comparisons. As Hass (1969) noted, "Knowledge arises mostly out of the comparison and the discovery of regularities. The greatest breakthroughs in science have been made by those who saw comparability in phenomena previously thought to be unrelated" (p. 9). Boddewyn (1969) elaborated: "The comparative approach goes beyond uncovering and classifying similarities and differences. It aims at demonstrating the invariable agreement or disagreement between the presence, absence, or change of a phenomenon and the circumstances where it appears, disappears, or changes" (p. 6). Bendix (1969) and Goldsmith (1969) similarly have extolled the comparative approach to knowledge.

Specific examples of LC and HC cultures were provided by Hall (1977) to promote comprehension of the construct. Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, the United States, and developed West, in general, were portrayed as LCs, in

roughly descending order. Japan, China, Native American Indian, and American Black societies were used to exemplify HC cultures. France, however, was depicted as being a mixture of LC and HC cultures. Hall, in fact, admitted that LC and HC cultural characteristics might be intermingled on a macrolevel and among various subgroups (e.g., ethnic groups, social classes).

The precise process through which cultures establish certain contexts and, in turn, are established by them was not delineated. Rather, Hall (1977) postulated that:

Contexting probably involves at least two entirely different but interrelated processes --one inside the organism and the other outside. The first takes place in the brain and is the function of either past experience (programmed, internalized contexting) or the structure of the nervous system (innate contexting), or both. External contexting comprises the situation and/or setting in which an event occurs (situational and/or environmental contexting). These distinctions are completely arbitrary and are for the convenience of the writer and the reader. They do not necessarily occur in nature.... Within the brain, experience (culture) acts on the structure of the brain to produce mind. It makes little difference how the brain is modified; what is important is that modification does take place and is apparently continuous. (pp. 95 and 250, underlining in original)

Although such ambiguity might be regrettable, Hall probably was wise to recognize scientific limitations. Other anthropologists (e.g., D'Andrade, 1984) also appeared equivocal concerning culture's mental processes. Hall did refer to work of Lashley, 1929; Luria, 1968, 1970; Pietsch, 1972; Powers, 1973; and Pribram, 1969, to support

his contention that "behavior patterns...[and] habitual responses control from the depths" (p. 42), i.e., selectively screen and organize interactions from the unconscious level. Recent research and theories (Jung, 1971; Shear, 1981; Sheldrake, 1981; all cited in Goldberg, 1983) also supported this assertion.

3. Delineation of Hall's (1977) Construct of Culture

a. Introduction

In articulating the construct of context, Hall (1977) provided a "stipulative definition" (Soltis, 1978, p. 8) of culture. That is, he defined level of context as the decisive determinant of culture, distinguishing between levels of context with HC and LC descriptors. Six different, although interrelated, characteristics were used to identify HC and LC ends of the continuum.

These six distinguishing characteristics are important because they provide a more precise meaning of context. As Wilson (1963) explained:

We know of any concept that it occupies an area which can be roughly located and mapped, even if the frontiers are not in all cases very precise... [and] by thinking in this way we try to find out which of the conditions are important or essential. (p. 26)

Based on premises of analytic philosophy (Park, 1968), Wilson advocated a systematic, logical approach for delineating the meaning of concepts. Hall (1977), in fact, used several of the techniques recommended by Wilson (e.g.,

"model cases," "contrary cases," and "related cases," pp. 28-30) in explaining the six distinguishing characteristics. The cases comprised examples drawn from his experiences with many, diverse cultures. While the cases are too numerous and involved to cite here, the general characteristics are presented to facilitate an accurate interpretation of the concept.

It should be noted that in differentiating cultures according to their level of context (through use of six distinguishing characteristics), Hall (1977) assumed a "reductionist" (LeVine, 1984, p. 80) perspective. That is, he assumed that cultures differ in certain, prescribed ways, in contrast to the "cultural phenomenologists" (LeVine, p. 80), who hold that all cultures are unique. These scholars, using ethnographic research methods, insist that descriptive categories must be generated by each, individual culture. Hall, however, resembled earlier researchers who used categories such as law, religion, and medicine to compare cultures. Significantly, many modern anthropologists (e.g., LeVine; Keesing, 1987) have not denied the possibility of identifying more acceptable categories for cross-cultural comparisons. Rather, they have stressed the difficulty of uncovering them.

b. Six Distinguishing Characteristics

(1.) Language. Perhaps the major characteristic of context depicted by Hall (1977) is the type of language used. He explained:

A high-context (HC) communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context (LC) communication is just the opposite; i.e. the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code....In general, HC communication, in contrast to LC, is economical, fast, efficient, and satisfying; however, time must be devoted to programming. If this programming does not take place, the communication is incomplete. HC communications are frequently used as an art form. They act as a unifying, cohesive force, are long-lived, and are slow to change. LC communications do not unify; however, they can be changed easily and rapidly. (pp. 91 and 101)

Whether LC or HC, Hall considered language crucial in defining context because of its role in "organizing information and [in] releasing thought and responses in other organisms" (p. 57).

Hall (1977) included as language not only written and spoken communication, but also synchrony, physical communication through body movements. Hand and finger gestures, eyelid blinking, head tilt, leaning of the torso, etc. appear to be specific to certain groups of people, just as the number, gender, case, tense, mode, voice, etc. of the verbal language. Like other modes of communication, synchrony is emotionally laden and consciously valued in HC cultures. The opposite is true of LC cultures.

(2.) Cognition. A second distinguishing characteristic of context, and one related to language, is type of cognition. Hall (1977) described this as "where to draw the line separating one thing from another" (p. 230). LCs were depicted as having a plethora of mental compartments and gradations, while HCs were seen as dealing with wholes and relating things to their contexts. Thus, in social terms, individuals exist independent of groups and settings in LCs, but not HCs. Or, in epistemological terms, theories based on rigorous methods designed to nullify the role of context represent the zenith of knowledge in LCs, even (or especially) if proposed "in opposition" to other, "competing" theories. More inclusive, gestalt understandings related to various contexts are regarded as the height of knowledge in HCs, however.

As a result of these different forms of cognition, LCs and HCs tend to approach the novel and unusual in different ways. Hall (1977) explained:

With an HC system...the power of the system is such that new situations can be learned only if they are approached technically and in the greatest detail. Those of us...who are used to having to struggle with the complexities of LC systems can, when we are confronted with something new, be quite creative about it and not require an inordinate amount of detailed programming. HC people can be creative within their own system but have to move to the bottom of the context scale when dealing with anything new, whereas LC people can be quite creative and innovative when dealing with the new but have trouble being anything but pedestrian when working within the bounds of old systems.
(p. 127)

Although Hall (1977) defined cognition in terms of specificity and inclusiveness, other research might well amplify its meaning to include types of perception and thinking skills. In terms of perception, field independence, found to be the single best predictor of formal reasoning and also believed to be crucial for the development of technology (Hooper, Hooper, and Colbert, 1985), appears to be related to LC-type cultural traits and formal education (Cole and Scribner, 1974). Preference for form over color in matching objects also is more prevalent in LC-type cultures, but does occur in HC-type societies when children attend LC-style schools (Cole and Scribner, 1974). The use of categories based on superordinate classes (and, particularly, verbalizing about them), and inferential and logical reasoning also are related to LC-type cultures and school experience (Cole and Scribner, 1974). Noted psychologist Howard Gardner (1983) further related problem solving, classification, and analytic skills to certain cultural patterns. Cross-cultural educators/developers Fagerlind and Saha (1983) agreed that "modes of cognition may vary systematically between cultures, societies, ethnic and racial groups and the sexes" (pp. 164-165).

(3.) Group cohesiveness. A third distinguishing characteristic with which Hall (1977) defined context is that of group cohesiveness. HCs were depicted as having

"warm, close, friendly" (p. 68) interpersonal relationships. Hall explained: "[The] drive to be close and get to know other people is very strong [in HCs]....Once a relationship is formed, loyalty is never questioned. What is more, you have no real identity unless you do belong" (pp. 68 and 113). In LCs, on the other hand, one "is inclined to be more oriented toward achieving set goals and less toward developing close relations" (p. 68).

These differences, in Hall's (1977) estimation, have profound implications for the expression and resolution of conflict. In LC cultures, with their loose interpersonal ties, people can easily withdraw from one another to express dissatisfaction or hostility. However, in HC cultures, interpersonal unpleasanties and confrontations are avoided at all costs, with the result that people "hold back until they can stand it no longer and then strike out" (p. 158). HCs thus experience a rapid progression from brooding or giggling about problems to violence. (It should be noted, however, that some of the violence occurring in HC cultures appears to be orchestrated by leaders [e.g., Red Guard riots, Afrikaner police brutality] and, thus, is not regarded as a genuine dissolution of the social group.)

Different perspectives of group cohesiveness also influence courts and systems of law in Hall's (1977) opinion. He expounded:

Because of the inclusiveness of HC systems, it eschews the protagonist-antagonist conflict which characterizes the [LC] court. Very HC systems, by definition, take much more into account, and this has the effect of putting the accused, the court, the public, and those who are the injured parties on the same side, where, ideally, they can work together to settle things. ...In a word, the function of the trial is to place the crime in context and present it in such a way that the criminal must see and understand the consequences of his act. (pp. 111-112)

(4.) Organizational behavior. Fourth, and closely related to the characteristic of social cohesiveness in defining context, is that of organizational behavior. According to Hall (1977), HCs with their stress on social unity, are characterized by strong familial structures. Children are encouraged to be assertive within prescribed limits and to assume responsibility, thus easing them into an adulthood that does not negate familial ties. In fact, in many HCs businesses and bureaucracies reflect clan and family relationships and practices. In LCs, on the other hand, the relative lack of preparation for adulthood is accompanied by an abrupt "cutting of the apron strings." Stress and strain ensue for all, particularly the young, with a concomitant sense of individualism and openness to change (also documented by Kneller, 1965).

Hall (1977) similarly related organizational behavior, as seen in bureaucracies, to context. In HCs, bureaucracies tend to coalesce around a powerful figure. Subordinates interact deeply with him/her and one another,

to the point that they constitute an "in-group." The result is an increasing lack of responsiveness to outside demands and proliferation of people as new functions are added to the organization. Meanwhile, of course, the bureaucracy remains extremely dependent on the "man on top." LC bureaucracies, instead, emphasize task over people, whether workers or clients. This even may be carried to the point that the organization's broad goals are undermined by the fulfillment of specific tasks.

Beyond such familial and bureaucratic patterns, Hall (1977) also related organizational behavior to context in terms of working style. He wrote:

In general, high-context cultures, because of the high involvement people have with each other and their highly interreticular cohesive nature, tend towards high commitment to complete action chains, all of which make for great caution and often reluctance to begin something, particularly in fields or relationships that are not well known. ...Low-context people, [on the other hand], particularly those who deal primarily with word systems, do not ordinarily feel as bound to complete actions regardless of circumstances as some other cultures....[However], any culture in which commitments are taken lightly or have to be enforced by law is going to have a problem with the stability of its institutions--a situation that can be very unsettling for everyone.
(pp. 147-148)

(5.) Time and space. Fifth, Hall (1977) defined perspectives of time and space as important dimensions of context. In many LCs, detailed knowledge about space in terms of geography or geometry appears less pronounced than in HCs (Cole and Scribner, 1974; Hall), despite

(or because of) generally greater mobility in LCs. At the same time, space tends to connote individual status in many LCs, while many HCs do not even recognize the idea of "owning" space.

Use of space also appears to differ by context. In LC societies interaction spaces between people tend to be large and the peripheries of a spatial area tend to be preferred for interaction and activity. HCs tend to the opposite with relatively small interaction spaces between people and use of central areas for activities (Hall, 1959 and 1977).

Time similarly differs by context according to Hall (1977). The LC concept of time tends to be monochronic (i.e., doing one thing at one time), linear, and causal. However, "HC people [are]...apt to be involved in a lot of different activities with several different people at any given time" (p. 150). As a result, both the HC sense of time and attitude towards it differ from LC cultures: "Polychronic time is apt to be considered a point rather than a ribbon or a road, and that point is sacred" (p. 17). According to Hall, ramifications of these different approaches include: an emphasis on scheduling and segmentation of tasks, subordination of one's own or a group's rhythms to organizational demands, and a tendency toward small-group interaction and privacy in LCs as compared to HCs.

(6.) Social change. A sixth and final distinguishing characteristic of context described by Hall (1977) is the social change experienced by the culture. In many ways this characteristic represents a compendium of those previously mentioned. Since HCs usually feature a stable and unifying language; integrated cognitive patterns that incorporate novelties (if at all) in detailed, systematic ways; lower levels of perception, and classification and reasoning skills; high group cohesiveness, with a deemphasis on confrontation and conflict (albeit violent when expressed); organizational behavior characterized by familial patterns, internally- and top-focused bureaucracies, and a closed, persistent working style; and a sense of time and space that is shared and multidimensional, the culture as a whole is more highly integrated than LC cultures. Thus, Hall postulated that HCs were based on a few, emotionally laden formal beliefs and values that render social change very difficult.

LCs, by contrast, were assumed to rely on informal patterns or rules pertaining to clusters of related acts that emanate primarily from the unconscious level. Being relatively unintegrated, these patterns and rules tend to conflict with one another, necessitating a cultural emphasis on problem solving. In fact, LC emphasizes on an ever-evolving language, individual/personal independence, compartmentalization of tasks and experiences, openness to

novelties, high levels of perception and cognitive skills, unstable institutions, and a segmented sense of both time and space result in insatiable needs (also discussed in Kneller, 1965). Thus, social change becomes a way of life in LCs, with much of it destined to be only partially successful due to the very nature of the culture.

4. Critique of Hall's (1977) Construct of Culture

a. Oversimplification

These six characteristics, exemplified by many model, contrary, and related cases as prescribed by Wilson (1963), provide the "primary and central uses" (p. 27) of context, the crucial component of culture as defined by Hall (1977). At the same time, however, both they and the notion of context, represent an oversimplification of culture, as explained previously in Chapter II, part C. The danger, thus, is that a simplified model of culture, such as Hall's (1977), may be used as the sole determinant of human behavior.

In fact, early cognitive anthropologists often generated "cultural codes" (Keesing, 1987, p. 371) that viewed people as "rule-following and appropriateness-maximizing" (p. 371). While such a stress on culture might have compensated for prior economic and psychological interpretations of human behavior, obviously, it, too, was partial. Keesing even fretted that cultural models, "as

instruments of ideological hegemony...[may] legitimate and perpetuate the status quo" (p. 388).

In recent years, however, scholars (e.g., Keesing, 1987; Quinn and Holland, 1987) have appeared more cognizant of culture's limitations:

An ideational theory of culture does not commit us to a deterministic view of "a culture" as a shared system of symbols or to a deterministic view of culture as directly generating behavior. An ideational theory of culture can look at cultural knowledge as distributed within a social system, can take into account the variation between individuals' knowledge of and vantage points on the cultural heritage of their people. It can also view cultural knowledge as shaping and constraining, but not directly generating, social behavior. (Keesing, p. 371)

To be complete, cultural models such as Hall's (1977) must be combined with sociological, economic, philosophical, psychological, artistic, recreational, etc. understandings of human behavior (and, also, other cultural models).

To Hall's (1977) credit, his cultural construct did resemble others that have been used widely. For example, his six distinguishing characteristics of context were similar to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961, cited in Lane, 1980, and Negandhi, 1983) five orientations felt to occur cross-culturally: human nature, environment, time, activity, and relationships with others. Also, like other anthropologists in recent years (e.g., D'Andrade, 1984; Goodenough, 1971, cited in Keesing, 1987; Levine, 1984; and Spiro, 1984), Hall included both "rational" and

"nonrational" elements in the construct. Thus, while admittedly simplified, Hall's construct appears to be in the mainstream.

b. HC-LC Contradictions

In addition to the criticism of oversimplification, which is inherent in all models, are several specific to Hall's (1977) construct of culture. First, some of the distinguishing characteristics of context seem contradictory. For example, the LC emphasis on the individual, often at the expense of group cohesion, appears to be negated in LC bureaucracies that place task ahead of individuals. Or, the high level of violence in many LCs appears to contradict the relative ease of withdrawal and confrontation in such cultures. Further exploration of such phenomena within the model, however, may well resolve apparent contradictions. For example, the supremacy of tasks to individuals in LC bureaucracies may reflect the low level of social cohesion in LCs and high level of cognitive skills. That is, group functioning in LCs may respond more easily to mental abstractions than to individual needs. Likewise, the high level of violence in many LCs may actually reflect its decontexting. That is, maiming and killing in LCs may be signs of withdrawal and confrontation, rather than absolute enmity, as they are in HCs. The low level of social cohesion in LCs also may contribute to violent tendencies. Whether or not

superficial contradictions might be satisfactorily resolved within the construct, there certainly are areas that remain ill-defined and hazy.

c. Situational Factors

Another weakness of Hall's (1977) construct is the very notion of LC-HC cultures. Although using this continuum to make general distinctions among different kinds of cultures, Hall, himself, admitted: "Much of people's behavior is situation-dependent (under the control of the setting), to a much greater degree than had been supposed" (p. 99). Studies of behavior in a small Kansas town by Barker (1973) were cited that portrayed the environment as "highly structured, [with] improbable arrangements of objects and events which coerce behavior in accordance with their own dynamic patterning" (p. 99, underlining in original). The rigidity and ubiquity of the modern school, even in the supposed LC West, similarly was stressed by Hall. The reader, of course, has many examples from his/her own experience that question the neat LC-HC dichotomy.

Two responses can be made. LCs may better be described not so much as an absence of formally coded, emotionally laden norms and rules for various contexts, but, rather, as different kinds of norms and rules from those of HCs. Or, perhaps the LC-HC dichotomy may better be transformed to a composite in which enclaves of

HCs within LCs and vice versa balance one another. (Certainly the modern school and a small, Kansas town would be likely candidates for HC cultures within the more general LC culture of the West.) As previously stated, Hall did recognize that HCs and LCs often were juxtaposed. Both of these responses suggest the tentative, partial representation of culture in Hall's construct.

Related to the ambiguity of LC-HC descriptors is the "multiplexity" (LeVine, 1984, p. 77) of such cultural concepts. That is, culture contains symbols that can be interpreted differently by different people or at different times. Juxtaposition of rational-nonrational and normative-descriptive elements also render cultural terms vague. Furthermore, as Keesing (1987) explained, reality, itself, can be complicated: "Human beings, operating in a universe of unique constellations of events, must deal with the atypical, the improbable, the unexpected--not simply with ideal types, canonical circumstances, the probable, and the normal" (p. 379). Thus, the failure of Hall's HC-LC dichotomy to predict behavior in any given instance may well reflect the complexity both of culture and life.

d. Bias against LCs

Hall (1977) also can be criticized for disparagement of LC cultures. One of his major points was that "cultural irrationality is deeply entrenched in the

lives of all of us" (p. 219, underlining in original).

Yet, Hall appeared to harp on the West:

The psychoanalyst Laing is convinced that the Western world is mad....However, it is not man who is crazy so much as his institutions and those culture patterns that determine his behavior. We in the West are alienated from ourselves and from nature. We labor under a number of delusions, one of which is that life makes sense; i.e., that we are sane. We persist in this view despite massive evidence to the contrary. We live fragmented, compartmentalized lives in which contradictions are carefully sealed off from each other. We have been taught to think linearly rather than comprehensively, and we do this not through conscious design or because we are not intelligent or capable, but because of the way in which deep cultural under-currents structure life in subtle but highly consistent ways that are not consciously formulated. (pp. 11-12)

Examples of LC alienation such as unwieldy bureaucracies, excessive materialism, enshrinement of time, and dysfunctional recreation, were interspersed throughout Hall's (1977) book. However, the equally irrational tendency of HCs to stifle dissent was not stressed. Interviews with Bolivians (Glanz, 1986), members of an HC culture, indicated that, while they might feel strong attachment to their group (whether it be peers, family, or coworkers), they do not feel at liberty to reveal their true concerns or ideas. On the superficial level there is the pleasure of belonging; on a deeper level there often is the aching loneliness of unfulfilled needs. In addition, horrendous poverty, death, and disease exist in many HC cultures. Although Hall acknowledged that "without schedules and something very much like the m[onochronic]

time system, it is doubtful if our industrial civilization could have developed as it has" (p. 19), the point was not pursued. However, Hall's construct, itself, is not necessarily biased in any direction.

e. Omission of Cultural Commonalities

Hall (1977) also can be faulted for failing to address cultural commonalities. At one point he lamented, "One wonders if it is possible to develop strategies for balancing two apparently contradictory needs: the need to adapt and change (by moving to the LC direction) and the need for stability (HC)" (p. 101). Yet, he did not attempt to identify cultures that, indeed, seek such a balance. Nor did he discuss the possibility of cultural universalities. Research presented by Cole and Scribner (1974) identifies common, cross-cultural mental processes and categories in grammar, color-coding, linguistic and pictorial concepts, and classification. The great number of scientists and artists from diverse cultures who eschew language for visual, kinetic, and musical forms of thought (Goldberg, 1983) also suggests a generalized mental mode. By building on such research, concepts might be generated that overcome limitations of both LC and HC cultural styles. However, it also must be admitted that such an approach is conjectural at this point. Certainly, the HC-LC continuum described by Hall (1977) appears practical for the present.

B. Elaboration of Leadership Construct

1. Introduction

Four leadership models were selected in an attempt to convey the richness and variation of leadership as a concept. The first, Developmental Supervision (Glickman, 1981), focuses on a supervisor's efforts to promote individual subordinates' growth. The second, Group Effectiveness (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983) stresses leadership through collegiality in group settings. The third, Cultural Revitalization (Deal, 1987), conceives of leadership as group analysis and celebration of its role and purpose. The fourth, Systems Analysis (Hartley, 1973), views leadership as a planning-performing-evaluating process conducted by those in authority. Thus, both different levels and aspects of organizational life are addressed by the models.

Since the authors are recognized authorities in the field of management and/or education and have formulated the models on the basis of research findings, it is anticipated that the models provide important insights into leadership. However, no attempt is made to explicate leadership as a concept. Rather, the presentation hearkens to Lasswell's (1968) definition of leadership as "giving and receiving of orientation" (p. 39) and Misumi's (1985) observation that "leadership occurs wherever groups are found" (p. 7).

2. Delineation of Four Leadership Models

a. Developmental Supervision

(1.) Description of model. The developmental model defined by Glickman (1981) for supervision of teachers relates supervisory orientation to two teacher variables: level of commitment and level of abstraction. Both variables were conceived by Glickman as continua upon which teacher development might be identified, either generally (i.e., an entire teaching staff or teacher's general approach) or specifically (i.e., particular teacher's approach in a given subject or class setting). A "Paradigm of Teacher Categories" (p. 48) interrelates the variables by establishing four quadrants: I--"Teacher Dropouts," low on both level of commitment and level of abstraction; II--"Unfocused Workers," high on level of commitment and low on level of abstraction; III--"Analytical Observers," low on level of commitment and high on level of abstraction; and IV--"Professionals," high on both level of commitment and level of abstraction (p. 48). While Glickman acknowledged that "not all teachers fit cleanly into these boxes" (p. 47), he maintained that "the quadrants give a supervisor a reasoned basis for viewing differences in teachers" (p. 47).

Corresponding to the four, rough categories of teacher development are three general supervisory "orientations" (Glickman, 1981, p. 10): directive, collaborative, and

nondirective. Glickman advocated the directive approach for "teacher dropouts" (p. 49), explaining:

Directive supervision should not be confused with arbitrary, capricious, or totalitarian behavior. The directive supervisor has judged that the most effective way to implement instruction is by making standards clear and by tangibly showing teachers how to attain such standards. It is a thoughtful, business-like approach based on a careful collection of data. The approach presumes that the supervisor knows more about the context of teaching and learning than the teacher does. Therefore, the supervisor's decisions are more effective than if the teacher is left to his or her own devices. (p. 20)

Specific supervisory activities for the directive orientation include clarifying, presenting, directing, demonstrating, standardizing, and reinforcing.

A collaborative approach was advocated by Glickman (1981) for both quadrant II and III teachers, the "unfocused workers" and "analytical observers" (p. 49). In these cases the goal is "a mutually agreed upon contract by supervisor and teacher that would delineate the structure, process, and criteria for subsequent instructional improvement" (p. 23). Presenting, clarifying, listening, problem solving, and negotiating comprise the major collaborative supervisory activities. However, a different stress distinguishes the orientation towards "unfocused workers" from that towards "analytical observers" (p. 49). The former require more input from supervisors concerning problem definition and possible solutions. The latter, instead, necessitate a focus on

negotiation, to the extent that Glickman (1981) recommended drawing up a formal contract for both supervisor and teacher to sign.

For the "professional" (p. 49), Glickman (1981) counseled a nondirective approach emphasizing listening, encouraging, clarifying, presenting, and negotiating supervisory activities. This orientation, he explained,

rests on the major premise that teachers are capable of analyzing and solving their own instructional problems....Therefore, the supervisor wishes to act as a facilitator for the teacher by imposing little formal structure or direction. This does not mean that the supervisor is passive and allows the teacher complete autonomy. Instead,...the supervisor leaves the discovery to the teacher but takes initiative to see that it occurs.
(pp. 30-31)

Developmental Supervision, thus, constitutes an admittedly "simplistic" (Glickman, 1981, p. 60) approach to the "complexity" (p. 60) of instructional leadership. Glickman explained: "We can never understand all but we can understand some, and it is using the some that enables us to think, to plan, and to work purposefully with teachers" (p. 60).

The three supervisory approaches were applied to the five steps of clinical supervision (Goldhammer, Anderson, and Krajewski, 1980), which Glickman (1981) used as a format for making comparisons. However, Glickman maintained that they are equally applicable to steps in curriculum or staff development. In addition, the supervisory approaches

provide a role model for teachers' interaction with students:

The supervisor must work with teachers in the same developmental manner that teachers are expected to work with their students....The purpose of a school is to recognize the differences in people, to instruct according to individual differences, to group students socially so that higher and diverse thinking is always present and, finally, to assure that teachers as well as students continue to change and grow. (p. 62)

(2.) Theoretical foundations. Developmental

Supervision draws on many current theories of education.

Glickman (1981) alluded to several of them in stating:

Developmental supervision is derived from an educational philosophy of progressivism..., [which] is premised on invariant stage theory. All individuals move through a sequence of stages in the physical, motor, cognitive, and aesthetic domains....We do not reach the highest stage unless the environment (of people and materials) is supportive and stimulating. The ultimate aim is to guide individuals to reach those stages which enable them to be self-reliant and independent, and to act upon interests of people that transcend their own. (p. 62)

First, the "humanistic psychology" (Lutz and Lux, 1979, p. 169) movement, typified by Maslow's (1943, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984) hierarchy of needs, with an apex of self-actualization, and/or Herzberg's (1959, cited in Gray and Starke) theory of hygienes and motivators, is implied. Coupled with this is adherence to a theory of progressive human development, such as that envisioned by psychologist Jean Piaget (1969) (reasoning skills) and anthropologists

G. Stanley Hall (1965) (theory of recapitulation) and Heinz Werner (1957) (theory of an orderly sequence of increasing differentiation, articulation, and integration) (all cited in Cole and Scribner, 1974).

Third, behaviorism is indicated in the emphasis on a positive environment. As explained by psychologist Jerome Bruner (1960, cited in Cole and Scribner, 1974), environments that stress cognitive growth, particularly through symbolic/technical systems, foster higher level learning. Assuming a behaviorist, or in his words, "cognitivist" (Glickman, 1981, p. 4) posture, Glickman identified particular activities for each supervisory orientation with the intention of promoting such growth. As he explained, such supervisory behavior mimicked teacher behavior designed to foster similar growth among students.

Fourth, the "person-centered approach" (Rogers, 1983, p. 4) of Carl Rogers is reflected in the goal of self-discovery. Fifth and closely allied to the Rogerian stress on a "participatory mode of decision-making in all aspects of learning" (p. 3), is the recognition of individual differences in learning styles and rates, and capabilities (similar to the theory of "multiple intelligences" [Gardner, 1983, p. 3]).

In terms of theoretical foundations that relate to management, Developmental Supervision also is eclectic.

The general organizational framework is that of classical management theory with its emphasis on "planning, organization, command, coordination, and control... [through] rational systems that operate in as efficient a manner as possible" (Morgan, 1986, pp. 25 and 29). Specifically, it assumes a decentralized organizational structure unified through programs such as MBO and management information systems.

Both collaborative and nondirective supervisor orientations, in fact, might be viewed as applications of an MBO approach, while the directive orientation is more centralized. The management information system is not specified. However, supervisor knowledge of teacher problems is assumed through informal means (e.g., random visits to classrooms, observations of teacher appearances and behaviors in the lounge and lunchroom, chats with students sent to the office for disciplinary purposes). This reflects the MBWA (management by walking around) theory popularized by Peters and Waterman (1982) as "a vital spur to informal communication" (p. 122).

In addition to a structural management perspective, Developmental Supervision implies a human resource approach. McGregor's (1960, cited in Bohlman and Deal, 1986) "Theory Y," a belief that "the essential task of management is to arrange organizational conditions so that people can achieve their own goals best by directing their efforts toward

organizational rewards" (p. 72), might be inferred from the supervisor's attempt to foster higher levels of commitment and abstraction in teachers. Argyris' (1957, cited in Bohlman and Deal) arguments against task specialization and in favor of job enlargement and participative management similarly might be perceived. Glickman's (1981) preference for collaborative and nondirective supervisory orientations at all but the lowest levels of commitment and abstract thinking certainly suggests teachers' active involvement in defining their work.

Peters and Waterman (1982) phrased such a human resource approach in terse terms:

Treat people as adults. Treat them as partners; treat them with dignity; treat them with respect. Treat them--not capital spending and automation--as the primary source of productivity gains....In other words, if you want productivity and the financial reward that goes with it, you must treat your workers as your most important asset. (p. 238, underlining in original)

Glickman's (1981) "professional" (p. 48) teacher even closely resembles Peter and Waterman's (1982) "champion,... who [has] the know-how, energy, daring, and staying power to implement ideas" (pp. 202 and 207).

In fact, Developmental Supervision might well exemplify the "quality of worklife movement" (Carew and Loughran, 1984, p. 126) of recent years. A spin-off of the human resource perspective of management, it emphasizes themes such as quality of life, personal autonomy and participation,

collaboration and interdependence and organizational productivity. Developmental Supervision's stress on "individuality coupled with concern for helping others" (Glickman, 1981, p. 62), appears to place it within this movement, which "assumes that individual needs can be met at the same time and in the context of work on organizational and societal goals" (Carew and Loughran, p. 134).

Another strand of management theory reflected in Developmental Supervision is the contingency leadership approach. As explained by Gray and Starke (1984), it

start[s] from the basic assumption that different situations demand different leadership styles if the leader is going to be effective. This assumption implies that leadership theories must take environmental and individual-difference variables into consideration before the "correct" leadership behavior can be exhibited. (p. 260)

Specifically, Developmental Supervision closely resembles Blanchard's (1986) Situation Leadership II theory, which relates four leadership styles (directing, coaching, supporting, and delegating) to a follower's developmental level (combination of competence and commitment). Like Developmental Supervision, Situational Leadership II offers a model for management and training with particular emphasis on positive reinforcement.

(3.) Critique of model. By virtue of its foundation in various educational and management theories, Developmental Supervision constitutes a rich approach to

leadership. However, several weaknesses also can be cited. Most relate to the model's oversimplified version of both leadership and reality.

