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Ties that bind: A multiple case study of issues of power and control in school cultures undergoing a change to inclusion

Phoebe Ann Gillespie
William & Mary - School of Education

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TIES THAT BIND:
A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY OF ISSUES OF POWER AND CONTROL IN SCHOOL
CULTURES UNDERGOING A CHANGE TO INCLUSION

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Phoebe Ann Gillespie
January 1999

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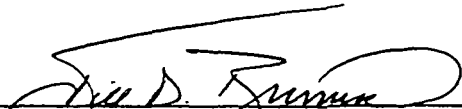
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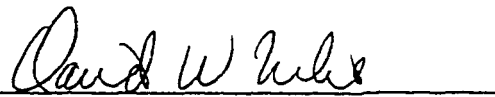
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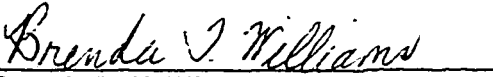
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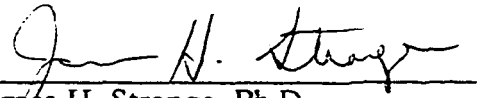
Phoebe Ann Gillespie

Approved January 1999


Jill Burruss, Ph.D.
Chairperson of Doctoral Committee


David Leslie, Ph.D.


Brenda T. Williams, Ed.D.


James H. Stronge, Ph.D.

Dedication

To my husband, Lawrence Sheridan Gillespie, who selflessly devoted both his time and considerable knowledge of teachers and their craft of teaching to endless hours of review, discussion, and editing of this dissertation. His patience was long-suffering and his contributions to the ideas expressed here, invaluable. He has been my encourager, supporter, and most ardent critic. A master teacher who has contributed substantially to the lives and learning of thousands of students over the past 40 years, he is my role-model, my standard, and my inspiration.

To my daughter, Brooke, whose struggle over the past year not only paralleled the life of this study, but also demonstrated for me the kind of courage in the face of adversity necessary for both of us to complete our journeys. Thank you for showing me the power of faith.

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ABSTRACT

This was a multi-site case study of three large urban/suburban high schools in a southwestern and mid-Atlantic state which were undergoing a common change initiative of “inclusion”. It explored issues of power and control within individual school cultures through narrative descriptions of teacher/administrative attributes of leadership, communication, rules, roles, and responsibilities, and decision-making. The research design reflected a view of knowledge acquisition that emphasizes the construction of reality through direct contact with the context and is explored through perceptions of its cultural participants (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994).

The three interrelated stages of data collection and analysis, conducted during three separate site visits to each school over a period of four months, resulted in a conceptual framework of the “culture of inclusion” for each case. Multiple methods of data collection and analysis, including hour-long individual interviews of 49 teachers and administrators, multi-stage emergent instrumentation and analyses, formal and informal observations, document/artifact review, and member and participant checks were used to triangulate the information and contributed to the final cross-case analysis. The researcher’s interpretations were then compared to the literature from political, cultural, constructivist, and chaos theories to create a conceptual model of four cultural arenas that contributed to issues of power and control among teachers and administration within school cultures undergoing a common change. As a result, the study was successful in identifying new insights into the use of the “sociological imagination” (Wright Mills, 1970) as a paradigm for discovering a school’s capacity for change.

PHOEBE ANN GILLESPIE

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY, PLANNING, AND LEADERSHIP

with emphasis in Special Education

COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA

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TIES THAT BIND:
A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY OF ISSUES OF POWER AND CONTROL IN SCHOOL
CULTURES UNDERGOING A CHANGE TO INCLUSION

Chapter One - "Self-inflicted Blindness":

Overview of the study

"The simplest paradigms of change...are consistent in their self-inflicted blindness to the culture of individual schools, particularly the politics of their daily functioning."

John Goodlad (1997, p. 99)

Statement of Problem

For the past 100 years, a plethora of school change initiatives have attempted to alter the face of American education for one reason or another, but with few results (Fullan, 1993; Gibboney, 1994; Goodlad, Soder & Sirotnik, 1990; Owen, 1995; Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs, & Thurston, 1987; Simpson & Jackson, 1997). Documentation of the past 25 years has indicated that public schools have exhibited an enormous amount of resistance to change through their steadfast adherence to traditional organizational and instructional practices (Barth, 1988; Bremer, 1977; Goodlad, 1984; Goodman, 1995). Many educators believe that attempts to implement laws and mandates by local, state, and national governmental agencies enacted to improve test scores and/or increase our students' status globally (A Nation at Risk, 1983; National Educational Goals Panel, 1995) have been unsuccessful in changing schools in fundamental ways (Bickman, 1998; Carlson, 1992; Elmore, 1990; Gibboney, 1991; Goodlad, 1997; Hopkins, Ainskow & West, 1994; Joyce & Calhoun, 1995; Sarason, 1971, 1996; Sizer, 1984, 1992, 1996). Yet, in an era of changing demographics in population and increased international economic competition, educational change now appears imperative, while still elusive (Nunnery, 1998; Ravitch & Viteritti, 1997).

Background of the Issues

Historically, rationale for educational administration and organization in America has been profoundly influenced by theorists from business and industry (i.e., Frederick Taylor, Max Weber, Henry Fayol) who espoused principles of classical, scientific, hierarchical, bureaucratic management in the early 1900's (Goodlad, 1975; Goodlad, Soder, & Sirotnik, 1990; Owens, 1970, 1995; Sergiovanni et al., 1987). The influence of these constructs from business and industry on the creation of the turn-of-the-century factory model of schools and the working relationships within them resulted in an educational system created specifically to socialize children of immigrant families and prepare a work force for the burgeoning new industrial economy (Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Greenfield, 1988; Guthrie & Reed, 1986). This planned production of a society with common language, rituals, and traditions was the most important role of the schools during the early 1900's. Its purpose was one of conformity and sameness. The consolidation of thousands of independent self-governing schools across the country at that time, resulted in large, centralized, top-down management style bureaucratic systems designed to produce American citizens from the raw material of immigrant families. Subsequently, a nation-wide system of consolidated school districts that has prevailed for over 75 years, has become increasingly resistant to outside influence and seemingly impervious to needed change (Goodlad et al., 1990; Hopkins et al., 1994; Maxcy, 1994; Mayer, 1973; Netzer et al., 1970; Newel, 1978).

Many educators have not accepted the factory-model of schooling as one that fits the needs of a growing, changing society (Comer, 1980; Goodlad, 1984, 1997; Simpson & Jackson, 1997; Sizer, 1984, 1992, 1996; Skrtic, 1995; Wagner, 1993). They have proposed, instead, that the factory model is grossly lacking in meeting the developmental needs of student learning. Theorists and researchers in the field of organizational dynamics have attempted to integrate many of their strategies into the field of education, hoping to move the system toward meaningful change. Yet, after years of repeated attempts at school reform, many of them have found their models-- often based on theories of human behavior-- to have little impact on substantive and fundamental school change (Carlson,

1965; Goodlad, 1997; Greenfield, 1988; Maxcy, 1994). A traditional-hierarchical perspective of the measurement of the success of innovations, from a top-down management point of view, has also resulted in little true change in schools (Barth, 1988; Comer, 1980; Fullan, 1993; Goodlad, 1997; Owens, 1995; Simpson & Jackson, 1997). It appears, then, that repeated efforts to make substantial changes to the process of education in this country, from a variety of disciplines, have been less than successful.

Some researchers and theorists who have studied the apparently intractable problem of school change have proported a systemic approach to change that addresses all aspects of schooling simultaneously, as the answer to real and lasting change in schools (Anderson, 1996; Bushnell, 1971; Fuhrman, 1993; Griffiths, 1969; Ravitch, 1985; Williams, Wall, Martin, & Berchin, 1974). Others, have viewed the problem of change as one inherent within a political system modulated by a series of checks and balances, more directly related to issues of power and control, much like those in societies (Comer, 1980; Cremin, 1976; Goodlad, 1997; Johnson & Evans, 1997; Lutz & Iannaccone, 1969; McNeil, 1985, 1986; Milstein, 1980; Sarason, 1997; Wirt & Kirst, 1997). Whatever their perspective, however, few would deny the important role that individual schools play in facilitating educational change initiatives.

Sarason (1971, 1995, 1996, 1997), in particular, has been instrumental in addressing the problem of individual school change for over 25 years. He has emphasized the critical involvement of teachers and parents in the school change initiative, as well as repeatedly challenged the educational community to re-examine “the culture of the school and the problem of change” (Sarason, 1971, 1996). His emphasis on viewing schools as sociological communities, in order to better identify and increase educators’ understanding of the powerful hold school culture has on attempts at innovation, has been a major contribution to the school change literature (Barth, 1988; Fullan, 1993; Goodlad, 1997; Owens, 1995). Other educational and sociological theorists believed efforts to change schools have failed because they have not attempted to address the important cultural/political aspects of schools-- constructs that have often been ignored by the dominant theories of the day (Comer, 1980; Goodman, 1995; Macpherson, 1988; Maxcy,

1994; McNeil, 1985, 1986; Owens, 1995). Perhaps, an exploration of relationships relevant to the cultural and political arenas inherent within individual school cultures during a change initiative may prove helpful in unraveling the problem of change-resistant schools. Therefore, based on the problem of school change and the apparent failure of more traditional theories and practices to produce lasting change, this researcher chose school culture and issues of power and control among teachers and administration during a school change initiative as the focus for her research study.

Significance of the Study

For many years, researchers in both business and education have used methodology more typical of that utilized in fields of sociology and anthropology to explore relationships within societies (cultures comprised of individuals that share common language, values, beliefs, rituals, and traditions: as defined by Valentine, 1970) in an effort to better describe and explain their systems of change (Cohen, 1995; Comer, 1988; Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Hampel, 1995; Katz, 1955; Lightfoot, 1983; Lortie, 1975; Louis & Miles, 1990; Tye, 1985; Toffler, 1990). The value of such research was emphasized by Wright Mills (1970), a noted sociologist, who stated that, "To be aware of the idea of social structure and to use it with sensibility is to be capable of tracing such linkages among a great variety of milieu" (p. 7). This use of the "sociological imagination", he called "the most fruitful distinction ...between the personal troubles of the milieu and the public issues of social structure" (p.7). Describing "trouble" as "a private matter-- values cherished by an individual that are felt by him to be threatened", and "issues" as "a public matter-- some value cherished by publics that is being threatened", he contended that conflict over the two often led to serious societal contradictions, which might constitute a "crisis in institutional arrangements" (Wright Mills, 1970, p.5-6).

Anderson (1970) also believed that use of the "sociological imagination" demonstrated a "quality of mind" that had a practical as well as a scientific task to perform (p.1). It enabled the individual to understand his own troubles in terms of larger social issues. Anderson (1970) cited additional advantages of using the sociological imagination when he said:

Without the sociological imagination, the social scientist may be blinded by unconnected detail, tacitly accepting as given the trends in history and the institutional framework of society. Social scientists must move back and forth from viewing the big picture to seeing in detail the isolated event, allowing them to interpret and explain the event in terms of the broader imagery. (p.1)

Societal constructs, such as cultural values, beliefs, and issues, seem highly comparable to those that exist within a school's culture, especially one undergoing a change initiative. Applying Wright Mills' sociological constructs of tension between private troubles and public issues to the exploration of the problem of change within individual schools may lead to a larger range of solutions. For example, one might liken a school change initiative to a real or perceived threat to an existing set of values held by the society of the individual school or its culture (Wright Mills, 1970). Following this line of reasoning, then, when teachers cherish some set of values and do not feel any threat to them, they experience well-being. When they cherish values but feel them to be threatened (by change), they experience a crisis-either as personal (self) trouble or as public (school) issue. If all of their values are involved, they may feel the "total threat of panic" (Wright Mills, 1970). Applying this to the study of a school faculty during the implementation of a school change initiative through the use of the sociological imagination, in order to better understand faculty-administrative relationships during times of change, may lead one to new insights about how school cultures manage (or resist) such an initiative.

Political theory related to issues of power and control impacts this already complicated interaction and may be an important link in solving the problem of school change, also. Issues of power and control have been repeatedly referred to in the educational literature (Comer, 1980; Eisenberg, 1995; Lutz & Iannaccone, 1975; McNeil, 1985, 1986; Milstein, 1980; Wirt & Kirst, 1997); specifically in relation to school change initiatives (Fullan & Eastabrooke, 1973; Goertz, 1996; Guiton et al., 1995; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Poole, 1995). These included organizational and structural elements (Altenbaugh, 1992; Blase & Anderson, 1995; Goldring & Rallis, 1993; Hechinger, 1988), teacher work cultures (Conley & Cooper, 1991; Hargreaves, 1994; Heck & Williams,

1984; Miller, 1995; Sergiovanni, 1997; Smith & Scott, 1990), and issues related to teacher collegiality, including the constructs of teacher professionalism and leadership (Barth, 1990; Bestor, 1955; Blase & Blase, 1994; Glatthorn, 1992; Lieberman, 1995; Lortie, 1975; Short & Greer, 1997; Wasley, 1991). In addition, some educational researchers and theorists believe that without the normative support of existing values and beliefs, change never truly becomes meaningful (Fullan, 1991; Goodlad, 1997; Hopkins et al., 1994; Sarason, 1997; Sizer, 1984). The impact of new demands on schools cultures has also been reported in the literature research (Berres, Ferguson, Knoblock, and Woods, 1996; Cohen, 1995; Louis & Miles, 1990; Tye, 1985; Villa & Thousand, 1995; Wagner, 1993) and demonstrates, again, the importance of a school's ability to manage needed change.

In summary, then, much of the literature on schools and change has indicated that issues of power and control among teachers and between teachers and administrators within individual school cultures are similar to the relationships and structures which larger societies embrace. Therefore, utilizing a sociological perspective to frame an exploration of the issues of power and control among teachers and administration within individual school cultures undergoing a common school change initiative, appears not only timely, but necessary, in order to better articulate the importance of theory in relation to research about educational practice (Hatch, 1998; Henstrand, 1993). In addition, the study of particular characteristics of school cultures, which, through rigorous exploration may reveal critical functions that either impede or facilitate change, may also lead to new information needed to assist schools in the successful implementation of a change initiative.

Rationale for Additional Research

A paradigm shift from the more traditional view of schools as factories to one of schools as dynamic societies may help to illuminate the more substantive issues at the heart of failed school reforms (Cohen, 1995; Fullan, 1993; Goodlad, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1997; Tittle, 1995; Wagner, 1994). Thinking about schools as sociological entities, subject to issues of power and control that emerge from within their faculties, goes beyond traditional management strategies and leadership principles to the heart of important political and cultural aspects within a specific setting. Viewing schools as cultural entities may promote a

deeper understanding of the phenomenon of resistance to change within individual schools. It may also help educators to better integrate the information available to them through an exploration of their school culture's multi-dimensional interactions that often occur during attempts at systems change and utilize that knowledge to facilitate the building-level changes needed to achieve substantive educational reform.

An exploration of a school change initiative, then, which combines Sarason's (1971) cultural perspective of schools, Wright Mill's (1970) sociological imagination, and issues of power and control from political theory (Wirt & Kirst, 1997) may address some of the following kinds of questions that social scientists have been asking of societies for years:

What is the structure of the particular society as a whole? What are its essential components? How are they related to one another? How does it differ from other varieties of social order? Within it, what is the meaning of any particular feature for its continuance and for its change? Where does this society stand in human history? What are the mechanics by which it is changing? What is its place within and its meaning for the development of humanity as a whole? How does any particular feature we are examining affect, and how is it affected by, the historical period in which it moves? (Wright Mills, 1970 p.4)

Answers to these questions may lead to a "revitalization of the mind; new ways of knowing, new insights into the cultural meaning of the social sciences" (Wright Mills, 1970, p.5) that will better inform those who are responsible for effecting school change. The literature on educational research and theory is in agreement on one important point-- a more accurate view of the issues related to power and control among teachers and between teachers and administration is needed to enable educators to generate productive problem-solving during a needed school change initiative. It is also likely that a clearer view of the change process in individual schools will also lead to new insights into the field of educational change, in general (Cohen, 1995; Goodlad, 1997; Maehr & Midgley, 1996; O'Neil, 1993; Parish & Aquila, 1996).

Statement of Purpose of the Study

If individual schools can be defined as microcosms of society, then, an exploration of issues of power and control applied to the faculty-administration relationship within individual school cultures might contribute significantly to a clearer understanding of the “culture of the school and the problem of change” (Sarason, 1971, 1996). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate the issues of power and control that occurred among teachers and between teachers and administration during a particular school change initiative. Core elements (such as structures, relationships, interactions, and processes), that are evident within each school’s application of the constructs of leadership style, communication patterns, decision-making, and rules, roles, and responsibilities, found among teachers and administrators were examined through perceptions of teachers and building-level administrators in each school. By exploring the dynamics of personal and structural interactions that take place in schools undergoing a common change initiative, this study also attempted to determine and describe the reciprocal impact of school culture and the implementation of a common change initiative.

Research Design

This ethnographic, multi-site case study was conducted in three separate stages at each of three sites. It explored institutional relationships through the constructed realities of members of individual school cultures (Wilcox, 1982; Wolcott, 1982). Although no attempts were made to quantify the effectiveness of the school change initiative, there were many participants who expressed their opinions regarding the impact of the change initiative on both the school as a whole and students in general.