First, Glickman (1981) deliberately ignored the findings and concepts of organizational literature in devising the approach. Explaining that "research on improving performance is generalizable to other settings only where similar goals exist" (p. 3), he proceeded to cite exclusively the "fields of human development and cognition...within the context of an educational environment" (p. 3). As a result, concepts such as "open systems," "contingency theory," "organizational health and development," and "organizational ecology" (Morgan, 1986, pp. 44-46) are partially or wholly neglected. In particular, the dilemma of supervising "professionals" (Glickman, 1981, p. 48) is only alluded to:

Because of the professional's broad perspective on education, independence, and abstract ability, he or she often will disagree with others whether they are parents, teachers, principals, the superintendent, or school board members. A professional can be easier to identify than to work with...The supervisor needs to encourage the [professionals] of the world to contribute their own plans, to assist other teachers, and to be an informal leader in the school. Conflicts in ideas with a professional are almost inevitable. Such conflicts should not be viewed as a threat to supervisor's position. Schools need more [professionals], and the way to involve such people is to invite them to share their views concerning school problems. (p. 57)

Glickman's reference to research (Harvey, 1970; Kohlberg and Turiel, 1971) indicating that a very small percentage of teachers function at high levels of abstraction and that the percentage decreases with teaching experience, itself suggests problems in fostering change-agents in nonchanging systems. (More recent research cited by Thies-Sprinthall, 1984, corroborates these findings.)

Second, the model might be faulted as an oversimplification of complex situations and interactions. While models inherently simplify, contingency theories have been criticized (e.g., Gray and Starke, 1984) particularly for citing extreme situations. Glickman (1981) admitted that few teachers actually resemble the four "types" depicted.

Situational/development leadership theories also have been faulted (e.g., Gray and Starke, 1984) for assuming that managers can easily assess subordinates and tasks and flexibly adjust their supervisory styles. In fact, Fiedler (1976, cited in Gray and Starke) has devised a "LEADER MATCH" (p. 271) system on the assumption that managers are more successful in changing their environment than altering their own behavior. Glickman (1981) acknowledged the potential validity of this point in noting that "there has not been a great deal of research on how much 'flex' a person can acquire" (p. 61).

Third, the model assumes that both commitment and abstract thinking increase linearly and independently, yielding excellent performance when both attain high levels. Research, both that presented by Glickman (1981) and additional studies (e.g., McKibbin and Joyce, 1981; Walters and Strivers, 1977, both cited in Thies-Sprinthall, 1984) have linked levels of abstract thinking with teaching effectiveness and innovation. Nevertheless, abstract thinking does not appear equivalent to Blanchard's variable of competence (composed of knowledge and skills to perform a particular task). Even more questionable is the research (cited in Glickman) relating commitment to performance. At best, it appears tangential. Furthermore, no evidence is given to justify the claim that commitment and abstract thinking are mutually exclusive variables. Significantly, Blanchard's Situational Leadership II model has been faulted on the same grounds--scanty supportive research (Gray and Starke, 1984; personal communication, Bohlman, 1987). However, as Gray and Starke acknowledged:

Contingency approaches are in their infancy; hence, much of the evidence concerning them is still being interpreted and refined. Nevertheless, because they overcome the limitations of the universalist models, they are an important contribution to the understanding of leadership. (p. 260)

b. Group Effectiveness

(1.) Description of model. As part of a comprehensive discussion of supervision, Sergiovanni and

Starratt (1983) delineated a model for inculcating group effectiveness. It constitutes an important aspect of leadership, in their opinion, due to the growing realization that well-functioning groups excel at decision-making efficiency. In addition, "group life is a natural form of social organization for human beings" (p. 154); thus, whether mediated by leaders or not, groups exist in organizations. Finally, the authors alluded to the increasing use of groups in educational settings, such as staff development programs, curriculum projects, team teaching, and peer supervision.

Before explicating the model, the authors (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983) carefully defined "work groups" (p. 154) as "psychological groups, collection[s] of individuals who share common purposes, interact with one another, perceive themselves to be a group, and who find group membership rewarding" (p. 154). However, many "psychological groups" (p. 154) do not constitute "work groups" (p. 154). Thus, an additional, crucial criteria is the group's identification with organizational tasks, purposes, and activities. This can be understood as the congruence between a group's "dynamic center" (p. 154), a descriptor referring to its unique values, norms, and behaviors, and those of the organization. Group members, themselves, identify at various points relative to the "dynamic center" (p. 154), however. While most presumably stay within a "zone of freedom"

(p. 154) surrounding the center, some stray beyond it, psychologically removing themselves from the group.

Sergiovanni and Starratt (1983) provided two key indicators of group effectiveness. The first, "interaction effectiveness" (p. 158), refers to "the quality of group sentiment that exists for a given group" (p. 158). It is related to the group's communication frequency, which, in turn, is tied to three factors: exposure to contact, homogeneity of group members, and "mutual predictability" (p. 158; i.e., the ability of a group member to predict actions of other group members). Affiliation, acceptance, and security constitute the major compensations for individuals experiencing group interaction effectiveness.

The second indicator of group effectiveness is "task effectiveness" (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983, p. 158), defined as "activity that promotes, defines, clarifies, pursues, and accomplishes relevant school goals" (pp. 158-159). Task identification, its major variable, like communication frequency in the case of interaction effectiveness, is linked to three factors: autonomy in and responsibility for decision making, participation in developing and implementing programs, and opportunities for members to enhance their professional skills. Personal rewards include feelings of competence, recognition, and self-esteem.

Several postulates supported by research (cited by Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983, pp. 152-153, 161-162) guide supervisors' actions in promoting group effectiveness. First, the benefit of belonging to a group must exceed individuals' investments in it to maintain group functioning. Second, groups initially are dependent on interaction effectiveness to achieve task effectiveness. However, once doing so, the two indicators become interdependent. Third, successful groups progress through certain stages, although often vacillating and/or repeating previous experiences. The stages, in rough order, are: inclusion, establishing group boundaries and ascertaining actual membership; control, defining power, status, and roles; and affection, forging cohesion through acceptance, forgiveness, and love.

In general terms, the supervisor's role in promoting Group Effectiveness is one of collegiality. As the authors (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983) stated: "Group patterns of supervision minimize power visibility as they replace inspection with problem solving. Further, the supervisory relationship is considered an interchangeable one with actors assuming client or consultant roles as circumstances warrant and as functional authority changes" (p. 152).

More specifically, in relation to interaction effectiveness, the supervisor can promote communication within and between groups. One means of doing so is planning formal groups with their communication potential and informal ties in mind. (However, when creativity is desired, heterogeneity of the group must be increased, even at the cost of interaction frequency.) The supervisor also can link subgroups to form identifiable wholes, thereby increasing intergroup cooperation and/or promoting friendly competition (which appears to have some positive results at moderate levels).

In relation to task effectiveness, supervisors can promote collaborative management and group assertiveness, authority, and expertise. Actual leadership of groups was perceived by Sergiovanni and Starratt (1983) as

one of providing service rather than direction to the group....Within this context, leaders do not merely solve the group's problems but focus on the group solving its problems; they do not merely move the group forward but help the group as it moves forward. ...Leadership functions are considered to be the responsibility of the entire group--not just the designated leader. (p. 164, underlining in original)

(2.) Theoretical foundations. Unlike Glickman's (1981) model of Developmental Supervision, Sergiovanni and Starratt's (1983) model of Group Effectiveness appears to have a relatively narrow theoretical base. First, its assumptions of effectiveness as comprising

both efficiency and growth draw upon brain research.

Morgan (1986) traced the evolution of this theory:

[Herbert] Simon's view...pioneering in the 1940's and 1950's...of decision making leads us to understand organizations as kinds of institutionalized brains that fragment, routinize, and bound the decision-making process in order to make it manageable....In the thirty-odd years since Simon first introduced this way of thinking about organizations, numerous researchers have devoted considerable attention to understanding organization from this information-processing standpoint....Jay Galbraith has given attention to the relationship between uncertainty, information processing, and organizational design....[His] approach identifies two complementary design strategies for dealing with uncertainty. The first involves procedures for reducing the need for information--e.g., through the creation of slack resources and self-contained tasks. The second involves increasing capacities to process information--e.g., by investing in sophisticated information systems and improving lateral relations through the use of coordinator roles, task forces, and matrix design....MIT mathematician Norbert Wiener... used [the] imagery [of cybernetics] to characterize processes of information exchange through which machines and organisms engage in self-regulating behaviors that maintain steady states...[which] leads to a theory of communication and learning....However, learning abilities thus defined are limited in that the system can maintain only the course of action determined by the operating norms or standards guiding it....This has led modern cyberneticians to draw a distinction between the process of learning and the process of learning to learn.... In essence, a new philosophy of management is required, to root the process of organizing in a process of open-ended inquiry. (pp. 81-91)

Thus, the theoretical roots for group effectiveness, in which members execute "double-loop learning" (Morgan, 1986, p. 89), actually began from quite the opposite

perspective--one of "bounded rationality" (Simon, 1947, cited in Morgan, 1986, p. 81). Sergiovanni and Starratt's (1983) assertion that "any effective group accomplishes not only its task today, but improves its ability to accomplish even more difficult and more varied tasks tomorrow" (p. 149) appears to reflect this emerging theoretical viewpoint. However, given the current fascination with brain research, this theory will, no doubt, continue to evolve, possibly providing yet additional concepts for group effectiveness.

One particularly provocative concept is that of the brain's holographic character. For example, "chunking" (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 125), defined as "breaking things up to facilitate organizational fluidity and to encourage action" (p. 126), resembles the brain's processing of information and executing specific behaviors in different brain parts (Morgan, 1986). Under chunking small groups in the form of project centers, teams, task forces, quality circles, or "skunk works" (Peters and Waterman, p. 211) take on a task. Working groups, as defined by Sergiovanni and Starratt (1983), with their fluid leadership and organizational stages, might well be considered a means of chunking and, thus, exemplify theories concerning the brain's holographic qualities.

A second major theoretical strand underpinning the Group Effectiveness model is that of human resources. In

particular, its identification of interaction and task effectiveness as the two components of group effectiveness reflects a "number of theorists [that] have emphasized that groups always operate at two different levels: a more overt, conscious level of focus on the task and a more subtle, implicit level of group maintenance and interpersonal dynamics" (Bohlman and Deal, 1986, p. 80, underlining in original). For example, researchers at Ohio State University found "Initiating Structure" (IS, i.e., task orientation) and "Consideration" (C, i.e., interaction orientation) (Gray and Starke, 1984, p. 239) to be the two major leadership behaviors. This finding was supported in subsequent studies at the University of Michigan (p. 241). Another example might be Rensis Likert, a member of the Michigan group, who attempted to relate an employee-centered style of management to job performance by defining causal, intervening, and resultant variables. Many of Likert's findings were, in fact, cited by Sergiovanni and Starratt (1983) as "group effectiveness indicators" (p. 156). Other well-known organizational theorists stressing both task and interaction effectiveness include Maier (1967, cited in Bohlman and Deal) and members of the Tavistock Institute, who pioneered a "sociotechnical" (Trist and Bamforth, 1951, cited by Bohlman and Deal, p. 229) perspective.

Recent movements within the human resource theoretical approach also are reflected in the Group Effectiveness

model. For example, the trend toward "organizational democracy" (Bohman and Deal, 1986, p. 88) in Scandinavian nations, Israel, and Yugoslavia is mirrored in Sergiovanni and Starratt's (1983) insistence that leadership functions belong to the group in its entirety. Techniques of group dynamics, such as "sensitivity training" and "T-groups" (Bohman and Deal, p. 93) particularly obtain to the interaction effectiveness indicator, while "organization development" (OD) (Bohman and Deal, p. 96) applies to both interaction and task effectiveness. Blake and Mouton's (1964, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984) highly successful "managerial grid" (p. 605) OD program, in fact, promotes leadership by emphasizing both people and production.

Particular processes highlighted in the Group Effectiveness model also emphasize various human resource theories. While its stress on decision making through task identification, addressed in writings of Simon and March (1957, 1958, cited in Bohman and Deal, 1986), might be considered a structural perspective, its focus on communications as the key to interaction effectiveness reflects human resource considerations. Peters and Waterman's (1982) findings about America's excellent companies appear implicit:

At 3M there are endless meetings, though few are scheduled. Most are characterized by people casually gathering together--from different disciplines--to talk about problems....The campus-like setting at St. Paul helps, as does

the shirtsleeves atmosphere....Intel executives call the process "decision making by peers," an open, confrontation-oriented management style in which people go after issues bluntly, straightforwardly....Intel's new buildings in Silicon Valley were designed to have an excess of little conference rooms. Management wants people to eat lunch there, do problem solving there. The rooms are filled with blackboards. (pp. 218-220)

In fact, the "intense, informal communication system" (p. 223) unearthed by Peters and Waterman (1982) also was found to contribute to task effectiveness by insuring tight controls. They observed: "You can't spend much time at one of these companies without lots of people checking up informally to see how things are going" (p. 223, underlining in original). Sergiovanni and Starratt's (1983) Group Effectiveness model similarly assumed the interdependence of interaction and task operations.

Another facet of the model incorporating human resource processes is that of group phases. The concepts of inclusion, control, and affection emanate from Schutz's "FIRO, A Three Dimensional Theory of Interpersonal Behavior" (The Firo-B Exercise, 1986, p. 236). Although not designed exclusively for group situations, the theory provides a well-researched analysis of interactions applicable to work teams.

In addition to brain and human resource theoretical foundations, the Group Effectiveness model also utilizes psychological theories of the unconscious. Repressed

desires, private thoughts, and unresolved issues are seen by many researchers (cited in Morgan, 1986) as profound influences on organizational behavior, particularly group processes. Sergiovanni and Starratt (1983) recognized this in alluding to the "hidden agenda...that permeates the group's life" (p. 163). In fact, they proposed that individuals occasionally be permitted to assume roles such as aggressor, playboy, and help seeker to provide outlets for psychic phenomena.

(3.) Critique of model. Group Effectiveness appears to incorporate major findings and concepts of brain, human resource, and psychoanalytic theories. Thus, criticisms of the model pertain to the theories serving as its foundation, as well as to it.

In the first place, the assumptions of these theories can be faulted. For example, research (e.g., Whitehall, 1979, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984) has suggested that at least some workers are more motivated by "hygienes" (Hertzberg, 1959, cited in Gray and Starke, p. 80) than by "motivators" (p. 79), such as responsibility and growth potential. In addition, there appear to be functional advantages to status systems (Gray and Starke), which presumably are minimized in group dynamics. Bohlman and Deal (1986) also have faulted human resource theorists for their failure to consider issues such as power, scarce resources, and structural confinements. In fact, they

concluded that assumptions about the congruence of human and organizational needs "may derive from the need for a positive myth" (p. 104). At the same time, however, they noted that "believing that such a thing is possible and worthwhile can energize efforts to go beyond the status quo" (p. 104).

A second criticism of the model centers on one of the most persistent problems with group functioning-- "groupthink" (Janes, 1972, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984, p. 461). This phenomenon occurs when a high level of group cohesion results in the repression of conflict and disagreement and, ultimately, yields poor decisions. Related to this is the power of the informal organizations, which reflect members' social goals rather than the formal organization's goals. If oriented towards the organization's task, though, the informal organization can serve as a powerful source of motivation (Gray and Starke). Sergiovanni and Starratt's (1983) emphasis on task effectiveness attempted to do just that:

The effective group is highly successful in its task endeavors and uses its interaction potential on behalf of the task. Such a group would tend to reap rewards (acceptance, affiliation, belonging, and security, for example) while at the same time deriving satisfaction from getting a job done. This combination would best describe group effectiveness. (p. 159)

A third criticism of the Group Effectiveness model addresses its assumption that leaders can be both task and

people oriented. As previously discussed, some leadership theorists (e.g., Fiedler, 1967, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984) are convinced that such flexibility is difficult, at best. According to Gray and Starke, only some leaders have been found to be high in both C and IS. While the "Managerial Grid" (Gray and Starke, p. 611) OD program has appeared to promote significant improvements in organizations, its ability to foster individual managerial flexibility is unclear.

Related to this point is another criticism--that the Group Effectiveness model, being an example of universalist theories of management, does not encourage flexibility to suit particular circumstances. In fact, Peters and Waterman's (1982) emphasis on "autonomy and entrepreneurship" and "productivity through people" (pp. 200, 235) might have reflected their overriding concern for companies facing turbulent and unpredictable environments (Morgan, 1986). Whether similar approaches might succeed in stable and certain environments remains problematical. (However, it can be argued that, given the current technological revolution, few, if any, environments long remain stable.) As Gray and Starke (1984) observed: "While Initiating Structure and Consideration do have an influence on morale and productivity, it is difficult to

believe that leadership success can be predicted by examining only two basic leader behaviors" (p. 241).

Combs and Avila (1985) posed the dilemma more abstractly:

Helping relationships are human interactions, and the people who are involved in this process are unique human beings. The search for common methods to cope with uniqueness is an exercise in futility. The task of the helper-learner is a matter of finding methods that fit. (p. 186)

However, Combs and Avila also offered a resounding rationale for many of the assumptions upon which the Group Effectiveness model is based:

Human beings strive for personal fulfillment every moment of their lives: to be healthy and happy, to function at their fullest potential, and to be productive and contributing members of society. The purpose of helpers is to aid in this search for personal fulfillment in their own unique way. Maximum attainment of personal fulfillment requires both rich and extensive fields of perception. (p. 101)

c. Cultural Revitalization

(1.) Description of model. Terrence Deal, renowned authority on corporate cultures (e.g., Deal and Kennedy, 1982), recently applied (1987) some of his concepts and understandings to educational leadership. His primary purpose was to propose a new approach for fostering change in schools. At the same time, however, he provided an intriguing model of leadership utilizing culture as both a means and an ends--that is, as both

a method of directing and coordinating activities towards various objectives and as an objective, itself.

Deal's (1987) basic premise was the ubiquity of culture. Similar to the existence per force of an informal group, its pervasiveness springs from its role in providing a sense of significance. Culture was perceived by Deal as "an all-encompassing tapestry of meaning, ... 'the way we do things around here'" (p. 5). Because it is learned, it constitutes a "social invention" (p. 7). However, if not positively oriented towards organizational goals, culture can be dysfunctional:

What has happened to the productivity of schools? Students find meaning in their subcultures. Teachers find meaning in unions and friends. Principals derive meaning from modern management ideologies and promotions. Superintendents dream of finding meaning in a larger district. Parents anchor their meaning in family and work, and on it goes across different groups--individual islands with no common glue to tie them together. (p. 11)

In Deal's (1987) opinion, leadership then becomes a matter of encouraging meaning and commitment, dealing with loss and change, and shaping symbols to articulate the essence of the organization. He conceived of this as "an organic process" (p. 12), in which all participants come to grips with the institution's past, present, and future. Specifically, such collaboration may result in definition of a vision; identification of symbols, rituals, and artifacts; celebration of institutional heroes;

reinvigoration of rituals and ceremonies; encouragement of institutional stories; and support for a "cultural network" (p. 6) of gossips and communicators. Educational leadership, thus, consists of schools "look[ing] inside themselves, both historically and contemporarily" (p. 14).

Deal (1987) contrasted this form of leadership with approaches such as instituting new programs, arranging in-service training, altering roles and organizational structure, team building, problem solving, and political bargaining. Each of these, Deal maintained, fails to recognize the sociocultural basis of institutional life --the fact that culture "imbues life with meaning and through symbols creates a sense of efficacy and control" (p. 7). Thus, leadership must recognize these patterns and build on them and through them. Promotion of culture per se becomes a legitimate goal because it "provides a symbolic bridge between action and results [and] fuses individual identity with collective destiny" (p. 6).

While corporations were perceived by Deal (1987) as making excellent use of culture to accomplish organizational goals, schools were described as having fragmented, ailing cultures. "Two decades of criticism, desegregation, innovation, and frustration have eroded faith and confidence in schools" (p. 9). As a result, both the public and educational practitioners have lost faith in the

schools and no longer share the values or vision needed to support a vibrant culture. Deal postulated:

Looking beyond the research into the patterns of a typical school, we can see how culture affects performance. Why should students attend class, come on time, or stay in school if they do not identify with its values?... How can [a teacher] survive the loneliness of teaching without some support from shared values and school-wide events?... Why should principals spend time walking around or working on values when they are rewarded for the punctuality and appearance of paperwork? Why should parents and community support schools when their recollections of schools are more poignant than their contemporary observations? (pp. 10-11)

The solution, according to Deal (1987), is "reviewing and renewing" (p. 12) the organizational cultures of schools.

(2.) Theoretical foundations. The most obvious basis for Deal's (1987) model of leadership is the increasingly popular perspective of organizations as cultures. As explained by Morgan (1986), "a society's system of knowledge, ideology, values, laws, and day-to-day ritual ...shape the character of organization" (pp. 112, 117). Such patterns are perceived as emanating from agricultural practices, military and bureaucratic traditions, divisions between social classes, child-rearing customs, and other social-historical factors. However, within such general patterns are subcultures, much like individual personalities within group norms, that "can exert a decisive influence on the overall ability of the organization to deal with the challenge it faces" (p. 121).

Although subcultures differ, all attempt to enact shared meaning (Weick, 1979, cited in Morgan) with their contexts.

Bohman and Deal (1984) referred to this theoretical foundation as the "symbolic approach" (p. 148). Drawing on theories from organizational behavior and sociology, political science, psychology, and anthropology, they described this approach as a "fluid" (p. 150) view of collective life. Particularly in organizations with ambiguous goals and uncertain technologies, such as public and human services, the symbolic approach was said to provide order and direction. Thus, "leaders make a difference not so much in what they do as in how they appear [and]...administrative processes are often of more importance for the appearances they convey than for the substance they produce" (p. 184).

These notions of organizational culture and supervision through symbolism are supported by several, recent studies. March and Olsen's (1976) "garbage can" (p. 26) decision-making process emphasizes the nonrational side of organizations. Mintzberg's (1976) research on the influence of the brain's right hemisphere on management also highlights "complex, mysterious systems with relatively little order" (p. 51). In addition, Krouzes and Posner's (1986) well-grounded VIP model of leadership as constituting vision (including "challenging the process"

and "inspiring a shared vision") and persistence (including "modeling the way" and "encouraging the heart") (no page number) incorporates culture and symbolism. Most renown, however, is Peters and Waterman's (1982) identification of "hands-on, value driven" (p. 279) leadership as a key to corporate success. Such leadership was found unrelated to charisma. Rather, it was described as mastering "two ends of the spectrum: ideas and the highest level of abstraction and actions at the most mundane level of detail...on a very informal and spontaneous basis" (pp. 287 and 289). Significantly, socialization of managers plus firm controls are the major means of promoting such leadership styles.

In addition to reflecting an organizational culture strand of theorizing, Deal's (1987) model is based on certain motivational theories. Its emphasis on social, ego, and self-actualization needs (Maslow, 1943, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984) and motivators (Hertzberg, 1959, cited in Gray and Starke) renders it humanistic. The model also appears to draw on Vroom's (1964, cited in Gray and Starke) Expectancy Theory that links motivation to outcomes desired and beliefs thought attainable. Despite stressing certain theories of psychological motivation, Deal's model is not a universalist theory of leadership. Rather, similar to Fiedler's (1967, cited in Gray and Starke) Leadership Contingency Model, it envisions many

possible approaches to defining and elaborating culture, depending on the context.

A third important theoretical foundation of the Cultural Revitalization model is its incorporation of group processes in defining meaning. Concepts such as "group development," "group cohesiveness" and "small-group behavior" (Gray and Starke, 1984, pp. 442-443, 450) from group dynamics obviously come into play. Communications concepts such as "content," "perception," "networks," "flows," and "nonverbal communication" (Gray and Starke, pp. 313, 318, 320, 326, 330) also are implicit. In addition, group decision-making processes (Gray and Starke, pp. 363-385) are incorporated.

Fourth, Deal's (1987) model appears to hearken to phenomenological-interpretive theories of reality. His admonition that "schools need to look inside themselves" (p. 14) can be seen as an application of the symbolic interactionist position that "meanings arise through social interaction" (Blumer, 1969, cited in Jacob, 1988). Culture, itself, as depicted by Deal (1987) reflects this perspective.

Using this phenomenological perspective, Deal (1987) explained why change becomes a threat: It questions the defined "meaning" (p. 7). Deal elaborated: "Change creates existential havoc because it introduces disequilibrium, uncertainty, and makes day-to-day life

chaotic and unpredictable. People understandably feel threatened and out of control when their existential pillars become shaky or are taken away" (p. 7). For this reason, Deal recommended "transition rituals" (p. 8) to bridge old and new patterns.

Fifth, in subtle ways Deal's (1987) model also incorporates psychic notions of organizations. In his most obvious allusion he challenged the prevailing belief that

goals, technical logic, and evaluation govern our modern world. Often they do not. Beneath the facade lurks another world, a primordial place of myths, fairy tales, ceremonies, heroes, and demons--the primitive world that modern ways reputedly left behind. Yet it remains a powerful force behind the scenes in modern organizations. We call them corporations; primitive people call them tribes. (p. 4)

As previously discussed, unconscious influences on human behavior are increasingly cited as major influences on organizational life (Morgan, 1986). The Cultural Revitalization model, at least to some extent, recognizes the role of such psychic processes.

(3.) Critique of model. Deal's (1987) model offers several benefits. First, it envisions leadership within the context of an entire organization, rather than in terms of specific individuals or particular groups. Second, it acknowledges the nonrational, interpretive side of organizational behavior, which only is alluded to in group dynamics and denied in many structural/human resource approaches. Third, it provides a strategy for

relating to the organization's environment, a problem neglected by individual development and group effectiveness models of leadership. Fourth, by focusing on the importance of faith, belief, and meaning, the model enhances the concept of leadership.

Concomitantly, a criticism of the model is its overemphasis on ideology. Structural, human resource, and political perspectives of leadership can be equally valid. In addition, Deal's (1987) discussion of rituals and ceremonies, stories, heroes and cultural players tends to deny the influence of other factors on organizational culture. For example, teachers' salaries, opportunities for collaboration, and power in determining curriculum reveal as much about a school's culture as they do about its structural, human resource, and political framework. As Morgan (1986) observed, "attention may be captured by the hoopla and ritual that decorate the surface of organizational life, rather than by the more fundamental structures that sustain these visible aspects" (p. 140).

A related criticism of the Cultural Revitalization model is its simplistic rendition of the environment-organization relationship. Change is envisioned as originating in the environment, which damages institutions by attacking or undermining their cultures. Deal (1987) expounded: "Unresolved change and grief either mire people in the past or trap them in the meaningless present."

The unhealed wounds following a change can weaken individuals, classrooms, or schools" (p. 8). Yet, organizations also influence environments. Morgan (1986), drawing on theories of an implicate order (Bohm, 1978, 1980), the collective unconscious (Jung, 1964, 1967, 1971), autopoiesis (Maturana and Varela, 1980), coevolution (Bateson, 1972, 1979), self-production of society (Touraine, 1977), and self-organizing systems (Prigogine, 1978, 1984), emphasized:

Firms organize their environments exactly as they organize their internal operations, enacting the realities with which they have to deal....Environmental turbulence and change is a product of this ongoing process of enactment....By appreciating that strategy making is a process of enactment that produces a large element of the future with which the organization will have to deal, it is possible to overcome the false impression that organizations are adapting or reacting to a world that is independent of their own making. This can help empower organizations to appreciate that they themselves often create the constraints, barriers, and situations that cause them problems. (p. 137)

d. Systems Analysis

(1.) Description of model. Hartley's (1973)

Systems Analysis leadership model represents an attempt to apply the burgeoning systems theories of the late 1950s and 1960s to the field of educational administration. As explained by editors Milstein and Belasco (1973), Hartley tried to "bring the findings of the behavioral sciences together into an organized and interrelated whole" (p. xiv)

by taking into account all relevant variables of a system, its subsystems, and their environments. These variables were integrated into an input-output model in which "interlocking human and nonhuman resources...are organized to accomplish desired outcomes" (p. 49). Specifically, Hartley advocated a PPBS process: planning (determining a structural design and strategic choices), programming (transforming strategies into programs), budgeting (allocating resources, including monetary resources) and systematizing procedures (analyzing and evaluating programs).

Hartley (1973) recommended the model as a "means of combatting nonresponsible, irrational proposals in education" (p. 75) for all levels of educational decision making, from a teacher in the classroom to a superintendent at the district level, and for any type of educational context, from a country school to a large university. Whatever the application, four characteristics were regarded as essential to the model: a focus on instructional objectives and programs, a long-range perspective, specification of assumptions, and an explicit evaluation of programs.

Although Systems Analysis appears somewhat technical, Hartley (1973) maintained that "an absolute requisite for successful development in schools of any systems procedures such as program budgeting is convincing assurance that the

desired end is human betterment" (p. 69). He believed this to comprise two "aims" (p. 70): "individual development and self-realization of students" (p. 70) and "a meaningful reward system or reimbursement pattern for teachers and supporting personnel" (p. 70). Systems Analysis is to achieve such goals primarily through the inclusion of "operational objectives that are consistent with democratic ideals of public education" (Hartley, p. 75).

Despite such allusions to goals, Hartley (1973) admitted that Systems Analysis is essentially a process-oriented leadership approach:

It is not the mission of the discipline [i.e., educational management] to impose a solution to a particular problem. Rather, it is to provide tools [i.e., systems concepts] to analyze in a dispassionate, objective, systematic manner both the problem and the resulting alternative approaches proposed to resolve the conflict.
(p. 56)

In practice this would mean that urgent problem areas are defined and relevant research is investigated. Various courses of action then are delineated, each characterized by "careful consideration of alternative means-ends combinations" (p. 74). Finally, rational decisions are made. This process, of course, assumes that criteria are defined for comparing alternatives. If performed in this manner, Hartley believed that Systems Analysis would increase chances of successful decision making "by reducing ambiguity and increasing the number of options" (p. 55).

Perfection, however, would be unobtainable due to intractable sources of human error and emotionalism.

Hartley (1973) regarded the multidimensional aspect of Systems Analysis as one of its major advantages. He explained:

There is a body of accumulated social science knowledge summarized as theoretical principles, which... "is superior to our common sense notion about human behavior. Many educational practitioners are not consciously and systematically using this body of knowledge in their professional activities" (Hartley, 1966, cited in Hartley, 1973) (p. 54)

Specific social sciences and corresponding problem areas suggested for consideration include: sociology and anthropology, psychology and social psychology, economics and political science, and a multidisciplinary area. Thus, as Hartley explained, "systems analysis furnishes a common framework for integrating the vast amount of research data that is being brought to bear upon school problems" (p. 57). Examples of projects applying systems procedures from these various areas (e.g., fostering achievement in basic subjects, viewing schools as information systems, using instructional technology, developing alternative school scheduling systems) were provided by Hartley for illustrative purposes.

(2.) Theoretical foundations. The most obvious theoretical foundation of Systems Analysis is that of systems approaches. An extremely wide-ranging

perspective, according to Morgan (1986), it includes "many of the most important developments in organization theory over the last fifty years" (p. 39). Those most relevant to Hartley's (1973) Systems Analysis would include contingency theories of management in which environmental factors influence administration, and organizational development theories in which subsystems are properly integrated in an overarching approach (Morgan). As Harley expounded:

The school system is a truly complex open system possessing [various] kinds of subsystems with multiple feedbacks....As a social system, the school has certain objectives, courses of study, rules of behavior, norms and roles that influence the social participation of both students and teachers. As a political system, a school is directly dependent upon the shaping of public policy, state legislatures, and general political behavior that can determine who serves on a board of education or whether a school budget or bond referendum is approved. A school is each of these subsystems, plus many more....The programs of a school cannot be adequately designed and supported financially without an understanding of the total system that they support. (pp. 57, 74)

Sociotechnical systems theories (Rice, 1963) also are implied in Hartley's emphases on both technical input-output processes and the "humane treatment of individuals in organizations" (p. 70).

Although touted as a systems theory for educational administration, Systems Analysis also retains many classical-structural perspectives of leadership. Most

apparent is its overriding concern with rationality.

Hartley (1973) observed:

Systems analysis in education is an extension of man's ability to reason....Even though our social goals and educational ideals may not be achieved with finality, noetic experience implies behavior that achieves its objectives by a rational choice of means. Conversely, behavior that defeats its own purpose is nonrational. (pp. 75 and 70)

This concern for rationality is discernable in the theory's stress on alternative means-ends combinations and on integration of diverse perspectives under one rubric.

In fact, Hartley's (1973) concern with educational administration appears to be motivated, at least in part, by evidence of nonrationality in schools. At one point he alluded to the "'fly by the seat of the pants' approach" (p. 55) of educators, replaced in Systems Analysis with "rational judgment" (p. 55). He also characterized schools as being "faced with residual human problems that other social institutions could not resolve and that appear to defy resolution of any sort" (p. 57). Schools, thus, were envisioned as "research laborator[ies] for behavioral scientists" (p. 57), a role greatly facilitated by Systems Analysis in Hartley's opinion.

Hartley's (1973) concern with rationality also can be perceived in his emphasis on objectives. In fact, Systems Analysis as a "planning procedure for relating curricular objectives to human and material resources" (p. 53) mimics

structuralists' pursuit of explicit goals (Bohlman and Deal, 1986). Indeed, PPBS has been viewed by many (e.g., Morgan, 1986) as a prototype of classical management theories. Several projects cited by Hartley (1973) for their use of systems procedures also stressed structural concerns: Thomas' (1967) education efficiency criteria, the United States Office of Education's various operations analyses (Mood and Stoller, 1967), models of pupil projections (Griffin and Schmitt, 1966), and quantitative comparisons of school systems (Kershaw and McKean, 1959).

Hartley's (1973) emphasis on rational efficiency, a hallmark of classical-structural leadership theories (Morgan, 1986), is evident in some of his basic assumptions. He defined education as a "change in behavior" (p. 53) with "behavioral understandings a prerequisite for systematic program analyses of schools" (p. 53). Such views echo mechanistic perspectives of classical-structuralists, such as Taylor (1911, cited in Morgan) and Gilbreth (1911, cited in Morgan).

However, in asserting that "man is more than a datum" (1973, p. 69), Hartley at least alluded to human resource theories of leadership. Argyris' (1957, 1964, cited in Bohlman and Deal, 1986) argument against organizations that foster "psychological failure" (p. 74) and its various results, thus, is implicit. In addition, the human characteristics of both leaders and followers cited by

McGregor (1960, cited in Bohlman and Deal) are addressed. While admitting that "some distrust of technical proficiency as the desired end of education is found to exist with educators" (p. 70), Hartley characterized Systems Analysis as a "humanizing enterprise" (p. 70) because its concepts are phrased in "human terms" (p. 70).

Systems Analysis' (Hartley, 1973) predominant reliance on systems and classical-structural theories of leadership reflects the "sociology of regulation" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 25) and "objectivist" (p. 25) approaches to leadership. The model, thus, falls within Burrell and Morgan's "functionalist paradigm" (p. 25), the dominant paradigm used in studying organizations. Like other theories emanating from this perspective, Systems Analysis is pragmatic, seeking workable solutions for perceived problems. As Hartley stated, "This strategy is often concerned with the discovery and selection of a satisfactory alternative, not an optimal one" (underlining in original, p. 56).

(3.) Critique of model. As with other leadership models written from the functionalist perspective (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 25), Systems Analysis can be criticized for ignoring subjective understandings of reality and denying the possibility of radical change. In fact, its reliance on mechanistic and biological analogies preempts the possibility of incorporating elements of the

"interpretive paradigm" (p. 27). Likewise, elements of radical change are precluded by the model's emphasis on consensus and social order. Hartley (1973) asserted:

Advocating greater use of systems procedures in education does not necessarily reflect a belief that our present instructional endeavor is grossly inefficient. Instead, as our society undergoes rapid, disconcerting change and man's knowledge of himself is in the midst of a qualitative breakthrough, a proponent of systems analysis may be seeking to diagnose and revitalize current approaches while developing better articulation of future goals. (p. 74)

In addition to criticisms based on perspectives foreign to the model, Systems Analysis can be critiqued internally. A purported example of systems theories applied to educational leadership, it neglects several significant concepts. Environment, for example, is mentioned, but not elaborated. Similarly, Hartley (1973) advocated that "educators...view the whole structure with all its subsystems, rather than engage in subsystem over-emphasis" (p. 57), but discussed neither their linkages nor issues such as requisite variety and equifinality (Morgan, 1986). The more esoteric and recent topics of natural selection of organizations and organizational ecology (Morgan) are not even intimated. Rather the future is envisioned mechanistically in terms of goals and actions.

A particular weakness of Systems Analysis as a systems approach is its ambiguity concerning the evaluation of "output" (Hartley, 1973, p. 73). Hartley admitted that some

evaluation would be descriptive, some qualitative, and some quantitative. However, the highly-touted PPBS model lends itself to financial measurements of efficiency. Hartley allowed that "a danger exists that quantitative analysts may encourage this cult [i.e., of efficiency] at the expense of educationally desirable, but not measurable, objectives and procedures" (p. 53).

Systems Analysis as seen from the vantage point of classical-structural theories also can be found wanting. Although ostensibly a rational model, it provides no clear-cut method for determining the criteria by which various objectives and programs are to be weighed. In fact, Hartley (1973) recognized that "there exist...many diverse viewpoints toward a problem...so the educator should choose what he [sic] believes to be the more justifiable and feasible strategy for action" (p. 56). This connotes political machinations--a topic alien to the structural perspective and one not addressed by Hartley.

The model's allusion to human resource concerns similarly can be faulted. Hartley (1973) cited Michael (no date), Simon (1966), and Wiener (1950), in an attempt to support his view that "the goal of economic rationality is to support human judgment" (p. 71). Yet, as Morgan (1986) quipped, this is "easier said than done" (p. 29). He elaborated:

The mechanistic approach to organization tends to limit rather than mobilize the development of human capacities, molding human beings to fit the requirements of mechanical organization rather than building the organization around their strengths and potentials. (p. 38)

Complex, nonrational aspects of human nature were completely ignored by Hartley.

Thus, in attempting to systematize educational leadership, Systems Analysis ignored other relevant and provocative approaches.

C. Conceptualization of Leadership Models for Differing Cultures

1. Introduction

In parts A and B the theoretical basis for a leadership model suitable for cultural contexts was delineated. In part A Hall's (1977) highly regarded concept of HC and LC cultures, differentiated by six variables, was described and critiqued. In part B four leadership models applicable to educational contexts were presented, analyzed in terms of organizational/management theories, and critiqued. Since each model reflects a different perspective of leadership (i.e., focuses on different levels and aspects of organizational life), the richness and variation of leadership as a concept was conveyed, at least to some extent. The scene then was set to apply the four leadership models to the concepts of LC and

HC cultures. The result is an eight-celled, culturally contingent leadership model. (See Figure 1, p. 172. Letters and numbers within each cell refer to respective portions of text in section 2 below.) HC and LC cells are presented separately for each of the four leadership models in the following section.

2. Four Leadership Models

a. Developmental Supervision

(1.) Application to LC cultures. Developmental Supervision would meld well with LC cultures in many ways. First, the concept of supervision as a separate, distinct activity directed toward long-range goals fits LC fragmentation and sequencing norms. In fact, the notion of time as a linear commodity is implied in the model's emphasis on progressive development through a series of stages.

Second, Developmental Supervision's categorization of teachers according to two criteria (levels of commitment and abstraction) reflects LC cognitive styles (e.g., compartmentalization, field independence, superordinate classification, inferential reasoning). Level of abstraction, in particular, mirrors the LC emphasis on high-order thinking skills. Similarly, the highest level of teachers, "professionals" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49), are characterized by LC norms of independence and self-actualization. Thus, Glickman's "Paradigm of

		C U L T U R E S			
		LC		HC	
DEVELOPMENTAL SUPERVISION		a1		a2	L E A D E R S H I P
GROUP EFFECTIVENESS		b1		b2	
CULTURAL REVITALIZATION		c1		c2	M O D E L S
SYSTEMS ANALYSIS		d1		d2	

FIGURE 1

Culturally Contingent Leadership Model

Teacher Categories" (p. 48) would appear feasible and desirable in LC cultures.

Third, Developmental Supervision's assumption that change is to be deliberately fostered recognizes the ubiquity of social change in LC cultures. Closely allied to this is the model's assumption that certain teaching behaviors are promoted by various supervisory orientations. Of course, changes stressed in LCs tend to relate to tasks, rather than people; new technological developments; and partial, rather than holistic, concerns. LC supervisors would emphasize such approaches in their conferences with teachers.

Fourth, Developmental Supervision's implication of one-on-one supervision suits LC cultures' lack of group cohesion. Teachers would be treated as distinct individuals. In fact, by linking Developmental Supervision to clinical supervision, as recommended by Glickman (1981), such individualization would be ensured.

Because in each case of clinical supervision a specific teacher is the direct client of the supervisor and has a direct stake in the outcomes of the supervisory process, it is more likely that the teacher will connect with the supervisor's services than when a supervisor engages in instructional supervision activities that are aimed at groups of teachers. (Goldhammer et al., p. 20)

Moreover, the five steps of clinical supervision, many of which stress negotiation and problem solving, also suit LC cognitive styles.

In the process of conducting such supervision, developmental supervisors would observe other important LC norms. For example, verbosity might characterize the supervisory conference, as well as preobservation and postobservation conferences. Indeed, the supervisor would be well-advised to emphasize both verbal and written communication, given the scarcity of contextual cues in LCs. Blunt, forceful speech, perhaps including acronyms and slang, deemphasis on synchrony, and proper social and physical distance would be stressed. Detailed instructions, whether verbal or written, especially if conveyed en masse and prior to implementation of the supervision, might well be counterproductive, however. Deputies or assistants likewise would succeed in communicating only to the extent that their specific job descriptions are perceived as including such functions.

Developmental supervisors also would use LC notions of space in designating loci for supervisory conferences. Each would reflect the specific supervisory orientation being used, with collaborative meetings best arranged at a neutral site (e.g., library, conference room), directive meetings held in the supervisor's office (perhaps from behind the supervisor's desk, if highly directive), and nondirective meetings arranged on the client's own ground (e.g., classroom, departmental office).

While Developmental Supervision as applied to LC cultures appears natural in many respects, problem areas loom. Perhaps the major impediment is the model's stress on commitment. As explicated by Glickman (1981), a teacher's level of commitment constitutes one of the two variables determining the supervisory orientation. Yet, commitment to complete action chains is notoriously low in LCs. Institutional goals are not highly regarded, further reducing individual commitment in LCs. Thus, an abundance of "analytical observers" (Glickman, p. 49) would occur in LCs, those low on levels of commitment, but high on abstraction. (Due to LC stress on high levels of cognition, there would be relatively few "teacher dropouts" [Glickman, p. 49] or "unfocused workers" (p. 49].) Even those regarded as "professionals" (p. 49), i.e., high on both levels of abstraction and commitment, might well be committed to only a particular aspect of the larger organization (e.g., an advanced placement class, special theatre production).

The supervisor would be well-advised to develop special strategies to compensate for the LC deemphasis on commitment. Pilot projects or experimental programs might increase commitment for "analytical observers" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49), since commitment in LCs increases with novelty. Individually determined rewards (e.g., new laboratory equipment, specially arranged publicity) might

also increase commitment, even for "professionals" (p. 49). Significantly, clinical supervision's emphasis on negotiating a "contract" (Goldhammer et al., 1980, p. 55) during the preobservation conference might enhance commitment.

A second, basic problem in applying Developmental Supervision to LC cultures would be ascertaining teachers' developmental levels. People tend to work individually in LCs, often in spatial areas removed from central areas. Attempts by supervisors to observe them might be interpreted as intrusions, while efforts to gather information from students, parents, and coworkers might be viewed as backbiting or collusion. However, without some knowledge, supervisory orientations easily would be miscued. Thus, supervisors would need to cover extensive territory, particularly peripheral areas, to informally observe teachers--similar to Peters and Waterman's MBWA (1982, p. 122).

A third, basic impediment in applying Developmental Supervision to LCs is a relatively low LC regard for supervisors. Emphasizing individualization, rather than organizational authority, and abstract thinking skills, LC teachers naturally would tend to disagree with supervisors' opinions and observations. Furthermore, withdrawal due to differences is facilitated by weak LC social ties. Even communication does not function as a unifying force.

The tendency to disregard or devalue a supervisor's opinions would pose a particular problem with "teacher dropouts" (Glickman, 1981, p. 48), who, according to Glickman, require a directive supervisory orientation. Rather than relying exclusively on personal demonstrations, LC supervisors might provide supplementary remedial programs using technological, "state of the art" procedures. Microteaching (Allen and Ryan, 1969), with its proliferation of specific teaching skills unrelated to content areas and use of audio-visual equipment, also appears appropriate to LCs. McKibbin and Joyce's (1981, cited in Thies-Spinthall, 1984) finding that developmentally immature teachers benefit from significant role-taking experiences (supplemented with guided reflections and support in confronting challenges) offers another alternative.

The low regard for supervisors in LCs might also hamper their attempts to use a collaborative approach with "unfocused workers" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49) and "analytical observers" (p. 49). In fact, many such teachers might perceive a contradiction between collaboration with supervisors and supervisors' top-down determination of their developmental levels. One-to-one modeling, practice, and feedback sessions with peers (Joyce and Showers, 1980) might provide an important supplement to collaboration. Not only would these

techniques avoid supervisor-teacher differences, they also reflect LC norms of high-order thinking, fragmentation, and individualization.

Even a nondirective supervisory approach toward "professionals" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49) might be problematical given low LC regard for supervisors. Such teachers would be unable to perceive the complexity and interconnectedness of a total educational program due to low LC identification with institutional or group goals. If given free rein, they naturally might tend to disrupt the system according to their particular interests and even threaten supervisors' positions. Thus, supervisors would be well advised to direct professionals toward special areas or tasks, perhaps termed "regional models" or "challenges at the cutting edge of education," that would seize on their sense of individualism and high cognitive skills. Such activities might also provide significant reinforcement for professionals due to LC stress on fragmented goals.

In summary, Developmental Supervision, as applied to LCs, comprises:

- supervision as a separate activity directed toward short-range goals;
- categorization of teachers according to two criteria (levels of commitment and abstraction);

- one-on-one supervision using the five-step clinical supervision model;
- extensive use of language in the process of supervision, emphasizing blunt, popular parlance and proper social/physical distance, while deemphasizing synchrony and use of assistants;
- arrangement of supervisory conferences at loci according to specific supervisory orientations;
- emphasis on small-scale changes, with task concerns overriding people concerns;
- promotion of experimental programs and individually determined rewards to increase commitment;
- negotiation of a contract, the first stage of clinical supervision, as a means of fostering commitment;
- "MBWA" (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 122) to determine appropriate supervisory orientations;
- supplementing supervisory demonstrations for "dropouts" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49) with technological aids, microteaching, and/or role-taking experiences;
- supplementing supervisory collaboration with "unfocused workers" and "analytical observers" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49) with peer modeling and coaching; and

--supplementing a nondirective supervisory orientation toward "professionals" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49) with specific, challenging assignments.

(2.) Application to HC cultures. Developmental Supervision as applied to HCs would require more changes than in LCs. Written by a member of an LC (Glickman, 1981), the model seems to be based on several LC assumptions, as noted above. Yet, some HC characteristics undergird the model.

For one, the traditional leadership role of a developmental supervisor would be comprehended and appreciated in HCs. With relatively low levels of abstraction and high levels of commitment (thus, consisting primarily of "unfocused workers" [Glickman, 1981, p. 49]), teachers would be unable, and unwilling, to independently analyze and/or discover topics. Rather, they would be dependent on "the man on top." Therefore, a directive supervisory orientation is well-suited to HCs, but for "unfocused workers" (p. 49), rather than "dropouts" (p. 49) as Glickman intended. Teachers for whom a collaborative approach is appropriate would perceive no contradiction between that and the supervisor's top-down determination of their developmental levels.

In the second place, commitment, one of the two variables used to measure teacher development, abounds in HCs. Due to close interrelationships among and between

people and social institutions, teachers naturally would feel committed to their work. Moreover, this commitment would exceed LC-style intellectual commitment to include social, emotional, and spiritual realms, as well. Thus, the human resource assumption of Developmental Supervision, that teachers' own needs might be satisfied simultaneously with organizational needs, would hold in HCs (assuming the school, indeed, is closely related to other societal institutions). In fact, supervisors' best means of fostering growth among "dropouts" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49) would be demonstrations and reminders of these close, social relationships.

Third, supervisors would be able to collect data for determining appropriate teacher developmental levels quite easily. HC teachers would tend to congregate in central areas and openly share information with one another. Communicating with the supervisor, whether about themselves or others, would be a natural process, especially considering their identification with the organization and dependence on the supervisor. A supervisor's close contact with students' families also would be expected, providing further information about teachers. Significantly, insights gleaned would include social and emotional, as well as intellectual, areas.

Having recognized these areas of HC-Developmental Supervision congruence, several significant differences

must be noted. First, despite the relative ease in collecting information about teachers, as highlighted above, HC supervisors would have difficulty in assigning them to various developmental levels. The concept of evaluating teachers along two abstract continua defies the HC tendency to view life holistically and its low levels of abstraction.

In addition, supervisors would be unable to discriminate teachers from one another. HC emphasis on the group and deemphasis on individuals imply a perception of staff members as an entity, not as a collection of individuals. Thus, teachers' individual needs and goals, a basic assumption of Developmental Supervision, would not be discernable to HC supervisors.

Because of these holistic perspectives, Developmental Supervision, as applied to HC cultures, would constitute interaction patterns between the supervisor and groups of teachers (or, indeed, all of the teachers) as part of regular, ongoing activities. As the "big man," the supervisor would be greatly respected and assiduously modeled by teachers. Even offhand comments or gestures by the supervisor would carry great weight. By being interwoven in teachers' daily routines, such supervision also would observe HC polychronic notions of time.

Third, the assumption of Developmental Supervision that certain supervisory actions promote certain teacher

behaviors is alien to HCs. Rather, the supervisor and teachers are considered facets of an interlocking web--the context. Although supervisors might interact with teachers, as described above, neither they nor teachers would perceive them(selves) as deliberately promoting certain teacher behaviors.

HC supervision, thus, would be conceived in terms of the obligations and responsibilities of the school to its greater context, the society. New or partial goals (e.g., curriculum projects, new teaching techniques) would be disregarded, unless their significance is impressed upon the school by other, significant societal organizations. In that case, detailed programming in group sessions or hiring of supplemental staff members would be necessary. As a rule, however, the concept of change and problem solving, basic to Developmental Supervision, would be conceived in terms of long-range goals in HCs.

A fourth obstacle in applying Developmental Supervision to HCs would relate to abstraction, one of the two indicators of teachers' developmental levels. As previously discussed, independent analyses and critical thinking are alien to HCs. Thus, few teachers, or supervisors, would operate at high levels of abstraction. Supervisors wishing to encourage abstraction, however, might increase contextual cues such as lesson plan formats and specific curricular requirements. Supervisors,

themselves, also might model problem-solving techniques, if able to do so.

Any "professional" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49) teachers in HCs might well contribute ideas to the total program or work with other teachers. Unlike professionals in LCs, they would not threaten the institution. Rather, due to their identification with the institution and the supervisor, they might well serve as deputies to the supervisor or models for other teachers, positions easily comprehended in HCs.

In summary, Developmental Supervision, as applied to HCs, comprises:

- emphasis on a directive supervisory orientation, especially for "unfocused workers," (Glickman, 1981, p. 49), who would constitute the majority of teachers;
- a collaborative supervisory orientation when appropriate, with the supervisor determining levels at which teachers are able to participate;
- demonstrations and reminders by the supervisor of the school's social significance in order to foster commitment among "dropouts" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49);
- simultaneous satisfaction of teachers' needs and organizational needs (in both rational and nonrational areas);

- collection of data concerning teachers' developmental levels through open, informal communication and socializing;
- conduction of supervision as part of regular, ongoing, multifaceted interaction patterns;
- a distinct communication style (e.g., small interactive distance; body synchrony; flowery, yet succinct language; low levels of abstraction) in supervisors' interactions with teachers;
- stress on activities related to the general societal role of the school;
- detailed programing and/or hiring of new staff for new, partial, or short-range goals;
- use of contextual cues and supervisor modeling to foster higher levels of abstraction; and
- use of "professionals" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49) to assist other teachers and/or contribute ideas to the total school program.

(3.) Conclusion. The application of Developmental Supervision to LCs and HCs, thus, suggests intriguing comparisons. It fits well with LCs, given the assumption that teachers differ from one another and need individualized attention. Its stress on problem solving and improving levels of abstraction also suits LC norms. By contrast, the model offers a valid leadership approach in HCs only if incorporated in the greater context of

supervisor-teacher interactions. Rather than promoting change or solving short-range problems, Developmental Supervision would address issues relative to the school's greater societal role. With these major modifications, however, it does offer a viable means of promoting better teaching.

In addition to being adaptable to both LC and HC cultures, Developmental Supervision can be adapted to various educational levels. Glickman (1981) stressed supervisor-teacher interactions in presenting the model. Yet, he noted that it is equally applicable to teacher-student interactions. It also would be applicable to district and regional educational levels where classical management assumptions (Morgan, 1986) hold sway.

b. Group Effectiveness

(1.) Application to LC cultures. In many respects, the Group Effectiveness model of leadership (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983) appears well-suited to LCs. First, task identification, the major component of task effectiveness, would occur easily. LC cultures naturally stress individualization, high cognitive levels, and specific goals. In fact, problem solving constitutes a way of life in LCs. Thus the three components of task identification (autonomy in decision making, participation in developing and implementing programs, and opportunities for enhancing skills) would be assimilated readily.

Personal rewards of competence, recognition, and self-esteem similarly would be reinforcing in LC cultures. Even competition among groups in task effectiveness, as envisioned by Sergiovanni and Starratt, would appear reasonable, given weak LC social cohesion.

Second, collegiality with those in leadership positions would appear natural. Due to LC workers' high levels of abstraction and low identification with the organization, they would not be dependent on leaders as authority figures. Rather, leaders would best be perceived as collaborators or facilitators, the very role envisioned for them in Group Effectiveness.

Third, the concept of double-loop learning, implicit in the model, would be comprehended easily in LC cultures. Due to high levels of logical and inferential reasoning, plus emphases on change and problem solving, "learning to learn" (Morgan, 1986, p. 87) would appear natural. LC preference for "hands on" approaches--blunt, forceful verbiage directly linked to work--also would facilitate such learning. In fact, the notion of "chunking" (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 125; i.e., fluid work teams) might be particularly appropriate in LCs, given their low level of social cohesiveness.

While notions of task effectiveness, leadership through collegiality, and double-loop learning would meld easily with an LC culture, that of interaction effectiveness would

not. The LC stress on individualization, with orientation towards specific tasks rather than organizational goals, would constitute a major barrier. Even the concept of a working group would be jeopardized by many purported members straying outside the zone of freedom. This tendency would be compounded by withdrawal of members from the group when even mildly angered or frustrated by group decisions and actions--another LC norm.

The relative lack of interaction effectiveness in LCs would seriously interfere with the progression of groups through stages of inclusion, control, and affection. Instead, a tendency to backslide following progress probably would occur, with various members opting for "freedom" (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983, p. 154) or withdrawing in dissatisfaction. Even if the first two phases are mastered, the third, affection, would be difficult to achieve in LC societies. Due to the LC notion of segmentation, affection tends to be reserved for specific social interactions. With its social, emotional, physical, and spiritual connotations, it probably would be deemed inappropriate for "work groups" (p. 154).

The lack of LC interaction effectiveness also would constitute a major barrier to group effectiveness because it serves as a prerequisite for task effectiveness. As Sergiovanni and Starratt (1983) explained, a group must achieve social unity before it is able to efficiently or

effectively perform tasks. However, intense, informal communication does not occur naturally in LCs due to low levels of social cohesion. Meetings at which people communicate for a particular purpose, instead, would have to be scheduled in LCs. Even when scheduled, the group's communication frequency might be low due to heterogeneity and lack of "mutual predictability" (p. 158).

Beyond this overriding problem, i.e., the lack of interaction effectiveness, several other problems would occur in applying the Group Effectiveness model to LCs. For one, task effectiveness would tend to be expressed in terms of abstract ideas or solutions that might or might not be appropriate to a given context. In the second place, they also probably would be conveyed with a maximum of verbosity and a minimum of physical actions or manipulations. In fact, the LC deemphasis on perseverance might well render execution half-hearted or nonexistent. Third, ideas or solutions resulting from LC groups would tend to be fragmentary and/or partial; issues would tend not to be approached in a holistic manner. Fourth, issues perceived as novel, particularly if technological, would be pursued with the greatest enthusiasm. Fifth, LC groups successful at problem solving probably would seize on other issues related to their particular interests. With the LC tendency toward insatiable needs, high-performing groups might well be extreme in this pursuit.

To overcome the various obstacles to applying Group Effectiveness in LC cultures, several steps would be advisable. First is the need to promote communication frequency. One ploy might be to assign people with similar interests and/or backgrounds to particular groups in hopes of increasing their communication frequency. Creativity, which is fostered by heterogeneous membership, might have to be sacrificed to some extent. Another means of fostering interaction effectiveness might be to arrange social and/or participatory experiences for the group. Travel, study, or unusual tasks might promote interaction effectiveness, while also enhancing group members' skills and knowledge.

Second, leadership would have to provide groups with firm guidelines to promote real task effectiveness. For example, objectives might be defined to discourage verbosity, fragmentation, over-abstractions, and lack of perseverance. Close supervision also might be necessary to prevent successful groups from damaging the organization in their pursuit of particular tasks, a tactic that conflicts with collegiality. A more positive approach, therefore, would be the portrayal of issues as "new challenges" and highlighting their technological aspects.

Third, leadership would have to recognize LC limits to group effectiveness. Members would tend to speak

forthrightly, observing both physical and social distance. Their unconscious thoughts and desires, expressed as role playing, occasionally would derail the group from its specified task. Synchrony, to any great extent, would not occur. Neither, in fact, would group effectiveness outside its scheduled meetings and designated areas. Links with other groups, whether for purposes of cooperation or wholesome competitiveness, would be weak. Of course, mitigating against such limitations would be the possibility that informal social groups, inherent in all organizations, might fuse with designated work groups. However, recognition of LC limitations would prevent the demise of group effectiveness due to exaggerated expectations.

In summary, Group Effectiveness, as applied to LCs, includes:

- use of groups for problem solving through task effectiveness;
- collegiality between workers and leaders in groups;
- stress on "learning to learn" (Morgan, 1986, p. 87) through hands-on approaches;
- scheduling meetings to foster interaction effectiveness;
- promotion of communication frequency by increasing the homogeneity of groups and/or arranging special social experiences;

--promotion of holistic, practical, and complete task effectiveness by emphasizing novelty, providing guidelines, and, to some extent, closely supervising groups; and

--recognition of cultural limitations on groups' interaction and task effectiveness.

(2.) Application to HC cultures. Similar to the case of Developmental Supervision (Glickman, 1981), the Group Effectiveness leadership model (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983) would be applied very differently in HCs than LCs. As before, it would not constitute a separate activity occurring solely at scheduled times. Rather, it would be interwoven with other organizational tasks, although perhaps more obvious at some times than others. This interconnectedness would reflect several HC norms--the polychronic notion of time, a sense of wholeness, social cohesion, and a shared sense of space.

In fact, Group Effectiveness, especially in terms of interaction effectiveness, innately occurs in HCs. People in HC organizations have an inherent drive to be close, often hailing from familial or other common backgrounds. Thus, communication frequency as defined by Sergiovanni and Starratt (1983) naturally would be high. Due to HC social cohesiveness, various groups would recognize their mutual links to the organization, facilitating cooperation. The phases of inclusion, control, and affection might well

be intertwined and include emotional, social, physical, and spiritual, as well as intellectual, areas. In fact, given the high integration of HCs, group members' "hidden agenda[s]" (Sergiovanni and Starratt, p. 163) might be incorporated naturally in group interactions. Few members would stray far from the group's dynamic center. Neither would members be lost over trifling concerns.

Despite such natural tendencies towards interaction effectiveness, Group Effectiveness would be severely hampered by an absence of task effectiveness. In fact, the very strength of interaction effectiveness might result in a great weakness--"groupthink" (Janes, 1972, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984, p. 461). Even "chunking" (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 125) would be difficult due to the tightness of HC groups; fluidity of membership simply would be unthinkable.

Additionally, task effectiveness would be limited by other HC norms: reliance on a "big man" for leadership, rather than collegiality; relatively low cognitive levels; deemphasis of hands-on communication in preference for detailed, advanced programming; inability to segment issues into manageable parts; strict adherence to contextual cues for certain prescriptions, resulting in a great reluctance to consider change. Also, due to the relative insignificance of the individual in HC cultures, customary personal rewards of task

effectiveness, such as competence, recognition, and self-esteem, would not be reinforcing. There simply would be little or no interest in participative decision making, a basic assumption of Group Effectiveness, in HCs. Double-loop learning would be severely limited.

Leadership committed to Group Effectiveness in HC cultures would be compelled to take definite steps. First, in an effort to limit "groupthink" (Janes, 1972, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984, p. 461), people of diverse backgrounds, competencies, and interests might be assigned to a particular group. Or, group tasks might be segmented and assigned to particular individuals or subgroups, thereby promoting diverse viewpoints. Even the organization's space and time might be divided by barriers and schedules in an attempt to foster decentralization.

Several other aspects of interaction effectiveness also would have to be addressed by an HC leader. Friendly competition between various groups within the organization would be unthinkable. The HC norm of social cohesion would prohibit displays of hostility unless the group, in fact, is fractured. The leader, thus, would only link organizational groups through cooperation. In fact, the leader would have to watch carefully for signs of strain, such as brooding or giggling. Since ruptures in HC groups would be very

difficult to overcome, leaders' attention to such signs might prevent dire repercussions.

Third, group effectiveness leadership in an HC would have to actively promote task effectiveness. Specific assignments might be given to groups, with leaders initially suggesting possible alternatives and requesting feedback. Gradually topics might be broadened and leader involvement be decreased. Group rewards, rather than individual recognition, would reinforce such efforts. However, true collegiality and high-level, abstract thinking probably would not occur in HCs. Only long-term education of members (e.g., travel, study, alternate tasks) might enhance their ability to analyze issues and increase their sense of individualism.

A particular concern relating to task effectiveness in HCs would be the tendency of groups to be unresponsive to new developments in their environments. Instead, the HC culture would have to be redefined to include responsiveness. The leader himself/herself might promote this change through modeling, especially considering HC regard for "the big man." Or, group rewards might be made contingent on such responsiveness. Also a possibility might be removal from the group of members renown for their unresponsiveness. However, such removal, by destroying the group, would run the risk of alienating its remaining members from the organization--a dreadful prospect in HCs, indeed.

In summary, Group Effectiveness as applied to HCs includes:

- incorporation of group effectiveness within regular, ongoing organizational tasks;
- limiting "groupthink" (Janes, 1972, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984) by making groups heterogeneous, appointing subgroups, and/or dividing the group spatially and temporally;
- linkage of groups through cooperation, rather than through competition;
- promotion of task effectiveness, including responsiveness to new developments, through supervisory guidance, modeling, and reward/punishment; and
- recognition of cultural limitations on groups' interaction and task effectiveness.

(3.) Conclusion. As with Developmental Supervision, Group Effectiveness appears better suited to LC than HC cultures. Given the LC emphasis on problem solving and independence of authority figures, several basic premises of Group Effectiveness exist. However, there is one, crucial exception--low LC levels of interaction effectiveness. Leaders would have to structure groups and/or situations to provide the social basis and guidance for true task effectiveness.