Seeking to describe and explain the phenomenon of school change through exploration of the perceptions of the issues of power and control at play in individual schools, the researcher used multiple sources of data collection and analysis, such as researcher observations, document/artifact review and other demographic and historical information to triangulate sources and verify interpretations. This ultimately led to the construction a ‘reality of change’ for each school (Yin, 1994). The use of ‘constructed’ realities, which is characteristic of a constructivist paradigm (Airasian & Walsh, 1997;

Wagner, 1998), has been supported in current and seminal research in the area of change and school culture, often through the use of qualitative methods of data collection and analyses similar to those used in this study (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993; Flinders & Mills, 1993; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Lightfoot, 1983; Tittle, 1995). Defined as “an epistemology...a theory about how learners come to know... it describes how one attains, develops, and uses cognitive processes”, constructivists view knowledge as “...produced by the knower, from existing beliefs and experiences...it consists of what individuals create and express” (Airasian & Walsh, 1997, p.444-445).

Instrumentation that takes its shape and form from a constructivist paradigm, by adapting probes during the interview process to the individual responses of the interviewee, has been supported in the literature on case studies and school change (Goertz, 1996; Tittle, 1995; Yin, 1994). This kind of instrumentation also appeared to be highly relevant to a study of different school cultures undergoing the same school change initiative and was critical to soliciting candid and revealing responses of most participants. The use of the constant comparative method of analysis, first proposed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 and replicated by others in research on school cultures and change (Blase, 1990; Harris, 1995) was used to construct the primary and secondary analysis. The study was also successful in building a natural integration of the collected “emic” (insider) perspective of the participants and the “etic” (outsider) perspective of the researcher (reported as researcher’s asides and interpretation in the case studies in Chapter Four), common to naturalistic inquiry of this nature (Erlandson et al., 1993; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Stake, 1995).

In an effort to maintain consistency across the multi-site case study and frame the data collection and analysis process within similar contexts undergoing a particular school change initiative, the implementation of inclusion was chosen as an example of a high school change initiative in all three schools. Both inclusion and change in high schools are areas of intense debate in the field of education, as the literature that is reflective of the national conversation on school change has indicated in the past few years (NASBE, 1997; NASSP, 1996; NCERI, 1994). Therefore, the process of change toward “inclusion” in selected high schools was chosen not only for its controversial properties, but also because

it limited the focus of the study to the same change initiative (and one that would certainly attract the interest of both teachers and administrators) within communities that had similar issues of resistance to change in general.

Participants in the study were reminded during the interviews that the focus of the study was the process of change, not the product, and that they were being asked to relate that process to inclusion. It was not the intent of the study to explore inclusion 'per se', but instead to explore the dynamics of the school change process, using inclusion as an vehicle in high schools, those institutions of education notorious for their resistance to change (Sizer, 1984, 1992, 1996). Therefore, inclusion was studied secondary to the school change process and in relation to the negotiation of issues of power and control in individual school cultures.

Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

The study included a convenient, but purposeful sample of three high schools-- selected as units of study because of the previously documented issues related to the intractable nature of resistance to change in these large, often bureaucratic, learning environments (Sizer, 1984). All three schools chosen were known by the researcher to have been including students with disabilities in general education classrooms for at least the past three years. Although these schools were not chosen specifically from any prior knowledge held by the researcher of the methods or processes used in implementing inclusion, they do present a varied display of cultural and procedural characteristics that ultimately strengthened the study. Having conducted the study during three sets of site-visits to each school (each set of visits approximately one month apart in two of the three schools), there was ample time for in-depth observations of typical school life. Also, with the study having taken place over a period of four months-- data collection beginning in February, 1998 and concluding in May, 1998-- there was time for changes to take place in some of the participants' points of view regarding the change process itself (or lack thereof).

The three schools were located in three different school districts, two in a southwestern state and one in a mid-Atlantic state. This variation in philosophies of

implementation, state and district policies, and administrative involvement within the three sites added depth and quality to the analysis. Site selection was purposefully limited to large (1600+ students), urban/suburban high schools, whose diverse student populations were representative of high schools in large urban/suburban areas surrounding cities in the United States (Tye, 1985). These restrictions may be helpful in defining future audiences who can identify with this population and therefore benefit most from the study. The researcher acted as a non-participant observer only, with no participation in the cultural life of the school, other than that necessary to: a) obtain access, b) collect and analyze data, c) construct and modify instruments, and d) interpret, summarize, reflect, and report on findings. It was important to the integrity and authenticity of the study that the school's culture be left as intact as possible (Yin, 1994).

As is customary in case study research, there are limitations to the generalizability of the study from one population to another (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Any such generalization would be the decision of the individual reader and occur only to the extent that the reader identifies a particular individual school culture with one described in the study. The researcher does not recommend drawing inferences or conclusions for groups outside of those investigated. Although the reader may draw conclusions based upon comparisons between these schools and others, it is not the purpose of this study to report conclusions as representative of any groups other than those included in the study (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994).

The researcher acknowledges the impact of her own prior life experiences on this study (Peshkin, 1982), seeing those experiences as helpful in relating to teachers and administrators and in understanding the issues particular to high schools undergoing a change to inclusion, such as difficulties with scheduling, teacher participation, and administrative support. Having directed the change to inclusion at a large suburban high school in a southwestern state over a period of three years, the researcher's notions about the existence of issues of power and control in school cultures clearly influenced her ideas about pursuing this line of research. Having acknowledged those influences, however, she believes them to be assets to the study.

She also acknowledges the vast array of prior and current experiences inherent within the complex lives of teachers and administrators at large urban/suburban high schools. In recognizing the potential impact of this diversity on the data collection and analysis of this study, the researcher believes that such diversity, common to most high schools in urban/suburban America, significantly influenced the overall value of the study.

Research Questions

The following overarching questions were constructed to organize and direct the study:

- 1) Within each school's culture, what themes/patterns emerged related to critical functions reflected in teacher/administrator attributes of leadership, communication, rules, roles, and responsibilities, and decision-making, when undergoing the school change initiative of inclusion?
- 2) What themes/patterns emerged within these school cultures that reflected critical structures, interactions, processes, and relationships among teachers and administrators?
 - a) How were the themes/patterns from 1) and 2) formed among teachers and administrators?
 - b) Are they interrelated? If so, how?
- 3) What relationships exist among the themes/patterns that emerged from 1) and 2) across cases?
- 4) How are the findings from 1), 2) and 3) related to issues of power and control?
- 5) How are issues of power and control that emerged from the cross-case analysis related to critical components of school culture and change in general?

Assumptions

At the onset of this study, the researcher embraced a set of beliefs about issues to be explored in this study, all of which have been supported in the literature:

- 1) school cultures reflect idiosyncratic ways of doing things (Carlson, 1992; Rossman, Corbet, & Firestone, 1988; Hechinger, 1988; Herriott & Gross, 1979; Sarason, 1971, 1996; Sergiovanni, 1997);

- 2) teachers and administrators are members of that culture and as such, are able to reflect their thoughts and beliefs through dialogue, documents, and artifacts (Davis, McCarty, Shaw, & Sidnai-Tabbaa, 1991; Eisenberg, 1995; Hampel, 1995; Johnson & Evans, 1997);
- 3) teachers and administrators are responsible and dependable describers of important aspects of that culture and will be cooperative in sharing them with the researcher (Louis & Miles, 1990; Tye, 1985; Westheimer, 1998);
- 4) information obtained through individual and small group interviews, document review, and observations will be an accurate reflection of the culture of the school as a whole (Lightfoot, 1985; Tittle, 1995);
- 5) issues of power and control exist within all school cultures, regardless of apparent conflict or seemingly peaceful milieu (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Lutz & Iannaccone, 1969; McNeil, 1985; Milstein, 1980); and
- 6) school change initiatives can be studied through exploration of the perceptions of the members of those specific school cultures (Cohen, 1995; Louis & Miles, 1990; Tye, 1985; Wagner, 1994).

These are explored in greater depth in Chapter Two.

Procedures

The following is a summary of the steps that were followed in conducting this research study:

Approval of the formal written proposal by the researcher's Dissertation Committee in November, 1997.

Approval to conduct research by the College's Human Subjects Research Committee and prospective participating school districts in December, 1997.

Pilot study conducted prior to the commencement of the multi-site case study, in January, 1998. Issues related to both instrumentation and methodology were examined through six individual interviews of classroom teachers involved in inclusion at a high school that was not included in the actual dissertation research sample (A Summary Report of the Pilot Study can be found in Appendix A).

Site selection for the multi-site case study of three high schools. Each school met criteria set by the researcher that resulted in schools with large student bodies of divergent cultural backgrounds in metropolitan areas of a southwestern state and a mid-Atlantic state. The schools were known to the researcher through either local reputation for inclusive practices or they were listed as participants in an inclusion grant provided by the state. Upon inquiry from the school, it was established that there had been involvement in inclusion as a school change initiative for over five years. Each school was selected from a different school division and reflected varying district and state mandates/philosophies on the issue of “inclusion” in high schools.

Instrumentation included the construction/modification of three different instruments, including a semi-structured teacher/administrator individual interview protocol and two different small group teacher interview protocols. The teacher/administrator individual interview protocols probed participants’ impressions of structures, relationships, interactions, and processes among teachers and between teachers and administrators that were involved in implementing inclusion as a school change initiative. The teacher small group interview protocols were designed to probe the groups’ impressions of the researcher’s preliminary analysis and interpretations, as well as ask more direct questions about constructs such as leadership, decision-making, communication, and rules, roles and responsibilities; as well as the impact of inclusion on the school’s culture (See Appendix A).

Participant selection included 10 -15% of the teaching faculty and at least one building-level administrator at each school. All participation was voluntary, with assurances being given regarding the anonymity of responses and the right to withdraw at any time, without penalty. Each participant was also compensated \$10.00 by the researcher for each interview.

Stages of data collection, analyses, interpretation, summarization and reflection took place during three separate stages and in relation to each case. Each data collection stage gathered information from interviews, formal and informal observations, and document/artifact review. This collective data was then analyzed after the completion of

each stage to identify emergent themes— similar patterns of response within each school setting. Stage one involved data collection from individual teacher and administrator interviews. Stages two and three involved small teacher group interviews that were used as participant and member checks for consistency of findings within each setting and to further inform the researcher's interpretations. A cross-case analysis was also conducted which served to inform the researcher's final conceptual model and act as a framework for implications for theory, research, policy, and practice.

In conclusion, this chapter has reviewed the issues relevant to the background of the study, its purpose, significance to research on schools, and rationale for design. It also included researcher assumptions, the organizing questions which focused the study, and a summary of procedures that were followed in implementing the study's methodology. In Chapter Two, a thorough review of the literature base will seek to further explain and highlight the important conceptual components of the study, as well as present an overview of the knowledge base in relation to school change, issues of power and control, and school culture. But first, a list of definitions is provided for clarification of terminology that was used in the study.

Definitions

Beliefs- a system of cognitive ideas (Parsons, 1951); as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Case study- the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances (Stake,1995).

Communication patterns- ways and/or means of transmitting information between and/or among groups and/or individuals (adapted from Miles, 1967; Milstein, 1980); as identified by participants and confirmed by researcher observations and document review.

Constructivism- the thesis that our ways of living and thinking are socially constructed; a view that all knowledge is socially constructed and incorporates social life; and that our views of reality are socially constructed (Airasian & Walsh,1997; Restivo, 1991).

Contextual factors - specific aspects of the social, political, and organizational elements related to teachers and administrator within a school's culture (adapted from Hall, 1988; Keedy, 1991; Rosenholtz, 1989); identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Control- to exercise restraining or directing influence over (Mirriam-Webster, 1991); identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Cultural congruence - the establishment of " fit" between contextual factors within the school culture and the school change initiative (adapted from Goertz, 1996; Pace, 1992; Sarason, 1971); as identified by the participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher

Culture - an integrating force that binds people together through the sharing of beliefs in a system of values, norms, language, symbols, rituals, and stories (Smelser, 1994); as identified by the participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Decision-making process - the process of making value judgments; choosing that leads to action patterns and influences methods of implementation (adapted from Blase & Anderson, 1995; Harnak, 1968); identified by the participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Inclusion - a conscious school-wide effort to increase meaningful interaction between students w/disabilities and the general education population, through appropriate planning and preparation among teachers, students, parents, and administrators and manifested by increased time/physical presence of students w/disabilities in regular education classrooms and school activities (Goor, 1997); identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Leadership styles - practice which guides, facilitates, and motivates direction of others (adapted from Bennis, 1989; Sergiovanni, 1992; Starratt, 1996); identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Power - the ability to influence others or produce an effect (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Starratt, 1996); identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Rituals- the symbolic affirmation of key values (Smelser, 1994); as identified by the participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Rules, roles, and responsibilities - governing functions that prescribe duties (adapted from Blase & Anderson, 1995; Fullan, 1993; Lieberman, 1995); as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

School change initiative - intended new practice that significantly changes practice previously held as part of the life of a school. It may be initiated through efforts internal or external to the school setting, including those proposed by local, state, or federal mandates (adapted from Fullan & Eastabrook, 1973; Rossman, Corbett, & Firestone, 1988; Sussman, 1977), as well as “grass-roots” efforts of faculty (Pace, 1992); as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

School culture - the collective values, beliefs, rituals, and traditions (adapted from Fullan, 1993; Sergiovanni, 1996); those idiosyncratic ways of doing things (Sarason, 1971); within a context-specific, educational setting; as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

“Sociological imagination”- using the tenets from the field of sociology, specifically a “telescoping” view of personal troubles as related to public issues, that might broaden and enlighten one’s view of issues related to conflict in societies (Wright Mills, 1970).

Successful school change initiative - an ongoing new practice that has been successfully institutionalized (as demonstrated through the addition of this practice to the school’s culture, over a period of no less than three years) into the life of the school (adapted from

Miles, 1967); as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Teacher/Administrator attributes - the collective behavior (i.e., traits, skills, strategies, and techniques) of teachers and administrators, as demonstrated through leadership styles; communication patterns; rules, roles, and responsibilities; and decision-making (Hall, 1988; Southworth, 1983; Van Der Vegt & Knip, 1988); as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Teacher professionalism - the display of behaviors likely to meet with the approval of the community in which one practices one's professional skills; the performance of teachers' work, as displayed through acts of planning, designing, implementing, and evaluating the practice of teaching (adapted from Bond, 1996; Carlgren, 1996); as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Traditions -inherited, established, or customary patterns of thought or action; the handing down of beliefs and customs by word of mouth or by example; a belief or custom handed down (Mirriam & Webster, 1991) following patterns laid down for us; acting in the appropriate manner for the situation we are in (Boughey, 1978, p.179); as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Values - those elements of culture that are recognized by the group as desirable, transmittable to others, and act as a basis for many of the shared beliefs among its members (adapted from Boughey, 1978; Fullan, 1993; Sarason, 1971); as identified by participants and confirmed by observation and document review by the researcher.

Chapter Two - "Complex, Interrelated Entities":

Review of relevant theory and research in the literature

"Schools are complex, interrelated entities and...change of any consequence has to reflect this."

TheodoreSizer (1996, p.21)

Introduction

Investigation into theory and research on change and cultures from the fields of anthropology and sociology during the late 1960's and 1970's (Anderson, 1970; Fullan & Eastabrook, 1973; Lortie, 1975; Miles, 1967; Mills, 1970; Morrish, 1976; Sarason, 1971; Valentine, 1970) has proven valuable to educational change theorists and cultural researchers in the 1990's (Fullan, 1993; Goodlad, 1997; Lieberman, 1995; Sarason, 1996; Sergiovanni, 1996). This growing body of knowledge on school change has provided needed direction for future research and theory building and impacted the national perspective by comparing the study of societies to school cultures. Continued use of the sociological imagination to study the change phenomenon in individual schools (Bauman, 1990; Wright Mills, 1970; Restivo, 1991), as suggested in Chapter One, may provide educational theorists and researchers with new insights into old dilemmas. Wright Mills (1970) reminded us that study of school cultures as social scientists affords educational researchers a unique advantage--an "opportunity for intellectual promise, [by exploring] ...the political meaning of the studies of man and society" (p.15). For, constructing the correct statement of the problem, in order to consider all possible solutions, is the first step in solving it.

Organization of the Literature Review

Review of the literature in this chapter, relevant to the researcher's study of school culture and change, is divided into the following parts: a) literature relevant to the rationale for the overarching background of the study, including an historical perspective of theories and models in the field of organizational dynamics and its relevance to the use of the sociological imagination in studies of school cultures as societies; b) theory and research on issues (identified in Chapter One) relevant to the study of school culture and change, such as teacher/administrator relationships, including teacher/administrator attributes; the relationship of issues of power and control; the issue of fit between school culture and change; inclusion as a school change initiative; and the culture of high schools; and c) a summary of the researcher's synthesis, analysis, and interpretation of all of the above; including a critical analysis of the quality of several of the studies on school culture and change and implications for further research. The construction of two graphics that illustrate the researcher's pre-study conceptualizations of how multiple theories have contributed to the rationale regarding the issues explored in the study and how the relationship among those issues might be further explored through this study concludes this chapter.