Problems with interaction effectiveness also would exist in HCs, although in terms of too much, rather than too little, social cohesion. An even greater obstacle would be low HC levels of abstraction and HC dependence on authority figures, rendering task effectiveness difficult. Nevertheless, proper structuring of groups and/or the context, as well as supervisory modeling, might yield some modicum of task effectiveness. In HC cultures Group Effectiveness would constitute more of a fluid, ever-evolving orientation than a static, organizational activity.

c. Cultural Revitalization

(1.) Application to LC cultures. Although at first glance cultural revitalization (Deal, 1987) might appear more appropriate for HCs, in which integrated cultural patterns define so much of life, in many respects it would better suit LCs. In the first place, the very notion of culture as a separate aspect of life reflects the LC norm of fragmentation. Second, the LC emphasis on inferential and logical reasoning enables people to analyze culture and relate it to other facets of life. The tenets of humanistic psychology implicit in the Cultural Revitalization model, in fact, assume high cognitive skills. Third, the very notion of revitalization mirrors the LC norms of problem solving and change. Societies are assumed to be in a constant state of flux with organizational change a

continuing necessity. Indeed, LC members would be more creative in defining a new system than attempting to adjust or alter an old one.

Concomitantly, several LC norms would render Cultural Revitalization difficult. A major obstacle would be LC notions of fragmentation and rationalism. The use of symbols, rituals, stories, and vision, which were suggested by Deal (1987), connotes emotions and spirituality. It also suggests synchrony. None of these approaches harmonizes with an LC "nuts and bolts," segmented definition of work. In fact, promotion of meaning, a major goal of Cultural Revitalization, runs counter to LC norms.

Another major barrier to Cultural Revitalization is LC individualism. In fact, the model is predicated on social cohesion--that a group reviews and renews its culture together. The goal of fusing "individual identity" (Deal, 1987, p. 6) with "collective destiny" (p. 6) defies LC characteristics.

Several other LC norms also would present stumbling blocks. Although LCs tend to view time as a ribbon, with past, present, and future logically and linearly related, dwelling on the past would be difficult for LC members. Yet, Cultural Revitalization specifically links the present and future to the past.

Another stumbling block would be the LC notion of people as temporary members of organizations. This would be particularly relevant to schools, given LC norms of mobility and "cutting the apron strings." Students would be assumed to have no lasting relationship with their schools, thus removing them from the cultural revitalization process.

Additionally, the LC deemphasis on perseverance would provide an obstacle. An "organic process" (Deal, 1987, p. 12), Cultural Revitalization would require prolonged and intense efforts. Yet, completion of action chains is not common in LCs, particularly those of such duration and intensity. Commitment, a goal of Cultural Revitalization also would be devalued in LCs.

Attempts to promote Cultural Revitalization in LCs, thus, would face many hurdles. Perhaps the best strategy might be to distinguish an organization from the greater culture. For example, Morgan (1986) suggested that organizations in the United States emphasize "competitive individualism" (p. 119), much like a game in which the goal is to be "#1." Members are held accountable and either lavishly rewarded or prominently punished. This approach, however, would be less appropriate for public institutions, such as schools, in which competition is more subtle and punishments are largely proscribed. Nevertheless, it was successfully implemented at institutions as varied as

Evanston (Illinois) Township High School, as the author witnessed, and Stanford University (Sancton, 1988).

Another strategy might be brainstorming specific tactics and then testing them. The Townshend (Vermont) Elementary School recently used this approach (LaMoria, 1987/1988) in experimenting with an all-school sing-a-long held at the beginning of each school day. Conceived by a group of parents and teachers, it was immediately popular with younger students and community residents, some of whom participated in the ritual. When the practice was not well received by fifth and sixth grade boys, they were given the option of leading the group in alternate activities, such as posing riddles or asking trivia questions. However, they reverted to singing. Significantly, LC norms concerning space were observed, with most students singing from a peripheral stairway. The ensuing "daily celebration" (p. 61) profoundly affected the school's climate, both academically and socially. Rituals that "create a superficial appearance of harmony while driving conflict underground" (Morgan, 1986, p. 123), however, might well be counterproductive, as research by Smircich (1983, cited in Morgan) suggested.

Songs, stories, rituals, and ceremonies recommended by Deal (1987) might be particularly important in promoting Cultural Revitalization in LCs. These cultures customarily use language to compensate for an absence of contextual

cues. Thus, the hoopla might well provide a sort of "cultural lingo" needed in LCs. To be successful, however, it would have to utilize LC norms of simplicity, blunt and forceful language, and unpretentious images.

Strategies stressing synchrony would best be postponed until more intellectual tactics are attempted. And, due to LC verbosity and abstractions, much of what is communicated might well be repetitious or tangential.

In addition to promoting communications, Cultural Revitalization, as applied to LCs, would have to be scheduled for certain times and places. Ample room and time would be needed to overcome LC physical and social distances. In fact, small group sessions scheduled in peripheral areas might be a wise way of introducing the strategy. Deal's (1987) recommendation of support for gossips and storytellers would be less important, due to the lack of social cohesion in LCs.

If successful in LCs, Cultural Revitalization would become an ongoing process of redefining the organization in emotional, social, spiritual, and intellectual terms. The LC stress on change and innovation would render any given approach appropriate for only a short time, after which additional revitalization would be needed.

In summary, Cultural Revitalization applied to LC cultures includes:

- analysis of organizational culture as a distinct area of group life;
- use of high order cognitive skills in defining a new culture;
- distinguishing the organization from the greater culture, with members held accountable for their performance;
- experimentally testing various songs, stories, rituals, and ceremonies for their impact; and
- periodically reviewing and redefining organizational culture.

(2.) Application to HC cultures. As difficult as Cultural Revitalization would be to apply in LC cultures, it might well be more difficult to apply in HC cultures. The primary reason is the very intensity and integration of culture in HCs. An organization's culture is so closely related to that of society, as well to all facets of life (e.g., economic, political, social), that it might be impossible for members to conceive of it as something separate and distinct. Management expert Morgan (1986) reported that the concept of organizational objectives is foreign to most HCs. The idea of dealing with change and loss by manipulating symbols, stories, rituals, and vision would be even more alien.

The relatively low cognitive levels of HCs also would mitigate against analysis and comprehension of cultural

revitalization. This especially might be true of Deal's (1987) prescription to "look inside" (p. 14), a difficult task for HC members. Open discussion about cultural revitalization, even if understood, also would be difficult given the HC norm of succinct speech related to contextual cues.

However, Cultural Revitalization in HCs would be potent for several reasons. First, culture is an important concept in these societies. Highly integrated HC contexts convey a sense of history and tradition, from which a cohesive culture evolves. This integration, with its web of rational and nonrational elements, renders the concept of "meaning" (Deal, 1987, p. 5), a major goal of Cultural Revitalization, crucial.

Second, group processes abound that would support a vision on a moment-to-moment basis. Storytellers and gossips would regale in the opportunity to share important tales. Indeed, in HCs "individual identity" (Deal, 1987, p. 6) and "collective destiny" (p. 6) are fused.

Third, commitment to action chains would ensure the necessary effort to execute the process. Most importantly, loyalty to the organization as an entity (assuming that it is valued by the larger society) would enable members to approach the process in a thorough manner. Organizational members, past and present, would consider themselves part

of the group and participate in the revitalization process --a special boon for schools.

With such possibilities, Cultural Revitalization would best be adapted to fit HC norms. One approach would consist of modeling by the organization's leader. Being highly respected, this example would provide the impetus for others to take on what, in many respects, would be a herculean task. Another approach would be the use of music, art, dance, and literature. Such nonrational forms of communication, high in synchrony and naturally relevant to the entire group, would provide a means of problem solving in HCs (Kinsey, 1986). In fact, communications that resemble art forms are valued in HCs. And, HC art forms customarily link past and present.

To be most effective, such modeling and/or art forms would be interwoven in the organization's daily, ongoing life. For example, a leader might model Cultural Revitalization in an afternoon chat with a group of teachers. Art forms might be encouraged as part of the organization's anniversary celebration. Specially scheduled events in particular loci also might be arranged, of course.

Another, quite different approach to Cultural Revitalization in HCs would consist of enactment with the environment. Whether done with prominent people, other institutions, or the public at large, such efforts

would be potent in HCs. Again, verbal discussions would be difficult. Actions would be more successful, given HC emphasis on deeds, not words. For example, contributions to a medical mission might convey more about the need to improve health care than stories, ceremonies, or other hoopla. Leader modeling and art forms also might contribute to revitalization at the societal level. Although cultural alteration would be difficult, considering the HC reluctance to change, anything that does occur would be incorporated in daily life throughout the society. Inevitably, such wide-ranging changes would be reflected in the revitalized culture of a particular organization.

In summary, Cultural Revitalization applied to HCs includes:

- an appreciation for culture as providing meaning by linking past and present, combining rational and nonrational realms, and fusing individuals with the collectivity;
- modeling of the cultural revitalization process by the organizational leader;
- use of art forms to communicate concerning cultural revitalization;
- interweaving techniques such as modeling and art forms in the organization's ongoing interaction patterns; and

--interaction by organizational leaders, members, or art forms with the organization's environment in an attempt to revitalize culture at the societal level.

(3.) Conclusion. Like Group Effectiveness, Cultural Revitalization appears to fuse HC-LC norms. In the former, "group" represents an HC perspective, while "effectiveness" reflects the LC. With the latter, "cultural" again conjures up HC norms, while "revitalization" reflects LC characteristics. Thus, neither model perfectly fits either cultural context; both would have to be adapted in significant ways.

Major adaptations in Cultural Revitalization, as applied to LCs, would address the reluctance to participate in group processes, especially processes concerning such a "nebulous" topic as culture. In fact, one adaptation, distinguishing an organization from the greater culture, might well be initiated in a top-down manner, rather than through group exchange, as Deal (1987) recommended. Another adaptation, experimentally testing the impact of various rituals, songs, stories, etc., might negate the intense emotionalism envisioned by Deal.

Adaptations in applying Cultural Revitalization to HCs would similarly defy several premises of the model. Leader modeling of the cognitive processes involved in revitalization runs counter to its proposed group process. The elaborate discussions envisioned by Deal (1987)

would be disregarded in using art forms for communication. Both adaptations, by being incorporated in the organization's ongoing activities, would deny the instrumentalism of Cultural Revitalization as a deliberate means for "reviewing and renewing" (p. 12).

While applications to both LCs and HCs depart from Deal's (1987) rendition of the model, they would enable many of its goals to be experienced in widely differing cultures.

d. Systems Analysis

(1.) Application to LC cultures. Systems Analysis appears to be an archetype LC model: technical and abstract in its conception, rational in its concerns, and mechanistic in its methods. In seeking a means to "accomplish desired outcomes" (Hartley, 1973, p. 49), Systems Analysis emulates the LC passion for problem solving and change.

In more subtle ways the model also reflects LC norms. For one, individuals are subordinated to organizational needs, to a large extent, through the emphasis on objectives and programs. While Hartley (1973) portrayed Systems Analysis as "a humanizing enterprise" (p. 70), his insistence on "behavior that achieves its objectives by a rational choice of means" (p. 70) tends to deemphasize significant areas of life. Psychic needs and personal or organizational rhythms go unheeded.

Second, the use of terms such as "inputs" and "outputs" (Hartley, 1973, p. 73), "means-ends combinations" (p. 74), and "time lag" (p. 57) observe LC language norms: blunt, popular parlance that seeks to elaborate a context rather than unify its members. Verbosity further is encouraged with the model's stress on interrelating findings of the various social sciences.

Third, the LC norm of individualism is observed in Systems Analysis' citation of "individual development and self-realization of students" (Hartley, 1973, p. 70) as a major goal. Neither the importance of the group nor the organization's relationship to society (except in terms of serving as a laboratory for unresolved social problems) is mentioned. Applications of Systems Analysis highlighted by Hartley (e.g., instructional technology, school scheduling) similarly feature fragmented perspectives of organizations.

Despite a plethora of such LC perspectives, Systems Analysis does defy LC norms in its espousal of a system for educational decision making. A system implies integration of parts into wholes. Hartley (1973) specifically stated that "the anticipated consequences for the entire system must be considered" (p. 57). He further emphasized that findings of all behavioral sciences relevant to education be interrelated in making decisions --another holistic perspective.

Systems Analysis also defies LC norms in seeking a long-range view. Change is envisioned as evolutionary, certainly not the short-term fluctuations so characteristic of LCs. In addition, Systems Analysis suggests a strong leader. Hartley's (1973) portrayal of an "educator...choos[ing]" (p. 56) among various options implies the distinctly non-LC perspective of a "man on top." Even the process of choosing among options resembles contexting, appraising specific conditions to determine the most appropriate action. To the LC mind-set, such equivocation is unsettling; abstract theories that can be applied regardless of particular circumstances are much preferred. Application of Systems Analysis to LCs, thus, would have to surmount several significant obstacles.

First, application of the model would best be conducted as a separate activity, scheduled for specific times and places. By observing LC time and space perspectives, participants would be able to focus on the analysis.

Second, abstract and technical aspects of the model would be emphasized. Ample discussions, albeit handled with a minimum of fanfare and in simple terms, would provide the contextual cues needed for decision making. Such decision making would best be done collaboratively to ensure that perspectives of various subsystems are recognized. While genuine collaboration, a group process, is difficult in LCs, the alternative, investing decision

making in one person, would result in an incomplete system.

Third, implementation of programs and subsequent evaluation, often using financial measures as prescribed by PPBS, would be viewed as a hands-on, experimental activity. LC norms of problem solving and social change, as well as high-level cognition, thus would be observed. While such processes might mitigate against a long-term perspective and specification of assumptions, characteristics regarded as essential by Hartley (1973), the model would have greater meaning for LC participants.

In summary, Systems Analysis, as applied to LCs, includes:

- conduction as a separate activity, scheduled for specific times and locales;
- emphasis on abstract and technical aspects of the model, including PPBS;
- verbosity in discussions, albeit using simple language;
- collaborative decision making with the four steps prescribed by Hartley (1973) (planning, programming, budgeting, and systematizing analysis and evaluation);
- and
- assumption of an experimental, hands-on perspective.

(2.) Application to HC cultures. Systems Analysis, being based on many LC perspectives, would have to be altered for HC cultures. Several HC characteristics present obstacles to its implementation. First, low HC levels of abstraction would make analysis of objectives, their implementation, and evaluation difficult. Second, holistic HC cognition would render the various steps in Systems Analysis, as well as its delineation of distinct programs, arduous. It also would interfere with a strictly rational approach to organizational life. Third, strong HC organizational identification would make the goals of individual fulfillment and problem solving difficult to comprehend. It also would foster doubts concerning the significance of behavioral science research. Fourth, HC stress on exalted, succinct language would run counter to the "nuts and bolts" Systems Analysis lingo, as well as the verbosity implied by its four-step process.

Such incongruities suggest that Systems Analysis cannot be applied in HCs as a distinct, abstract process, as Hartley (1973) intended. However, the model's vision of a system through which disparate organizational activities are fused reflects distinctly HC perspectives. Likewise, the stress on long-range planning, humanizing organizations, promoting directive leadership (through selection of various options), and contexting (by

adapting organizational activities to specific environments) mirrors HC characteristics.

Implementation of the model would stress these areas of agreement. For example, the leader, who is greatly respected in HCs, might allude to systems ideas in chats and other interactions with organizational members. Most of these interactions would best occur as part of regular, ongoing activities due to the HC polychronic norm. They also might incorporate organizational relationships with other societal institutions, thereby expanding Hartley's (1973) model. Such a perspective would be more meaningful for HC members than one that is strictly inner-directed, and would capitalize on the importance of environments to systems approaches.

Several HC characteristics would be utilized in such interactions. The eloquent language typical of HC communications would enhance the unifying features of Systems Analysis. Simple concepts such as "helping" or "hurting" (whether used in reference to the organization, itself, or the external environment) would be more effective than highly abstract information. However, detailed, statistical information might be appropriate if communicated in simple terms with adequate programming. Information communicated in person by leaders to groups of workers or entire staffs also would be more effective than written memos and reports. Use of

geographic or geometric concepts, easily comprehended in HCs, also would facilitate portrayal of relationships. Diagrams and physical demonstrations, building on succinct HC speech patterns and HC synchrony, might be helpful in articulating these geographic/geometric concepts. Technical communications envisioned by Hartley (1973), such as PPBS, also might be effective (assuming adequate programming is provided).

Leader-worker interactions would best be supplemented with art forms to convey systems approaches. Their symbolism would facilitate profound, cohesive views of the organization. Their synchrony also would render them comprehensible to HC members.

In summary, Systems Analysis, as applied in HCs, includes:

- implementation as part of the organization's regular, ongoing activities;
- implementation through leader-worker interactions;
- use of eloquent, succinct language, geographic and geometric concepts, diagrams and/or physical demonstrations;
- adequate programming prior to use of technical communication systems, such as PPBS; and
- art forms to articulate systems approaches.

(3.) Conclusion. Superficially, Systems Analysis appears more relevant to LC cultures than HC cultures.

Yet, successful LC application is contingent on collaboration among organizational members, by no means an easy feat in LCs. Even if successfully applied, its incorporation of humanistic concerns would be problematical.

Application of Systems Analysis to HCs, by comparison, appears quite simplistic. The notion of it as a separate organizational process and much of its rich complexity would be lost. If successful, however, the model's more abstract features might be introduced gradually. Whether HCs might more easily gain the cognitive skills of LCs than the latter learn social perspectives of HCs is debatable. Japan's phenomenal rise to power in recent years (Boddewyn, 1969; Goldberg, 1983; Morgan, 1986) suggests a strong HC advantage.

In summary, eight cells of the culturally contingent leadership model were described by interrelating various constructs of culture and leadership. Each of the cells was depicted with a number of components that were internally related and externally differentiated. Thus, the components of any given cell are logically consistent and distinguishable from those of other cells. They comprise the preordinate descriptors that are applied to data of case studies--the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

In the previous chapter, research findings concerning both the culturally contingent leadership model and general culture-leadership patterns were described. These findings were generated by a qualitative examination of five ethnographic case studies. Having thoroughly analyzed and synthesized these findings in part C of Chapter V, the researcher now can draw conclusions from them.

The conclusions concern the dissertation's two purposes, as described in the Overview (Chapter I). First, the utility of the culturally contingent leadership model is determined. Second, generalizations concerning culture-leadership dynamics in multicultural, educational settings are stated. In both cases, significant future trends are suggested.

A. Usefulness of the Culturally Contingent Leadership Model

As explained in Chapter II, the major question to be answered by the dissertation pertains to the model's applicability and productivity. Both issues are examined in the sections below.

The target of their inquiry was the Bosconia-La Florida Program for antisocial street boys of Bogota, Colombia. The program had operated for ten years when Ardila (1983) collected reports from adults involved with it, both as professionals and participant observers. He organized information and analyses according to the program's various stages, presenting the summary at an Organization of American States- (OAS) sponsored conference concerning cultural development (Etchepareborda, 1983). In concluding remarks and in response to questions from conferees, Ardila elaborated on several themes and critiqued the program. For the most part, however, his report consisted of an ethnographic depiction of the program's operations.

The third case study differed from the previous two in comprising both quantitative and qualitative data. Kumar (1986) used both methods to evaluate effects of technological learning aids being applied experimentally in Lesotho, South Africa, by an American-based educational agency. It was the qualitative data, however, to which the culturally contingent leadership model was applied. In Kumar's words, these data concerned "organization and long-term adoption issues...explored through prearranged and spontaneous interviews and observations" (pp. 2-3). Thus, a holistic examination of the educational setting occurred, despite initial focus on a narrowly construed technical innovation.

The fourth case study consisted of a wide-ranging evaluation of a specific program--application of a predetermined Flexible Curriculum to a poor, rural area of Honduras. The program had received funding from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as well as the Honduran government, before being canceled abruptly. Chavez' (1980) report described both the inception of the program, a university-developed curricular innovation, and its application to the Agua Blanca Sur community. Descriptions emanated from her own involvement at both sites. Like Kumar (1986), Chavez conducted a comprehensive examination. She noted: "The evaluative process was made relative to the proposed objectives and the obtained results (foreseen and not foreseen), using instruments adapted to the nature of the experience. Direct, constant, participative observation was essential" (p. 18).

The final case study, in comparison to the others, was least focused. It examined second-language learning experiences of six successful adults from disadvantaged backgrounds. The author, Halsted (1981), conducted six hours of interviews with each person. She explained the breadth of her perspective:

Consistent with the current emphasis in sociolinguistics on ethnographic study..., I have...[conducted] interviews [that] were

informal, far-ranging, and open-ended, with the basic purpose of exploring the complexities of cultural and linguistic transition in light of the social, political, and personal dimensions of the individual lives. (p. 16)

Descriptive details, thus, abounded, although related to the author's general sociolinguistic interests.

In summary, each of the five case studies (two of which comprised several, separate cases) was an ethnographic examination of a multicultural, educational context. Their diversity in other respects permitted a wide-ranging application of the culturally contingent leadership model. Results are summarized in sections below, following general descriptions of the cases. (A summary of these results is provided in Table 2 on p. 219.)

B. Results of Application of Culturally Contingent Leadership Model to Case Studies

1. Magnet Schools in Urban United States

a. Description of Schools and Specific Findings

During 1979 and 1980 Metz (1986) studied three magnet schools established in an American city with the pseudonym, Heartland. The schools, all operating at the middle level (grades six through eight), were conceived as an important means of voluntarily desegregating Heartland's school system. Each was housed in a school building that formerly served an

TABLE 2

Summary of Results from Application of
Culturally Contingent Leadership Model to Case Studies

<u>Case Study</u>	<u>Culturally Contingent Leadership Approach Used</u>	<u>General Results</u>
1. Magnet Schools		
a. Adams	HC Systems Analysis/Developmental Supervision toward students	+
	LC Developmental Supervision toward faculty	+
b. Owens	LC and HC Systems Analysis toward students	-
	LC and HC Group Effectiveness toward faculty	-
c. Mann	LC Developmental Supervision toward students	-
	HC Group Effectiveness among teachers	-
2. Street Boys	HC Systems Analysis (some HC Group Effectiveness and HC Cultural Revitalization)	+
3. Technology	LC Developmental Supervision toward students	+
	HC Developmental Supervision toward faculty	-
4. Flexible Curriculum	LC Systems Analysis	-
5. Second-Language		
a. Nzamba	HC Developmental Supervision	+?
b. Ruth	HC Developmental Supervision	+?
c. Anya	HC Developmental Supervision	?
d. Phyl	HC Developmental Supervision	+?
e. Marvina	HC Developmental Supervision	+
f. Rebeca	HC and LC Developmental Supervision	?

all-Black neighborhood. By attracting a racially diverse student population through innovative educational programs, they simultaneously desegregated schools and ousted most neighborhood, Black children for integration of more distant, white schools. Magnet schools, thus, had "multiple missions:...desegregation, innovation, and effective social and academic education of diverse student bodies" (p. 15). However, as Metz observed, the political reality dictated that, of the three goals, desegregation was most crucial; the schools' viability depended on their continued attraction of a diverse student body.

While the schools resembled one another in general locale and age of students, they differed in the type of programs offered. The program and the culturally contingent leadership approaches employed at each school are described and analyzed in each of the following sections. A final section notes general trends.

(1.) Adams School. Two distinct leadership patterns emerged at Adams School--an HC Systems Analysis/Developmental Supervision approach toward students and a predominantly LC Developmental Supervision Approach toward adults. The approaches appeared to succeed: a racially diverse student body not only was attracted to the school, but also, to a remarkable degree, integrated within it; an innovative program, Individually Guided Education (IGE), was implemented and elaborated; and students, in general,

performed slightly better on standardized tests than other Heartland students (Metz, 1986).

In terms of students, leadership stressed making them "feel good about themselves" (Metz, 1986, p. 90), in the words of the principal. Students' effort was judged more important than actual learning, even to the point of determining honor roll members. IGE facilitated this perspective by organizing students within classes into homogeneous groups that were provided with appropriate learning tasks. Teachers circulated from group to group, providing assistance or correcting individuals, as needed. Students rarely experienced whole-class lectures or recitations in which a lack of knowledge and skills would become apparent to others. They also learned to interact with racially and socioeconomically diverse classmates, since most groups were multiethnic. A wealth of extracurricular activities and field trips, many of which stressed ethnicity, also fostered a sense of self-worth and social cohesion.

The leadership approach used many components of HC Systems Analysis/Developmental Supervision. First, a directive posture, emphasized by these models, was assumed by teachers. Students did not initiate activities. Rather, their environment was highly organized, with teachers determining both appropriate learning levels and activities as part of the regular, ongoing classroom

arrangement. This directive posture was conducted through open, informal communication, as teachers circulated around the room. Small interactive distances, body synchrony, and succinct language also characterized their communication.

Second, contextual cues were provided to elicit proper student behavior. Learning centers replete with appropriate materials guided students. Geometric and geographical concepts, so significant in HCs, were utilized in the spacing and shaping of centers. The teachers and principal also modeled positive interpersonal relations and trust, further enriching the context.

Third, students were organized into small groups to foster close teacher-student relationships. "Units" (Metz, 1986, p. 81) of 110 students were assigned to a team of teachers that met daily concerning students' progress. Additionally, the total student population, slightly less than 350, facilitated close, personal relations throughout the school. The division of classrooms into small groups further promoted such relations.

Fourth, the plethora of special activities graphically connected school life with real life, particularly racism. Students were encouraged to perceive education as concerned with social concerns. Many of the

activities involved art forms, an important means of communicating in HCs. Parents also were included in the school's social events, an especially significant feature of its first year. In fact, the leadership approach at times resembled HC Cultural Revitalization, as art helped to link past, present and future.

Fifth, children learned holistically. In both classrooms and special activities, social, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual approaches fused. Thus, personal and organizational needs were satisfied simultaneously--a crucial component of HC leadership styles.

Contributing to the development of HC Systems Analysis/Developmental Supervision was the unique setting of the school. It was located near Heartland's downtown, a "racially neutral territory" (Metz, 1986, p. 80). Cultural resources were readily available. And, since all children were bused to the school, they were unencumbered by established, neighborhood patterns. Thus, an HC leadership approach promoting multicultural appreciation through art forms was facilitated. As Metz (1986) observed: "Some of Adams' students were 'tough kids' from 'rough neighborhoods.' But in the school they set aside much of that cultural style, and participated in the school's activities mostly on the school's terms" (p. 86).

Even the layout of the school building, itself, proved efficacious to an HC leadership approach. The building was small, ensuring that students, teachers, and administrators were well-acquainted. An old-fashioned elementary school with three floors and short, wide halls, the building provided an ideal central space for HC-style mingling. Although teachers lacked proper middle level facilities, their appreciation of the school's HC assets prompted them to nix relocation.

While the school, thus, seized upon the HC characteristics of its environment, it also intertwined elements of both HC Systems Analysis and HC Developmental Supervision leadership approaches. The former, stressing an internally comprehensive program through leader directiveness, provided the basis of Adams' program. Elements of the latter, namely, categorization of students into various levels and interaction with the greater societal setting, also occurred. This fusion enabled Adams to avoid the pitfalls of relying exclusively on either one of the models. Through a Systems Analysis approach, the overt authoritarianism and narrowly defined goals of Developmental Supervision were shunned. Similarly, in employing Developmental Supervision, the exclusively internal focus and generalized approach to students of Systems Analysis were prevented. Adams' creative

combination of both models resulted in a broad, balanced approach.

In contrast to the heavily HC leadership approach used with students, Adams' approach with adults resembled LC models. This was apparent in the very initiation of the IGE program, a new approach to teaching developed by a nearby university. Lacking a blueprint and materials for the program's implementation, as well as lead time for preparation, teachers were forced to develop their own interpretations of it in an LC hands-on manner. Most "caught the spirit of being part of a great experiment, a social adventure" (Metz, 1986, p. 34) and were able to articulate something unique. In succeeding years the program became more distinctive and, "despite some continuing adjustments, was...coherent and solid" (p. 59).

To accomplish such a feat, Adams' principal used an LC Developmental Supervision leadership approach. Teachers were treated much like "dropouts" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49), with a blatantly directive approach concerning IGE and appreciation of parental concerns. At staff meetings and individual conferences the principal stressed the program's basic tenets in blunt and forceful terms. The curriculum was conceived as small, discrete units of learning interconnected in a grand scheme. Teachers were required to keep elaborate charts of each student's activities, which were formally evaluated by the principal

four times per year. The principal also walked the halls and checked classrooms on a daily basis. The success of such LC approaches was evident. Metz (1986) noted:

Even the teachers who were relaxed in their approach to IGE and those who resisted on principle, seemed to have learned to teach in a special way because of it. Both in their classes and in their discussion of their goals and practices, they conveyed a clear picture of the purpose for each day's instruction and gave evidence of having thought systematically about how the instruction they planned would further that purpose. (p. 71)

The principal supplemented her LC directive supervisory posture with some tenets of LC Group Effectiveness. Teams of teachers assigned to each unit were required to discuss common concerns on a regularly scheduled basis. Task effectiveness was promoted by their employment of a novel teaching approach and close supervision. Indeed, Metz (1986) observed team meetings to be "task-oriented...[and] serious" (p. 71). Teams also progressed in "learning to learn" (Morgan, 1986, p. 87), as evidenced by their resolution of students' learning problems. Significantly, such collegiality did not arise spontaneously, but was promoted by the principal's directives. Unlike the LC Group Effectiveness model, however, the principal deliberately appointed racially diverse teams.

The principal's generally directive posture often engendered resentment among teachers. However, as Metz

(1986) commented, "Even when she made them feel angry or insecure, they were aware that she too stood for many of their central values" (p. 96). In formal and informal exchanges, the principal demonstrated a constant concern for students' welfare. In addition, she complemented her directive approach regarding implementation of IGE and consideration of parents' perspectives with a collaborative and nondirective approach in other areas. Teachers' efforts to arrange special projects and extracurricular activities met with wholehearted support and enthusiasm. Using LC supervisory approaches for "professionals" (Glickman, 1981, p. 48), the principal procured resources and arranged publicity. As a result, teachers felt sufficient "pride of craft...[to] develop generally positive relations with those around them" (Metz, 1986, p.223).

Although appearing contradictory, Adam's combination of HC Systems Analysis/Developmental Supervision leadership approaches toward students and a generally LC Developmental Supervision leadership approach toward teachers did work. Metz (1986) even noticed that elusive feeling of success, "a sense of having hit its stride" (p. 59), at the school.

(2.) Owens School. Leadership approaches used at Owens School were not as clear-cut as those at Adams. The approach employed with students fused LC and HC Systems

Analysis perspectives. The approach among teaching staff and administrators combined LC and HC Group Effectiveness models.

Interestingly, Owens did not experience Adams' success. First, rather than attract a diverse student body from the entire city, in just a few years it became primarily a neighborhood school. A small minority of its students were bused from outlying areas. The desegregation that did occur was hampered further by a lack of interracial mixing in the school. Students continued to prefer association with same-race peers in voluntary situations (Metz, 1986). Second, students performed poorly, significantly below city-wide averages, on standardized tests (especially in the area of math). Third, although a distinctive program was articulated, few students or parents appeared to favor it.

Owens' program, "open education" (Metz, 1986, p. 12), predated the formation of Heartland's magnet schools. Since 1970 Owens had operated as a small, alternative school, its program begun by reform-minded teachers and school administrators. Students throughout the city, most of whom were highly skilled academically, selected Owens because of their desire for student-centered learning. Once designated as a magnet school, however, Owens' student population was doubled and its selective screening process was disallowed. Many of its teachers

were excessed due to the school system's rule that senior teachers from the new site be given preference. Moreover, most academically advanced students were attracted to Heartland's new gifted and talented magnet school.