Overview of Literature Relevant to Background of the Study

Development of Theory on Organizational Dynamics

The study of educational administration has, over the past 50 years, been shaped to a large extent, by the adoption of theories and practices based on contributions from the field of organizational dynamics. Varied voices from this field have significantly impacted past and current trends in the practice of educational administration (Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Greenfield, 1988; Guthrie & Reed, 1986; Maxcy, 1994; Netzer et al., 1970; Newel, 1978; Owens, 1995). An exploration of the development of theories of organizational dynamics over the past 30 years was helpful in constructing the rationale for this study on issues of power and control in school cultures undergoing a change.

Several important organizational development/change theorists contributed ideas about the relationships of participants within organizations (Goodlad, 1974; Owens, 1970) that have been instrumental in shaping traditional ideology on school management. Some models, designed by theorists like Hoye and Miskal and Hershey and Blanchard, represented the integration of institutional goals and individual capital. These models were often based on the ideas of earlier theorists in the field of business and industry, such as Barnard, Fayol, and Weber, who emphasized the relationship of the organization and the worker, along with concerns for effective, efficient operation. Likewise, many of these models from the field of organizational dynamics have considered the impact of workers and their involvement as critical determinants in the success of leadership endeavors (Goodlad, 1975; Sergiovanni et al., 1987; Owens, 1995). Others theorists from the field of sociology-- such as Griffiths and Getzel and Guba-- have also proposed models that emphasized the interrelatedness of individuals and organizations (Getzel, Lipham & Campbell, 1968; Griffiths, 1969), by viewing the work organization more as a social system of relationships than a bureaucratic hierarchy. In addition, the introduction of specific planning models, such as those by Simon and Vroom and Yetton, also emphasized individual and organizational alignment in their efforts to attain successful organizational change (Goodlad, 1975). Some of these decision-making models proposed the consideration of programmed and unprogrammed decisions within the organization, as well as the impact of contextual/situational factors in selecting personnel responsible for making them.

At the same time these theories and models for practice were being considered as important influences on the practice of educational administration, there were other theorists who focused on different aspects of organizational development/ change. Weick (1976) work on organizations was instrumental in moving some in the field of educational change dynamics from an emphasis on more rational theories of cause and effect to a less 'programmed' view of schools as "loosely coupled systems". He suggested that not all organizations necessarily practice according to traditional bureaucratic theory. Instead, he contended, workers often operate within a social system of rules that follow cultural norms

rather than authoritative lines (Weick, 1976). The formation of working relationships based on social and personal knowledge, he believed, predisposes an organization to the formation of ties among workers that are more loosely held than those which Weber envisioned in bureaucracies that emphasize levels of communication through a set of structured interactions.

In addition, Katz (1955) proposed effective administration practice as that which emphasized the leader's ability to "accept the viewpoints, perceptions and beliefs which are different from his own...[being] skillful in communicating to others in their own contexts..." (p.34). These "contextual factors" were also of primary importance to Bolman and Deal (1989) in their study of the cultures of organizations, as they emphasized the differences in managers and leaders, describing the latter as able to "see all dimensions of social collectives-- including oft-neglected political and symbolic levels of human behavior" (p. 294). Other leaders in the field of business and industry have also emphasized the role of leadership in developing a more congruent system of identifying individual needs and program goals within organizations (Bennis, 1989; Nanus, 1992; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Stronge (1994) viewed this as being grounded in the needs of participants integral to the organization. Ogawa and Bossert (1995) went even further and proposed that leadership was actually an organizational quality, citing numerous research studies that supported the growth of change initiatives introduced by individuals at lower technical level. Keith (1994) described effective leadership as the ability to increase human capacity, by taking people at their strengths instead of their weaknesses, and proposed practice that engaged the community as a whole in the leadership initiative.

Educational theorists who have borrowed many of these ideas as integral to viewing "schools as communities" (Sarason, 1996; Sergiovanni, 1997; Starratt, 1996; Sizer, 1996) have made important contributions to the study of school change. Their models for educational administration have addressed many of the critical factors they believe are needed for successful planned change initiatives in schools. In order to better understand the problem of school change, then, we may need to look further into those contextual factors, described by some as a school's 'culture', which influence the selection,

adaptation, and institutionalization processes involved in successful school change (Miles, 1967). Viewing schools through the Wright Mills' (1970) "sociological imagination", then, may be one way to acquire new perspectives on old dilemmas.

Development of Theory on Schools as Societies

Researchers and theorists in the field of sociology and anthropology have for many years contributed to the development of conceptual frameworks related to school cultures by emphasizing and identifying the existing values and beliefs that define them (Fullan, 1993; Lortie, 1975; Louis & Miles, 1990; Lightfoot, 1985; Tittle, 1995). For example, Valentine (1970) reminded us of the need to view culture as an adaptive response of a particular group to preexisting environmental and historical situations, while Anderson (1970) believed that it should be the intent of social scientists to enlarge the scope of understanding of these dynamics of interpersonal relations. He stated that "culture and society are empirically fused, although the norms that people use to guide their actions may be analytically distinguished from their behavior" (Anderson, 1970, p.1). This relationship of norms to actions has contributed a valuable framework for thinking about school cultures and school change initiatives, if schools can be viewed as microcosms of society.

Important contributions from sociology to the study of schools as cultures are ultimately rooted in the field of anthropology. Kimball (1974), in his book Culture and the Educative Process: An anthropological perspective, described four major areas of anthropological theory that have direct relevance for education. They are as follows:

...the regularities of behavior and belief that we call culture; the transmission of culture and learning processes; the ways in which individuals group themselves for the accomplishment of common purposes; and the processes by which transformations occur in human behavior and groupings that can be explained by a theory of change (Kimball, 1974, Preface).

Kimball (1974) also discussed the importance of teacher understandings, rites of passage, and values reinforced, as they are explored across cultures. He stated that these cross-cultural comparisons may lead to explanation of the dynamics of "...the origin, diffusion, persistence, and change of social and cultural behavior" (p.4). These four areas also have

direct relevance to studies of individual school cultures in their efforts to successfully implement a particular change initiative.

Fullan (1993), a sociologist who has studied change in schools for the past 25 years, proposed a perspective on school change that reflected the influences of sociological and anthropological thought when he stated that past efforts at changing the structure of educational practice have not changed the norms, habits, beliefs, values, and ideas of those implementing it within individual school cultures. Sarason (1971) referred to these same constructs when he called real change "an alteration of the regularities by which we function as individuals and as a group" (p.23). Other educational theorists and researchers (Barth, 1990; Blase & Anderson, 1995; Goodlad, 1984; Harris, 1995; Sergiovanni, 1996; Starratt, 1996) have continued the tradition of exploring the school change process as it relates to cultural and political paradigms.

An important contribution of sociological and anthropological thought to education, the "systems approach", originally proposed by Griffiths (1969), has been used as another viable framework for understanding the problems of school change. These theories and models that helped to define practice in educational administration over the past 50 years, have all contributed, then, to the rationale for constructing a study related to school culture and change.

A Systems Approach to Schools

Leadership and organizational development theories from education, business, and industry (reviewed in the preceding section) have been utilized by educational change theorists and researchers to focus on the critical involvement of the total school community as change is planned and carried out. Gordon (1985) spoke of the inevitable complexity of systems change when he contended that diversity in the characteristics and experiences of human populations highlights the need to consider the cultural and experiential context in which behaviors are developed, expressed, and investigated. He believed this construct, commonly referred to as 'cultural relativity', was essential to the understanding of human behavior. Relativity in human behavior is especially likely to apply when the population under investigation is diverse in its characteristics and life conditions (Gordon, 1985).

Sarason's (1995, 1997) more current writings have focused on change of the entire educational system and issues of governance, power, and control that exist within the larger political arena. In them, he has emphasized issues of educational governance and the necessary participation of more inclusive groups of stake-holders in the decision-making process for educational reform at the national level, if real change is to ever take place. This new focus, however, continues to reflect the principles of his original work on change in individual school cultures and the critical participation of teachers and student in the process (Sarason, 1971). Sizer (1984) used the American high school and its inability to make substantial changes as an example of a system that is mired in the structures and customs of the past. Wirt and Kirst (1997) discussed the political systems that exist within school policy making and governance and their intractable nature.

In addition, many theorists and researchers believe that change within individual schools is instrumental in seeking fundamental changes (Fullan, 1993; Sergiovanni, 1992; Barth, 1990; Lieberman, 1996; Joyce & Calhoun, 1996). Goertz (1996), in her multi-stage study of systems change mandated from the state level and implemented in separate school settings, emphasized the importance of including the perspective of individual teachers and administrators. She pointed out that systems change, related to large multi-faceted settings, may eventually be dependent on individual school change. Davis (1989) supported this view when he summed up many theorists' points-of-view that "...attempts to make schools more effective must be done within the context of a knowledge of, and a desire to work with, organizational culture at both the system and the school level" (p. 188). For the purposes of this research study, however, a review of the issues related only to change in individual schools seemed appropriate, therefore issues related to state-level change initiatives have been addressed as only peripheral to the individual school setting. By applying the above constructs of systems change to the micro-political arena of teacher/administrator relationships in individual school settings, new insights into the ongoing problem of failed changes in school settings may be discovered.

Resistance to Change in Schools

Ideas about the complexity of systems change, applied to the concept of individual school cultures, were helpful in thinking about some tenable reasons for the enormous resistance to change that has built up in individual schools since their centralization into factory models (as discussed in Chapter One) over seventy-five years ago. Many theorists and researchers believed that individual schools carry within their context sacred norms that define rules and practices (Barth, 1991; Guiton et al., 1995; Sarason, 1971, 1996). Sarason (1971) stated that "unless one's efforts involve changing system characteristics, it is unlikely that one's efforts will be more than shadow boxing with the problems" (p.111). He went on to clarify his point-- that we have not achieved meaningful change due to our lack of focus on the complex relationships inherent within each school's culture-- when he stated:

There appears to be no organized set of principles that explicitly takes account of the complexity of the setting...its social psychological and sociological aspects, its unusual ways of functioning and changing, and its verbalized and un verbalized traditions and values. (Sarason, 1971, p.9)

Barth (1990) also explained failed school reform as a product of resistant school cultures. He admonished school personnel for their involvement in three different, but all equally damaging, kinds of relationships that he described as parallel play (lack of meaningful interaction among faculty-operating in isolation from one another), adversarial (in continual conflict with one another), and competitive (trying to get "one-up" on one another). Carefully examining the interpersonal dynamics of teachers, students, and administrators, he concluded that school improvement from within was pivotal to real and lasting change.

Other theorists have offered explanations for failed innovations that included a lack of routinization which led to only partial or superficial implementation. This lack of institutionalization, a process that requires contextual adaptation of both the culture and the innovation, is an important aspect of the failure to attain real and substantive change (Sussman, 1977; Rossman, Corbett & Firestone, 1988). Hopkins et al. (1994) also framed the problem of school change as a lack of institutionalization and discussed the process of

change in relation to Matthew Miles' theory of an on-going three dimensional model of initiation, implementation, and institutionalization. They proposed that this institutionalization takes place only with the permission and full cooperation of the culture within the school targeted for change. Lieberman (1992) summed up the concerns of many educators when she asked:

What do we do with schools that for complex reasons of history, culture, and context, don't or can't change? Do we tell them what to do? And does that do any good? How do we explain and listen to the competing voices of teachers, administrators, and community? Whose reality do we act upon? (p.6)

An exploration of these often-times competing voices of teachers and administrators and the processes and relationships in which they engage, within change resistant schools, may be helpful in providing new insight regarding school culture and school change. Therefore, they will be discussed in relation to the relevant literature in further detail in the following section

Processes and Relationships Relevant to Schools and Change

As Miles (1967) said, "Even if we take the...route to understanding a system by trying to change it, it remains true that we must at least know which structures and processes are, on the face of it, most promising as entry points for change efforts" (p.1). Therefore, the researcher also reviewed literature on structures, processes, interactions, and relationships in individual schools, specifically the literature which focused on the relationships between and among teachers and administrators.

Several studies (a Campo, 1993; Hall, 1986, Snyder & Snyder, 1996; Van Der Veght & Knapp, 1988) have sought to explore various important aspects of the teacher/administrator relationship as it evolves and changes over the course of school change. Others have utilized an overarching cultural approach in their contributions to theory and research on school change by examining the relationship between leadership and school values, beliefs, and traditions and the resulting rules, roles, and responsibilities of teachers and administrators (Barth, 1990; Fullan, 1982, 1993; Goodlad, 1984; Lieberman, 1995; Sarason, 1971, 1992; Sergiovanni, 1992, 1996). Many of these, also, have

indicated a need for further investigation into the use of teacher input, specifically issues related to power and control within the individual school cultures, in establishing priorities, planning, and implementing a school change initiative (Barth, 1990; Goodlad, 1997; Lieberman, 1988; Sarason, 1996; Sizer, 1996). Therefore, the researcher also reviewed studies that charted the course of change in individual settings, through case study research, in an effort to become better informed as to what particular aspects/ processes were utilized during a school change initiative, among teachers and administrators. A critical analysis of these studies can be found in the the section on school culture and change.

Issues Regarding the Relationship of a School's Culture and a School Change Initiative

The problem of change has at times been framed as one of 'incongruence' between existing behaviors, policies, attitudes and structures that reflect the normative core of school's culture, and the desired innovation (Davis, 1989; Fullan, 1991; Rossman, Corbett, & Firestone, 1988; Sarason, 1971, 1996). Some believed that finding those particular contextual strengths and weaknesses that influenced the success or failure of an innovation, was a critical piece in achieving successful implementation of innovation (Keith, 1994). Herriott and Gross (1979) supported this view of context-specific strategies for change, when they proposed that creating the "correct fit" between district level agendas of desired innovations and educational need of individual schools was often overlooked. Goodman (1995) further supported the exploration of the school change/school culture relationship when he stated that a third wave of educational reform had still not produced change with difference because we are repeating the mistakes of the former wave of the 1960's and 1970's-- we have not found a way to integrate changes into the lives of its participants.

The researcher's decision, then, to review research that described the relationship between a particular school change and a school culture was based, in part, on her reflections on the issue of congruence, described elsewhere in this study as 'fit'. A critical component of the issue of 'fit' appeared to be the teacher/administrator relationship in each school setting.

The Issue of Cultural Congruence

Many educators believed the issue of fit between school culture and change to be one which needed further study, if schools were ever to become the successful vehicles for educational change that many believe they can be (Fullan, 1993; Goodlad, 1997; Barth, 1990; Sarason, 1996). Several case studies of individual school cultures (Blase, 1990; Harris 1992; Keedy, 1991; Lambert, 1998; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Snyder & Snyder, 1996; Southworth, 1993; Westheimer, 1998) revealed the importance of leaders' abilities to identify the type of school culture that existed as a basis for future planning and growth. Administration's role in the creation of the 'good fit' between innovation and the existing culture of the school has been highlighted in some of the research on leadership styles of implementors of innovations (a Campo, 1993; Blase, 1990; Friedman, 1991; Hall, 1988; Harris, 1992; Snyder & Snyder, 1996; Southworth, 1993; Van Der Vegt & Knip, 1988). Findings from Blase and Anderson's study (1995) of the micro-political relationships infused within individual school cultures, indicated that tensions created by disagreement over "core values" among faculty and administration often "activated the emergence of negative disassociative-patterns" among its membership and suggested that until the value-conflict is resolved, these "dual patterns" will continue to exist (p.74). Keedy's (1991) multiple-case study of four "successful" high school administrators and ten teachers from each of their schools, investigated the impact of context-specific strategies for encouraging teachers to act as "entrepreneurial program managers". Of particular importance in Keedy's (1991) study, was the administrators' attention to issues regarding teacher-culture. Highlighting the importance of contextual issues, such as values, beliefs, rituals, and traditions embraced by faculty and community, rather than striving for change incongruent with what had already been established as good and worthwhile, was emphasized by those administrators that were most successful.

Findings from Blase and Anderson's (1995) extensive study of several schools and the micro-political contexts within which issues of power and control manifest themselves, also indicted that previously established core values that were part of the school's culture were successful in creating enough common tension to see the change through. The authors

concluded that when there was a lack of tension among the faculty related to core values, then the change failed to attract enough interest to sustain it over time. This was an interesting addition to the literature on consensus building, proposed by several other authors in the field (Barth, 1990; Fullan, 1993; Joyce & Calhoun, 1995; Lieberman, 1988, 1990; Villa & Thousand, 1995). On the other hand, Keedy (1991) multi-site case study of four high school principals with reputations for effective school improvement, using ten teacher interviews from each school, found that if the school's context and cultural framework supported and needed the administrator's vision, then it was much more likely to be implemented successfully. Other research previously reviewed in the above sections has also indicated the need for integration of a change initiative within the culture of the school (Lieberman, 1995; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Short & Greer, 1997).

Therefore, because many educators believed that how teachers and administrators negotiated the issues that surround any particular change initiative, ultimately brought to light issues of power and control within the individual school setting (a Campo, 1993; Blase, 1990; Blase & Anderson, 1995; Friedman, 1991; Goldring & Rallis, 1993; Harris, 1995; Johnson & Pajares, 1996; Keedy, 1991; Lortie, 1975; Muncey & McQuillan, 1997; Poole, 1997; Short & Greer, 1997; Sussman, 1977), this researcher chose to explore those issues of power and control that emerged from within high schools undergoing a school change initiative of inclusion, as indicated earlier in Chapter One. Issues related to a) power and control among teachers and between teachers and administrators within individual school settings; b) teacher/administrator relationships, reflected particularly in the critical functions of leadership; communication; rules, roles, and responsibilities; and the decision-making process that define those relationships; c) inclusion of students with disabilities into general education classrooms; and d) case studies of high schools, specifically those undergoing a change process are reviewed below.

Issues of Power and Control

Assuming that schools are microcosms of society, the literature on social systems may provide further insights about issues of 'power and control' and their role in school change initiatives. Sociologists Bredemeier & Stephenson (1962) discussed "the power

dimension” and its ability to control in their analysis of social systems, when they stated:

The usual approach to the study of power is through analysis of economic and political structures. The former focuses on the ownership or control of natural resources and productive instruments; the latter, on control of the authority structure ... (p.347)

This view of power and its relationship to control was reflective of the sociologists French and Raven’s (1959) “classic, generally accepted description of power” (as cited in Owens, 1995, p.118), that identified five kinds or sources of power and its related ability to control as:

Reward power- controlling rewards that will induce others to comply with power-wielder’s wishes;

Coercive power- having control of potentially punishing resources that will induce others to avoid them;

Expert power- having knowledge that others want for themselves so much that they will be induced to comply with the power-wielder so as to acquire the knowledge or benefit from it;

Legitimate power- having authority conferred by holding a position in an organization that is recognized by others as having a legitimate right to obedience; and

Referent power- when a power holder has personal charisma, or ideas and beliefs so admired by others that they are induced by the opportunity to be not only associated with the power holder but, insofar as possible, to become more like him or her. (Owens, 1995, p.118)

Owens (1995) interpreted this description of power sources as “...a reciprocal relationship between the power holder and others. One has power not only when he or she controls resources...but also when he or she has ideas...that people find exciting...” (p.118). He went on to say, however, that the key to school reform “lies in changing power relationships in the school” (Owens, 1995, p.208), stating that there are two different ways in which schools have been attempting a transition of power- by local, state, and federal

mandate and by what Sarason (1997) suggested, altering power relationships voluntarily by involving everyone in the organization in the process of change.

This latter kind of power transformation has been explored by other sociologists, who have proposed different views of 'power and control' that focused more directly on the properties of power's distribution, in order to explain its impact or 'control' on societies. Riesman (1950), in his classic sociological study, The Lonely Crowd, proposed that there was clearly an "amorphous distribution of power" among societies. His statement that, "Power, indeed, is founded in a large measure on interpersonal expectations and attitudes" rings as true today as it did 50 years ago (Reisman, 1950, p. 253). He also discussed the relationship of leadership to 'power and control' when he explained that, "What people fail to see is that, while it may take leadership to start things running, or to stop them, very little leadership is needed once things are underway- that, indeed things can get terribly snarled up and still go on running" and that, "Power in America seems to me situational and mercurial; it resists attempts to locate it..." (Reisman, 1950, p.255, 257). This alternative way of viewing 'power and control' in a pluralistic society was articulated further by Bredemeier & Stephenson (1962) as:

Power... seen as scattered among a wide variety of organizations embracing varied and often conflicting interests and possessing sufficient power to realize those interests only to the extent that the interests of other organizations are not impeded or denied...There are many 'pyramids of power', each acting as a check on the other...most of the studies conclude that there is a power elite at the community level that makes the major decisions, formulates policy, and largely controls local politics...This power seems to be exercised rather informally and behind the scenes, is somewhat unplanned and uncoordinated, and is exercised primarily when the elite interests are threatened or demand strengthening. (p.349)

Power and control, as described above, seems more congruent with Wright-Mills' (1970) ideas on the reactions of community members when personal values become threatened, creating public troubles. Applying this concept of "amorphous distribution of power", based on the "interpersonal expectations" of one another, to the members of individual

school cultures, such as teachers and administrators, provides a 'power and control' framework from which to view their habits of operation as community members. Borrowing from the sociological literature, then, an integration of French and Raven's (1959) sources of power and the related issues of control, that recognize the multiple roles that power sources may assume and Reisman's (1950) ideas about the unplanned and uncoordinated informal and behind the scenes "amorphous distribution of power", provided the rationale for this study's particular focus on 'power and control'.

Other researchers of critical educational practice who have studied the issue of 'control' in schools have offered additional support for the focus of this study. McNeil's (1986) book, Contradictions of Control, explored the tensions between administrative controls and the work of teachers, that is, what goes on in the classroom, as a response to the increase in bureaucratic controls over the curriculum following the national report, A Nation at Risk. In her book, she reported on a multiple case study of four schools that exhibited "contradictory controls of management and teacher professionalism"- two areas of emphasis in the national reform movement. She concluded that:

...reforms based on increased management controls will prove to be wrong-headed and misguided. In those schools where the tension between the controlling functions and the educational purposes were resolved in favor of controls, teachers felt undermined, professionally threatened...[for]as administrators increase controls, they engender resistance from the persons being controlled. (McNeil, 1986, p.xxi)

Owens' (1976) earlier work on administering change in schools outlined the effects of these bureaucratic controls as "...a powerful element of control exercised asymmetrically from the top down...provides an enduring system for the maintenance of control..." (p.25). In a later work, he also reviewed the effects of these "power-coercive" approaches to change, citing the Rand Corporation (1975) studies of federally funded school change initiatives and their enlightening conclusions (Owens, 1995). They found that rather than using sanctions as an attempt to control schools that did not comply with the proposed changes, schools that were most successful were those that incorporated their own

“adaptations” specific to their culture and context, used proactive problem-solving, were willing and able to supplement federal monies with their own local resources, and had both administrative and school-level support of the school change (Owens, 1995). Owens (1995) concluded that organizational health indicators had more to do with the effectiveness of a school change than financial or political influences. These indicators included the ability of an organization to make their own decision, communicate effectively with one another, define appropriate roles and responsibilities for group members, and exhibit leadership characteristics such as problem-solving as a group, rather than depending on one individual to offer all the solutions. This “optimal power equalization” was an important element in his collaborative vs. coercion paradigm (Owens, 1995). Milstein (1980) supported this view when he wrote that “organizational change programs are directed initially toward working with power and communication relationships that are up, down, and across organizational roles and functions” (p.25), but that teachers as professional cultures, traditionally, had few opportunities to develop the interpersonal relationships necessary to tap into those multi-level systems. Therefore, power and control was many times inaccessible to the teacher in individual schools. He also stated that teachers have “a very strong stake in keeping the system as it is”, allowing them to maintain a certain degree of control over their own environment and in doing so, exerting the only kind of power accessible to them. He delineated the generic norms and structures of the staff that Tannenbaum (1968, as cited in Milstein, 1980) articulated as: a) implicit group agreements of the value of each individual as a part of the group, b) shared expectations that collaboration across organizational levels is preferred, c) group agreements in support of proactivity and thinking, instead of coping and fire-fighting, d) shared support for continuing communication under conditions of conflict, and e) attention to group and organizational processes through problem-solving (Milstein, 1980). This “polyarchical influence structure” clearly referred to issues of power and control that exist among teacher professional groups and their relationships with one another and the resultant leadership that emerges within the school’s culture, when those issues are dealt with openly and productively with the staff, itself. Milstein (1980) also discussed the “veto power” of the

teachers during attempts at school change, another form of control used by cultures who perceive themselves to be powerless (Riesman, 1950). He concluded that policy in schools is made at many levels and participants at all levels of schooling must be considered as policy makers and developers. For, as he stated, "One of the tenets of a pluralistic and democratic society is that power should be equalized across all groups and individuals" (Milstein, 1980, p.226).

Another sociologist, Edgar Schein (1985), spent years studying organizational culture and the characteristics of learning that take place within professional cultures. In his book, Organizational Culture and Leadership, Schein (1985) described similar attributes of group cultures and their preferences for interpersonal interaction. He also articulated the various stages of organizational growth and at what points change would be more or less viable for the group. His description of the influence of the older members of the organization's culture, versus that of the newcomers, offered a slightly different view of issues of 'power and control' within these types of professional cultures. He explained that the balance of power within a group would depend to a great extent on the particular stage of evolution that the culture was in. Shared experiences within the culture serve to develop control over the group as they become more or less cohesive in their values, beliefs, traditions, and practice. A change in the group's make-up or the onset of a crisis may change the group and therefore its culture in ways that also change opportunities for the internal exercise of power and therefore control of cultural behavior. Leadership, then, emerges from within the professional culture as a type of control over the behavior of new members, as long as the "old timers" remain a vital culture-transmitting element within the group. Therefore:

The kind of change that is possible depends not only on the developmental stage of the organization but on the degree to which the organization is unfrozen and ready to change...The forces that can unfreeze a given culture are also likely to be different at different stages of organizational development, and certain mechanisms of change will have particular relevance at certain stages of development. (Schein, 1985, p.271)

This view of the effects of “forces” and “mechanisms” is reminiscent of similar issues of ‘power’ and ‘control’, respectively, as they have been articulated by educators and sociologists alike. Clearly, then, there is a paradigm for thinking about issues of power and control that veers away from the bureaucratic, more rational approach that emphasizes lines of authority and the influence of one person as leader within the professional cultures of individual school settings.

It has been the focus of this study to explore those important cultural interactions, structures, relationships, and processes of individual school cultures, as a reflection of the issues of ‘power and control’ during a change initiative. Furthermore, ‘power and control’, from the sociologist’s point of view, appear to go “hand-in-hand” with one another, as important determinates of what changes will take place and how those changes will not only occur, but also how they will impact the culture as a whole, specifically in individual schools. Likewise, this study has used these terms in tandem with one another, while continuing to recognize that while power supersedes control, it may or may not reflect a controlling nature. Likewise, that although power never excludes control from its realm of possibilities, it does not necessarily always include it in its repertoire of behaviors.

Therefore, the interrelated elements of school culture, referred to in this study as ‘issues of power and control’, may be explored through an investigation of their relationships to both the culture and the change they are attempting to implement. The researcher has sought to ferret out not only the sources of power and the accompanying attempts at control that existed within a school’s culture, but also the degree of “amorphous distribution” of power and therefore the ability to control the change initiative. For as McNeil (1986) stated that:

Our task is to understand what schools do socially and educationally without reducing them to simple reflections of ideological and economic pressures outside of themselves. Political/economic, cultural and organizational analyses need to be combined if this is to be successful. Any individual study may stress one of these three modes of analysis, but it is in demonstrating the connections among the three that real progress is made. (p. x)

Likewise, findings from studies that viewed schools as societies indicated that issues of power and control within individual school cultures and teachers/administrator actions and attributes are uniquely intermingled (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Freidman, 1991; Goldring & Rallis; Joyce & Calhoun, 1995; Keedy, 1991; Lieberman, 1995; Lutz & Iannaccone, 1969; Mc Neil, 1986; Milstein, 1980; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Pace, 1991; Poole, 1995). Some studies have explored the impact of issues of power and control exerted from both inside and outside of teacher cultures (Hampel, 1995; Tittle, 1995; Lambert, 1998; Lightfoot, 1985). The interaction of teachers and administrators in specific school cultures was addressed in case studies of individual school's attempts at change reported by Lieberman (1995) in her book, The work of restructuring schools: Building from the ground up. Described as issues of "teachers in foreground, principals in background", four of the case studies reported findings which indicated that successful administrators (characterized as such by the researchers) acted "as partners with teachers, involved in a collaborative quest to examine school practices" (p.9). The book also described the difference in administrator control and administrator support, as well as the importance of opportunities for teachers to grow and develop. Blase and Anderson (1995) studied individual schools to determine the impact of administrators' leadership styles as they related to political interactions among teachers. They found through extensive interviewing that "authoritarian and adversarial styles negatively impact the micro-political relationships among teachers" (p.64). Freidman's study (1991) of the relationship of the dynamics of teacher burnout to individual school cultures has identified variables related to issues of power and control between teachers and administrators, such as: goal achievement behavior imposed by school administrators, lack of trust in teachers professional adequacy, and attempts by leadership to circumscribe school culture.

Muncey and McQuillan's (1996) ethnographic multiple case study of eight high schools in the Coalition of Essential Schools Program is a good example of two different types of political interaction in the struggle between faculties and reform-minded administrators. In the study of two different schools over a period of several years, findings indicated that teachers not participating in the inner circle of change grew more and

more discontent. In one school, teachers eventually formed their own governance structure called the Faculty Forum, which they requested the administrator not attend. In an effort to placate the rebelling teachers, the administrator withdrew her participation in the school reform initiatives and told the teachers to work it out among themselves. Without leadership and support, the faculty continued to bicker and act divisively around change initiatives, eventually withdrawing from the support of the Coalition of Essential Schools Program. In the other school, the new administrator acted deliberately and decisively in communicating to students, parents, and teachers his vision for school reform and was successful in soliciting the full cooperation and support of the faculty in decision-making, planning, and implementing the school change initiatives.

Other studies of school cultures have revealed issues of power and control not always related to the behavior of the administrator. In Pace's (1991) narrative ethnography of six teachers attempts to implement whole language instruction into a traditional language arts curriculum within individual schools, her findings indicated that the adoption of the innovation was either severely hampered or facilitated depending upon the level and degree with which the innovation was accepted or rejected by fellow teachers (Pace, 1991). Again, in Joyce and Calhoun's (1996) multiple case study of teacher-initiated staff development programs, it was reported that the impact of existing school culture on the eventual success or failure of the change initiative was clearly a major determining factor. In fact, existing school culture appeared to actually make or break the innovation. In still another study, which used a questionnaire with a mix of both quantitative and qualitative types of input from teachers, administrators, parents, and students in 46 different schools, responses indicated that the degree of teacher acceptance (as indicated by teacher responses on a likert-type scale, as well as short answer-type questions) of the change initiative affected teacher relationships and subsequently the success or failure of a school change initiative (Fullan & Eastabrook, 1973). Likewise, in a more recent case study of one high school, that utilized teacher interview data on the process of restructuring its middle grades in a secondary school in Ontario, Canada, it was reported that teachers were able to actually

control the implementation process through small group interactions that pressured other faculty members to accept the change (Stager & Fullan, 1992).

An exploration of issues of power and control represented by relationships that influenced school change from outside the school's culture have also appeared in the literature (Lutz & Iannaccone, 1969; McNeil, 1986; Milstein, 1980; Sarason, 1997; Tittle, 1995). For example, Keedy's (1991) multi-subject case study of four administrators found that successful administrators (as described by their teachers) were disengaged from the hierarchy of central office authority, yet remained unrelenting in soliciting needed resources directly from their superintendents, a practice widely accepted by their faculties. Goldring and Rallis (1993) also found that a certain degree of "discoupling" from the restrictions of central office was necessary to allow autonomy within the individual school, while still maintaining a strong and supportive relationship with the superintendent and the district office. They believed that this balancing of influence is vital to the empowerment of both administrators and teachers in schools' efforts to change.

Other educators and researchers have documented the impact of state and district-level influences on individual school cultures (Cohen, 1995; Goertz, 1996; Lightfoot, 1983; McLaughlin, 1992; Tittle, 1995). These studies and opinion-pieces have addressed the issues of power and control related to attempts at individual school change (Cohen, 1995; Goertz, 1996; Lightfoot, 1983; Tittle, 1995) and facilitating the development of empowered teacher communities and increasing teacher capacity for leadership during change (Goertz, 1996; McLaughlin, 1992). Balancing administrative/teacher influences within a school's culture and in relation to change were also reported on in studies by Cohen (1995), Lightfoot (1983), Short and Greer (1997), Tye (1983), and Westheimer (1998). Central to all of those studies which explored issues of power and control in individual schools, was the nature of teacher/administrator relationships. These relationships varied from school to school, reflecting the particular culture and the established "ways of doing things" among teachers and between teachers and their administrators. Exploring the peculiarity of these relationships enabled the researcher to identify critical factors that were involved in these relationships. They are each explored

separately in theory and through selected research in the following section; while acknowledging their interdependence in practice.

Review of Literature on School Culture and Change Teacher/Administrator Relationships

Little and Bird (1987) stated that "...previous research has led us to believe that some professional interactions more than others have potential for developing schools with the collective capacity for improvement" (p.119). Many educational researchers and theorists believe that one of those professional interactions is the teacher/administrator relationship. Several research studies (Lieberman, 1995; Rosenholtz, 1989; Short & Greer, 1997; Wasley, 1991) have supported earlier findings from Fullan and Eastabrooke (1973) that indicated the exploration of the dynamics of teacher and administrator relationships in relation to a school change initiative is of particular importance in an era of school reform. This sociological study of school change was one of the first to target teacher-administrator relationships during an individual school change initiative. Their ideas about school culture and change were instrumental in better defining the roles of various members of individual school cultures in the change process and the subsequent effects of various leadership strategies upon those roles (Fullan, 1993b; 1995; Hord & Huling-Austin, 1986; Glatthorn, 1992; Heck & Williams, 1984; Musella, 1989). O'Neil (1995) interviewed business management guru, Peter Senge-- one of newer voices in the conversation on leadership and change in the past few years. Senge's views on the leader's role in working to increase capacity for organizational learning as a form of growth and change has caught the attention of many educational theorists, researchers, and practitioners in the field (O'Neil, 1995). He has joined the voices of many educators (Bestor, 1955; Bickman, 1998; Bremer, 1977; The Carnegie Foundation, 1981; Cawelti, 1997; Dale, 1997 Goodlad, 1997) who also have addressed the issue of educational "fragmentation"-- putting knowledge into "cubbyholes" and the apparent "incapacity to integrate" knowledge among and within educational institutions (O'Neil, 1995, p. 22).