Under Owens' open education program, students were assigned to one classroom, with one teacher, for the entirety of their career, grades six through eight. All classrooms had five basic learning centers with self-guiding materials in essential areas. While students were able to utilize these materials, they were encouraged to incorporate and/or supplement them with other, self-selected materials in pursuit of individually defined goals. Two-week "goal sheets" (Metz, 1986, p. 116) and daily "activity sheets" (p. 116) were used to define these projects. Teachers initialed them, enabling students to proceed to resource centers or other areas of the school, as needed.

In addition to the multiage, self-contained classrooms, Owens provided structured activities for students during one fourth of the school day. Students either selected special subjects (e.g., art, home economics, physical education) for six-week time blocks or attended "academic support centers" (Metz, 1986, p. 116). As Metz emphasized, open education did not mean "a free school" (p. 114). Rather, Owens "developed new structures for the work of the school as a whole and attempted to

teach students how to create and follow a structure of their own in intellectual endeavors" (p. 117).

The major goal of Owens' program, as defined by staff members, was "teach[ing] children to be responsible for their own learning" (Metz, 1986, p. 135). As a result, the grading system consisted of narrative progress reports. Neither numerical nor letter grades were used; no honor roll existed.

In regard to students, components of both LC and HC Systems Analysis leadership approaches were employed. LC elements, however, appeared to dominate. The stages of planning, programming, and evaluating operated as distinct stages in definite locales. Collegiality between teachers and students was stressed. In fact, Metz (1986) characterized most of their interaction in classrooms as "relaxed and personal,...[between] full persons who were semi-equals" (pp. 127-128). Use of goal and activity sheets lent an abstract, technical aspect to the program, while maintaining verbosity. Most importantly, the curriculum was perceived as experimental with each individual student and teacher encouraged to innovate.

This strong LC approach was complemented with a notable HC emphasis on holistic education. In the first place, nonrational, as well as rational, elements were incorporated in students' learning activities. In the

second place, social cohesion was stressed with teachers' insistence that students respect the rights of one another; teachers' intimate knowledge of students socially, emotionally, spiritually, and intellectually; the principal's close relations with students as a result of supervising noontime recess each day; and students' prolonged association with a limited number of peers.

Other HC leadership approaches existed, as well. Contextual cues were provided for students through use of the learning centers. A two-week introduction to open education at the beginning of each school year programmed students for their upcoming responsibilities. And, flexibility in scheduling did occur, such as students spontaneously giving reports or participating in discussions.

The major leadership approach used among faculty at Owens was HC Group Effectiveness. Social cohesiveness was very pronounced. As Metz (1986) observed, "the Owens staff...treated one another distinctly. They interacted more as full persons than as narrow role players, and they offered one another an acceptance that was striking" (p. 137). That such relationships occurred, despite the dismissal of most of those who originated the program, attested to the breadth of Owens' social cohesion. Likewise, "open and genuine arguing" (p. 138) revealed its depth. Metz explained: "No one questioned another's

right to be part of the faculty or his or her fundamental integrity. These were quarrels over specific actions or patterns of actions, not personal attacks" (p. 138).

However, "group think" (Janes, 1972, cited in Gray and Starke, 1984) also was noted. Metz (1986) found that "staff consensus on the value of open education and the perceived need for cooperation from the whole set of adults put pressure on the less enthusiastic to keep their doubts mostly to themselves" (p. 117).

Another aspect of the HC Group Effectiveness model among Owens' faculty was the incorporation of task effectiveness in regular, ongoing organizational activities. Teachers spontaneously discussed new ideas for the program and often observed one another in class. Similarly, the principal continually circulated among teachers and students in "an effort to stay in close personal touch with the teaching and learning in each classroom" (Metz, 1986, p. 146). He was aided in his duties by the curriculum director, who "provided much of the impetus and the sense of urgency for establishing open education in a truly full and distinctive form" (p. 144). Her visibility enabled the principal to adopt a more "diplomatic style" (p. 144), both with teachers and persons outside the school.

While the HC Group Effectiveness Leadership approach was most noticeable among faculty at Owens, several LC

Group Effectiveness leadership elements also surfaced. The principal supplemented his casual, continuous supervision with occasional guidelines and directives. He was most concerned about students' lack of purposefulness and teachers' failure to provide sufficient direction. He, thus, tightened regulations concerning hall passes and met with teachers in specially arranged conferences. However, the previously established Group Effectiveness approach did not yield to these attempts at LC Directive Supervision. The sense of collegiality between students and teachers persisted. While "seem[ing] to encourage [teachers] for their strengths and to try to nudge them where he felt they had weaknesses" (Metz, 1986, p. 146), the principal primarily "stood as champion of their collective and individual purpose" (p. 148).

Teachers also incorporated aspects of the LC Group Effectiveness leadership approach in their regularly scheduled staff meetings. Their growing sense of frustration over students' poor test results prompted attempts at problem solving. Indeed, discussions occasionally resembled LC Cultural Revitalization, as teachers struggled to link their "organizational saga" (Metz, 1986, p. 118) as a successful alternative school with their present failures. Yet, as Metz pointed out, it was teachers' very insistence that learning be self-directive that "disinclined them singlemindedly to

push students toward actions and behavioral styles most useful for middle-class success" (p. 140). Much as in the case of the principal, HC cohesion and loyalty prevailed over LC problem solving.

In summary, leadership approaches used at Owens appeared ill-suited for its student body and setting. Teachers were overwhelmed with the task of supervising individualized education among 30 students of diverse ages, backgrounds, and capacities. Few students entering the school favored open education. Most, instead, were children of working-class families residing nearby who sought a traditional neighborhood school. A number of children with severe emotional and learning problems also were referred to the school--hardly children who would be self-directed. Moreover, resources to which the school had become accustomed in its early years no longer existed.

While both the principal and teachers used some leadership approaches that appeared more appropriate to their present situation, former styles continued to dominate. At the time of Metz' (1986) study, Owens' demise was in full swing.

3. Mann School. Leadership approaches used at Heartland's third magnet school were more clear-cut than those at Owens, and, in that respect, resembled those of Adams. Nevertheless, in terms of specific perspectives, Mann's leadership approaches differed dramatically from

Adams' HC Systems Analysis for students and LC Developmental Supervision for faculty. The leadership models used at Mann in regard to students tended toward LC Developmental Supervision, and those regarding staff members would best be described as HC Group Effectiveness.

Mann attracted a diversity of students from all sections of the city due to its gifted and talented classification. Metz (1986) explained that "many middle-class and ambitious working-class parents sought a school where their children would be with children of the highest social class and achievement level possible" (p. 208). Thus, in terms of magnet schools' major goal, Mann succeeded. Yet, racial tensions among this diverse group ran high. Additionally, the performance of Mann's students on standardized tests was mixed. Scores of high-level students tended to improve, particularly in math, while those of low-level students either made no improvement or fell. Finally, Mann did not implement a distinctive educational program. Its distinctiveness, instead, lay in the composition of its student body.

Although Mann's students certainly were above average, in terms of both national and local norms, they were not considered gifted-talented as conventionally defined. Eighty percent scored below the 90th percentile and one fourth scored below the 50th percentile, as measured on standardized tests (Metz, 1986). Black

students' scores tended to be among the school's lowest, since Heartland's truly gifted-talented Black students were specially recruited by other schools. Rather than being gifted-talented, nearly all Black, and most white, students attending Mann tended to be "95 percent nice kids" (p. 160), in the words of a teacher.

Originally, Mann's program was to be "enriched" (Metz, 1986, p. 163) with computers, cultural activities, athletic events, etc. However, the school board assigned the middle school to a building also housing a special, college-bound high school program. The latter stressed acceleration and, since most middle school students would attend the high school, acceleration became its goal, as well. Additionally, the middle school staff, which consisted of secondary teachers, preferred the subject orientation of acceleration. Administrators of the two schools also favored a common approach. Since the middle school was the newcomer to their building, acceleration prevailed. The occasional enrichment that did occur in the middle school consisted of long-term assignments supervised by parents.

While acceleration became Mann's intended distinctive program, its implementation became a major controversy. Middle school teachers thought it would be forthcoming from students--i.e. quick and agile minds learning in conventional ways, but at advanced levels. Their teaching

approach, therefore, remained conventional. Heterogeneous classes were taught a single task through lecture, recitation, and seat work. Since Mann's students, in fact, were not gifted-talented, most classes resembled those of typical schools, despite indications of lower than average performance by many students and marked racial animosity. Students were evaluated with two letter grades: one in which their grasp of content was measured relative to one another, and another in which their conduct was rated.

Sharing a building with a slightly larger and previously established high school population affected Mann in other respects than simply the emphasis on acceleration. Safety became a major concern due to the presence of older students, a large student body, and the school's location in a dangerous, Black neighborhood. Regulations regarding time and space were highly formalized. Few extracurricular activities were allowed.

In this problematic setting the leadership approach used with students tended toward LC Developmental Supervision. First, short-range, specific goals were defined--intellectual understandings of discipline-differentiated content material. This LC-segmented, rational, task-oriented perspective dictated that students unable to grasp the material quickly were ignored "to spare them embarrassment as well as to allow the rest of the class to move onward" (Metz,

1986, p. 175). The absence of extracurricular activities also contributed to this sense of narrow, fragmented learning.

Second, teachers maintained social distance from students in typical LC fashion. This distance was evident in their simplistic and impersonal references to students in conversations with one another, as well as in classroom teaching styles. Metz (1986) noted that "there was a tone in adults' interaction with students which assumed that they were likely to cause problems for the school unless they were strictly regulated and closely supervised" (p. 166). Much of this attitude Metz attributed to difficulties in maintaining students' interest in classroom lessons. Rigid time and space regulations further promoted social distance. Students also tended to be impersonal with teachers; "in most classes students were cooperative and businesslike, ...even though they did not appear deeply engaged" (p. 168).

Third, teachers categorized students according to their performance in an LC Developmental Supervision mode. Poorly performing students were referred to experts, such as the school psychologist. High-performing students were challenged with participation on academic teams and in regional competitions. A homogeneous, high-level seventh grade math class also was instituted.

While an LC supervisory mode dominated staff interactions with students, an HC Group Effectiveness leadership approach existed among most teachers. The school's two administrators and several new teachers pointedly were excluded. Administrators originally had attempted to implement an LC Developmental Supervision approach with teachers, much like that of Adams School. The principal, a capable administrator burdened with the demands of supervising two schools in one building, "made it very clear that he was in charge and that he expected compliance" (Metz, 1986, p. 198). Strict routines were established. The assistant principal, nominally in charge of the middle school, "also made much use of the formal hierarchical powers of his administrative office" (p. 199). However, this directive leadership approach was resisted by the middle school's most senior teachers, particularly the men.

These teachers not only belittled the administrators' directives, but often flaunted their own noncompliance. According to Metz (1986), the teachers felt abused as a result of several factors: the middle school's subordinate status vis a vis the high school; teachers' prior exclusion from the gifted-talented program when it was tested with a small number of students; high parental expectations and occasional public bashings of teachers, despite a lackluster student body; and American cultural

disparagement of men who work with children (e.g., sixth graders), particularly those in subservient roles such as teachers. Teachers performed their services at a generally minimal level, refusing to participate in discussions aimed at improving the program. Black teachers, although not a part of this group, also were alienated from the administration and acted similarly. They were irked by personal abuse received from arrogant white students and the school's treatment of Black students.

Without a basis for cooperation, administrators' attempts to implement LC Developmental Supervision leadership approaches generally failed. Teachers, instead, instituted their own leadership patterns, adopting elements of HC Group Effectiveness. Grumbling about the administration, parents, and students was incorporated in ongoing organizational tasks. Through such tales of woe teachers supported one another rationally and nonrationally. Impeccable, middle-class dress and public barbs directed at administrators helped establish distinctive cultural norms for teachers.

Mann's patterns of LC Developmental Supervision with students and HC Group Effectiveness among alienated teachers took its toll. Students "had a competitiveness in their relationships with one another and a certain high-strung, intense quality" (Metz, 1986, p. 165). This

tension included racial animosity, particularly evident in graffiti and out-of-class conflicts. Both subtle and blatant racism also emanated from teachers in class. However, Black students accepted it there because, according to Metz (1986), they "were ambitious students with ambitious parents and enough skills to give them hope of success" (p. 177). Thus, a superficial sense of order masked deep divisions within the student body and between it and various staff members.

Adults associated with Mann similarly felt oppressed. As Metz (1986) recounted:

The administrators were frustrated because they felt the teachers were reluctant to move toward a distinctive program, while the teachers felt misunderstood and belittled by the administrators. They were also frustrated with the selection of the student body which they did not consider sufficiently gifted to warrant its gifted and talented title. Vocal parents were critical of both teachers and administrators. (p. 165)

The irony, of course, was that Mann's potential surpassed those of other Heartland schools.

b. General Findings

Analysis of the leadership approaches used at the three urban, American middle schools yields several generalizations for multicultural, educational contexts.

First, the only school to achieve all three goals, Adams, also was the only school to employ an HC perspective with students. Metz (1986) noted that

whether it was formally proclaimed or not, ...the schools did have a special mission as they worked with student bodies which in most cases were diverse not only in race, but in social class and in academic achievement and skills as well. Social and academic diversity brought with it major readjustments. (pp. 29-30)

Adams' holistic approach to education, social cohesion, teacher directiveness, use of physical cues and adult modeling to provide contexting, and art forms apparently represented those needed "readjustments" (p. 30). The sense of equality and cooperation they engendered appeared to promote learning and positive, interracial relations. The LC approaches of Owens and Mann schools, by contrast, fostered learning only among elite students and discouraged multicultural appreciation and harmony.

Second, Adams also was the only school to implement successfully an LC Developmental Supervision leadership model among faculty. Metz (1986) recounted:

While teachers tend to resent the full use of formally legitimate hierarchical authority by a principal, their response to the use of hierarchy is very much qualified by their whole relationship with the principal and by his or her contribution to purposes which are significant in the teachers' meaning system. (p. 221)

Indeed, the Adams principal's occasional collaboration and nondirective leadership approaches (in terms of special projects and extracurricular activities) apparently rendered her very directive approach in other areas (implementation of IGE and consideration of parental concerns) palatable. Employment of Group Effectiveness

leadership approaches through teaching teams also might have been significant. The LC Developmental Supervision leadership model initially employed at Mann School without supervisors' collaborative and nondirective approaches or teachers' group work failed. HC Group Effectiveness leadership approaches subsequently materializing at Mann, which also dominated at Owens, failed, too. They appeared unable to provide the authoritarianism (i.e., directive supervision) necessitated by multicultural, educational contexts.

A third general finding does not emanate from leadership approaches employed at the schools. Its effect on those leadership approaches, however, was profound. In a word, schools with a common history appeared least successful. Owens' prior experience with open education, although implemented by a very different faculty, and Mann's earlier work with gifted-talented students seemed to discourage flexibility, which the multicultural contexts demanded. Only Adams had a newly recruited faculty and no common history.

In summary, multicultural education at the middle school level in urban United States, as rendered in this study, appeared to necessitate dramatically new leadership approaches. The traditional American model used with students failed by most measures. Instead, a model providing teacher guidance for all students amidst a

socially cohesive atmosphere seemed to function better. Teachers also appeared to require directive supervision, albeit tempered by occasional collaboration, reinforcement, and group work. Such an approach was facilitated by novel settings in which traditions and faculty togetherness were lacking.

2. Program for Street Boys in Bogota, Colombia²

a. Description of Program

In 1983 Ardila reported on a government-sponsored program aimed at street boys, called "gamines" (p. 7), in Bogota, Colombia. The program, Bosconia-La Florida, utilizing an HC Systems Analysis leadership approach, sought to promote development of "a type of youth capable of earning his living as his qualifications in a specific area permit him, and a youth committed to the process of change and transformation the Colombian society requires" (p. 26). By and large, the program succeeded. Approximately half of gamines entering the program graduated with employable skills and knowledge. However, a minority of these did return to criminal street life. Also, of those who were employed legitimately, personal transformation notably declined. Such reservations, however, must be measured against the complete failure of other programs to reach gamines (Ardila, 1983).

The program's target population consisted of Bogota's male street urchins, aged 8 to 15. Through a progression of steps these boys had left their homes, usually in the city's poorest sections, to reside permanently with others like themselves. They formed small groups, called "galladas" (Ardila, 1983, p. 7), and lived in areas such as railroad platforms and abandoned buildings. By day, the boys committed robbery, using homemade weapons, in the city's fashionable districts or enjoyed diversions, such as soccer and movies. By night, they participated in drug and sex orgies and slept amidst papers and cartons. Although dressed in filthy, ill-fitting clothes, the boys actually earned two to three times the the city's minimum wage through thievery. As Ardila (1983) observed, "they represented, undoubtedly, the most problematical group among Colombian youth" (p. 7).

The Bosconia-La Florida Program consisted of four stages through which all boys proceeded. In the first, an educator established contact with gamines in their hideouts. There he socialized with the boys, neither sermonizing them nor showing them compassion. Rather, the educator participated in their diversions and discussions, in hopes that the boys would confide in him. As a friendship gradually was established, "the education process beg[an]" (Ardila, 1983, p. 22).

The educator then invited various gamines to a club, established by the program, in a crime-ridden city district. Services, such as medical and dental attention and a barber, and facilities, such as showers, a laundry, and games, were made available there to gamines. During these visits the educator functioned only as a companion. However, he did inform gamines, in general, about the program. As visits to the club increased, several requested admittance to the program.

The boys were not accepted immediately, however. For some time the educator tested them, insisting that their intentions were not serious. Among gamines, "stones rather than embraces or kisses" (Ardila, 1983, p. 23) indicated feelings; when the gamines began beating the educator, he was assured of their sincerity. They were accepted into the club for 30 days.

Thus began stage two. In a reversal of the first stage, the boys were admitted to the club only at night. Entering at 6 p.m., they bathed and exchanged their street clothes for clean pajamas. Much of the evening was spent with diversions and in conversation, but the last 15 minutes were devoted to consultation concerning the group's "formative process" (Ardila, 1983, p. 29). With the educator as a facilitator, the group examined its progress and discussed problems, such as the use of marijuana or thefts. Living patterns also were

determined, with the group electing a chief, assigning responsibilities, and establishing rules of conduct. The result was an "enormous enthusiasm for change to the extent that the groups beg[an] emphasizing community values and the duty of helping one another" (p. 10). Even the club, itself, exuded "a more noble feeling [than]... the intense rhythm of the street" (p. 10). As with stage one, stage two culminated with 20 to 23 of the boys submitting petitions for admittance to Bosconia, setting of the program's third stage. And, as before, the boys' sincerity was tested by being returned to the street for three full days of reconsideration.

Most decided to continue in the program and were conducted to Bosconia, where they were welcomed with a gigantic festival. Their dirty street clothes were removed and thrown into a bonfire, while they and boys already participating at the program's higher levels shouted slogans, sang songs, and danced. As Ardila (1983) explained, the festival became "engraved in the memory of [each] boy as one of the greatest dates of his life" (p. 11).

The Bosconia stage typically lasted from six months to one year and was composed of three parts: dwelling, school, and workshop. The dwelling was perceived as the "setting in which the boy receives the major educational impact of the program" (Ardila, 1983, p. 12). Boys were

divided into groups of 15, which, guided by an educator, continued the consultation process begun in the previous stage. The building's ambience, particularly its cleanliness and sense of happiness, also was stressed. Additionally, boys were required to pay for services, equipment, and clothes with "florins" (Ardila, 1983, p. 14), internal money earned through work. One of Bosconia's mottos was: "He that does not work does not eat" (p. 27).

Boys alternately spent weekdays at the program's school and workshop. Both featured practical learning and close student-teacher relations. The school, although using Colombia's prescribed primary and secondary curriculum, emphasized movement, concrete materials, and group reflection in its pedagogy. Its location in the countryside facilitated agricultural lessons and sporting activities. Students' progress was determined by their performance on tests, enabling teachers to play a facilitative, rather than a domineering, role.

The workshop also stressed close student-teacher relations and flexibility. Students advanced from tool-handling and simple manual skills to the production of objects for their own and Bosconia's use. Specific areas emphasized were: mechanics, basketmaking, typography, electricity, and painting.

Stage four was initiated similarly to previous stages: Boys petitioned for admittance to La Florida, a self-contained community of boys and their educators. Ten to 20 of the original group were accepted on the basis of test results, accomplishments at Bosconia, and essays describing future goals. An initial 30-day qualifying period provided additional opportunity for "reflection on the experience [they had] been living and on the possibilities [they had] of achieving major [results, and]...on [their] mission in society" (Ardila, 1983, p. 14). At its conclusion, the boys were welcomed into La Florida with a grand festival. They formally were recognized as citizens of the "Republic of Boys" (p. 14), and able to elect their own mayor, various secretaries, and members of an assembly.

Similar to Bosconia, boys at La Florida lived in groups of 15 in "neighborhoods" (Ardila, 1983, p. 14), but attended schools and workshops on community grounds. La Florida's chief goal was the combination of "formation and service" (p. 14), with boys one year even initiating a youth program in another Colombian city. At the conclusion of stage four, usually after a year or more, boys were judged ready for the world of work.

b. Research Findings

This unusual and successful program relied primarily on HC Systems Analysis leadership approaches. In the first

place, the program carefully delineated four stages, each incorporating planning, programming, and evaluation as part of regular, ongoing activities. Its comprehensiveness, thus, was articulated as a natural phenomenon, without LC segmentation or abstractions. The program's emphasis on "gradualism" (Ardila, 1983, p. 16); flexibility in the duration of stages one, three, and four; and "constant activity" (p. 16) also contributed to this sense of fluid integration.

Second, context played a key role in promoting particular behaviors. Students' geographic progression from one site to another signaled new levels of learning--a prototype HC communications technique. Within each site, environments also were constructed carefully to convey certain messages, particularly those of cleanliness, liveliness, and orderliness. As Ardila (1983) observed, "The setting that the program offers constitutes a motivational atmosphere that encourages [the boys'] commitment to renewal" (p. 11). Modeling by educators, who tended to be graduates of the program, and use of florins further enhanced contextual cues.

Third, art forms constituted a crucial aspect of the program, rendering it almost an HC archetype. Ardila (1983) noted that the program's educators deliberately encouraged their use with the motto: "For us art is as important as bread" (p. 16). All boys were expected to

create some form of art, whether in agriculture, theatre, music, or handicrafts. In the opinion of the educators, this emphasis was needed to balance society's strong technical/scientific orientation. Through art forms, they felt, "multiple expressions" (p. 16) would facilitate holistic communication. The Bosconia welcoming party provided perhaps the most vivid example. Ardila recounted that its "dynamic power of symbols, slogans, movements, rhythm is very strong and transmits messages that make a profound impression on people" (p. 30). Thus, the roar of the fire and chanting and dancing of the boys conveyed crucial, nonrational components of the intended message: rebirth (Ardila).

Fourth, the program included a strong directional role for educators, albeit primarily through consultation and modeling. Traditional authoritarianism of the supervisory leadership model was deemphasized in favor of a more personal relationship, basic to the HC Systems Analysis model. Ardila (1983) noted that a "feeling... that the educator is [the boys'] friend" (p. 15) dominated the program. He elaborated: "The friendship offered is a source of confidence for the boy, a stimulus for progress, an invitation for personal development" (p. 15). In group consultations the educator suggested topics for discussion and promoted particular perspectives, including recognition of boys for meritorious actions (e.g., settling

fight). Educators in schools and workshops similarly provided personalized direction, facilitated by the small numbers of boys in each group. The only stage at which such direction did not occur was the first, a transitional stage. In general, Ardila's observation that "the intelligent intervention of the educator is decisive" (p. 12) held sway.

Thus, in many ways the Bosconia-La Florida program appeared to use an HC Systems Analysis leadership approach. Interwoven with it, however, were components of the HC Group Effectiveness and HC Cultural Revitalization models. HC Group Effectiveness was most apparent with the program's stress on educator-directed group consultation in stages two, three, and, to an extent, four. Boys' self-governance, implemented in stage four, provided an LC Group Effectiveness approach with its formally scheduled meetings and explicit problem solving. Both modes of Group Effectiveness enabled the program to achieve a "process of coherence" (Ardila, 1983, p. 12) between boys' internal and external worlds--their mentality and their actions.

The predominant HC Group Effectiveness approach was founded on social cohesiveness. While gamines would have been expected to be cohesive, their close relationship with educators represented a radical departure from conventional detention centers and orphanages. It was promoted by the deliberate incorporation of elements of the gamine culture

in the Bosconia-La Florida Program (Ardila, 1983). Gamines' love of liberty was included by placing the decision to enter each stage in their own hands, as well as permitting them to leave the program at will. Gamines' dependence on their peer group was continued by organizing small groups of boys at all stages, each assigned its own in-house educator. Even gamines' secret street parlance was extended with development of a unique lingo in the program. Most importantly, gamines' general happiness and vitality were incorporated through the program's array of activities and parties. The goal was "a program that begins with the consideration of the gamine as a person, an excellent boy with enormous value" (pp. 21-22).

In addition to aspects of the HC Group Effectiveness leadership model, several of the HC Cultural Revitalization model also were evident. The program's profuse use of art forms specifically linked past, present, and future. Boys entering Bosconia, for example, chanted: "The lie: to the fire! Robbery: to the fire!" (Ardila, 1983, p. 11), as their street clothes were engulfed in flames at the welcoming festival. According to Ardila, the voices were communicating: "Your past doesn't matter to us; that you robbed, doesn't matter to us, we don't remember that. In this moment you are born and you have a present, it is that that interests us; you have a future" (p. 25).

While parties served to welcome entrants to stages three and four, they also celebrated current participants' accomplishments in academics, workshop projects, special interests, and group life. Additionally, each of the great festivals greeting entrants to Bosconia was preceded with a major artistic project, such as painting a dwelling, constructing a patio, or planting thousands of trees. Again, they were jointly executed by stage three and four boys. As Ardila (1983) noted, "the great challenges of work of the program are converted into festivals" (p. 29). Festivals, in fact, were used to divide the school year into parts, replacing the more conventional system of marking periods and semesters. This practice not only utilized the HC appreciation of art forms, but also HC notions of fluid time.

In summary, the use of HC Systems Analysis, supplemented by components of HC Group Effectiveness and Cultural Revitalization, appeared well-suited to the gamine population, viciously alienated and violently antisocial boys of Bogota, Colombia. The strength of the system which was developed, however, proved counterproductive once the boys were reintegrated into society. Without their supportive group, the "glue" that held together the system's components, backsliding occurred (Ardila, 1983). For this reason, and because of few employment opportunities, the program planned yet another stage--its

own industrial foundry. It is perhaps understandable that a program achieving success with such a notorious population through a comprehensive, unique system, in the end, would create a system both for education and for life.

3. Introduction of Technology into Lesotho's Elementary Schools

a. Description of Program

In the mid-1980s the University of Massachusetts' Center for International Education (CIE) appeared to use LC and HC Developmental Supervision leadership models in studying the "capability of [microprocessor-driven] learning aids to benefit the learning situation as a supplement to normal classroom instruction, and their technical feasibility in the context of Lesotho" (Kumar, 1986, p. 92). Lesotho, Southern Africa, was designated as the experimental site because it typified many developing contexts. It also had a history of involvement with the CIE.

The learning aids consisted of two electronic gadgets made by Texas Instruments: Speak and Read (TM) and Speak and Math (TM). Each were hand-held, battery-run instruments that used a three-chip system to generate synthetic speech and a visual display. Each also had a keyboard that was used to select learning experiences. Speak and Read (TM) options included phonics, vocabulary,

and reading comprehension, based on 250 English words. Speak and Math (TM) featured arithmetic drills at three levels of difficulty, with over 100,000 randomly generated problems in toto.

Technology, such as these learning aids, generally has failed when applied to developing educational settings (Kumar, 1986). Lesotho's National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC), with the approval of the Ministry of Education, mandated the experiment, however, in an attempt to "try any kind of solution--given the impetus [sic] on educational development" (p. 175, underlining in original). A lack of trained teachers and high rates of teacher absenteeism, coupled with a burgeoning student population and lack of financial resources, led these educational leaders to consider new alternatives. Kumar explained: "The selection of the aids as the innovation was dictated by their potential to provide a cost-effective supplement to literacy and numeracy education in Lesotho" (pp. 88-89).

The NCDC selected five elementary schools differing along several dimensions for the study and mandated that teachers and local administrators cooperate with CIE representatives. A total of 509 students served either as users of aids or control subjects. In general, students in Standard VI tested the math aids, while Standard IV students used language aids. A minimum of two, 45-minute sessions with aids were required per week. During these

sessions, the entire class customarily divided into groups of three or four students, each with its own learning aid.

The study was conducted toward the end of the school year and lasted 12 weeks. Consideration of organizational and long-term adoption issues was supplemented with an examination of the aids' technical feasibility (e.g., numbers of battery changes and malfunctions) and their learning effects.

b. Research Findings

Much as the case with American magnet schools (Metz, 1986), Kumar (1986) discovered different leadership approaches in regard to students and faculty. That directed toward students was primarily LC Developmental Supervision, while the model directed toward adults comprised elements of HC Developmental Supervision. Interestingly, results of the experiment also differed. Students appeared very pleased with the learning aids, while many teachers were not.

The LC Developmental Supervision approach employed with students was apparent in several respects. First, the purpose of the aids was narrowly construed-- promotion of students' literary and numeracy skills. Such goals were rational and task centered, rather than holistic and comprehensive. The goals also were unrelated to the greater societal context. The learning aids, thus, were perceived as enhancing individual students' specific

skills, rather than having more general, social or educational significance.

Second, implementation of the learning aids occurred in a similarly segmented fashion. They were superimposed on the regular curriculum, rather than integrated with it. At designated periods of the week, students were directed to practice with the aids in groups. This drill work was to be related to previously taught concepts by students, on their own.

Even the aids' method of presenting material utilized an LC-segmented, individualized approach. Drills functioned independently of one another, with neither overarching concepts nor explanations. Students, instead, were expected to develop their own understandings of the content. The aids' immediate feedback feature also fragmented learning. Students selected their own categories or levels of practice, completed an exercise, and discovered at once whether they were correct or not. In addition, students were expected to adapt to the aids' American-style presentation on an ad hoc basis. The accent of the aids' synthesized voice and several symbols and words (e.g., "van," \div) differed from that of the Lesotho context. Nevertheless, students were assumed capable of making the necessary adjustments by themselves.

LC segmentation also was apparent in the lack of advance instruction for students concerning operation of

the learning aids. Rather, students began experimenting with them in hands-on fashion. This approach might well exemplify LC Developmental Supervision's prescription of technological aids to increase commitment of "dropouts" (Glickman, 1981, p. 49). Indeed, teachers "discovered that most students were able to master even difficult functions of the aids without detailed explanations or knowledge required of them" (Kumar, 1986, p. 157).

Third, the experiment's use of tests and interviews to measure results of the learning aids promoted an LC supervisory perspective. The evaluations occurred at specially designated times and locales, following a CIE-prescribed format. Although the CIE did not categorize students, as typically occurs in LC Developmental Supervision, teachers occasionally did. In these cases, students were assigned to groups according to their ability level and provided with supplemental instruction, as needed. In general, the LC supervisory mode emanated from the formality of CIE evaluations, rather than teachers' categorizations.

Within the groups of three or four students assigned to a learning aid, elements of an LC Group Effectiveness leadership approach were evident. As Kumar (1986) observed, "the general process involved rotating the aids between each member of the group and problem solving, first by the individual with the aid and subsequently by

the entire group" (p. 144). Collegiality, thus, occurred. Groups' task effectiveness was fostered through occasional use of homogeneous groups, the technological novelty of the aids, and teacher supervision.

The latter usually employed the approach designated for leaders in the LC Group Effectiveness model. Supervision was close, but unobtrusive. Kumar (1986) noted: "Children observed that while they were using the aids, their teachers were usually involved in monitoring the score-keeping and helping them whenever needed" (p. 143). Teachers' occasional attempts to be more directive, such as providing answers, were resisted by students.