In addition, the unique roles and relationships among and between teachers and administrators that evolve over time within individual school cultures have been addressed by other sociologists and educators who viewed the problem of school change as one that highlights the need for enlarging the role of the teacher as change facilitator (Firestone, 1993; Francis, Hirsh, & Rowland, 1994; Fullan, 1993b; Hargreaves, 1994; Johnson, 1990; Lortie, 1975). Several case studies-- which are reviewed separately in the following section-- have been most helpful in providing an inside view of how teachers and administrators negotiated changes, not only in school-wide instructional practice, but also in their own roles and responsibilities related to the change process, itself (Cohen, 1995; Tittle, 1995; Lightfoot, 1983; Louis & Miles, 1990; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Poole, 1995; Tye, 1985). Goldring and Rallis' (1993) multiple case study of administrators of schools undergoing a change, was representative of other studies which found that the internal roles, responsibilities, and relationships among all school professionals must be altered during a school change initiative if the change is to become institutionalized over time. Several other studies (Hall, 1988; Harris, 1995; Snyder & Snyder, 1996; Van Der Veght & Knip, 1988) have described the processes that take place among and between key players during the implementation of school change initiatives. Hall (1988) reported on the impact of administrator-directed strategies for school change and the importance of the school leader's role as change facilitator, in orchestrating school change. In his multi-site case study, Harris (1995) described the relationship among specific cultural traits within individual high schools that contributed to the choices made in determining effective administrator behaviors utilized to lead that school. Siskin and Little (1995) investigated, through multiple case-studies, the impact of departmental organization-- peculiar to high school settings-- as a unique role-determinant for teachers in individual school settings. They concluded that departmental organization in high schools can fragment and disassociate teacher work cultures, separating professionals within the same school into sects that often do not interact in meaningful ways to solve problems school-wide to address curriculum alignment or interdisciplinary instruction.

This literature is illustrative of the interest and research on teacher/administrative relationships that have been cultivated in the field of educational change over the past several years. As an example of the emphasis that has been placed on these issues in the past few years, an entire issue of the NASSP Bulletin (1996, Vol. 80), a publication of the National Association of Secondary School administrators, was devoted to issues related to school-work culture in secondary schools. Other educators and researchers have investigated related issues of teacher professionalism, specifically teacher work-cultures, and the critical functions many believe are needed in order for schools to undergo change successfully. These two issues are reviewed in the following subsections.

Teacher Professionalism

As a part of the burgeoning field of writing and research on teacher professionalism, as defined by Carlgren (1996) in the definitions list in Chapter One, the notion of teacher-work cultures has been explored by several academics in the field of education (Cuban, 1992; Darling-Hammond, 1996, 1998b; Lieberman, 1988, 1990; Little, 1994). They have proposed that teachers must become major players in the development of their own professional teacher-communities. By taking charge of change and ultimately becoming responsible for their own professional growth and development, teachers are able to plan and orchestrate changes that happen in individual schools more effectively.

Darling-Hammond (1995, 1998) has been especially influential in the development of teacher professional standards and in the creation of policy at a national level that works toward licensing standards which promote the elevation of the teaching profession, through enlarging teachers' roles in decision-making, curriculum development, and site-based leadership. Others, like Gaskins and Elliot (1991) have proposed that training and supporting teachers in determining the nature of curriculum, as to its relevance to content and process, instead of expecting the traditional "delivery" of curriculum by teachers, is also an important piece to consider in the puzzling problem of effecting real and lasting change in education. Sergiovanni and Starratt's (1993) definition of developmental supervision supported these views of the "empowered" faculty, promoting the establishment of parallel teacher and supervisor educational platforms that are supportive of

the “school as community” paradigm, first proposed by John Dewey over 100 years ago (Dworkin, 1959). Others, such as Guskey and Peterson, (1996), Mantle-Bromley (1998), Sparks and Bloomer, 1993, and Sykes (1990) have proposed that increasing levels of teacher professionalism have not only increased the chances for school change to become real and lasting, but that the creation of supports such as professional development schools (Mantle-Bromley, 1998) has offered opportunities for collaborative learning between academics and practitioners, an issue addressed by several other colleagues who have explored the problem of schools’ resistance to change (Cohen, 1995; Cuban, 1992; Goodlad, 1997; Lieberman, 1992).

Snyder and Snyder (1996) used their researcher-constructed quantitative instrument, School Work Culture Profile, to investigate tasks that teachers consider themselves to be attuned to, as part of their own unique “teacher-work culture”. They concluded that teachers’ work is fairly comparable across settings, although its effects are greatly impacted by the particular political dynamics of individual settings. Using the same assessment instrument, Johnson et.al. (1997) assessed the productivity of school work cultures in 41 school districts in Florida, which resulted in the emergence of four factors that suggested “a realignment of school practices around interdependent sets of work culture features” (p.41). These factors included: a) continuous improvement, b) development and group planning, c) strategic planning and accountability, and d) collaboration.

In an effort, then, to better understand the impact of structures, relationships, interactions, and processes such as these, that are particular to individual school cultures that support change, the next section will review theory and research on those ‘critical functions’, which are identified in Chapter One, that exist among teachers and administrators within individual school settings. These critical functions of decision-making, leadership styles, communication patterns, and rules, roles, and responsibilities have been referred to in many of the studies on issues of power and control in individual school settings, the dynamics of school cultures, and educational change. The following

section describes each of these as they have appeared in the literature on school culture and change.

Critical Functions

After reviewing several of the more rigorously conducted studies reviewed above, which reported that the behavior and beliefs of both teachers and administrators during a school change initiative had a powerful impact on the acceptance of that change into the life of the school, the researcher has chosen four critical functions that appeared to impact this powerful relationship among teachers and administrators. They are: a) leadership styles; b) communication patterns; c) rules, roles, and responsibilities; and d) the decision-making process. These four functions were chosen based on both the high incidence of their presence in the literature on school culture and change and the apparent impact these studies have reported they have had on issues of power and control in school cultures undergoing change. Although they are constructs that appear in a wide range of literature, from sociology to anthropology, to business/industry, to education, the literature on school change is especially replete with reports of their influence on the success or failure of educational change. While the researcher acknowledges that these constructs often interact with one another in an interdependent manner and are, therefore, most difficult to discuss separately from one another, they will be reviewed under individual sub headings here, to better highlight their individual contribution to the literature.

Leadership styles. Researchers and theorists in the field of both sociology and education (Barth 1990; Fullan, 1991; Goodlad, Soder, & Sirotnik, 1990; Sarason, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1996) have explored the inner workings of the school (i.e., its values, beliefs, rituals and traditions) in an attempt to better understand what impact leadership's role has in bringing about needed school change. In addition, leadership has been discussed in numerous publications from industry (Bennis, 1989; Nanus, 1992; Peters & Waterman, 1982) to education (Ogawa & Bossert, 1995; O'Neil, 1995; Sergiovanni, 1996). For the purposes of this review, however, leadership will be defined as those activities related to "articulating school purpose and mission, socializing new members to the school, ...explaining the way we do things around here" (Sergiovanni et al., 1987,

p.159) and moving individuals toward a common vision (Sergiovanni, 1996). Leadership can be top-down, bottom-up, or infused into the organizations as a quality all its own (Ogawa & Bossert, 1995) Studies that illustrated these three kinds of leadership and their relationship to school change initiatives and school culture are reviewed here.

Findings from several studies have described the use of strategies by administrators that were either detrimental or facilitative to the educational life of the school (Blase, 1990; Harris, 1995; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Southworth, 1993; Tittle, 1995). Some of these have even indicated that without the cooperation of faculty, administrators' attempts at innovation not only failed, but actually harmed the academic achievement of their students (Freidman, 1991). Other studies have attempted to identify specific administrator-attributes that either facilitated or hindered the successful implementation of a school change initiative (Lightfoot, 1983; Louis & Miles, 1990; Tye, 1985). Hall (1988) was particularly instrumental in raising the issue of administrative characteristics that facilitated school change. His Concerns Based Adoption Model (CBAM) was used in many studies to identify critical indicators of successful leadership for change. The Principal Teacher Interaction Study, conducted in the early 1980's, revealed three change facilitator styles related to teacher success in implementing innovations (Hall, 1988). Van Der Veght and Knip (1988) also sought to better define those "steering functions" of specific leadership configurations that led to successful implementation outcomes.

Administrator behaviors were also examined in Blase and Anderson's (1995) case studies where findings of "associative" and "disassociative sociocultural patterns" among teachers were related to particular administrator behaviors that fostered each pattern of behavior (p.65). One of the administrator behaviors that led to teachers' disassociative patterns was "favoritism" (meaning, the selection of teachers) which fostered competition, ingratiation, avoidance, and sabotage' among teachers. Inconsistent rule enforcement and lack of support for teacher change initiatives were also administrator behaviors that contributed to disassociative sociocultural patterns. On the other hand, "Principals viewed as effective by teachers seemed to enhance positive interpersonal transactions and the

development of associative patterns...” (p.67). This, in turn, increased cohesion associated with communication, trust, respect, support, and collaboration.

Keedy (1991) reported similar findings from a study that examined successful high school principals’ strategies for implementing their visions for school improvement. Findings from his study were based on teachers’ perceptions of effective principal-leadership. Reportedly, these administrators used various strategies to accomplish their goals for school reform. One was successful in marketing his school to an upper-middle class community and drawing back students previously lost to private prep schools. He challenged “several key teachers to become entrepreneurial program managers”, who started three new programs attractive to the schools’ parent community (Keedy, 1991, p.6). Another administrator used “administrative fiat” as he promoted “teachers sharing in decisions affecting their workplace” as a general framework for accommodating all issues and preventing people from going in all directions (p.7). He concluded that successful administrator strategies were related to particular cultural elements idiosyncratic to each school setting (Keedy, 1991). Administrators in Lieberman’s study (1995) played similar roles-- starting small, providing time for discussion that occurs among teachers and between teachers and administrators in common reflection, and creating teams and team leaders. Results of other studies, like Blase (1990) emphasized the potential for administrators’ change initiatives severely harming students, when they are not supported by the faculty.

Several studies have focused more on the impact of teacher leadership than the consideration of the building-level administrator as the sole proprietor of the critical function of leadership. Many of these studies, then, have explored the potential for leadership among teacher-cultures, documenting the roles that groups of powerful teachers have played in influencing their colleagues to either adopt or reject the proposed change initiative (Johnson & Pajares, 1996; Joyce & Calhoun, 1995; Lortie, 1975; Rousmaniere, 1997; Short & Greer, 1997; Wasley, 1991). Other studies have examined the potential for teacher-initiated change and identified the variables present in those cultures (Pace, 1991; Poole, 1997; Stager & Fullan, 1992). Others have looked particularly at issues of power

and control between faculty and administration and the effects they had on the change process (Cohen, 1995; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; McNeil, 1986; Lutz & Iannaccone, 1969; Sussman, 1977; Tittle, 1995). Due to the numerous studies which have attempted to better define these issues, it seems that further exploration of how specific processes and interactions have been used to achieve what many now call “teacher empowerment” in some schools, might be best achieved through a review of the other three critical functions chosen by the researcher and outlined below.

Communication patterns. The interactions among teachers and between teachers and administrators were an important part of descriptions of school cultures and critical components of schools attempting to undergo change. Toffler (1990) stated in his book, Power Shift, that the establishment of communication networks within organizations bypasses the formal organization, creating pathways for innovation that would not exist otherwise. Networks enable power shifts to take place without regard to professional rank or organizational configuration. Several studies of individual school cultures have found the formation of this type of communication quite common (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Fullan & Eastabrook, 1973; Goertz, 1996; Harris, 1995; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996).

However, Westby-Gibson (1965) framed her discussion of teacher-teacher relationships in social theory and research, when she stated that teachers’ “...time spent in peer relationships during their professional day is limited to fleeting interactions in the school office or halls, informal contacts in the faculty or lunch room, and formal contacts in teachers’ meetings or professional organizations” (p.335-336). These observations still hold true for a majority of school settings today, but new studies on the prevalence and impact of developing cadres of professionalism, also known collectively in the literature as ‘collegiality’, can be found in the research literature today (Eckmier & Bunyan, 1997; Lieberman, 1995; Short & Greer, 1997; Wasley, 1991).

Eckmier & Bunyan (1997) described three critical aspects of collegiality that focused particularly on increasing communication among teachers and administrators. They were collaboration, consultation, and coaching. Collaboration (commonly defined by the literature as sharing the responsibilities of planning, teaching, and/or evaluating within the

teaching/learning process) and consultation (commonly defined by the literature as sharing of expertise without the responsibility of actually performing) were two complementary practices among teachers that were considered facilitators of effective communication by several educators and researchers who have studied teacher work cultures (Blase & Blase, 1994; Rosenholtz, 1989; Short & Greer, 1997). Using collaboration and consultation to bring about change has been supported in several other studies (Fullan & Eastabrooke, 1973; Goertz, 1996; Lieberman, 1995; Pace, 1991). For example, collaboration was reported by Eckmier and Bunyan (1997), in their study of the use of collaborative teacher partnerships to implement curricular and instructional changes, to have worked best between novice and experienced teachers and coaching was instrumental as a maintenance tool for ongoing development and refinement of the innovation. Findings also indicated that "...collegiality among teacher participants led to interpersonal connections and interactions that made the projects' activities toward improving instruction more powerful and more meaningful" (Eckmier & Bunyan, 1997, p.44). This same study also indicated that one of the outcomes to the implementation of an innovation was the development of these structures across roles. They reported that collaboration took place between individual teachers and between teacher and administrator. Similar findings have been reported by several other educators and researchers who have studied collaboration (Larson & LaFast, 1989; Miller, 1990; Pugach & Johnson, 1995; Smith & Scott, 1990; Sparks & Bloomer, 1993), a practice also referred to in the literature on change management in both schools and business/ industry. These findings were supported as well by other studies on consultation (Chalfant & Pysh, 1989; Idol & West, 1987) and coaching, a practice commonly defined in the literature as the practice of professionals teaching one another through use of behaviors such as observing, giving feedback, and monitoring for improvement. (Conley, Bas-Issac, & Scull, 1995; Smithey & Everston, 1995).

Other particular teacher-teacher interactions, explored in Blase and Anderson's (1995) study of the internal politics of school cultures, were instrumental in defining teacher behaviors that negatively influenced teacher-teacher communication. These authors concluded that positive and negative political transactions between teachers probably

coexist in all schools. Fullan and Eastabrook's (1973) germinal study on school change and teacher cultures found that high achieving schools differed from low achieving schools in the amount and quality of teacher-teacher and teacher-administrator interaction during the change process. Likewise, Peters and Waterman (1986) found communication to be of utmost importance within systems, identifying "intense communication" as a facilitator of excellence (p.218). These traits were described as : a) communication systems are informal, b) communication intensity is extraordinary, c) communication is given physical supports, d) "forcing devices" are used to encourage innovation, and e) intense, informal communication acts as a system of tight controls. These findings have important implications for schools who do not have structures in place that enhances and facilitates meaningful communication among teachers and between teachers and administrators.

Eisenberg (1995) proposed an interesting alternative to traditional thought on communication networks, when he stated that the cultivation of "weak ties" within and among organizational personnel might present new solutions to old problems (p.111). He advised spending time cultivating those key players that are "most identified with the issue". Citing Fisher's (1987) argument for the use of "narrative rationality", he proposed that human decision-making is based on "whether 'the story' being told rings true" and suggested that communication among diverse perspectives might best be enhanced by crafting "a joint plot or story that all...will find resonant" (Eisenberg, 1995, p.112). Coles (1989) similarly proposed teaching and learning as a joint venture of the storyteller and the listener, citing the role of stories in facilitating meaning between divergent groups of listeners. Eisenberg (1995) also recommended identifying "boundary spanners" that "have significant power because they provide a communication linkage between disparate groups" (p.113). Several studies on school culture and change have illustrated the application of such a theory on organizational communication. Tittle's (1995) three-year ethnographic case study of the eventual failure of attempted school-wide restructuring at Cleveland Heights High School highlighted the importance of cultivating weaker ties both inside and outside of the school setting. She concluded that without these ties critical support was never secured from key players, such as teachers and central office personnel. This

eventually led to the restructuring effort losing favor with all stakeholders, especially the teachers, and subsequently being abandoned (Tittle, 1995). Muncey and McQuillan's (1996) book, Reform and resistance in schools and classrooms, was a report of six ethnographic case studies of high schools attempting to undergo changes supported by Ted Sizer's Coalition for Essential Schools movement. These revealing ethnographies of the use of influential and expert power sources among teachers also confirmed the degree of control teacher groups were able to exercise within the faculty in order to stifle change. One of the studies clearly illustrated how a principal's decision to only include teachers who supported the changes in collaborative groups, which were designed to manage the innovations, became a fatal one, when teachers who had been left out of the principal's communication loop chose to exercise their own power of influence over the faculty as a whole. The principal's three year attempt to implement the necessary changes for inclusion in Sizer's coalition eventually failed and the school was forced to withdraw its name from the coalition's list of associated schools (Muncey & McQuillan, 1996).

Rules, roles, and responsibilities. Several theorists and researchers of school culture have also investigated rules, roles, and responsibilities of teachers and administrators that exist and emerge within school cultures (Goodlad, 1984; Lieberman, 1995; Lortie, 1975; Rosenholtz, 1989; Sizer, 1984; Snyder & Snyder, 1996; Short & Greer, 1997; Wasley, 1991; Westby-Gibson, 1965). Raywid (1990) referred to these procedures as "patterns of interaction...[that] help yield a school's social order" (p. 170). She also believed that "bureaucratic assumptions have led to a strong tendency to generate formal rules" (p.171).

In examining the relationship between teachers, administrators, rules, and school change initiatives, Lieberman (1995) found in two case studies that during a successful school change initiative:

Early resistance of some teachers gave way to developing norms and innovation and optimism. Each [study] showed the power of the authentic bottom-up participation of teachers: slowly building their commitment by encouraging and engaging them in discussion...and inventing ways to make it a reality. (p.6)

This emergence of new norms during the change process has also been investigated by several other researchers in the field (a Campo, 1993; Pace, 1991; Poole, 1997; Snyder & Snyder, 1996). Findings of a relationship between the existence and emergence of rules and a particular school change initiative have been reported in several case studies (Keedy, 1991; Muncey & McQuillan, 1995; Joyce & Calhoun, 1995). For example, in their report of restructuring at the middle school, Guiton et.al. (1995) discovered the emergence of new practices, which were based on what they called “transitional norms”-- those agreed upon behaviors that were successful in moving the faculty from past to present level of performance. The changing of cultural norms in schools undergoing change appeared to be an indicator of a successful change. Schools that were not able to move their faculty to the establishment of transitional or new norms-- more conducive to the new practice-- often failed to keep the change going (Joyce & Calhoun, 1996; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Tittle, 1995).

Studies of similar effects of changes in teachers’ roles on the successful implementation of a school change initiative were also reviewed. Stager and Fullan (1992) investigated the impact of the teacher’s role as moral visionary and change agent. Their case study described the effectiveness of a change initiative targeted at restructuring of the middle grades of an inner city secondary school and the role played by both teacher and administrator in providing mutual support and leadership. Teachers, in this case, became team leaders and served as change agents for other faculty. Administrators provided support and resources, while sharing values of diversity and self-reflection. The faculty was able to implement new ways of teaching, evaluating, and other “fundamental changes in what we do” (Stager & Fullan, 1992, p.19) through increased teacher collegiality. These findings have been supported more recently by the Muncey and McQuillan study (1996) where teachers were given roles in planning, developing, and communicating changes to students and parents. In this particular school, one initiative after another was implemented with resource support and student involvement. Teachers acted as mentors, craftors of change initiatives, and self-evaluators for the faculty and school. Rousimiere (1997) and Johnson and Pajares (1996) found that teacher roles were significantly impacted

by changes brought into the school. These changes impacted the role of teachers in the decision-making process and subsequently impacted issues of power and control in the classroom.

Studies have also shown that staff in more successful schools appeared to readily accept responsibility for school improvement (Kritek, 1986; Lieberman, 1995; Sussman, 1977). It was reported in Sussman's (1977) case studies conducted on elementary schools and their unsuccessful attempts at school change, that:

The implementation of intricate organizational innovations requires action of a higher complex on the part of teachers. Since it is left, in considerable degree, up to the teachers, they must be willing and at best highly motivated to undertake the implementation. (p.218)

She concluded more than 20 years ago that "implementation of organizational innovation in schools stands or falls on the teachers' willingness and capacity to pattern their interaction with each other and with their pupils in new ways" (Sussman, 1977, p.218). Educators and researchers who have supported this patterning of interactions among teachers, commonly known as 'collegiality', have stressed the critical difference its presence can make in the success or failure of schools attempting to undergo complex and difficult change initiatives.

Decision-making process. The role and responsibility of decision-making has been documented in educational literature for the past 100 years. While decision-making has most often been addressed as a function of administration (Musella, 1989; Nanus, 1992; Newel, 1978; Owens, 1995), the impact of teacher-decision making at the individual school building level has also been examined. Dewey (1916/1944) may have been the first to address the teachers' role in making decisions about the content and process of learning. He believed that teachers' roles included decision-making that sought to integrate both aspects of teaching, rather than allowing them to be separated, as had been the custom in early educational practice (Simpson & Jackson, 1997). Other educators have addressed the issue over the years in their studies of teacher roles and responsibilities (Harnak, 1968; Lortie, 1975). Altenbaugh's (1992) historiography of teachers' roles and responsibilities

included interviews of classroom teachers that practiced between the 1930's and the 1970's. He concluded that "although teachers now assert more control over the economic decision-making, educational policy-making remains largely in the hands of school administrators" (p.170). He pointed out that continuing issues of power and control, including the systematic removal of teachers' access to the decision-making process over the past century, have left classroom teachers less powerful than ever before in the history of teaching (Altenbaugh, 1992). Rousmaniere's (1997) study of the recollections of New York City public school teachers' experiences during the turbulent reform era of the 1920's reported similar findings, as a multitude of interviews chronicled the removal of teachers from the decision-making process. Reportedly, teachers were stripped of their authority within the confines of their own school culture.

Johnson and Pajares' (1996) three-year case study of a school's effort to increase participation in and therefore more widely implement shared decision-making in one large public secondary school also revealed issues of "authority and isolation" (p.620). Important factors identified in the study were the existing traditions of interaction within the school culture that either supported or constrained the decision-making process. Findings also indicated "that shared decision-making can alter the culture of a school" (Johnson & Pajares, 1996, p. 623). One teacher reported that "It did open up more of a dialogue type of thing between the administration and the teachers" (p.620). This study also indicated that the administrator's role is an important one in supporting the change to shared decision-making. Although it focused directly on decision-making as a school change initiative, these findings also have implications regarding issues of power and control and teacher/administrator attributes. Fullan and Eastabrooke (1973), in their large sociological survey of 46 schools, explored teacher perceptions of informal and formal structures used to make decisions within their individual schools. Their findings indicated that high achieving schools reported more teacher involvement in decision-making than low achieving schools.

The combined findings of these studies and others reviewed in the literature (Goertz, 1996; Harris, 1995; Muncey & McQuillan, 1997), indicated that increased levels of teacher-decision making in schools undergoing innovation, increased the intensity and

spread of the innovation. Findings also highlighted important issues related to teacher/administrator negotiations of power and control within individual contexts to which school cultures should attune themselves. These issues included finding available mechanisms for accessing varied teacher involvement in the decision-making process, rather than limiting teacher input to a few power-players in the school's internal hierarchy (Johnson & Pajares, 1996; Lightfoot, 1983; Stager & Fullan, 1992; Tittle, 1995). The literature on teacher leadership also emphasized the importance of teacher decision-making in areas related to curriculum development, staff development, and other issues of substance. Many educators have criticized the move to school-based management, citing only the appearance of increased teacher decision-making as a problem in producing substantive change (Carlson, 1992; Dale, 1997; Eisenberg, 1995; Fullan, 1991, 1992; Garmston & Wellman, 1995; Guskey & Peterson, 1996; Glatthorn, 1992; Heck & Williams, 1994; Little, 1994; McNeil, 1985). Several of these authors saw the issue of decision-making directly related to issues of power and control in schools, especially those attempting to implement a change initiative. Guskey and Peterson (1996) seemed to sum up the findings and opinions of a majority of educators when they referred to the issues of including teachers in the school based decision-making process as multi-faceted: the power problem, the implementation problem, the ambiguous-mission problem, the time problem, the expertise problem, the cultural constraints problem, the avoidance problem, and the motivation problem. Conventional wisdom, however, has continued to emphasize the importance of allowing teachers to be a part of the decision-making process before and during a school change initiative, no matter how uncomfortable that process may become.

This researcher's decision to study schools undergoing a change to inclusion was based, in part on the issues that have appeared in the literature on inclusion. Although there have been few case studies conducted exploring the change process in relation to school culture and inclusion, there were studies which examined teacher attitudes and beliefs about inclusion and form a foundation for the exploration of inclusion and change in school cultures (Olson, Chalmers, & Hoover, 1995; Putnam, Spiegel, & Bruininks, 1995). However, in an effort to broaden the scope of this literature review on issues related to

inclusion, the next section of this study will focus on the ideology that underpins inclusion as a construct and a practice, while also addressing some of the same issues that have been dealt with in-depth earlier, about change in general.

Review of Literature on Inclusion as a School Change Initiative

The inclusion of students with disabilities into general education classrooms has been described, debated, and defended by educators for the past 25 years. Referred to in previous years as ‘mainstreaming’, literature in the past 10 years on ‘inclusion’ has made critical distinctions about the differences in the level of supports needed to maintain appropriate inclusive environments in today’s public schools. Many educators have begun to propose agendas that either limit or enlarge the accessibility of students with disabilities into the full realm of educational opportunities in today’s schools (Bursuck & Friend, 1996; Christensen & Rizvi, 1996; Fuchs & Fuchs, 1994; Lipsky & Gartner, 1996; Roach, 1995; Thompkins & Deloney, 1995). The more recent emphasis on inclusion in the past year, spurred by the 1997 reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 1990, has been to increase options for inclusive practice within the general education curriculum when making decisions about individual programs for students with disabilities (Mehfoud, 1997). This new emphasis has served to put many schools ‘on notice’ to increase options for placement in general education classrooms.

Additionally, in the past several years, advocates for students with all kinds of special needs (i.e., economically at-risk and culturally and linguistically diverse students) have joined the debate and discussion, often proposing that many of the same practices being utilized for students with identified disabilities in general education classrooms would better address the diverse learning needs of all students and have encouraged teachers to move toward school restructuring practices that honor such diversity (Comer, 1980; Gay, 1993; King, 1967; Pugach & Seidl, 1996; Townsend, Thomas, Witty, & Lee, 1996; Villa & Thousand, 1995; Wang, Walberg, & Reynolds, 1992). Consequently, a collection of ‘inclusive practices’ has been identified that are now being built upon by educators and researchers who propose their use in the education of all children (Goor & Schwenn, 1993; Kronberg, 1995; Herman & Stringfield, 1997; Manning, 1996).

Yet, inclusion, 'per se', remains a topic many hesitate to address in relation to school change initiatives because of its inherently complex implications for educational purpose and process, such as teacher education, professional development, curricular realignment, and the redefinition of teacher roles and responsibilities (Bondy, Ross, Sindelar, & Griffin, 1995; Everington, Hamill, & Lubic, 1996; Falvey, Gage, & Eshilian, 1995; Ferguson & Ralph, 1996; Garnett, 1996; Glatthorn, 1990; Hardman, 1994; Pugach & Warger, 1993). Educators who have emphasized one aspect or another of the rights' movement for students with differences, have proposed varied methods of implementation for inclusive practices (Cannon, Idol, & West, 1992; The Council for Exceptional Children, 1993; Fuchs, Roberts, Fuchs, & Bowers, 1996; Snell & Janney, 1993), ranging from collaborative consultation among both special and general education teachers (Chalfant, Pysh, & Moultrie, 1979; Chalfant & Pysh, 1989; Cook & Friend, 1993; Givner & Haager, 1995; Pugach & Johnson, 1995b; West & Idol, 1990) to actually sharing the same classroom, as in the practice of team teaching (Bauwens & Hourcade, 1991; Cook & Friend, 1995; Friend, Reisling, & Cook, 1993; Reinhiller, 1996); from systems change theories and policy implications (Allegheny-Singer, 1996; Burke, 1996; Case, 1992; Cooley, 1995; Gerber, 1996; Reuda, 1989; Sage & Burrello, 1994; Skrtic, 1995; Slee, 1996) and accountability issues (Danielson, 1996; LRP, 1998; McDonald et.al, 1997; National Association of State Boards, 1994; Thurlow, 1995; Warren & McLaughlin, 1996) to issues of "responsible inclusion" and administrative support (Goor, 1995; McKay & Burgess, 1997; Podemski, Marsh, Smith, & Price, 1995; Sage, 1996; Tindall, 1996; Villa, Thousand, Stainback, & Stainback, 1993).

Issues such as those reviewed in earlier sections of this study, related to the relationship between school culture and a particular school change initiative, appeared to take on heightened significance when the proposed change is one as volatile as the practice of inclusion. Attempts to implement inclusion as a school change initiative have brought to light issues regarding lack of communication among teachers (Gelzheiser & Meyers, 1996), amount of time allocated for planning before implementation (Korinek, McLaughlin, & Gable, 1994), and the overall manner in which the change took place

(Butler & Boscardin, 1997; Villa, Thousand, Meyers, & Nevin, 1996). Many inclusion proponents believed that preparation by teachers and administrators (Walther-Thomas, Bryant, & Land, 1996; Williams & Fox, 1996), discussion of teacher beliefs (Olson et al., 1995; Putnam et al., 1995), and consideration of existing structures (Goor, 1995; Podemski et al., 1995), were all important aspects of the decision-making process needed to support such an effort (National Center on Educational Restructuring, 1994).

In one study of teacher's views of inclusion, with interview data collected through several teacher focus groups, the researcher concluded that teachers felt uninformed about the purpose of inclusion and became highly suspicious of the effects it might have on students in the general education classrooms (Vaughn, Schumm, Jallard, Slusher, & Samuel, 1996). Yet, another study of student social relationships inclusive classrooms, utilizing student interviews and sociograms (Farmer & Farmer, 1996), reported high levels of acceptance of students with disabilities by other students in general education classrooms. Issues of power and control were also investigated and reported in the literature, as teachers, parents, and administrators identified the need to retain equal amounts of control, noting that giving up on one issue meant seeking a replacement to balance out issues of power and control (Peck, Hayden, Wandschneider, Peterson, & Richarz, 1989).

In Berres, Ferguson, Knoblock, and Woods' (1996) edited book, Creating tomorrow's schools today: Stories of inclusion, change and renewal, different authors chronicled the particular processes that were utilized in individual schools undergoing a change to inclusion. Issues of school restructuring, similar to those identified in the generic school change literature were also important in these settings. They included: a) systemic vs. "setting" reform (referring to the important considerations needed within individual contexts as opposed to broad whole system related reforms that propose to impact individual settings uniformly), b) the need for new curriculum development that addresses the needs of a more diverse learning community, c) difficulties encountered in creating classrooms that honored diversity, and d) the supports needed at the high school level as students move into job-related curriculum (Berres et al., 1996).

Many of these same issues were reviewed in the literature on change included in earlier sections of this chapter, highlighting the similarities in issues that must be addressed when attempting to implement any change initiative. For example, Janney, Snell, Beers, & Raynes (1995) used individual interviews to study what teacher attitudes and beliefs were the basis for concerns voiced among the 26 general educators in five school districts that were implementing inclusion. Interestingly, concerns about other changes reported in the literature were similar to those of these teachers involved in inclusion. They included: the purpose of the change, the clarity of its implementation methods, the effort it would require of teachers, and its rewards (Janney et al., 1995). These were all concerns voiced by teachers in other studies on school change and demonstrated the similarities among school cultures in their concerns about school change. This lack of real differences in the implementation of inclusion as a school change initiative in comparison to other school change initiatives was critical to the researcher's decision to address inclusion as a school change initiative in all three schools. An additional focus of the study, however, was the culture of the high school and the peculiarities that might be encountered in exploring their unique cultures. Therefore, a review of six selected case studies on high schools follows.

Review of Selected Case Studies of High Schools

The culture of the high school has offered researchers and theorists a unique opportunity to explore well established rituals, traditions, and relationships that have remained virtually unchanged since the turn of the century. At that time, a massive consolidation process moved small, heterogeneous community schools into large, foreboding structures that now house more clients, subjects taught, and specialized personnel than many small colleges (Wagner, 1995). Students are offered courses that range from core academic subjects such as English and Math to contextually determined offerings such as Chinese, parenting, and auto mechanics (Sizer, 1984). Since this movement to the large, multi-purpose school, over 75 years ago, there has been both criticism and support for what is seen by many as the 'comprehensive' high school.

Educators who have written about and studied school change have often focused on the intractability of change in high schools. Theodore Sizer, in particular, has attacked the

large comprehensive high school as impenetrable to changing educational practice and has proposed over the years multiple changes in the way we think about what high schools should be and do. In his three volume trilogy on high school restructuring, Horace's compromise: The dilemma of the American high school (1984), Horace's school: Redesigning the American high school (1992), and Horace's hope: What works for the American high school (1996), Sizer outlined the essential components of high school restructuring that he has also promoted through The Coalition of Essential Schools, a nation-wide network of restructuring high schools he founded at Brown University in 1984. He has proposed that the inherent nature of the traditional high school is hostile to substantive change and that only by changing its essential features will practical innovation ever become a reality.