These elements of LC Group Effectiveness resulted from CIE directives. The CIE's decision to implement the innovation via groups, however, was based on an appreciation of Lesotho's cultural norms. Kumar (1986), indeed, found the experiment's use of groups favorably regarded. Teachers "considered [group activity] a positive feature of the aids, this because group work was normal in Lesotho's classrooms and because it promoted competition and cooperation which was seen as having positive implications" (p. 158). Students also "indicated a strong preference for group-work as versus individual usage [of aids]" (p. 145).

Students' acceptance of an LC Developmental Supervision leadership approach, however, did not result solely from its incorporation of group work. Students appeared to appreciate even more the learning gains promoted by the aids. Nearly all markedly improved their numeracy and, particularly, literacy skills, with low-level students making the greatest gains. Even CIE tests were well-received because they provided immediate proof of these gains. Students' initial problem with the accent of the aids' synthesized voice appeared to dissipate over time, facilitated greatly by the machines' visual display.

Also promoting students' acceptance of the LC Developmental Supervision approach was the sense of fun and excitement provided by the aids. Kumar (1986) found that "none of the children...felt either bored or tired of using the aids" (p. 144). Rather, their attitude was one of "considerable receptivity and enthusiasm" (p. 143).

Additionally, students believed that their gains in numeracy and literacy skills transferred to the regular curriculum where "they could associate what was presented in class with what they had seen or heard in the aids" (Kumar, 1986, p. 143). This phenomenon represented a reversal of initial expectations. Lesotho's educational administrators had assumed that teacher-taught concepts necessarily would precede drills and practice with the aids. That the opposite occurred further testified to the

success of the LC Developmental Supervision leadership approach--students, indeed, learned through segmented, small-scale learning tasks.

In contrast to the experiment's LC perspective with students, a predominantly HC Developmental Supervision approach was used with faculty members. This was most obvious in the plethora of contextual cues that prompted compliance with the study among teachers and local administrators. In addition to noting details relating to the aids' technical performance, teachers were required to compile logs concerning their own and students' adjustments to the aids. CIE-administered tests, observations, and interviews also were interspersed throughout the school day. The very presence of CIE personnel in the schools served as a vivid reminder of the experiment.

In addition to providing a variety of cues, the study utilized the HC supervisory tactic of holistic analysis. Interviews with teachers were wide-ranging, covering the effects of introducing the aids on students, teachers, and the school setting; perceived obstacles to their implementation; suggestions for modifying the aids and/or their implementation; and contributions of the aids to general curricular goals. Those conducted with Lesotho's high-level administrators also were comprehensive, requesting information regarding "planning, decision

making and implementation issues" (Kumar, 1986, p. 95). However, CIE's consuming concern with the learning aids, rather than the total educational context of Lesotho, rendered its leadership approach more narrow than typical HC Developmental Supervision.

This focus appeared to carry a great price. Teachers initially were upset by their lack of preparation prior to implementation of the learning aids. Although they had been allowed to practice with the aids and experience their ease of operation, most harbored deep-seated fears and doubts. Students' "high degree of acceptance [of aids]" (Kumar, 1986, p. 158) and their own appreciation for drills facilitated by the aids assuaged many of these feelings. However, even at the end of the study, most teachers felt that the learning aids "upset...normal school operations" (p. 153). They also recommended that literature and workshops be used "to familiarize teachers with the aids' operation and the teacher's role in the classroom" (p. 161) before implementation--a customary feature of HC Developmental Supervision.

Second, a number of teachers were concerned that the learning aids detracted from syllabus goals. Indeed, the CIE had not related use of the aids to curricular goals for either teachers and local administrators or students. However, such demonstrations comprise a major component of HC Developmental Supervision, especially for new and

experimental programs. A number of teachers, particularly those in more affluent, urban districts where pressures to pass the Standard VII leaving exam were intense, deemphasized the learning aids. Others complained about the aids' "inability to present problems more systematically as would be done in conventional lessons" (Kumar, 1986, p. 159).

The cumulative effect of teachers' negativity was profound. The study had identified obstacles to the widespread implementation of learning aids relating to finances and physical maintenance. Yet, as Kumar (1986) observed, "though application-issues are the primary reasons for initial acceptance, it is the organizational and long-term issues which are the decisive criteria in the acceptance, installation and in sustaining the innovation" (p. 184, underlining in original). Even if financial and maintenance problems had been overcome, Kumar believed that learning aids probably would not have been instituted due to teachers' reactions.

The irony of such a predicament, in light of the aids' promotion of learning and enthusiastic acceptance by students, is only too clear. It suggests that the HC Developmental Supervision leadership approach must be comprehensively applied to be effective. It also suggests that leadership approaches directed toward faculty are as important as those directed toward students.

4. Application of a Flexible Curriculum in Rural Honduras³

a. Description of Program

In 1977 the government of Honduras decided to implement a technological curriculum. Dismayed by incongruities between its established educational system and the Honduran context, the government sought a curriculum "with its vision centered in the reality of the country" (Chavez, 1980, p. i). Funding from both the Ministry of Public Education and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) financed a training session at a local university. Afterwards, teams of professionals attempted to implement the program, titled Flexible Curriculum (and lacking an emphasis on technology), in various sections of the country. Chavez (1980) reported on one such attempt conducted in Agua Blanca Sur, a rural area several hundred kilometers north of the capital. At that site, the primary leadership approach employed appeared to be LC Systems Analysis.

The primary goal of Flexible Curriculum, as articulated by its well-educated, middle-class developers, was "apply[ing] new methods for uniting schools more closely with the community, with the perspective of improving educational programs" (Chavez, 1980, p. i). Thus, there were several aims: education of elementary

school children, reference to the community, and use of new educational methods. In fact, it was Flexible Curriculum's methodology that incorporated the other two.

The program's basic method consisted of "self-direction in learning (learning independently) [through] a dynamic participatory method attempting to achieve the principle of an action-reflection-action process" (Chavez, 1980, p. 1). Several stages were articulated: diagnosis, in which the "needs, interests, and problems of the children" (p. 4) were discussed and prioritized; a planning stage, in which a "unified, integration learning [approach]" (p. 5) was delineated to meet those needs and interests; execution of the plan; and evaluation of its results, both formatively and summatively. Throughout the process, open consultation among teachers, parents, and children was promoted, and various community resources (e.g., transportation, materials) were solicited and used.

Results were less than successful. Children, indeed, did improve in certain skills and attitudes. No evidence was presented of increased, or even norm-level, cognitive learning, however. Teachers similarly made some attitudinal gains, but resisted many of the program's basic thrusts. Within a few months of its inception, political controversy generated by the program resulted in the cancellation of its funding. Chavez (1980) was moved to conclude: "It is difficult to think of a wider

diffusion and application of the ideas of Flexible Curriculum to more schools in Honduras" (p. 15).

b. Research Findings

The dominant leadership approach used in Flexible Curriculum's application to Agua Blanca Sur was LC Systems Analysis. In the first place, the four stages comprising its methodology corresponded almost exactly to the steps of Systems Analysis described by Hartley (1973): planning, programming, budgeting, and systematizing analysis and evaluation. In the first step, teachers, parents, and children established criteria for selecting a problem: that it affect the majority of the school children, that it relate significantly to community problems, and that it be amenable to joint actions by the participants. From a list of problems, malnutrition was given highest priority.

In the second step, programming, malnutrition was divided into subproblems: diet, health, and hygiene. Chavez (1980) explained:

For each subproblem a working hypothesis was formed; from the working hypothesis were obtained general objectives of unity [i.e., unified, integrated learning], then activities that could be realized for the treatment of each one of the subproblems were identified. The activities became a basis for identifying learning experiences with their respective specific objectives (expected results), content, resources, method, [and] results obtained (evaluation). (p. 6)

Although consulting parents and children, participating teachers (8 of 16 at the school) developed the final plan

themselves. It included attitudes, knowledge, habits, and skills in its various learning experiences.

In the last two steps, execution and evaluation, teachers, parents, and students again collaborated fully. Teachers assumed the role of "facilitator or learning guide" (Chavez, 1980, p. 5), with parents participating in activities held in the school, the community, and farm fields. All contributed suggestions and observations, and groups were formed to accomplish most tasks.

Second, in LC fashion, these four steps occurred as distinct activities, scheduled for specific times and locales. Diagnosis was conducted at biweekly Sunday meetings to promote parental participation and allow sufficient transportation time for teachers, nearly all of whom resided some distance from the school. The "unified, integrated learning [plan]" (Chavez, 1980, p. 5) was developed at thrice-weekly teacher meetings held after regular school hours. Even tasks developed by the plan were executed as separate activities in specific settings. Evaluation also was formalized, with attitude scales and tests supplementing ethnographic methods. The participation of high-level Honduran educational authorities in the final evaluative session lent a further note of formality to the proceedings.

Closely related to the distinct nature of programmatic steps was the abstract and technical manner in which they

were approached. One of Flexible Curriculum's tenets was, in fact, the "integration of...theory with practice in the learning process" (Chavez, 1980, p. 5). The profuse use of educational jargon, as well as the technical delineation of programmatic parts indicated that this transpired. The reliance on methodology to interweave various goals also attested to an abstract perspective.

Third, Flexible Curriculum promoted verbosity, another characteristic of LC Systems Analysis. Numerous discussions were held: large- and small-group teacher meetings, teacher-parent meetings, teacher-student meetings, and teacher-parent-children meetings. The fact that these discussions enumerated 14 problems for consideration suggests that they also were long-winded.

Fourth, Flexible Curriculum was both collaboratively formulated and executed. While "teachers constituted the dynamic element of the process" (Chavez, 1980, p. 7), regular consultation with parents and students occurred. Indeed, this sense of collegiality, typical of LC Systems Analysis, promoted real changes among participants. Parents, who initially were apprehensive, became important contributors to the program. Nearly two thirds regularly participated in discussions and activities. Children, who had displayed fear toward both teachers and parents at the program's onset also changed markedly. Chavez observed:

From the first moment of the investigation they [i.e., children] demonstrated cooperative, receptive, enthusiastic, confident and interested attitudes....With the adults' single act of taking time to consult them, to ask their opinion concerning various aspects related to their home, school, and community, a great openness in the children was achieved. (p. 9)

Not only did children's general attitudes improve, but also their school attendance and involvement in school work improved. Teachers, too, became more collegial by "abandoning [their] position as the center of the educational act [and] sharing leadership with all... participants in the process" (p. 19).

Finally, Flexible Curriculum utilized LC Systems Analysis' experimental mode; its application in Agua Blanca Sur, in fact, was an experiment. The presence of a recently trained team of professionals for its duration, coupled with frequent visits by the region's assistant superintendent of education, contributed to this perspective. The sudden decision of Honduran educational authorities to nix the program also testified to its experimental status.

In summary, the program included all elements of an LC Systems Analysis leadership approach, rendering it something of an archetype. This, indeed, might well explain the program's demise. In the first place, such an abstract, verbose, segmented approach might have been better suited to its well-educated developers than to the teachers and community members of Agua Blanca Sur.

In the second place, neither the local community of Agua Blanca Sur nor the nation of Honduras constituted isolated systems. Yet, Flexible Curriculum was founded on tenets contrary to those of the world's established educational system (stress on cognitive, abstract, segmented learning; separation of the school from the community; and acceptance of predetermined curricular goals and directives). The very fact that the program was imposed on Agua Blanca Sur as an experiment suggests that it was not a natural part of this system.

The immediate cause of the program's cancellation was its encouragement of "a real critical consciousness relative to problems" (Chavez, 1980, p. 15). According to Chavez, such a perspective was implicit in the consideration of profound problems, such as malnutrition or the unequal distribution of wealth. Yet,

this situation becomes conflictive when it is regarded and interpreted by people located at different levels, [who feel] that education is taking directions that are inappropriate for it [such as] teachers treating themes with their students that are naturally subversive and that the organization of groups of students and parents are responding to political, not educational, goals. (p. 12)

Because Flexible Curriculum defied so many tenets of the generally accepted educational system, other tensions also developed. Teachers, including the 50% who actually participated in the program, balked at many of its innovations. They resented the required Sunday meetings

with parents, resisted assuming a 'creative and critical' (Chavez, 1980, p. 8) curricular posture, opposed replacement of the existent curriculum, and rejected the concept of group work. Initially, they also resisted sharing decision making with parents and students, but later relented as benefits of such collaboration became evident. Parents also were not completely cooperative. Chavez (1980) observed that "in spite of the participation achieved it was evident that all parents were not always [involved in] the work" (p. 9).

As a result, only "marginal elements" (Chavez, 1980, p. 15) of Flexible Curriculum were retained for ensuing educational experiments. For example, the identification of school problems that confront children and the development of activities that address problems were recommended. Some suggestions, such as the inclusion of cognitive learning in such activities and the development of special teaching materials and/or courses, smacked of capitulation to tenets of the established educational system.

While the defeat of a drastic educational innovation, typified by Flexible Curriculum, might be disheartening to its proponents, it also suggests a significant finding-- that a leadership approach, perhaps particularly a Systems Analysis approach, must incorporate at least some of society's established norms. In the words of Chavez

(1980), "the curriculum [must be]...coherently related to the socioeconomic and cultural reality of the environment in which [the teacher] works" (p. 15).

5. Second-Language Learning by People of Disadvantaged Backgrounds

a. Description of Cases and Specific Findings

In 1981 Halsted intensively interviewed six people who had learned standard English as a second, or third, language. Two were African, two were Asian, and two were Americans (one from Puerto Rico and another from a Black, southern neighborhood). None hailed from positions of dominance or prestige, even within their own cultures. Yet, all became very successful in educational and economic terms. Nearly all appeared to learn English through an HC Developmental Supervision leadership approach. Interestingly, they also were involved in education, working with people whose cross-cultural experiences resembled their own.

Halsted's (1981) study sought to identify factors that either promoted or hindered second-language learning among this diverse group. In doing so, material relating directly to leadership approaches was presented. This material comprised the total language world of the six people interviewed. As Halsted (1981) explained:

Language is far more than a linguistic system, and learning it means more than the acquisition of a useful skill....Instead language is always

the reflection of values, as well as an accumulation of meanings determined by one way of looking at and structuring experience.... Western education brings not simply a referential base and core of knowledge but a new way of thinking and organizing of knowledge built into the structure of language itself. (pp. 101, 200, 137)

In the following sections, background material and analyses of respective leadership approaches are presented regarding each of the six persons (identified with pseudonyms). Afterwards, a concluding section discusses general trends.

(1.) Nzamba. The general leadership approach through which Nzamba learned English was HC Developmental Supervision. Results were mixed. Nzamba learned to speak formal English expertly, though he was less adept at informal usage. He also achieved great professional success, despite emanating from an illiterate background. Accompanying this success, however, was a sense of personal alienation.

Nzamba was born in a small, Eastern African village. Although both his parents and local community were illiterate, he grew up "always want[ing] to go to school" (Halsted, 1981, p. 115). He began his schooling in the most rudimentary of conditions, an open-air, Christian school eight miles from home. It was conducted in the local vernacular. From primary school, Nzamba entered a middle school, which was conducted in an interethnic language. From there, he was admitted to high school,

one of very few to qualify. English was taught there as a formal subject, two hours per day, as well as serving as the language of all exams.

This education occurred against a backdrop of revolution against Britain's colonial rule. Nzamba and his family were not directly involved in the struggle. Yet, members of his extended family impressed upon him that becoming literate in English was "not just a means of 'getting ahead' or 'becoming like a European,' but [also] a means of liberation from such values" (Halsted, 1981, p. 126).

Several components of an HC Developmental Supervision leadership approach were evident in Nzamba's English-learning experience. First, a directive supervisory orientation was employed. Teachers determined both educational goals and methods, even using physical punishment. The "fanatic" (Halsted, 1981, p. 115) support of Nzamba's mother for this training also contributed to a directive orientation. She had converted to Christianity during Nzamba's early childhood and equated Western-style learning with salvation.

Second, Nzamba's teachers conducted supervision as part of regular, ongoing educational activities. Children were neither grouped nor singled out for special educational experiences. Rather, they learned as a class,

with the teacher evaluating their work by circulating from student to student.

In addition to a directive, integrative supervisory posture, many cues were used to promote English, in typical HC fashion. On his first day in school, Nzamba was given an English name, John Charles Richards. Teachers also incorporated some English in their instruction and promulgated a British perspective throughout the curriculum. Very early, Nzamba realized that he

lived in two worlds: the real one--Nzamba--and the mythical one--John. Yet every time I went back to the world of my father, feeling it to be so real, there were always those conflicting forces: "Your real world," said the mythical world "is primitive." (Halsted, 1981, pp. 110-111)

In fact, English permeated all of Nzamba's schooling. Middle and high school texts were translated directly from English models. English was spoken in and around the schools, and teachers emulated British ways. In Nzamba's words, students "did not admire them;...[they] worshipped them" (Halsted, 1981, p. 66). When English finally was presented formally in high school, students learned to read and write within a year. Emphasis was on the "King's" (p. 82) variety; little attention was given to meaning.

Fourth, the HC Developmental Supervision stress on societal context also was evident in Nzamba's education. Social, political, and economic control by the British and,

in Nzamba's words, their "puppets" (Halsted, 1981, p. 112), was complete and obvious. Nzamba appreciated at a very young age "the white man's magic, the mysteries of reading the written word" (p. 115). His own educational success brought equally obvious rewards. He recalled:

If you're in high school, you go in uniform with emblems written on your chest....All the kids would come and look at it and say, "Wow! A great thing. One in ten thousand who could make it!" I was a star. I was so important! A real trailblazer in every way--first to go to high school; first to be Africa Teacher Grade One; first to come to America. (p. 113)

However, Nzamba's environment did contain contradictory cues. His father was a traditional doctor, who rejected Christianity and Western ways. Nzamba was the first eldest son in his family's history to refuse an apprenticeship with his father. Nzamba also recognized that his education, in reality, represented an attempt by the British "to ruin us, divorce us from our cultures, for one very simple reason: control" (Halsted, 1981, p. 111). Indeed, Nzamba's association of English with both positive and negative social meanings probably accounted for his ambivalence (Halsted). However, he finally came to grips with it while pursuing graduate studies in the United States. Nzamba became a professor of African studies, thus integrating personal and theoretical issues in typically holistic HC fashion. As Halsted summarized, "Nzamba's case demonstrates a paradox....Something...is

from warring neighbors. English language and rule, thus, were accepted as the natural course of affairs.

Even more than in the case of Nzamba, the leadership approach pervading Ruth's English-learning experience was one of HC Developmental Supervision. Integration of English occurred throughout the curriculum; in Ruth's words, "the whole educational system was biased in favor of the English" (Halsted, 1981, p. 145). This was apparent in the schools' course content and stress on Christianity. The boarding school's insistence on English in every area of life represented an even more extreme integration.

Directive supervision also was evident. Teachers at the boarding school forbade students' verbal participation in classes, except to parrot scripted answers. They also punished students caught speaking in the vernacular, usually with extra work assignments. "Prefects" (Halsted, 1981, p. 151) were appointed to spy on fellow students.

Despite such heavy-handedness, Ruth supported the school's leadership approach. She explained:

They were teaching us the hard way, really the hard way, but I think there was benefit out of it....It makes a lot of sense that if you fail English, you are doomed. So you had to do well in English, fail other things, that was the system....I guess it was effective, because it worked with me. Maybe fear does work!
(Halsted, 1981, p. 80)

Her support, thus, hinged on a third component of HC Developmental Supervision--societal indications of its

merit. There obviously was no question that, in Ruth's country, mastery of English was essential.

Yet, the severity of this system had a price. In Ruth's words, "Conditions were so bad that I felt I had to do anything, anything they wanted me to do in order to survive!" (Halsted, 1981, p. 80, underlining in original). This pressure to conform left a lasting imprint. Even when interviewed, Ruth was preoccupied with "be[ing] yourself" (p. 136).

(3.) Anya. Like both Nzamba and Ruth, elements of HC Developmental Supervision were used in Anya's learning of English. And, like them, results were mixed. She did learn the language, but felt continuous discomfort in using it. Additionally, she attributed a loss of "creative power" (Halsted, 1981, p. 72) to the leadership approach.

Anya hailed from an Asian country, the only daughter in a poor, urban family. While her father had received some education and worked as a low-level government employee, Anya's mother was illiterate. Like nearly all people in their country, they knew no English.

Until age 10 Anya attended a local primary school, where teaching was conducted in the national language. Upon graduation, she qualified for an English school practicing total immersion. The impetus for sending Anya to this school, despite the family's lower-class background, was her father.

Significantly, Anya's native culture resisted English rule and values. Although dominated by the British for over 150 years, "people always realized that they had this bias towards Western thought and always wanted to do away with it" (Halsted, 1981, p. 43). In Anya's own family, "anti-capitalistic and patriotic views" (p. 45) were stressed by her older brothers and uncles, who frequently included her in their discussions.

Several HC Developmental Supervision elements were apparent. First, like Nzamba and Ruth, leadership was very directive. As Anya expressed:

I can remember still the teachers who taught all my classes and how arrogant they were.... [They] did not know how to relate, how to cater to our needs. They only catered to the outstanding students--those who always spoke up with confidence. (Halsted, 1981, p. 71)

Anya's father, who "knew the value of education" (p. 72), also contributed to a directive supervisory orientation.

The group-oriented authoritarianism Anya experienced in the school was supplemented with punishments for using the native tongue. Much like the case of Ruth, students were fined five cents for each non-English word spoken. And, like Ruth, the effect on Anya was to promote silence.

Second, English was integrated throughout the curriculum in typical HC fashion. Anya described it as "totally artificial: [Teachers] try to put facts into the heads of students--in a foreign language you don't

understand--you only memorize the facts" (Halsted, 1981, p. 72). Several native subjects were retained in the curriculum, such as literature and Buddhism, however. Although taught in English, they "kept pride in [the] nation and [the] culture" (p. 43). This lack of HC cohesion at school was exacerbated by anti-English forces in Anya's home and in the general culture.

The result, in Anya's words, was "mental agony" (Halsted, 1981, p. 70). In addition to the contradictory nationalistic and English pressures, Anya was socially isolated. Nearly all classmates in the English school were upper-class children, who had learned English from their parents. While not accepted by them, Anya also was adrift at home. Her family was unable to comprehend either her situation or her feelings. For several years, she existed as a "passive subject" (p. 74), who "could not think" (p. 76). The situation changed when she developed a friendship with a classmate who helped her in English and introduced her to peers. Anya then performed brilliantly, finally winning a place at a prestigious university. Significantly, such success did not occur until Anya perceived English as socially positive and felt personal, as well as academic, support--both tenets of HC Developmental Supervision.

(4.) Phyl. Like the others, Phyl experienced HC Developmental Supervision in learning English. The

language skills she attained were outstanding. However, similar to Ruth, Phyl experienced an identity crisis, losing "the me in me" (Halsted, 1981, p. 135, underlining in the original).

Phyl was the youngest daughter of a large, Asian family. Her father had received a high school education and operated a local school. While Phyl's mother was not educated, her siblings were. The family spoke in the vernacular at home.

Phyl began learning English in primary school, as was typical in her country. English was the national language and served as the basis of instruction for all curricula. Phyl later attended a Roman Catholic boarding school that practiced immersion in and out of the classroom.

The backdrop against which Phyl gained her education also was one of English supremacy. Comparing her country to "an Indian reservation" (Halsted, 1981, p. 41), Phyl explained:

When the foreigners came they removed all the native culture. We lost our alphabet, our customs, we had no chance to create our own architecture, our own poetry....Everything was in English--the movies were in English, most of the books. (pp. 41-42)

While adult analysis might be tinged with sadness, Phyl's entrance into English-dominated schools as a child was natural and enjoyable.

As in the cases of Nzamba, Ruth, and Anya, Phyl's education was characterized by supervisory directiveness

and integration of English throughout the curriculum. She, too, was fined at boarding school for use of the vernacular in any context. Christianity also played an integrative role, with Dutch nuns communicating a Westernized perspective in all areas of education.

A third HC Developmental Supervision leadership component, indication of English's societal significance, was inherent in Phyl's setting. In her words, the country was "the least Asian among the Asians" (Halsted, 1981, p. 44). Only "common people" (p. 42) spoke the vernacular, and they were derisively referred to as "wooden shoes" (p. 42). Although her own family did so, they also aspired to English and education. In fact, Phyl's siblings took great delight in reading her English stories and including her in their educational endeavors.

Such a confluence of HC Developmental Supervision leadership elements resulted in a high level of English proficiency, including values and mental structures. As a child Phyl "loved it" (Halsted, 1981, p. 135), but as an adult she came to perceive it as "a form of miseducation... in the sense that it didn't give me enough oriental, Asian roots and pride in my own" (p. 135). In particular, she regretted the loss of her emotional side, a closeness to others of her group, and a sense of the beauty and flow of life. She even found herself incapable of communicating in anything except "the Western framework"

(p. 142) when conducting religious consciousness-raising among poor farmers in her country. Unable to be understood, she had to let them speak until she found a way to "get in" (p. 143). While an inability to be comprehended appears ironic for someone so proficient in language, Phyl's case also suggests that strength emanates from those skills. Much like Nzamba, Phyl's education might have helped her aspire to a self she had not known.

(5.) Marvina. Of the people interviewed by Halsted (1981), Marvina's learning of standard English incorporated most components of HC Developmental Supervision. Marvina also was the only one not to experience alienation and/or an identity crisis. Rather, in her mind, English was equated with "the me I was becoming" (p. 88).

Marvina was the eldest of two daughters in an American Black family. They lived in the poorest section of a small, southern city's segregated neighborhood, on an income of just \$1500 per year. Marvina's father was a blue-collar worker, her mother a maid for white, middle-class families.

Marvina excelled in academics despite attending the poorer of two segregated schools. She later attended college, where she was recognized for her linguistic and scholarly accomplishments. Finally, she earned a doctorate at a leading, public university.

Contributing to this success story were important social forces in Marvina's childhood. Both parents doted on her, as did members of her extended family. Her local church also played a key role, both providing her with a forum and reinforcing demonstrations of skill. Additionally, Marvina appeared to have a natural love for language and an independent nature, enabling her to assiduously cultivate language learning.

Various HC Developmental Supervision elements were evident in this learning process. Like the other people interviewed by Halsted (1981), Marvina experienced directive, integrative supervision at school. As she explained:

The teachers were very careful about their language. That was an important part of their teaching, the spoken language, and transferring that, and we looked up to the teachers as quote "the supreme beings in the school system," so if the teacher said it was all right, it was bound to be right. (p. 90)

Although standard English was conducted as a separate class, complete with drills and diagramming, teachers incorporated it throughout the curriculum. They also taught in an authoritarian manner, although not punishing students physically or financially for relapses or errors.

Also similar to most others Halsted (1981) interviewed, Marvina was very aware of standard English's societal importance. As a young child she perceived that language "symbolizes a move from Black, from poor Black,

to the uppity Blacks who are very much like white folks" (p. 88). She associated this social climb as becoming a "Northern, city,...learned person" (p. 50).

Marvina's church contributed to her perception that standard English was important. Use of the Bible promoted proper diction and, as Marvina recalled, she "could quote from a million scriptures" (p. 92). In addition, the church's values communicated upward mobility: "All are children of one God;" "Seek and ye shall find" (pp. 49-50).

The civil rights movement that occurred during Marvina's youth, similarly suggested that learning was important. Her father participated in it and often advised her:

People can take things away from you, but once you get it in your head, there's no way. The white power structure can take away your name, they can take away your job, but once you get something in your head, they can't take it away. (Halsted, 1981, p. 50)

And, like Marvina's church, the civil rights movement also provided motivation for such learning: "Be somebody" (p. 50).

The one HC Developmental Supervision leadership component Marvina experienced, that others interviewed by Halsted (1981) did not (with the partial exception of Anya), was psychological support throughout the learning process. Rather than assume a directive mode, as did

parents of several interviewees, Marvina's parents were warm and loving. They constantly stressed that she was "special" (p. 91) and encouraged her to perform standard English skills in front of relatives, family friends, and church congregations. Marvina recalled feeling "good... [and] mature" (pp. 91-92). Her parents also took an avid interest in the specific skills she acquired, hoping thereby to improve their own speech. Books were consulted, lessons from school were discussed, assessments of others' performances were rendered, and corrections of one another were made--all without malice. In Marvina's words, "There was this whole reciprocal thing going on" (p. 90).

As a result, Marvina, in contrast to other interviewees, learned holistically. Rational and nonrational elements merged, facilitated by the way in which areas of her life complemented one another. As she observed, her "whole life centered around church, school, and home--that total Black community (Halsted, 1981, p. 88). Personal and academic needs, thus, were satisfied simultaneously--a basic tenet of HC Developmental Supervision.

The strength Marvina derived from this cohesive approach became evident over the years. As a child, neighbors sometimes regarded her as "uppity" (Halsted, 1981, p. 50). In college she experienced rejection by

both militant Black students and the white power structure. Even as an adult, such treatment continued. Through it all, however, Marvinna not only maintained, but elaborated her standard English skills. She explained: "The language I have is more than a way to 'get material goods;' it gives me a sense of control over my destiny; it is my way to confront the system" (p. 174). Indeed, language and psyche merged, assisted by the comprehensive HC Developmental Supervision leadership approach that occurred.

(6.) Rebeca. The experience of Halsted's (1981) final interviewee differed in several respects from that of the others. Rebeca made several attempts to learn English. The first two, best described as using LC Developmental Supervision, failed. The last, an intriguing blend of LC and HC Developmental Supervision leadership models, succeeded in terms of basic proficiency. High-level skills were not attained, however.

Rebeca was one of the youngest children in a large Puerto Rican family. They lived in a rural hill town, where her father was a farm laborer and her mother a hospital laundress. Until age 15, Rebeca attended a small, local school. At that point, she left home for New York City, where she attended one semester of school before dropping out and marrying. Subsequently, she began a factory job, where she did learn English. Her learning

later continued through studies at a community college and a university, where she was enrolled in a doctoral program.

Rebeca's first two experiences with English, one at the Puerto Rican school and the other at the New York City school, utilized several LC Developmental Supervision leadership elements. First, both were partial programs. In Puerto Rico, English classes were conducted at each grade level for 45 minutes per day. No attempt was made to relate the subject to other school courses or the greater societal context. Even the teaching approach used was partial, with grammar emphasized more than conversation.

In the New York City school, most of Rebeca's courses were conducted in English. Yet, the approach remained partial, as she explained:

When you go to school, the writing that you do, the reading that you do, is minimal. The teachers don't give you a bunch of papers to write, an assignment. They take five minutes explaining what they want you to do, or they write directions on the blackboard....They sit behind the desk, reading magazines, doing whatever business they have to do, and when it comes time, they collect the papers. That's the way it is. You're not learning. (Halsted, 1981, pp. 95-96)

Second, closely related to this fragmented approach was the tendency of both schools to emphasize task concerns over people concerns. As a child, Rebeca clearly felt no personal involvement with the language-learning process. She recalled, "It [i.e., English] was just one

other thing I had to learn in school" (Halsted, 1981, p. 64). In New York, she refused to participate in class for fear of making mistakes, and teachers made no attempts to become acquainted with her.

Missing from both schools were other LC Developmental Supervision techniques that might have fleshed out the leadership model: individualized learning tasks, supervision in terms of defined goals, and use of experimental methods and/or programs. The failure Rebeca experienced probably rendered eventual learning even more difficult (Halsted, 1981). She not only came to "hate English" (p. 65), but also began resenting the United States' domination of Puerto Rico.

Rebeca's final mastery of the language occurred "on-the-job" at a book factory. Both involvement in an unfamiliar, technical task and a supportive social group seemed to facilitate learning.