The study of high schools as individual school settings has also become more prevalent in the school reform literature, especially over the past 15 years. Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot's (1983) landmark study of six public and private schools, The good high school: Portraits of character and courage, was the first multiple case study to chronicle this unique culture through the eyes of teachers, students, parents, and administrators. The six schools chosen for the study were involved in on-going attempts to define for themselves the purpose and process of education. Consequently, there were issues identified among the six that highlighted the value of studying good high schools and their cultures as important contributions to the study of school change. Those issues identified were reflected in the emergent themes she discussed in the last chapter. They were: a) permeable boundaries and institutional control, b) feminine and masculine qualities of leadership, c) teacher autonomy and adulthood, d) fearless and empathetic regard of students, and e) student values and views. These major themes crossed the boundaries of individual schools and became the physical traits she saw in her carefully crafted portraits of all six "good" high schools.

Five studies conducted since then have also made significant contributions to the literature on theory and research about change and the American high school (Cohen, 1995; Louis & Miles, 1990; Tittle, 1995; Tye, 1985; Wagner, 1994). Each of them offered a

unique perspective on change initiatives that either single or multiple schools were undergoing. In Tittle's (1995) and Cohen's (1995) studies, change in a single high school was chronicled over a period of three years, involving innumerable interviews and massive amounts of document review and observation. These studies were in-depth stories of the people, processes, and relationships that shaped the change process. Although both stories ended with change being overcome by the status-quo, each told a different story, but with similar themes. In Tittle's (1995) chronicle of attempts to undergo massive change at Cleveland Heights High School, she was careful to include very important information on the demographic and political changes that had taken place before and during the attempt at implementing radical changes to the structural, organizational and instructional components of this school. Her story was appropriately situated among the events that occurred both inside and outside of the school building, reflecting the impact of internal and external determinants on the attempted changes. The impact of personnel influences on the attempts at change, as well as those of long-held academic traditions at Heights High were of utmost importance in considering both the how and why change was not real and meaningful in the long run. In Cohen's (1995) story of reform at Brookville High, she illustrated her belief that "Change, when it happens at all, happens slowly and incrementally" (p.3). Dedicated to revealing the "pitfalls of school change in America", Cohen felt strongly that the literature on school change had been too optimistic, stating that "Hard, plain truths about school reform, its arduous processes and honest limitations, have traditionally been hard to find in the literature on restructuring and school change". She goes on to say that "The failure to 'tell it like it is' is an understandable phenomenon considering who has most frequently done the telling", referring to those "outsiders... researchers and consultants with a stake in promoting specific programs" (Cohen, 1995, p.3). Cohen's (1995) story of incremental change at Brookville High was "the painful story of one school's experience with reform" (p.5). Although change continued there after her research was completed, the same influences of funding, centralized and decentralized power, and personnel were themes that transverse the three years of planning, attempted collaboration, and assessment. Although the planned change was not completed by the end of her research, other changes

had taken place that were critical to its eventual success. One of the most important of these was the changes in teacher attitudes and skills that greatly impacted the quality of teaching and learning. One of the most important lessons learned was the limits of collaboration. This, as other innovations tried at Brookville, suffered the same fate Cohen labeled as the “drift back toward tradition” (Cohen, 1995, p.111). Therefore, while the change process, itself, was less than successful, the lessons learned from the story of this school, regarding the slow tedious, incremental nature of individual school change, are invaluable to the educational community as we seek enduring solutions to the problem of creating real and lasting change.

Research into schools whose experiences with change were less than optimal has also appeared in the literature. Wagner’s (1994) multiple case study of three high schools undergoing change followed much the same design as the two single case studies reviewed above. Using interviews, observations, and document reviews, he told the stories of three schools engaged in the change process and his involvement with them over a period of one school year. Believing that these schools illustrated varying degrees of success in implementing a major reform initiative, he concluded that “three essential, interrelated components to a successful school improvement process [were:]... clear academic goals... core values... and collaboration” (Wagner, 1994, p.235). All three of these research studies used narrative descriptions, two of them as portraits and one as a case study, to communicate a well illustrated picture of schools where change was the agenda, although change was never measured through methods of quantification or calculation. Instead, the goal of these studies was to detail the process, the people, and the impact on the parts as well as the whole of the school.

Two other studies of similar settings used methodologies different from those in the three previous studies. Louis and Miles’ (1990) book, Improving the urban high school: what works and why reported on a multiple case study of five urban high schools, experiencing varying levels of success in the change process, through the use of extensive interviews with administrators, teachers, counselors, and students; unstructured observations; and document review. All data collection was conducted during multiple site

visits by teams of researchers over a period of one year in each school. In addition, selected telephone interviews and a 27 page closed-ended principal survey distributed to 275 schools, produced a wealth of data that was used to focus the results of the case studies on leadership/management issues as the process of change was undertaken. The resultant triangulation of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies produced the author's consolidated conclusions about the process of change. These were articulated within the following six related headings: contexts of change, planning for change, vision building, gathering and managing resources, problems and coping with the change process, and implications for management and leadership. Again, the authors studied school cultures that were more and less successful in making change happen. Tye (1985) also used data gathered by survey and observational research to create 13 case studies of high schools that were attempting to undergo change. Initially part of a databank created from Goodlad's study of schooling, reported on in his book, A place called school: Prospects for the future (1984), the information from Tye's (1985) study was used to describe each school's "unique personality" as well as the "deep structure" that was pervasive among all thirteen. This combined analysis of individual and group traits formed the basis of Tye's (1985) conceptual model and subsequent recommendations for policy and practice. Many of them included implications for the "superordinate" system of state and district-level involvement, as well as those for schools of education, as she addressed issues related to the "upgrading of the quality of teaching" (Tye, 1985, p.380). Both of these larger and more complex studies were significant contributions to the research literature, both through their use of mixed designs and the scope of their agendas. All six of them were invaluable in shaping the research agenda and design in this multi-site case study, as well as influential in forming the researcher's interpretations and analysis.

Realizing, then, that the high school culture and change is a problem of historic proportions, the researcher chose to use this formidable context for her study on a change to inclusion for several reasons. Firstly, the implementation of inclusion in elementary schools has been documented to some extent over the past five years. However, there are very few studies of high schools attempting to implement inclusion as a school-wide

change initiative that impacts both teacher practice and administrative involvement. Secondly, many of the studies at the elementary level found inclusion to be merely a liaison between selected teachers that often operated isolated from the rest of the faculty, making few real in-roads into changes in general education classrooms. Change to inclusion in high schools would of necessity require the innovation to be addressed at multiple levels of the organization, putting in to play a variety of issues related to power and control. Thirdly, high school teachers are accustomed to high levels of autonomy in their subject area and the selection of their classroom curriculum. High schools undergoing a change to inclusion, then, offered a unique opportunity to study both the impact of a planned change on the practices of classroom teachers in a setting where process and relationships are often dictated by years of tradition and more opportunities for exploring issues of power and control among teachers and between teachers and administrators (Cohen, 1995; Louis & Miles, 1990; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; NASSP, 1996; Tittle, 1995; Wagner, 1994).

Summary: Synthesis, analysis, and interpretation of the literature base

Overview

Establishing a historical perspective on the development of theories related to organizational development in schools, was especially helpful to this researcher in building a foundation for the study of relevant theory and research on school culture and issues of power and control among teachers and administrators during the change process. By reviewing the development of theory regarding the dynamics of organizations from business and industry and integrating it with theory and research related to schools as societies and their resistance to change from a cultural perspective, connections were made which linked this body of knowledge to more specific theory and research on teacher/teacher and teacher/administrator relationships, specifically theory and research on issues of power and control, teacher professionalism, and critical functions that play an important role in those relationships. The concept of 'fit' between school culture and a school change initiative, specifically inclusion, and the high school culture was also an important part of the literature review.

In the following sections, the researcher provides a summary of the synthesis and analysis of this literature base-- including a critical review of the research methodology and implications of this kind of research for further study into school cultures and change-- as rationale for her interpretations and proposal of this research study, in particular. Chapter Two is concluded with a presentation and discussion of a graphic illustration of the contributions of the literature to multiple theories and the researcher's interpretation of the relationships of issues to be addressed by the study, prior to its commencement. These two conceptual models will be discussed again, at the end of Chapter Five, and compared to the final model constructed at the end of the study.

Synthesis and Analysis of Literature Base

The theories and studies that have been reviewed here were instrumental in framing issues related to teacher/administrator relationships in schools undergoing a change, through their exploration of critical interactions, cultural norms, and contextual structures relevant to the constructs of a) issues of power and control; b) teacher-administrator attributes of leadership style, communication patterns; rules, roles, and responsibilities; and the decision-making process; and c) relationship between school culture and a school change initiative. A wide variety of particular issues related to school change initiatives was investigated-- from teacher-initiated instructional strategies to teacher-perceived administrator control strategies, from leadership characteristics that produced needed change/innovation to the practice of inclusion. All examined various aspects of the fundamental sociological relationships among teachers and administrators and the anthropological constructs of culture and change.

Although change usually involved the application of differing rules, roles, and responsibilities in each setting, there were striking similarities. For instance, the redefining of roles was vital to constructing new meaning during the change process (Fullan, 1991). Impact of cultural norms on the change process indicated the importance of assessing and dialoguing about those norms if change is to have a chance (Sarason, 1996). Increased teacher collegiality and shared decision-making often led to teacher empowerment (Lieberman, 1995). Decrease in communication among teachers and administrators, often

due to control tactics of administrators, led to further removal of teacher power and control over everyday occurrences in the classroom (Goodlad, 1984).

The role of the building administrator was found to be a major determinant in creating cohesive cultures and establishing environments that were either friendly or hostile to the change initiative. Interactions between administrators and teachers tended to either facilitate teacher involvement and subsequent successful school change or hinder it. Neither authoritarian or uninvolved administrator leadership styles encouraged growth of teacher collegiality or provided needed supports for the kinds of positive interaction vital to the involvement of teachers in the decision-making process (Friedman, 1991; Harris, 1995; Keedy, 1991; Southworth, 1993; Hall, 1988; Van Der Veght & Knip, 1988).

Findings from studies of school-wide change programs such as Sizer's Coalition for Essential Schools (Cohen, 1995; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Wagner, 1994) indicated that although a slow and tedious process, the active and learned involvement of teachers, administrators, and students as equal partners in school leadership better facilitated real and lasting change. These studies also reported findings that supported the connection between teacher leadership and student learning. They are supported by others that demonstrated success in individual schools as they focused their research on the individual school unit, specifically, the teacher-administrator relationship (Lambert, 1998; Louis & Miles, 1990; Tittle, 1995; Tye, 1985). Many of the studies reported here also described administrators' behaviors, conditions of implementation, and attitudes of teachers in relation to specific innovations. Often this body of research was reflective of complex theories of cultural interaction based on sociological conceptualizations (Harris, 1995; Tye, 1985; Louis & Miles, 1990; Snyder & Snyder, 1996) and included implications for further research, policy, and practice that have impacted the continued study of schools and change, as well new theories and practice (Goodlad, 1997).

Critical review of research methodology. The research studies reviewed in this Chapter were overwhelmingly qualitative in nature, often utilizing common methods of both data collection and data analysis. There were several single case studies that focused on one particular set of circumstances and the idiosyncratic ways in which attempts at

change were impacted upon by the culture of that school. Recognizing that sociological theoretical constructs such as school culture can best be investigated through methods congruent with anthropological techniques, the methodology utilized was generally reflective of the subject of the research.

Single and multiple case studies were also prevalent. The most frequently utilized data collection method was interview/questionnaire. Some instruments were designed specifically for the studies and/or as an outgrowth of an earlier stage of investigation, while others were imported from other research studies. The studies (Blase, 1990; Hall, 1988; Snyder & Snyder, 1996; Van Der Veght & Knip, 1988) that appeared to represent the most technologically sound methodology were from the former group. In studies where interviews were used, researchers commonly tape-recorded or wrote field notes either during or immediately following the data collection period. Although this method of data collection can result in more in-depth information, obviously, the perspective of the recorder of field notes can influence the study's purported results. In two of the studies (Pace, 1992; Harris, 1992) the probability of this effect was acknowledged "up front". There were two others (Southworth, 1993; Harris, 1992) that reported methods of analyses designed to insure "an accurate view" of qualitative issues by subjecting the notes to extensive coding, revising, and multi-perspective agreement. These appeared to be attempts to triangulate the data collection and analyses methods in order to strengthen the quality of the research. Three studies (Blase, 1990; Harris, 1992; Harris, 1995) reported use of the "constant comparative" method, first reported by Glaser and Strauss (1967), to analyze data. Others (Southworth, 1993; Snyder & Snyder, 1996) reported using a method which primarily "identified themes" through elaborate coding methods, citing Miles and Huberman's (1994) book, Qualitative data analysis, as their model for analysis. Although quite similar in process, the former emphasizes the emergent qualities of data analysis, while the latter focuses on establishing more elaborate codes that reflect content and process as separate units of analysis. Both methods rely on theme building to construct the resulting researcher interpretation. Several other studies reported analyses that subjected the notes to extensive coding, revising, and multi-perspective agreement. They all reported the use of

triangulation in sampling, instrumentation, and data collection and analysis that reflect generally approved qualities of rigorous qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994).

There were, however, several studies (a Campo, 1993; Friedman, 1991; Hall, 1988; Louis & Miles, 1990; Tye, 1985; Van Der Veght & Knip, 1988) which utilized quantitative and qualitative methodology through either instrumentation, data collection, and/or data analysis methods. These studies, described as mixed design, appeared technically sound, as the methodology was congruent with the overall conceptualization of the investigation. Instrumentation was the most obvious area of limitation, with few studies reporting reliability and validity for either researcher-designed instruments or those designed by others. In general, the combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology added rigor to this type of cultural research.

As a group, the strengths of these studies included the elaboration of conceptualization and related theories or rationale the study was investigating. In most instances, research was utilized to promote complex theories of cultural interaction based on sociological conceptualizations and concluded with some very thoughtful relationships drawn and recommendations given. The inclusion or fusion of ideology across disciplines lent new and diverse perspectives to the issues of school culture and change.

Some of the studies were weak in specifying the details of methodology that resulted in the reported results/ findings. Three of them (Blase, 1990; Freidman, 1991; Harris, 1995) might be replicable using only the data analysis reported in their articles. However, several others (a Campo, 1993; Hall, 1988; Harris, 1992; Southworth, 1993; Van Der Veght & Knip, 1988) were deficient in relating an adequate amount of information regarding sampling data and methodology necessary to replicate. These latter studies were more focused on promoting the theoretical constructs believed to be supported by the research than on informing the reader of the details of the research methodology.

As a group, the research studies also reflected the breadth and scope of the theoretical constructs represented, by investigating the effect of existing school culture on the capacity for change in single school settings. This is an area that needs additional

empirical research to further clarify the distinction between the principal's role and the collective role of teachers. 'Who holds the power to either facilitate or hinder changes?' and 'how is that process best influenced?' are questions that have not been fully answered in the research literature. The findings of studies reported here described principals' behaviors, conditions of implementation, and attitudes of teachers in relation to successful versus failed innovations.

Overall, the field of sociological research in schools could benefit from a thorough analysis of the existing data, focusing particularly on the most technologically sound and productive elements of this research. That is, what particular instrumentation, data collection methods, and analysis provided the most reliable data in relation to the most critical issues identified. Currently, the literature appears to support triangulation in sampling, instrumentation, and analysis in studies that employ rigorous qualitative research methodology (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994).

Implications for Further Research

Confronted with the phenomenon of schools' resistance to meaningful change, several theorists and researchers have turned to elements of school culture addressed by theories of political origin (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Wirt & Kirst, 1997). They have described issues of change within the context of what they have called the "micro-politics of school culture" (Blase & Anderson, 1995). Consequently, school change initiatives have been likened to change within the larger political arena and the resulting struggle for power and control (Harris, 1995; Lieberman, 1995; Short & Greer, 1997). Several studies have begun to examine this phenomenon and its affect on school cultures by exploring issues such as role conflict, values clarification, and impact of various leadership styles through the lens of political theory (Blase & Anderson, 1996; Lieberman, 1995; Short & Greer, 1997). Many researchers have recommended the continued exploration of values, beliefs, actions, and interactions that support the processes and relationships that impact a school change initiative and a school's culture (Lieberman, 1995, Sarason, 1992; Stager & Fullan, 1991; Wasley, 1991). Other studies have explored issues of power and control between teachers and principals and among teachers themselves through the study of the

interdependence of personal and professional relationships (Fullan & Eastabrook, 1973). Studies by Lieberman (1995), Short and Greer (1997), Stager and Fullan (1992), Sussman (1977), and Wasley (1991) have explored relationships among teachers and principals that indicated critical interactions, cultural norms, and contextual structures within each school's culture. Although there was often an application of differing rules, roles, and responsibilities within differing settings, there were striking similarities when change was involved. In several of these studies, the researchers used complex theories of cultural interaction based on sociological conceptualizations of various elements within each culture (Harris, 1995; Johnson & Pajares, 1995). These theories often demonstrated the fusion of ideology across several arenas-- cultural, political, and constructivist. A study into issues of power and control among teachers and principals, related to the decision-making process during a school change initiative within individual school cultures, utilizing an interactive conceptualization of compatible theories of change (cultural, political, and constructivist) - may be helpful in unraveling some of the many unanswered questions educators continue to ask about why schools "can't" or "won't" change. An exploration of such cultural elements from a political point of view may prove profitable in the search for answers to the problem of school culture and change (Sarason, 1971).