In regard to the former, Rebeca recalled:

I had to learn the language really fast because I was working with people who were English-speaking. There was no chance to say, "Let's get somebody to translate."...The relationship between you and the person that is manning the [printing] machine is so close that you have to be able to, you know, read off how many books we are doing, for what company, this and that, whose [sic] the publisher....And there were a lot of words you would have to use like "Stop," "OK," "Go ahead!" "Hold it!"--a lot of words you had to learn really quick....You sometimes knew what people were telling you by the expression on their face. (Halsted, 1981, pp. 96-98)

Promotion of learning through a technological aid exemplified LC Developmental Supervision. The setting's emphasis on short-range goals; extensive use of language; and blunt, popular parlance comprised additional components of the LC model.

By contrast, the existence of a supportive social group, through which personal and organizational needs were intertwined, exemplified HC Developmental Supervision leadership. Its role in promoting Rebeca's learning of English was crucial, as she testified: "It [i.e., the factory] was a situation where you find friends from the beginning, from when you walk through the door....You get into a conversation" (Halsted, 1981, p. 96). Many of Rebeca's coworkers had been born or resided for many years in the local community. Politics, education, family life, and "things that don't interest you" (p. 96) were all discussed. The result was, in Rebeca's words, "I found myself that I couldn't shut up!" (p. 97).

Another component of HC Developmental Supervision on-the-job consisted of contextual cues. Being a book factory, English abounded. Rebeca was forced to learn to read to ensure that pages were printed in proper sequence. The availability of books also encouraged informal reading during slack periods. Weekly book sales, in which employees were able to purchase books at

tremendous savings, further promoted leisure reading, with Rebeca acquiring "a huge collection" (Halsted, 1981, p. 98).

Interestingly, the aspects of both LC and HC Developmental Supervision leadership approaches absent from Rebeca's factory job concerned supervision per se. From her account, she experienced no individualized LC supervision and very little general, directive HC supervision. Yet, the lack of either form of supervision might have been the very factor enabling her to learn English. She had always been rebellious. Learning, in her mind, resulted from a confluence of destiny and willpower: "I always have had the courage to achieve what I wanted to--ever since I've known myself" (p. 52). Her case suggests that corollaries of supervision, rather than supervision, itself, might promote learning in multicultural settings for some people.

b. General Findings

Analysis of the leadership approaches used in these six cases of second-language learning yields several generalizations. First, HC Developmental Supervision was the dominant leadership approach used. Five out of six interviewees (Nzamba, Ruth, Anya, Phyl, and Marvina) experienced directive, integrative supervision in their schooling. One (Nzamba) also was provided with contextual cues, including an English name. (Stress on Christianity

in Ruth and Phyl's schooling also might have served a contexting function.) Four of the five interviewees (Anya excepted) also perceived English as having societal significance.

This HC developmental leadership approach, elaborated through these three to four components, succeeded: The five interviewees learned English. As Halsted (1981) commented,

The traditional approach to teaching that characterizes the experience of those interviewed in the study can be seen to be "deterministic" or behaviorist in assumptions. Thus the people interviewed report that such methods (rote learning, memorization, lecture, etc.) encouraged obedience, conformity, a kind of passivity in the face of learning, and discouraged questioning, active dialogue, or experimentation--qualities characteristic of participatory or "activistic" learning. For most of them, this was quite consistent with authoritarian upbringing, and thus presented few problems of social adjustment. Certainly, judging by the success with which they accomplished tasks set out by their schooling, there was effectiveness. (p. 199)

Two interviewees (Nzamba and Ruth) who experienced an emphasis on the "King's English" (p. 82), in which form, rather than meaning, was stressed, exhibited nervousness about using English in informal settings. However, their knowledge of the language was so complete that they, plus another interviewee (Phyl), had difficulty thinking in their native tongue.

Second, only one (Marvina) of the five interviewees learning English through HC Developmental Supervision

experienced another of its basic tenets--a holistic approach. The other four learned English primarily through an intellectual approach. By contrast, she learned through a fusion of rational and nonrational elements articulated in formal, nonformal, and informal educational experiences. Significantly, she also was the only one of the group not reporting alienation and/or identity crises.

Third, the sixth person (Rebeca), who did not learn English through HC Developmental Supervision, nevertheless, utilized a number of its major components. These were linked to LC Developmental Supervision's stress on technical methodology, yielding an effective learning approach for her. Whether the success of this blend (i.e., of LC and HC Developmental Supervision models) was idiosyncratic or might apply to others resembling her, for example, in being rebellious or highly independent, is unknown.

Fourth, the persons attaining the lowest levels of English proficiency (e.g., having to constantly translate from their native tongues, feeling blocked in the flow of ideas) were the two people (Anya and Rebeca) most ardently anti-Britain and anti-America. Halsted (1981) observed: "When there is no positive identification with the new culture, there may be a rejection of the language itself and an unwillingness to make it one's own" (p. 188).

C. Summary of Research Findings

Application of the culturally contingent leadership model to each of the five case studies yielded a wealth of insights. Those pertaining to the specific studies are discussed in their respective subdivisions of this chapter's foregoing part B. General insights, resulting from an analysis and synthesis of specific findings, are presented below in two sections: those concerning general culture-leadership patterns and those concerning the specific cells of the culturally contingent leadership model.

1. Findings Concerning General Culture-Leadership Patterns

The most obvious general finding is that HC leadership approaches appear most successful with students in multicultural settings, regardless of specific location or culture. That is, leadership characterized by incorporation in ongoing learning activities (i.e., integrative leadership); a directive posture and modeling by designated leaders; group activities and group rewards; holistic fusion of rational and nonrational elements; advanced, detailed programming for new initiatives; fluidity of activities in response to group rhythms and needs; simple concepts and concise, eloquent language; central locations and geographic/geometric uses of space; small physical and social

distances between people; art forms as a means of communicating and problem solving; and close links with the societal setting seem more appropriate for students than do comparable LC modes of leadership. This was evident in the success of Adams magnet school's students, street boys in the Bosconia-La Florida program, and five of six second-language learners interviewed by Halsted (1981). The negative results of Owens and Mann magnet schools, neither of which used an HC approach with students, corroborates this conclusion.

In fact, findings suggest that the more HC the leadership approach, the greater the results. The highly successful Bosconia-La Florida program incorporated elements from not one, but three HC leadership approaches. Similarly, the most proficient and best-adjusted learner of English was the student (Marvina) who experienced the most components of HC Developmental Supervision. The most successful school, Adams magnet school, also was characterized by two HC approaches toward students, as was the high school of the pilot study.

The intensity and generality of this finding suggests that most multicultural learning contexts present both academic and social demands on students, best facilitated by holistic, supportive, group-oriented HC leadership approaches. The single case study in which students successfully utilized an LC leadership approach did not involve such

comprehensive concerns. Elementary students in Lesotho, who used technological learning aids to great benefit, were not faced with significant social concerns. Rather, their multicultural setting consisted of the application of "high tech" machines to a developing context. (It must be noted, though, that an alternate interpretation of Lesothan students' success is that intense involvement with a technological apparatus might substitute for a holistic, supportive, group-oriented leadership approach. Consideration of additional case studies might clarify this point.)

A second major finding is the great success of LC Developmental Supervision with teachers in multicultural, educational contexts. For example, the experience of Adams magnet school's teachers, where this approach was applied, differed significantly from those of Owens and Mann magnet schools, where the HC Group Effectiveness leadership approach dominated. The poor results obtained in applying HC Developmental Supervision to Lesotho's elementary teachers, further support the use of LC, rather than HC, leadership approaches with teachers. (However, it also must be noted that the HC Developmental Supervision leadership approach was not fully articulated in that case.) In addition, the use of LC Developmental Supervision, rather than LC Systems Analysis, appears important. Honduran teachers in Agua Blanca Sur strongly

resisted the LC Systems Analysis leadership approach applied there.

As with the first finding, this finding--that LC Developmental Supervision is most successful with teachers in a wide variety of cultural settings--is quite definite. Individualized supervision, often stressing direction (albeit also including some collaboration and reinforcement) and having its own scheduled time and locus, specific objectives and tasks, experimental programs, a hands-on approach, and relatively great social and physical distances among faculty appears best-suited to multicultural contexts. The failures of Owens and Mann magnet schools' faculties suggest a reason: Without precisely articulated, individualized supervision, teachers do not foster social cohesion or learning among any except the brightest of their students. Indeed, the imposition of a Group Effectiveness leadership model by Mann school's teachers, when administrators were unable to implement an LC Developmental Supervision model, implies the existence of a latent HC Group Effectiveness leadership model among teachers that downgrades achievement of average and low-level students. Again, consideration of additional case studies might clarify this point.

The contrast of the first two findings--that students profit from HC leadership approaches, while teachers benefit from an LC Developmental Supervision leadership

approach--is intriguing in itself. The age difference between the two groups might be significant. That is, younger people might need a more comprehensive, supportive approach in multicultural contexts. Or, the difference in roles between teachers and students might be significant. Those dispensing knowledge and guidance, and receiving definite, tangible rewards (i.e., money) might require less comprehensive support than those receiving knowledge and guidance and remaining uncertain of any rewards. Yet another possibility might relate to differences between teachers and students in terms of past monocultural experiences. Those with the most experience, the teachers, might require straightforward, obvious LC supervision to promote new behavior patterns.

Aside from these two major findings are several subsidiary findings. For one, the involvement of parents in comprehensive HC leadership approaches with students appears important. This was evident both in the case of Adams magnet school and second-language learner Marvinna. Educators in the Bosconia-La Florida Program, who established very close relations with street boys, also played something of a parental role. Additionally, alienation of many Mann magnet school's parents, and their ensuing denigration of teachers, appeared to contribute to that school's demise.

In the second place, a number of leadership approaches applied to teachers were not fully elaborated. For example, Mann's initial LC Developmental Supervision model lacked an experimental program, precise goals, and individualized supervision. Similarly, Lesotho's elementary teachers lacked initial programming and demonstrations of the learning aids' societal significance, as part of the HC Developmental Supervision model employed with them. This finding suggests that more attention is given to leadership approaches for students than those for teachers in multicultural contexts.

Thirdly, the most alienated students appeared to be the most resistant to supervision, whether LC or HC. This finding was suggested by Anya's initially poor performance with HC Developmental Supervision, Rebeca's mastery of English in the absence of supervision, and the Bosconia-La Florida Program's avoidance of HC supervision (although employing other HC models). Each of these cases involved extremely alienated students. And, in each case, learning was promoted through strong personal support, rather than supervision. The positive attitudinal changes among students in Agua Blanca Sur, Honduras, who experienced an LC Systems Analysis leadership approach, corroborate this point. (Unfortunately, the extent of their cognitive learning resulting from the program was not reported.)

An additional finding relating to culture-leadership patterns, but outside the preconceived descriptors, pertains to the novelty of the educational environment. Leadership approaches imposed upon preexisting (i.e., originally monocultural) settings appeared less successful than those at new settings. Examples of the former include Owens and Mann magnet schools, Lesotho's elementary schools, and Agua Blanca Sur, Honduras' primary school. The latter are exemplified by Adams magnet school, the Bosconia-La Florida Program, and all second-language learners (except Marvinna).

This finding suggests the profundity of the multicultural, educational context. Apparently, relations among both students and faculty are so altered in a multicultural context that previous leadership approaches are either impotent or counterproductive. Such an interpretation argues strongly for a social, rather than intellectual or personal, basis of education. That is, relations among people, both students and faculty, appear to influence learning to such an extent that novel leadership approaches are necessitated in multicultural contexts.

In summary, definite and effective culture-leadership patterns emerged from the cases studies: HC approaches with students and LC Developmental Supervision with teachers. In addition, the importance of parental

involvement in leadership approaches, the tendency to skimp on approaches directed towards teachers, the inapplicability of supervision to alienated students, and the need for dramatically new approaches in multicultural contexts were evident.

2. Findings Concerning Specific Cells of the Culturally Contingent Leadership Model

Beyond the general findings concerning culture-leadership patterns noted above are those pertaining to the model's eight, specific cells. These are discussed in separate sections below.

a. LC Developmental Supervision

LC Developmental Supervision appears to succeed only under two conditions: when an experimental approach or technological aid is incorporated with it and when LC Group Effectiveness serves as an adjunct. For example, Adams magnet school's teachers implemented a curricular innovation, IGE, and met in groups according to assigned units. In another example, Lesotho's students used technological learning aids in groups of three to four students. In both case studies, results were highly successful. The negative results of Mann magnet school, where LC Developmental Supervision toward students lacked these two conditions (excepting special projects for high-level students) and Rebeca's first two, unsuccessful attempts to learn English (also using LC Developmental

Supervision approaches without the two conditions) corroborate this finding. Thus, the case studies suggest that traditional Western educational leadership approaches, in which segmented tasks are applied to individuals (in the case of students, through lectures, recitation, and seatwork; in the case of teachers, through written and oral directions) are ineffective in multicultural contexts. Rather, experimental methodologies incorporating group work appear necessary.

b. HC Developmental Supervision

As alluded to in section 1, the HC Developmental Supervision leadership approach appears effective with students. In general, it was more successful as more of its components were applied (e.g., Adams magnet school's students, second-language learner Marvina), and was least successful or not attempted with highly alienated students (e.g., street boys of Bogota, Colombia, and second-language learner Rebeca). Results of the pilot study corroborate this finding, as noted in Chapter III, part A.

Subsidiary findings also were suggested in several case studies. First, a crucial component appears to be indications of societal significance. As all five second-language learners experiencing HC Developmental Supervision testified, their perception of the importance of English was critical. In fact, one of the five (Anya)

initially did not learn English in the absence of such indications. Similarly, Lesotho's elementary teachers, who also experienced HC Developmental Supervision, did not perform well without an indication of learning aids' social importance.

Second, societal significance might be communicated through art forms. This occurred at Adams school, where students frequently took field trips and participated in a variety of extracurricular activities--most of which related to ethnicity. Art forms offer the advantage of fusing rational and nonrational messages, important both to an HC holistic perspective and to multicultural issues, which necessarily include emotional and social concerns.

In summary, the HC Developmental Supervision model seems to be a potent leadership approach with students in multicultural contexts, provided they are not extremely alienated from the dominant culture, and provided that enough of its components, especially indications of social importance, occur.

c. LC Group Effectiveness

As mentioned above in part a, LC Group Effectiveness appears to occur primarily as an adjunct to the LC Developmental Supervision leadership approach. However, the case studies indicated that it was a crucial adjunct. This might reflect the observation of Sergiovanni and Starratt (1983) that "group life is a

natural form of social organization for human beings" (p. 154). Indeed, a reason for successful applications of LC Developmental Supervision to employ LC Group Effectiveness might be the ensuing congruence of organizational and group goals. Without Group Effectiveness, LC Developmental Supervision leadership approaches might well compete with group goals, as, in fact, occurred with Mann magnet school's faculty.

The two case studies in which LC Group Effectiveness was successfully linked to LC Developmental Supervision consisted of Adams magnet school's teachers and Lesotho's elementary students. Interestingly, the nature of the groups in the two studies differed. Those at Adams magnet school were heterogeneous (i.e., of different races, interests, and capabilities), while those in the Lesotho case study tended to be homogeneous (i.e., of similar learning levels). The LC model, as defined in part C of Chapter IV, envisioned homogeneous groups, so that interaction effectiveness might be fostered. However, as the case of Adams' teachers suggests, groups being formed to promote multicultural education might have to be multicultural, themselves. The contrasting homogeneity of Lesotho's student groups might well reflect the absence of social issues there; as previously mentioned, this case was multicultural in terms of a technological innovation being

applied to a developing society. Whether heterogeneous or homogeneous, the use of groups did appear significant.

The only case of LC Group Effectiveness occurring as a distinct leadership approach was among Owens magnet school's faculty. It appeared unsuccessful, although the poor results might have emanated from its combination with HC Group Effectiveness. The very dearth of cases in which LC Group Effectiveness occurred as a major leadership approach, however, suggests greater viability as an adjunct. The only leadership approach which it successfully supplemented was LC Developmental Supervision.

d. HC Group Effectiveness

This model appeared as a definite leadership approach in the cases of Owens and Mann magnet schools' teachers. However, in neither case did it facilitate achievement of the school's objectives. It might even have been counter-productive. As discussed in section 1, the Group Effectiveness approach occurring at Mann magnet school appeared to consist of latent patterns of teacher interactions that inhibited multicultural harmony and learning among average or low-level students.

In other cases, HC Group Effectiveness, like its LC counterpart, appeared as an effective adjunct to HC Developmental Supervision or HC Systems Analysis. The former was seen with second-language learners Anya and Marvina--Anya benefitting from involvement with peers and

Marvina profiting from collegiality with her parents. It also might have existed at Adams magnet school in terms of parental participation. (Unfortunately, details about this participation were not provided.) As an adjunct to HC Systems Analysis, HC Group Effectiveness proved useful in the Bosconia-La Florida Program, with boys being organized into groups at each stage.

Thus, case studies suggest that, to be effective, HC Group Effectiveness, like its LC counterpart, is best linked with other HC approaches. Used alone it appeared detrimental to multicultural, educational goals.

e. LC and HC Cultural Revitalization

These models did not exist as distinct leadership approaches. However, the HC variant was a crucial adjunct to the dominant HC Systems Analysis model in the Bosconia-La Florida Program, fostering holistic changes among the street boys. It also might be inferred as an adjunct to the Adams magnet school's leadership approach with students. In both instances art forms provided the means of cultural revitalization.

Cultural revitalization through verbal discussions also occurred, however, as testified by the Owens magnet school's teachers. Again it was an adjunct--an LC application of Cultural Revitalization, supplementing the the school's dominant HC and LC Group Effectiveness model.

Due to confused leadership approaches in that case, it did not appear effective.

In summary, the case studies suggest that both LC and HC Cultural Revitalization might serve well as adjuncts to other leadership approaches. However, in themselves, they do not constitute bona fide models.

f. LC Systems Analysis

This model was used in two case studies. First, in Owens magnet school, it was combined with HC Systems Analysis for students. Results indicated that the leadership approach was both confusing and, reflecting the LC component, overly individualistic and collegial--in sum, ineffective. Second, the model was used in Flexible Curriculum's application to rural Honduras. Again, it was ineffective. In this case, its collegiality again posed a problem. Additionally, the comprehensiveness of its undertakings prompted political reverberations. In conclusion, the LC Systems Analysis model appears inappropriate for multicultural, educational contexts both internally (i.e., student-teacher relations) and externally (i.e., school-society relations).

g. HC Systems Analysis

The HC variant was used to great benefit in two case studies. In the first, the Bogota program for street boys, it provided the basis for a wide-ranging HC leadership approach and yielded positive results. In the

second, it was combined with HC Developmental Supervision to produce an effective approach for Adams magnet school's students. (A third application of the model with Owens magnet school's students, in which it was combined with components of its LC counterpart, was less effective, as noted above in part f.) In summary, the model appears effective with students in multicultural contexts, particularly if used in conjunction with other HC approaches. It also must be noted that the system generated through its application might be so comprehensive, as in the case of Bogota's street boys, that it becomes more than an educational leadership approach--it becomes a system for life.

To conclude, application of the culturally contingent leadership model to the five case studies (containing 16 different leadership approaches) generated a wealth of findings--both about culture-leadership patterns in general and about the model's eight, specific cells. These findings now can be used to evaluate the model, itself, and to generate conclusions about general culture-leadership dynamics--topics of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

In the previous chapter, research findings concerning both the culturally contingent leadership model and general culture-leadership patterns were described. These findings were generated by a qualitative examination of five ethnographic case studies. Having thoroughly analyzed and synthesized these findings in part C of Chapter V, the researcher now can draw conclusions from them.

The conclusions concern the dissertation's two purposes, as described in the Overview (Chapter I). First, the utility of the culturally contingent leadership model is determined. Second, generalizations concerning culture-leadership dynamics in multicultural, educational settings are stated. In both cases, significant future trends are suggested.

A. Usefulness of the Culturally Contingent Leadership Model

As explained in Chapter II, the major question to be answered by the dissertation pertains to the model's applicability and productivity. Both issues are examined in the sections below.

1. Applicability of the Model

In terms of the first criteria, the culturally contingent leadership model appears generally applicable to multicultural, educational settings. That is, the eight articulated cells, indeed, fit the data. Components of each cell, as described in the case studies, appeared logical and coherent. In fact, the omission of certain components in a number of case studies, as discussed in Chapter V, produced noticeable effects. The single component that was contrary to anticipated findings (the existence of heterogeneous groups in the Adams magnet school's LC Group Effectiveness leadership approach with teachers) was noted and explained.

While the case studies demonstrated the "internal homogeneity" (Guba, 1978, cited in Patton, 1980, p. 311) of the culturally contingent leadership model's eight cells, its "external homogeneity" (Guba, 1978, cited in Patton, 1980, p. 311) was not so clear-cut. This was apparent in the overlapping of cells in a number of cases and the discovery that two cells did not constitute distinct leadership approaches.

Five cases of overlapping cells were uncovered (Adams magnet school's approach toward students, Owens magnet school's approaches toward students and teachers, approaches employed with Colombian street boys, and approaches used by second-language learner Rebeca in her

final mastery of English). Yet, these instances of overlap represented only a fraction of the total 16 cases. And, the fact that overlap existed in a number of them was, in itself, meaningful. For example, the overlap between HC and LC perspectives that existed in leadership approaches toward both adults and students at Owens magnet school provided a logical explanation for its confusion and lack of success. Overlap in models used with street boys of Bogota, all HC variants, similarly suggested an intense leadership approach, which was borne out by the facts.

The two remaining cases of overlap were more problematical. The first involved Adams magnet school's students, in which HC Developmental Supervision and HC Systems Analysis merged, as they had in the pilot study. The leadership approach might better be described by an entirely new culturally contingent leadership cell. Since it represented a very successful leadership approach in both multicultural school settings, articulating such a cell might prove significant. The remaining case of overlap, second-language learner Rebeca's disavowal of supervision while combining other components of HC and LC Developmental Supervision, also suggests the need for a new culturally contingent leadership cell. As a highly alienated language learner, Rebeca might resemble other

minority members in developed societies. Thus, generating such a cell might, again, be important.

Interestingly, the proposed changes relate both to culture and leadership constructs used to articulate the culturally contingent leadership model. In Rebeca's case, LC and HC cultures merged (through the Developmental Supervision approach), similar to Owens magnet school's blend of cultures (via the Systems Analysis approach with students and the Group Effectiveness approach with faculty). However, in the case of Adams magnet school, leadership models merged (Developmental Supervision and Systems Analysis), as they did in the case of the Colombian street boys program and the pilot study. In each of these cases, the blend related to leadership approaches articulated through an HC culture, rather than an LC culture--a logical phenomenon given the holistic character of HCs.

The discovery that two of the model's cells did not constitute bona fide leadership approaches also must be addressed. Specifically, LC and HC Cultural Revitalization were identified as adjuncts to other cells, rather than distinct leadership approaches, themselves. LC and HC Group Effectiveness leadership approaches similarly were found in conjunction with other cells, although they also occurred independently.

To incorporate such findings, the culturally contingent leadership model might best be modified. The basic grid now consists of four cells: LC and HC Developmental Supervision and LC and HC Systems Analysis. LC and HC Group Effectiveness appear as circular areas overlapping these grid areas, since they occur both as adjuncts to other cells and as independent leadership approaches. LC and HC Cultural Revitalization approaches are superimposed on other cells. (See Figure 2 on p. 316).

Despite these alterations, the culturally contingent model articulated in the dissertation, for the most part, was applicable to the data--in terms both of relating components within various approaches and in differentiating between approaches. Significantly, the data included different educational levels and cultural settings. Thus, research results suggest wide applicability of the model.

2. Productivity of the Model

In respect to the second criteria, productivity, the model appears highly useful. That is, the model generated a plethora of rich and variegated insights, as evidenced in Chapter V. The model suggests a definite leadership approach for teachers, LC Developmental Supervision, and a generally HC approach for students in multicultural, educational contexts. It also provides a number of ancillary insights concerning various culturally contingent leadership approaches (e.g., importance of parental

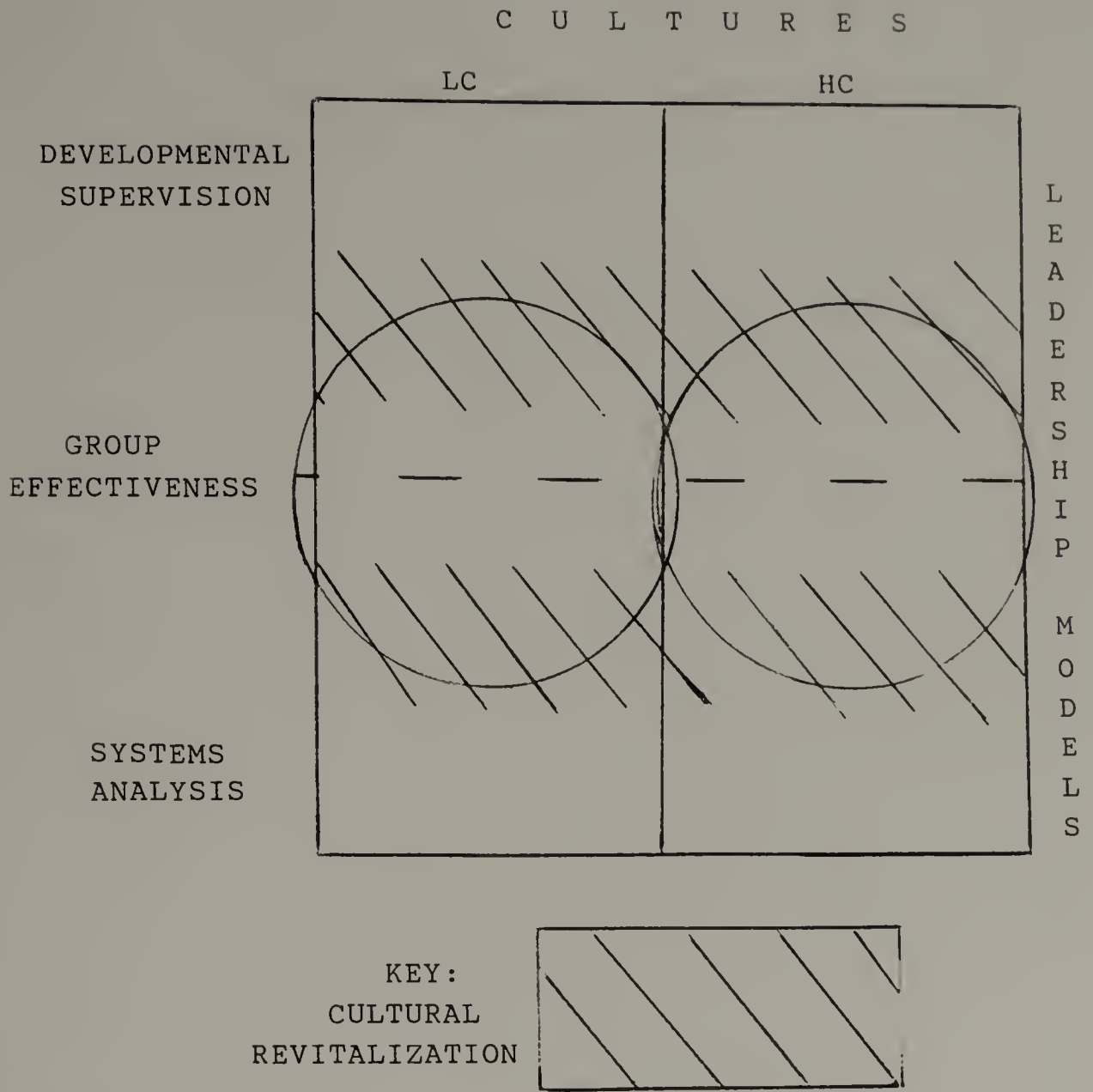


FIGURE 2
Modified Culturally Contingent
Leadership Model

involvement in leadership approaches, the tendency to skimp in approaches directed towards teachers, and the inapplicability of supervision to alienated students).

The single finding concerning multicultural leadership approaches outside descriptors of the culturally contingent leadership model pertained to novelty. As explained in Chapter V, new settings appeared to promote success. No other significant, distinct findings were apparent.

In summary, the culturally contingent leadership model articulated in the dissertation was very productive. The fact that it also was generally applicable rendered it a useful tool for examining multicultural, educational settings. As a first attempt to provide a systematic understanding of culture-leadership relations in educational contexts, the model performed well. Further refinement, including the articulation of new cells, might provide an even more useful tool in the future.

B. Multicultural Leadership Approaches

By comparing findings regarding general culture-leadership patterns (summarized in part C of Chapter V and also discussed in conjunction with each case study) to findings of the literature review (stated in part C of Chapter II), a number of interesting conclusions can be drawn. They are discussed below in two sections: one

concerning educational goals and another concerning educational processes.

1. Educational Goals

As revealed in the literature review, multicultural education in developed settings often is characterized by ambivalence, while that in developing settings often adopts traditional Western, cognitive goals. The dissertation's research findings corroborate those observations.

The ambivalence of multicultural education in developed settings was exemplified by Mann and Owens magnet schools. In the former, a distinctive educational program was not articulated, despite directives of Heartland's school system to do so. In fact, much of the disharmony among administrators, teachers, students, and parents seemed to emanate from this lack of direction. At Owens, faculty members also appeared adrift, admitting the necessity of a more appropriate leadership approach, but reluctant to alter their established program.

Second-language learner Rebeca's experience in mastering English in a developed setting also was fraught with ambiguity. The New York City school she attended seemed to do little to encourage learning. She finally gained proficiency while working at a book factory, later augmenting these skills at a community college whose program, she emphasized, was experience-based.

The only case study in which multicultural education in a developed setting was unambiguous was the case of Adams magnet school. The zeal with which both cognitive learning and multicultural harmony were pursued appeared attributable to the school's principal. At her insistence, teachers adhered to these goals in and out of class. This finding corroborates Andrews' (Brandt, 1987) research, reported in the literature review, concerning "good principals" (p. 9). Additionally, Adams' principal was Black, unlike administrators of Mann and Owens schools, and, therefore, might have had a more complete understanding of multicultural education. The similar thoroughness with which educational goals were pursued at the high school in the pilot study was attributed to that school's family-like ambience. However, both factors-- leadership by a knowledgeable Black administrator and an extremely close-knit, multicultural school--may be relatively rare phenomena. If so, this may be a reason for the scarcity of success among case studies.

In contrast to generally ambiguous goals in developed multicultural settings, those in developing contexts appear to adopt traditional Western goals. That is, as the literature review revealed, they tend to stress cognitive, abstract, segmented learning, which is not necessarily relevant to local conditions. Several of the dissertation's case studies supported this observation.

For example, second-language learners located in developing contexts (including Marvinna, who lived in an extremely poor, segregated setting) experienced Western-oriented schooling. In fact, several attended schools where they were immersed in such a system, both in and out of class. In another example, Lesotho's elementary students easily and rapidly accepted Western technological learning aids. (Also, as reported in the literature review, low-level students were the ones to profit most from using them.) Their teachers' resistance to the aids did not result from fears that the aids were inappropriate in a developing context, but out of concern that aids might detract from students' preparation for a Standard VII leaving exam. Although the learning aids resembled the exam in stressing cognitive, abstract, segmented knowledge, their content was not coordinated precisely with syllabi.

Application of a Flexible Curriculum in rural Honduras further corroborates the Western orientation of multicultural, developing contexts. This program rejected a typically Western approach in seeking to involve teachers, parents, and children in the pursuit of locally defined goals. Ensuing resistance by teachers and abrupt cancellation of its funds due to political reverberations suggest the extent of a Western orientation in a distinctly non-Western setting.

Even the case of the Bogota, Colombia, street boys exemplifies the pervasiveness of Western goals, although not occurring in a typically developing context. The program used innovative techniques in attempting to educate the boys. However, the program's general goals were traditional--mastery of Colombia's prescribed curriculum (which, again, emphasized cognitive, abstract, segmented goals) and proficiency in employable skills. Even the program's theme of transformation, in actuality, connoted transformation from a gamine culture to a typically modern, urban culture.

In conclusion, findings of case studies supported generalizations of the literature review. Most multicultural developed settings were characterized by confused or nebulous goals, while multicultural developing settings assumed traditional Western-style goals. The irony of the latter is striking: The Western-style goals adopted in developing contexts were not necessarily those of multicultural, Western settings. Yet, teachers in developing contexts appeared to accept them *prima facie* and students seemed to adapt to them readily.

2. Educational Processes

Different types of educational processes were identified in the literature review as characterizing developed and developing multicultural settings. In the former, methods stressing cultural congruence and, on

occasion, collegiality were found. In the latter, methods emphasized adult direction and a formalized structure. Use of ideology and a combined centralized-decentralized organizational structure also were noted. Findings of the case studies generally supported these observations.

In reference to developed settings, culturally congruent methods were observed in a highly successful case, Adams magnet school. At Adams, a wealth of extracurricular activities and outings were arranged. Most dealt with ethnicity and addressed students' diverse abilities and skills. Specific approaches for various ethnic groups, such as those cited in the literature review, were not used, however. If the Bogota setting is considered developed, the incorporation of gamines' culture in the four stages of the program for street boys also exemplifies cultural congruence.

The importance of cultural congruence was foreshadowed by the pilot study. In the multicultural high school, special curricular and extracurricular programs eased Indochinese students' adjustment. In fact, Indochinese students' resentment of the ESL teacher's strong, directional role in determining, and often limiting, their curriculum was mitigated by their recognition that the program respected their culture and aspirations.

As explained in the literature review, such cultural congruence is closely allied with collegiality. And, collegiality was observed in several case studies. At Adams magnet school, students of diverse races and backgrounds were encouraged to become well-acquainted in classroom groups, school outings, and extracurricular activities. Special steps also were taken in classes to prevent students from making unfavorable comparisons, similar to techniques accompanying mainstreaming that were highlighted in the literature review. Parents of Adams' students also were involved in the school's social functions and were well-regarded by faculty members, similar to some types of parental involvement mentioned in the literature review. In the program for street boys, collegiality was promoted both among boys in their assigned groups and between boys and the educators assigned to those groups. Second-language learner Rebeca's attainment of proficiency on-the-job also demonstrated the importance of collegiality. As she testified, the factory's friendly ambience promoted proficiency in English.

These instances of collegiality usually evolved from supervisory or systematic planning leadership approaches, as the literature review reported. However, no examples of collegiality in terms of student involvement in their communities, as discussed in the

literature review, were discovered in case studies from developed contexts.

While some case studies, thus, provided examples of cultural congruence and collegiality, several others did not. Collegiality was apparent in Owens magnet school's adult-student relations, but was not fostered among students. Cultural congruence, even to the extent of mentioning ethnicity, also was absent. Similarly, neither collegiality nor cultural congruence occurred at Mann magnet school or second-language learner Rebeca's New York City school. Interestingly, all three of these institutions performed poorly in academic and social terms.

The adult direction and formalized structure that characterized developing contexts, as revealed in the literature review, were apparent in many of the dissertation's case studies. Second-language learners experienced directive teachers and highly structured curricula. Bilingual and multicultural language approaches, cited in the literature as providing a sense of collegiality in language learning, were not evident. In fact, pressure to assimilate the English culture and language at the expense of native languages and cultures was so intense that several students developed identity and/or alienation problems. The only one who did not (Marvina) had a markedly collegial relationship with

important adults in her life--something the others generally lacked. The literature review suggested that such collegiality, particularly among minority families, correlates significantly with learning.

Another factor identified in the literature review as being crucial was supported by the case studies. A favorable disposition toward learning English appeared important for most second-language learners. Those who were resentful of the dominant culture (Anya and Rebeca) experienced great difficulties in learning its language, as Ogbu's (1985) theory, cited in the literature review, predicted. In fact, many case studies suggested that perceived societal importance of learning plays a major role in its attainment.

The directive and structured approaches that characterized developing contexts were apparent in leadership approaches directed toward adults, as well as those directed to students. Lesotho's elementary teachers resisted adoption of learning aids because they were not a recognized part of the existent curriculum. Honduran teachers similarly rejected the spontaneity and collegiality of Flexible Curriculum. Students' enthusiasm for both, by contrast, corroborates the finding of several second-language learner cases--the authoritarianism of developing settings is not without a psychological and social price.

Contributing to the sense of direction and structure of developing contexts were the use of ideology and a centralized-decentralized organizational structure, also identified in the literature review. Christianity played a key role in most of the second-language learners' education. However, ideology did not appear significant in either the Lesothan or Honduran cases. The importance of combined centralization-decentralization, though, was apparent in both cases. Elementary teachers in Lesotho resented both being ignored in the decision to implement learning aids and being compelled to deviate from the established curriculum--indicating, indeed, the simultaneous importance of centralization and decentralization. Honduran teachers similarly resented the sudden abdication of their standard curriculum when Flexible Curriculum was imposed on their schools.

Interestingly, these characteristics of direction, structure, ideology, and a centralized-decentralized organization, found to characterize multicultural developing contexts, also existed in successful developed settings. Adams magnet school used highly directive and structured leadership approaches with both students and teachers. Centralization-decentralization occurred as both groups executed their work with some degree of latitude within these guidelines. While no formal ideology existed, a belief in the worth of all ethnic

groups permeated the school. These characteristics similarly were evident in the Bogota program for street boys. Although each of its four stages was highly articulated, boys were permitted discretion in executing various assignments and goals. Direction from educators was more subtle than that at Adams magnet school, but it, too, valued students' backgrounds. Another case in which these approaches were utilized was the multicultural high school of the pilot study. There ideology consisted of a family-like regard for one another, and the centralization provided by the ESL teacher was complemented by opportunities for student initiative.

Another similarity of both developed and developing contexts was the use of groups to supplement supervisory leadership. They played a key role at Adams magnet school (in regard both to faculty and students), in Lesotho's elementary schools (in regard to students), and in the Bogota street boys program. Significantly, leadership approaches in each of these instances succeeded, while those that lacked groups tended to fail.

That the leadership approaches of these successful attempts at multicultural education in diverse developed and developing contexts should resemble one another appears significant. A somewhat similar case occurred in northern Mexico (Bixler-Marquez, 1984), where

traditional Mexican leadership approaches were combined with modern, Western techniques, as reported in the literature review. Bixler-Marquez labeled the setting a "cultural synthesis, ...creating new cultural norms" (p. 156). Educators in the Pacific Island territories also cited "cultures in transition" (Christensen, 1980, p. 17) there, as noted in the literature review.

Thus, a merging of cultures may be occurring in both developed and developing areas, necessitating a blend of leadership approaches. It is tempting, then, to proclaim a universalistic leadership model, suited to these multicultural settings. Such a model even may resemble the one developed and used in this dissertation, which proved quite useful. However, Gray and Starke's (1984) warning concerning "changing truth" (p. 276) may be relevant:

It means that academics and managers will have to modify their theory and practice to adjust to changes in the "truth" about people. It will therefore not be possible to develop the "right" theory and then simply apply it for all time. Changes will have to be made continually as truth changes. (p. 276)

APPENDIX

ENDNOTES

APPENDIX: ENDNOTES

¹Translated from Spanish by N. L. Glanz.

²Translated from Spanish by N. L. Glanz.

³Translated from Spanish by N. L. Glanz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, J. L. (1979). Conceptual blockbusting. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Adler, N. J. (1986). International dimensions of organizational behavior. Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic.
- Adler, N. J., Doktor, R., Redding, S. G. (1986). From the Atlantic to the Pacific century: Cross-cultural management reviewed. Journal of Management, 12, 296-318.
- Allen, D., & Ryan, K. (1969). Microteaching. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Angus, L. B. (1986). Developments in ethnographic research in education: From interpretive to critical ethnography. Journal of Research and Development in Education, 20, 59-67.
- Ardila, I. (1983). Programa Bosconia-La Florida [The Bosconia-La Florida Program]. In R. Etchepareborda (Ed.), Alternativas de educacion para grupos culturalmente diferenciados: Estudio de caso (pp. 5-30). Washington, D.C.: Organizacion de los Estados Americanos.
- Ascher, C. (1985). The social and psychological adjustment of Southeast Asian refugees. The Urban Review, 17, 147-152.
- Ashton, D. (1984). Cultural differences: Implications for management development. Management Education and Development, 15, 5-13.
- Asian Centre of Educational Innovation for Development. (1977). Implementing curriculum change. Bangkok: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Regional Office for Education in Asia.
- Bagley, R., Frazie, K., Hosy, J., Kononen, J., Siewert, R., Speciale, J., & Woodfield, D. (1979). Identifying the talented and gifted students. Portland, OR: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Oregon State Department of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 185 712)

- Bendix, R. (1969). Contributions of the comparative approach. In J. Boddewyn (Ed.), Comparative management and marketing, text and readings (pp. 10-13). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Bernstein, B. L., Wade, P., & Hoffman, B. (1987). Students' race and preferences for counselor's race, sex, age, and experience. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 15, 60-69.
- Bixler-Marquez, D. J. (1984). A cultural education policy for Mexican schools along the United States border. Borderlands, 7, 149-158.
- Blanchard, K. (1986). Situational leadership II. In R. Marx (Ed.), Managerial behavior workbook (pp. 42-55). Amherst, MA: School of Management, University of Massachusetts.
- Boardman, J. R. (1914). Community leadership: A course for social engineering for village and country communities. New York: Bureau for Leadership Training.
- Boddewyn, J. (1969). Comparative management and marketing, text and readings. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Bohlman, L. G., & Deal, T. E. (1986). Modern approaches to understanding and managing organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bottger, P. C., Hallein, I. H., & Yetton, P. W. (1985). A cross-national study of leadership: Participation as a function of problem structure and leader power. Journal of Management Studies, 22, 358-368.
- Brandt, R. (1987). On leadership and student achievement: A conversation with Richard Andrews. Educational Leadership, 45(1), 9-16.
- Briere, J. F. (1986). Cultural understanding through cross-cultural analysis. French Review, 62, 203-208.
- Brophy, J. E. (1979). Teacher behavior and student learning. Educational Leadership, 37(1), 33-38.

- Brown, J. (1981). Staff development--becoming more sensitive and responsive to cultural issues. In M. P. Gaasholtz (Ed.), Organizing for change: Inservice and staff development in special education (pp. 79-98). Seattle, WA: Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Washington University. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 213 160)
- Burback, H. J., & Decker, L. E. (1978). Research and planning: A growing imperative for community education. In H. K. Kaplan and J. W. Warden (Eds.), Community education perspectives: Selections from community education journal (pp. 101-107). Midland, MI: Pendell.
- Burlingame, M. (1985). Image of leadership in effective schools literature. Chicago: American Educational Research Association. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 264 641)
- Burrell, L. F., & Christensen, C. P. (1987). Minority students' perceptions of high school: Implications for Canadian school personnel. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 15, 3-15.
- Burrell G., & Morgan, G. (1979). Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis. London: Heinemann.
- Carew, D. K., & Loughran, E. L. (1984). Educational innovation in the workplace. In H. B. Reed & E. L. Loughran (Eds.), Beyond schools: Education for economic, social, and personal development (pp. 125-144). Amherst, MA: Community Education Resource Center, School of Education, University of Massachusetts.
- Chapman, E. (1981). An evaluation of the first two years of the English-Ukranian bilingual program: Summary report. Winnepeg, Manitoba: Manitoba Department of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 219 949)
- Chavez de Aguilar, M. A. (1980). Aplicacion de un curriculo flexible en un proyecto de Honduras [Application of a flexible curriculum in a Honduran project]. Santiago, Chile: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.
- Chowdhury, M. A. (1984). Bangladesh association develops rural skills training community schools. Convergence, 17, 65-67.

- Christensen, P. R. (1980). Adult programs in the Pacific Territories: Assessment issues. San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 192 032)
- Cole, M., & Scribner, S. (1974). Culture and thought. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Combs, A. W., & Avila, D. L. (1985). Helping relationships: Basic concepts for the helping professions. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Coombs, P. H. (1985). The world crisis in education: The view from the eighties. New York: Oxford.
- Core curriculum plan is part 2 of the great debate. (1986, March 7). The Times Educational Supplement, p. 15.
- Court, D. (1979). Education as social control: The response to inequality in Kenya and Tanzania. In V. C. Uchendu (Ed.), Education and politics in tropical Africa (pp. 20-62). Owerri, Nigeria: Conch.
- Cox, E., Emslie, J. R., & Nigro, K. (1985). Teacher and school effectiveness: Instructing minority children. Dallas: American Association of School Administrators. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 257 897)
- D'Andrade, R. G. (1984). Cultural meaning systems. In R. A. Shweder & R. A. Levine (Eds.), Culture theory, essays on mind, self, and emotion (pp. 95-116). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Deal, T. E. (1987). The culture of schools. In L. T. Sheive & M. B. Schoenheit (Eds.), Leadership: Examining the Elusive (pp. 3-15). Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Deal, T. E., & Kennedy, A. (1982). Corporate cultures. Reading, MA: Josey-Bass.
- Dogbe, K. (1987). Educational philosophy for Africa. Washington, D.C.: United States Comparative International Education Society. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 284 808)

- Etchepareborda, R. (Ed.). (1983). Alternativas de educacion para grupos culturalmente diferenciados: Estudio de caso [Educational alternatives for culturally different groups: Case studies]. Washington, D.C.: Organizacion de los Estados Americanos.
- Fagerlind, I., & Saha, L. J. (1983). Education and national development: A comparative perspective. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Fantini, M. D. (1970). The reform of urban schools. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association.
- Farmer, R. N., & Richman, B. M. (1969). A model for research in comparative management. In J. Boddewyn (Ed.), Comparative management and marketing, text and readings (pp. 56-75). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- The Firo-B Exercise. (1986). In R. Marx (Ed.), Managerial behavior workbook (pp. 236-242). Amherst, MA: School of Management, University of Massachusetts.
- Foy, N. (1980). The yin and yang of organizations. New York: William Morrison.
- Freire, P. (1985). The politics of education: Culture, power, and liberation. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Gajanayake, S. (1984). Education for community development. In H. B. Reed & E. L. Loughran (Eds.), Beyond schools: Education for economic, social and personal development (pp. 73-96). Amherst, MA: Community Education Resource Center, School of Education, University of Massachusetts.
- Geertz, C. (1984). From the native's point of view: On the nature of anthropological understanding. In R. A. Shweder & R. A. LeVine (Eds.), Culture theory, essays on mind, self, and emotion (pp. 117-127). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Glanz, N. L. (1986). Cross-cultural problem solving. Unpublished manuscript.
- Glanz, N. L. (1987). Curricular decision-making by Indochinese refugees at Amherst Regional High School. Manuscript submitted for publication.

- Glynn, N. J., & Bishop, G. R. (1985). Cultural perceptions and nursing education: A demographic profile. Biloxi, MS: Mid-South Educational Research Association. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 263 346)
- Glickman, C. D. (1981). Developmental supervision: Alternative practices for helping teachers improve instruction. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Goldberg, P. (1983). The intuitive edge. Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher.
- Goldhammer, R., Anderson, R. H., & Krajewski, R. J. (1980). Clinical supervision: Special methods for the supervision of teachers. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Goldsmith, R. W. (1969). The comparative approach to the problems of economic growth and structure. In J. Boddeyn (Ed.), Comparative management and marketing, text and readings (pp. 14-19). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Good, T. L. (1979). Teacher effectiveness in the elementary school. Journal of Teacher Education, 30(2), 52-63.
- Gorden, W. I. (1984). Organizational imperatives and cultural modifiers. Business Horizons, 27, 76-83.
- Gorton, R. A., & McIntyre, K. E. (1978). The senior high school principalship, volume II: The effective principal. Reston, VA: National Association of Secondary School Principals.
- Goulet, D. (1971). The cruel choice: A new concept in the theory of development. New York: Atheneum.
- Goulet, D. (1974). A new moral order. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.
- Gray, J. L., & Starke, F. A. (1984). Organizational behavior: Concepts and applications. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.
- Gregory, K. L. (1983). Native-view paradigms: Multiple cultures and culture conflicts in organizations. Administrative Science Quarterly, 28, 359-376.

- Haas, M. (1969). Comparison and the development of science. In J. Boddewyn (Ed.), Comparative management and marketing, text and readings (pp. 8-10). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Hall, E. T. (1977). Beyond culture. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.
- Hall, E. T. (1959). The silent language. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Halsted, I. (1981). Language and identity in a cross-cultural context: An exploratory study. Amherst, MA: School of Education, University of Massachusetts.
- Hartley, H. J. (1973). Systems analysis in education. In M. M. Milstein & J. A. Belasco (Eds.), Educational administration and the behavioral sciences: A systems approach (pp. 49-77). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Hawley, W. D., & Rosenholtz, S. J. (1986). Achieving quality integrated education. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 273 698)
- Higham, J. (1978). Introduction: The forms of ethnic leadership. In J. Higham (Ed.), Ethnic Leadership in America (pp. 1-18). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Hodnett, G. (1978). Leadership in the Soviet national republics. Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). Motivation, leadership and organization: Do American theories apply abroad? Organizational Dynamics, 2, 42-63.
- Hooper, J. H., Hooper, J. O., & Colbert, K. K. (1985). Personality and memory correlates of intellectual functioning in adulthood: Piagetian and psychometric assessments. Human Development, 28, 101-107.
- Hopkins, K. W. (1978). Planned community education: A systems approach. In H. K. Kaplan & J. W. Warden (Eds.), Community education perspectives: Selections from community education journal (pp. 98-101). Midland, MI: Pendell.

- Ivey, A. E. (1987). Cultural intentionality: The core of effective helping. Counselor Education and Supervision, 26, 168-172.
- Jacob, E. (1988). Clarifying qualitative research: A focus on traditions. Educational Researcher, 17, 16-24.
- Joyce, B., & Showers, B. (1980). Improving inservice training: The message of research. Educational Researcher, 37, 379-385.
- Kallinikos, J. (1984). Control and influence relationships in multinational corporations: The subsidiary's viewpoint. Uppsala, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Keesing, R. M. (1987). Models, "folk" and "cultural:" Paradigms regained? In D. Holland & N. Quinn (Eds.), Cultural models in language and thought (pp. 369-393). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Kenis, I. (1977). A cross-cultural study of personality and leadership. Group Organization Studies, 2, 49-60.
- Khan, R. F. (1968). A note on the concept of authority. In G. Wijeyewardene (Ed.), Leadership and Authority: A Symposium (pp. 6-16). Singapore: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies in the Social Sciences.
- Kiefer, C. F., & Senge, P. M. (1984). Metanoic organization. In J. D. Adams (Ed.), Transforming Work (pp. 63-87). Alexandria, VA: Miles River.
- King, R. (1983). The sociology of school organization. London: Methuen.
- Kinsey, D. (1986, May). Problem solving for intercultural education. Lecture conducted at meeting of P691K class of School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts.
- Kleinfeld, J., McDiarmid, G. W., Grubes, S., & Parrett, W. (1983). Doing research on effective cross-cultural training: The teacher tale. Fairbanks, AK: Institute of Social, Economic, and Government Research, Alaska University. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 239 813)

- Kline, L. W. (1987). Technology education moves center stage for all students for all their lives. ASCD Curriculum Update, 29(3), 1-6.
- Kneller, G. F. (1965). Educational anthropology. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Krouzes, J. M. & Posner, B. Z. (1986). Leadership practices inventory. Santa Clara, CA: Leavey School of Business and Administration, Santa Clara University.
- Kumar, M. S. V. (1986). Introducing technological innovations for education in a developing country: Implications for planning. Amherst, MA: School of Education, University of Massachusetts.
- LaBelle, T. J., & White, P. S. (1985). Educational policy analysis and intergroup relations: International and comparative analysis. In J. N. Hawkins & T. J. LaBelle (Eds.), Education and Intergroup Relations (pp. 1-23). New York: Praeger.
- LaMoria, E. (1987/88). More than singing, more than words. Educational Leadership, 45(4): 60-62.
- Lane, H. W. (1980). Systems, values, and action: An analytic framework for intercultural management research. Management International Review, 20, 61-70.
- Lauglo, J. (1977). The Scandinavian countries--educational change and aspects of bureaucratic organization: The Scandinavian school reforms. In R. Glatter, Control of the curriculum, issues and trends in Britain and Europe (pp. 76-95). London: University of London Institute of Education.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1968). In R. W. Holsten (Ed.), A symposium: The requirements of leadership in the 1980's (pp. 36-57). Chapel Hill, NC: School of Business Administration, University of North Carolina.
- LeCompte, M. D. (1985). Defining the differences: Cultural groups within the educational mainstream. Urban Review, 17, 111-127.
- Leong, F. T. L. (1986). Counseling and psycho-therapy with Asian-Americans: Review of the literature. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 33, 196-206.

- Levin, H. M. (1987). The welfare of families. Educational Leadership, 44(6), 82-87.
- LeVine, R. A. (1984). Properties of culture; an ethnographic view. In R. A. Sweder & R. A. LeVine (Eds.), Culture theory, essays on mind, self, and emotion (pp. 67-80). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Locke, L. F., Spirduso, W. W., Silverman, S. J. (1987). Proposals that work. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lockhart, B. L. (1981). Resolving discipline problems for Indian students: A preventive approach. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 197 907)
- Loughran, E., & Reed, H. R. (1980). School and community relations in North America: Creative tensions. International Review of Education, 26, 301-313.
- Luna, P. R. (1975). Mexican American cultural institute cultural development in-service program. Whittier, CA: Rio Hondo College. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 184 623)
- Lutz, M., & Lux, K. (1979). The challenge of humanistic economics: Towards policy. Reading, MA: Benjamin/Cummings.
- Mackenzie, M. (1977). Great Britain response 2. In R. Glatter (Ed.), Control of the curriculum, issues and trends in Britain and Europe (pp. 34-38). London: University of London Institute of Education.
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. (1976). Ambiguity and choice in organizations. Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.
- Marjoribanks, K. (1985). Families, schools, and aspirations: Ethnic group differences. Journal of Experimental Education, 53, 141-147.
- Martin, S. (1982). Management training in the Arabian Gulf area: Issues for Western trainers. Group and Organizational Studies, 7, 389-401.
- McClenahan, J. S. (1979). Cultural hybrids: Japanese plants in the U.S. Industry Week, 200(4), 73-75.
- Metz, M. H. (1986). Different by design: The context and character of three magnet schools. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Miklos, E., & Chapman, D. (1986). Reflections on educating educational administrators. San Francisco: American Educational Research Association. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 278 092)
- Milstein, M. M., & Belasco, J. A. (1973). Educational administration and the behavioral sciences: A systems perspective. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Miltz, R. J., & Marks, V. C. (1979). Teaching skills for use in international settings. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.
- The Ministry of Education. (1984). Basic facts about education in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The Ministry of Education.
- Mintz, S. W. (1978). Ethnicity and leadership: An afterword. In J. Higham (Ed.), Ethnic leadership in America (pp. 198-205). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Mintzberg, H. (1976). Planning on the left side and managing on the right. Harvard Business Review, 54(4), 49-58.
- Misumi, J. (1985). The behavioral science of leadership: An interdisciplinary Japanese research program. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.
- Mokler, M. M., Bates-Soriano, C., Randolph, M., & Koping, K. M. (1986). Family talks for native Americans: The leader's guide. Listening and talking with Indian children about sexuality. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 266 924)
- Morgan, G. (1986). Images of organization. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Murphy, P. (1987). Mainstreaming the Canadian mosaic: Preparing school leaders for the challenge. Eindhoven, Netherlands: International Council on Education for Teaching. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 287 814)
- Nath, R. (1988). Comparative management: A regional view. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

- Nath, R. (1969). A methodological review of cross-cultural management research. In J. Boddewyn (Ed.), Comparative management and marketing, text and readings (pp. 195-223). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Negandhi, A. R. (1983). Cross-cultural management research: Trends and future directions. Journal of International Business Studies, 3(3), 17-28.
- Negandhi, A. R., & Estafen, B. D. (1969). A research model to determine the applicability of American management know-how in differing cultures and environments. In J. Boddewyn (Ed.), Comparative management and marketing, text and readings (pp. 85-95). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Nelson, S. K., & Hegg, L. (1987). Educational needs in Northwest schools. Portland, OR: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Oregon State Department of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 278 520)
- Norris, B. (1985, August 2). Young boat people show their talent for survival. The Times Educational Supplement, p. 12.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1985). Research currents: Cultural-ecological influences on minority school learning. Language Arts, 62, 860-869.
- Oliver, A. I. (1988). What are some organizational options? In L. Addison, A. I. Oliver, & C. R. Cooper (Eds.), Developing leadership potential in gifted children and youth (pp. 91-97). Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 285 310)
- Ortiz, F. I. (1983). Work-orientations and incentive systems and their effect in the delivery of education in a multi-cultural institution. Montreal: American Educational Research Association. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 233 436)
- Palomares, U. (1975). "El gringo no es pendijo, mijo." Thrust for Educational Leadership, 4(3), 8-11.
- Parker, W. M. (1987). Flexibility: A primer for multicultural counseling. Counselor Education and Supervision, 26, 176-180.

- Patton, M. Q. (1980). Qualitative evaluation methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Pedersen, P. (1987). Ten frequent assumptions of cultural bias in counseling. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 15, 16-24.
- Perrone, V. (Ed.). (1985). Portraits of high schools. Lawrenceville, NJ: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
- Peters, T. J., & Waterman, R. H., Jr. (1982). In search of excellence. New York: Warner.
- Philbrick, R. B., Garrard, L., Lincoln, H. (1980). Educational offerings and areas of need for public instructional services to American Indian students in Wisconsin as reported by local school district administrators and parents of Indian students; final report of the Wisconsin Indian education needs assessment. Madison, WI: Department of Public Instruction. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 200 386)
- Quinn, N., & Holland, D. (1987). Cultural models in language and thought. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Radin, P. (1966). The method and theory of ethnology. New York: Basic Books.
- Ramirez, M. (1979). Cultural democracy and the multicultural personality: Effective leadership for a diverse society. Santa Cruz, CA: Oakes College. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 186 173)
- Rangnath. (1971). The changing pattern of rural leadership in Uttar Pradesh. New Delhi: Indian Academy of Social Science.
- Reck, U. M. L. (1982). Self-concept, school, and social setting: An in-depth view of rural Appalachian and urban non-Appalachian sixth graders. New York: American Educational Research Association. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 215 849)
- Reddin, W. J. (1978). Effective international training. Training and Development Journal, 32(4), 12-16, 18-20.

- Redick, L. T., & Wood, B. (1982). Cross-cultural problems for Southeast Asian refugee minors. Child Welfare, 61, 365-373.
- Rice, A. K. (1963). The enterprise and its environment: System theory of management organization. London: Tavistock.
- Rogers, C. R. (1983). Freedom to learn. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.
- Rosenfeld, G. (1971). "Shut those thick lips!". New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Roth, P. (1984). Schooling, literacy acquisition and cultural transmission. Journal of Education, 166, 291-308.
- Rudduck, J., & Kelly, P. (1976). The dissemination of curriculum development: Current trends. Windsor, Great Britain: NFER.
- Safi, A. Q., & Miller, R. I. (1986). Student evaluations of courses and instructors at Kuwait University. Higher Education Review, 18(3), 17-25.
- Sancton, T. A. (1988, May 16). Excellence under the palm trees. Time, pp. 74-76.
- Sanday, P. R. (1979). The ethnographic paradigm(s). Administrative Science Quarterly, 24, 527-538.
- Santa Maria, A. (1988, April). Development theories for educators. Lecture conducted at meeting of P720 class of School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts.
- Saxe, R. W. (1975). School-community interaction. Berkley, CA: McCutchan.
- Scherer, M. (1985). The caring fields. Instructor, 95, 42-48.
- Sergiovanni, T. J., & Starratt, R. T. (1983). Supervision: Human perspectives. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Shweder, R. A., & Levine, R. A. (Eds.). (1984). Culture theory, essays on mind, self, and emotion. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

- Shoup, B. J. (1978). Living and learning for credit.
Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa.
- Smircich, L. (1983). Concepts of culture and
organizational analyses. Administrative Science
Quarterly, 28, 339-358.
- Smith, R. C., & Lischin, S. (1986). The culturally fluent
leader of the 21st century. Seoul, Korea: The
Internatinal Association of University Presidents.
(ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 278 611)
- Sociological Resources for the Social Studies. (1969).
Leadership in American society: A case study of
black leadership. USA: American Sociological
Association.
- Soltis, J. J. (1978). An Introduction to the analysis of
educational concepts. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Spiro, M. E. (1984). Some reflections on cultural
determinism and relativism with special reference to
emotion and reason. In R. A. Shweder & R. A.
LeVine, (Eds.), Culture theory, essays on mind,
self, and emotion (pp. 323-337). Cambridge, United
Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- St. Clair, R. (1986). Human rights: A vehicle for
cultural intervention. Clearing House, 60, 27-29.
- Stull, J. B. (1986). Demonstrating empathy for the
foreign-born employee through openness and
acceptance: A quasi-experimental field study.
Journal of Business Communication, 24(2), 31-40.
- Taylor, C. P. (1976). Transforming schools: A social
perspective. New York: St. Martin's.
- Taylor, P. H., & Lowe, R. (1981). English education. In
E. Ignas & R. J. Corsini, (Eds.), Comparative
educational systems (pp. 135-184). Itasca, IL:
F. E. Peacock.
- Taylor, S. J., & Bogdan, R. (1984). Introduction to
qualitative research methods: The search for
meanings. New York: John Wiley.
- Thompson, A. R. (1981). Education and development in
Africa. New York: St. Martin's.

- Tollefson, J. W. (1985). Research on refugee resettlement: Implications for instructional programs. TESOL Quarterly, 19, 753-764.
- Totten, W. F. (1970). The power of community education. Midland, MI: Pendell.
- Tracey, T. J., Leong, F. T. L., & Glidden, C. (1986). Helpseeking and problem perception among Asian Americans. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 33, 331-336.
- Tulenko, P. (1987). Doing business in Japan. Management Decision, 25(6), 5-9.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. (1980). Education in Asia and Oceania: A challenge for the 1980's. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. (1981). Inventory of Educational Innovations in Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok, Thailand: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.
- Valverde, L. A. (1976). Leadership compatible with multicultural community schools. Educational Leadership, 33(5), 44-47.
- Vanikar, R. (1985). Crossing cultural bridges: A model for mapping the extent of bicultural awareness. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 95, 437-447.
- VanMaanen, J. (1979). The fact of fiction in organizational ethnography. Administrative Science Quarterly, 24, 539-550.
- Waldo, D. (1969). The perspective concerns of business administration and comparative public administration. In J. Boddewyn (Ed.), Comparative management and marketing, text and readings (pp. 19-27). Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Wallat, C., & Goldman, R. (1979). Home/school/community interaction. Columbus, OH: Merrill.
- Walsh, C. (1987). Language, meaning, and voice: Puerto Rican students' struggle for a speaking consciousness. Language Arts, 64, 196-206.

- Wang, M. C. (1987). Toward achieving educational excellence for all students: Program design and student outcomes. RASE, 8(3), 25-34.
- Whitman, D. (1987, December 27). Asian un-success stories. Washington Post, pp. C1, C4.
- Wigginton, E. (1985). Sometimes a shining moment: The Foxfire experience. Garden City, NY: Anchor.
- Williams, B. (1987). Implementing thinking skills instruction in an urban district: An effort to close the gap. Educational Leadership, 44(6), 50-53.
- Willner, A. R. (1984). The spellbinders: Charismatic political leadership. New Haven, CT: Yale University.
- Wilson, J. (1963). Thinking with concepts. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Yin, R. K. (1984). Case study research: Design and methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