Issues related to the particular school change initiative of inclusion (commonly defined in the literature as a concerted effort on the part of school faculty to increase participation of students with disabilities in general education classrooms, curriculum, and/or extra curricular activities with appropriate technical supports, teacher resources, and professional development) are currently being debated in every state, school division, and school building across America. This political and cultural 'hot potato' has relevance to the issues addressed above. This researcher believes that the exploration of this particular school change initiative will contribute important information to a sometimes volatile arena in today's schools. From a political and a cultural point of view, critical aspects of change related to schools undergoing the inclusion process is information needed both nationally and at the individual school division and building level. Decisions regarding the inclusion process are being made daily at the individual school level which affect leadership styles,

communication patterns, and implicit and explicit rules, roles, and responsibilities of its participants. Building upon the research studies and literature base reviewed above, many educational change theorists and researchers (Joyce & Calhoun, 1996; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Poole, 1995), who have examined contextual factors based on individual realities of the participants of that culture, have proposed that the participant point of view contributes significantly to the building of knowledge. Naturalistic inquiry that produces themes and patterns of individual cultures may hold important clues to successfully impacting resistance to school change initiatives. In addition, future meta analyses may be necessary.

Researcher's Interpretation and Recommendations for Further Study

Many of the research studies reviewed here have focused on the relationship among teachers and between teachers and administrators and the ramifications of their subsequent interactions. Findings have indicated that particular practices undertaken by the administrator may lead to more successful school change than others. However, studies have also shown that the institutionalization of change initiatives may be determined more readily by teacher agreement and covert endorsement than was previously assumed by traditional views of educational administration. Studies of the role of teacher as change agent during the school change initiative have indicated that successful achievement of real and lasting change in schools may depend more on teacher interactions than teacher-administrator. Evidence is mounting among researchers and school change experts that teacher leadership is not only important, it is essential to making schools responsive, growing entities adaptable to change and capable of self-governance (Barth, 1990; Fullan, 1993; Lieberman, 1995; Wagner, 1995). However, the status-quo in schools across the country today continues to support traditional hierarchical lines of authority (Cohen, 1995; Goodlad, 1997; Sarason, 1996; Wagner, 1995). It appears, then, that an exploration of these issues, as reflected in the literature on school change, might benefit individual school change initiatives. School leadership initiatives may need to be reexamined. Research has shown particular practices to be more successful than others in involving teachers in the school change process. Implications for new practice at the building level— collaboration,

consultation, teaming, joint decision-making-- focus on the successful navigation of these relationships.

The literature also supported the continued exploration of the issues of 'fit' between school culture and its existing norms and the desired change. A closer examination of roles leaders play in school communities may inform schools of their own unique needs in changing to practice that involves learning together, sharing knowledge and practice, listening, rethinking, and relating to feedback, while empowering others to make decisions that continue to be tolerated by those traditions and beliefs that mediate change. A view of change that incorporates a historical perspective on leadership, seasoned theories of successful innovation, and sociological and anthropological investigations of schools as cultural entities, may also identify specific issues for policy development that involve the reconstruction of the teacher-administrator relationship.

Research reviewed in this chapter has also indicated that successful school change initiatives are possible within individual school settings that overtly process the relationships and decisions that determine rules, roles, and responsibilities of teachers and administrator (Fullan, 1993). Empowering a school culture to create an atmosphere of collegiality, professionalism, and shared support for the change initiative may open the door to increased collaboration and enhanced relationships. It may also be a daunting task that schools will find less inviting than theorists and researcher have imagined. Also, whether or not preexisting values, beliefs, rituals, and traditions may impede or enhance the change initiative has not, as yet, been determined. Further research on these cultural aspects of individual school cultures under going change initiatives will be helpful in clarifying this extremely delicate process.

If issues of power and control are ultimately defined through political and cultural norms and subject to the collective construction of reality within each school setting, perhaps administrative practice that attempts to contribute to that construction should take into consideration existing relationships and core values held historically within each school's culture. But do they? Impacting the sacred norms of individual school cultures is a long and difficult task and one which may never be accomplished without the explicit

permission of those who ultimately hold the real power-- the implementors themselves, teachers (Sarason, 1971). The roles played by faculty and administration as they seek to maintain a sort of 'dynamic equilibrium' of those idiosyncratic ways of doing things in their own school culture also appear to need further examination. An exploration of all of these issues, then, may shed needed light on this persistent dilemma of the intractability of school change.

The literature reviewed here also has ramifications for theory, as well as research. Central to many of the studies of school change was an overarching theory or belief regarding the impact of the teacher/administrator relationship on the change process. Several of these studies supported the belief that a focus on the use of traditional technorational models of teacher/administrator relationships that have been maintained over the past 75 years may have facilitated ineffectual practices that tended to alienate and deprofessionalize teachers (Carlson, 1992; Comer, 1980; Elmore, 1990; Gibboney, 1994). Many of these practices have reportedly continued the tradition of power and authority that mandates change in schools from the top-down. Much of the literature reviewed here has indicated that some traditional administrative/ management practices appeared to coerce faculties and communities to adopt innovations, using a preset list of policies and procedures, designed to standardize the process (Barth, 1988; 1990; Goodlad, 1984; 1997; Goodman, 1995; McNeil, 1985; Sarason, 1996). The ramifications of failing to address the needs of the individual school cultures may be evident today in their inability to adjust and adapt to an ever changing set of demands from inside and outside of the school community. Several educators have proposed new theories of school change, its administration, and leadership, based on a view of schools as "communities of learners", which needs further examination (Joyce & Calhoun, 1995; Lieberman, 1995; Little, 1994). Therefore, an additional purpose of this study has been to examine several of these new ideas about school cultures and change that include teacher participation in decision-making, planning, and implementation.

Implications for this research study.

Describing, exploring, and examining the effect of existing school culture on a school's capacity for change is an area that needs additional empirical research to further clarify the distinction between the administration's role and the collective role of teachers. Although several studies included valuable descriptions of administrative and teacher behaviors, conditions of implementation, and attitudes of educators in relation to the process of change in their individual schools, more research on these idiosyncratic processes is needed.

Findings from the studies reviewed here have also suggested the importance of further investigation into issues of power and control as important variables in the study of a particular school change initiative. Scheurich and Imber (1991) proposed the need to be more attentive to the significant differences in knowledge, power, and resources and to the ways in which these differences affect school policy and decision making. A study of the individual school unit-- in an effort to determine possible relationships that exist between issues of power and control during a change initiative like inclusion-- may identify variables common among school cultures. Additional investigation of specific change initiatives may even promote the change itself, while also leading to a refinement of the process.

Conceptualization and Explanation of a Model Using Multiple Theory Integration

The diagram in Figure 1.1 (see page 77) illustrates this researcher's interpretation of the literature reviewed previously and the contributions of four theories-- political, cultural, constructivist, and chaos-- to a conceptual framework of the teacher/administrator relationships during a school change initiative. This model focuses specifically on a systems-approach to individual school change supported by much of the literature in the field of educational reform. As indicated by its title, the model proposes a 'satisficing' process, defined as not the best, optimal, or even satisfying for everyone, but the best that can satisfy the most amount of people. The process is one that the system can tolerate in the long term, rather than one that satisfies immediately. As the explanation below will illustrate, this type of slow incremental change may ultimately be the most durable.

Constructs central to political theory reflect the overarching framework for the model and are outlined in 'black'. Political theorists in the field of education conceptualize the educational arena as a system of inputs/needs that are determined through the demands/stressors of societies both internal and external to the school culture (Wirt & Kirst, 1997). The authoritative allocation of values is the process by which supports and resources are deemed available to the culture. Continual effort is made to adapt the environment to the demands of the ever changing society through the use of these supports and resources. This adaptation seeks to produce outcomes/decisions; the determination of which is related to the balance needed to create 'dynamic equilibrium' of the system, defined as a state of continual, yet tolerable fluctuation that the system strives to maintain over the long term. The interrelated process is continual as the system cycles through each theoretical structure. Feedback from both within and without of the system is considered on an ongoing basis. The incremental movement of the process facilitates the institutionalization of the change over time-- a construct crucial to its satisficing function.

Constructs central to cultural theory act as boundaries which constrain the demands of the structures created by the political system and are represented in 'blue'. Inputs/needs are determined in relation to the culture's values, beliefs, rituals, and traditions. Supports/resources are determined through the relationships/processes, structures, and interactions that exist within that particular school culture. Decisions are used to determine outcomes that produce and are products of leadership styles, communication patterns, and teacher/administrator attributes. These may be either recreated or adjusted according to the constraints of the values, beliefs, rituals, and traditions that are deemed negotiable from within the culture itself. The political processes discussed earlier-- values allocation, adaptation of environment, and dynamic equilibrium-- facilitate the cultural processes as well as help to construct new or adapt relationships among teachers and between teachers and administration.

Constructs from the field of quantum physics and its related beliefs, known more commonly as "chaos theory", have been applied to other fields of inquiry, specifically the social sciences, over the past few years (Kiel & Elliott, 1996). Issues related to

organizational dynamics and leadership, in particular, have utilized those beliefs about the interrelatedness of many elements in the universe in order to better explain previously puzzling phenomena that many believe is now more understandable when the principles of “chaos theory” are applied (Steinberger, 1995). Essentially, these principles, when applied to human and organizational behavior, explain patterns of interaction that may have been previously unrecognized or misunderstood (Kiel & Elliott, 1996). Some believe that thinking more about processes and connectedness will help educational leaders as well as teachers become more productive and less adversarial in their relationships with one another (Dale, 1997; Garmston & Wellman, 1995). In the model, then, these constructs from chaos theory, as applied to the social sciences, emphasize the level of activity and degree to which cultural participants take part in the process, by either using the cultural and constructivist elements to enhance their political position or not and subsequently determining the success of the process of change (Kiel & Elliott, 1996). The integration of chaos theory into the model, then, allows the process to be viewed as ongoing and repetitive, impacting levels of interaction in incremental ways, over the long-haul, that will eventually produce real and substantive change (Garmston & Wellman, 1995).

Therefore, constructs that reflect contributions of chaos and constructivist theory work together to create the reality of each school’s needs, decision-making processes, and evaluation of contextual congruence with the change. The values, beliefs, rituals, and traditions work to determine the need for and kind of innovation, in turn, then, determining the kinds and amounts of supports and resources available to the culture (Marshall, 1995). The construction of the decision making process is contextually bound by the culture’s inputs/needs as well as by the culture’s supports/resources (Kiel & Elliott, 1996). The outcome of this process and the impact on it will need to be evaluated for contextual congruence if the dynamic equilibrium of the culture is to be maintained (Dale, 1997). This is an ongoing process that must continually respond to both internal and external feedback. Amount and kind of power and control teachers and administrators exert over this process determine the amount and kind of involvement they will have in influencing the change initiative (Jonassen et al., 1997).

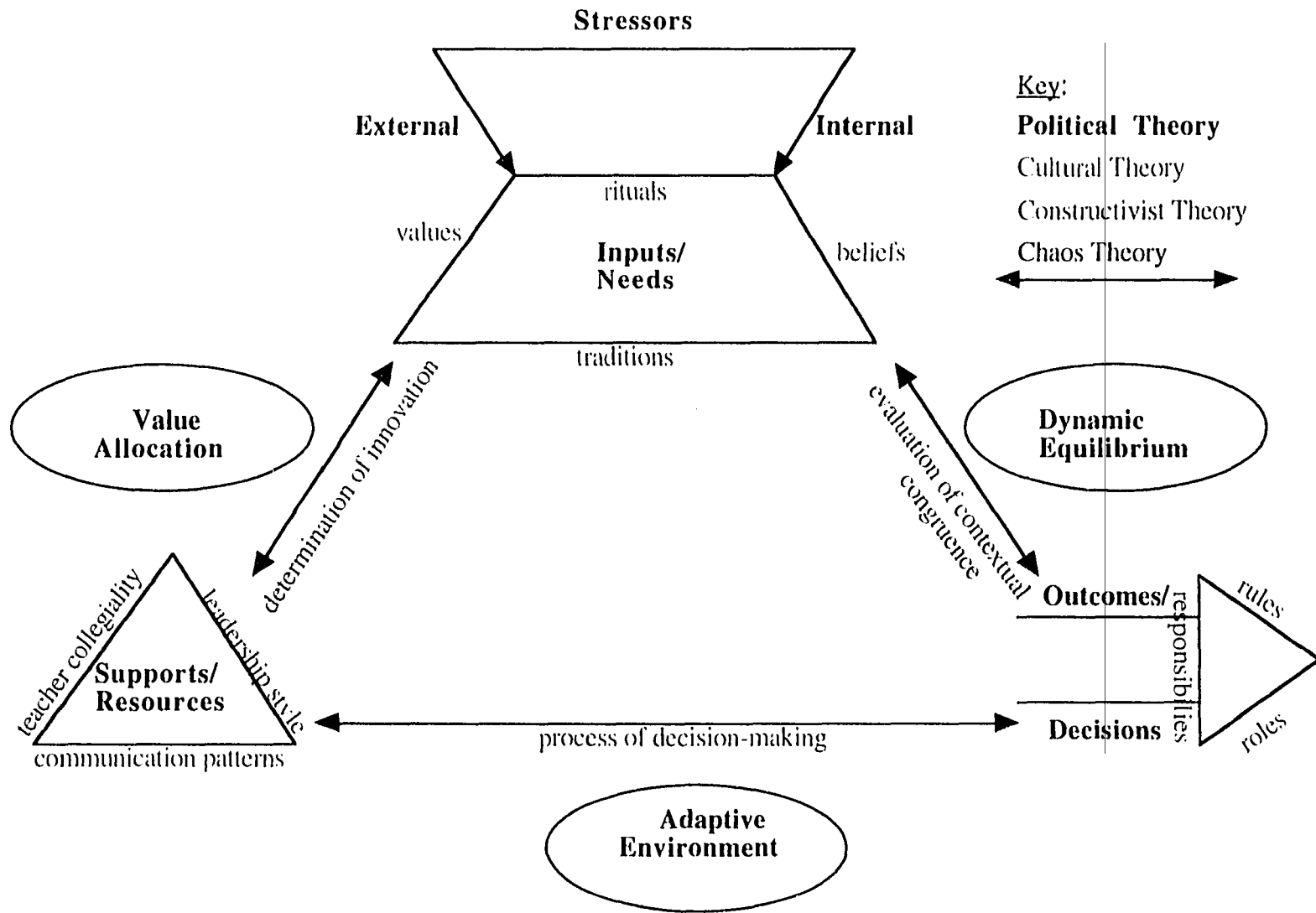


Figure 1.1 A model of the contributions and integration of constructs from multiple theories on the process of school change

Summary of model construction

Literature on theory, research, and practice reviewed here have reflected the fusion of ideology across several different disciplines, in effect, actually integrating ideas about schools and change from a wide spectrum of theoretical considerations. From political theory, ideas about issues of power and control among members of organizations were integrated with those from cultural theory that emphasized the values, traditions, rituals, and beliefs inherent within communities who share a common history (Goodlad, 1997; Sarason, 1997; Wirt & Kirst, 1997). In addition, contributions from constructivist theory offered new insights into the construction of knowledge (Schwandt, 1997; Stake, 1995). and contributions from chaos theory offered the overall view of school change as a set of complex issues that require a broader, longer perspective to understand it more fully (Kiel & Elliott, 1996). In their discussion of issues of school reform, Garmston and Wellman (1995) said this about those “critical energies” that exist within school cultures:

We know of their presence because we have evidence of their results. We can experience their effects, but we cannot hear them. We can feel them but we can not see them. We can use them but we cannot put them in our pocket...(p.9)

This interrelation of the constructs from political and cultural theories and processes from constructivist and chaos theories, then, were an integral part in the creation of a model that illustrates this researcher’s interpretation of the literature and its relevance to further study. Additional constructs that have already been presented in the literature review-- communication patterns, leadership styles, rules, roles, and responsibilities, and the decision-making process-- were added to the model, representing processes that are known to take place in societies undergoing political and cultural change. The integration of these four theories, then, presented a personal approach applicable to the outlining of a conceptual framework for further study of the teacher-administrator relationship during school change initiatives. Those contributions from political, cultural, constructivist, and chaos theories not only appeared to be compatible, but also built upon the attributes of one another. Complementary elements among the constructs and processes represented within

each of the four theories supported one another in ways that appeared to best illustrate the school change process. For example:

- a) Political and cultural theories emphasized the rules, roles, and responsibilities that have become a part of any individual school setting.
- b) Constructivist and chaos theories emphasized the process of constructing realities through the voices of cultural participants; making meaning by taking the long, broad view of multiple stories.
- c) Cultural and constructivist theories emphasized social interaction and acknowledged the unique characteristics of each context;
- d) Political and chaos theories emphasized the historical perspective inherent in understanding issues of power and control that had evolved over a long period of time; and
- e) Cultural and constructivist theories were complementary in their beliefs about the essential contributions and construction of reality by the indigenous group under investigation and supported the study of such processes and relationships.

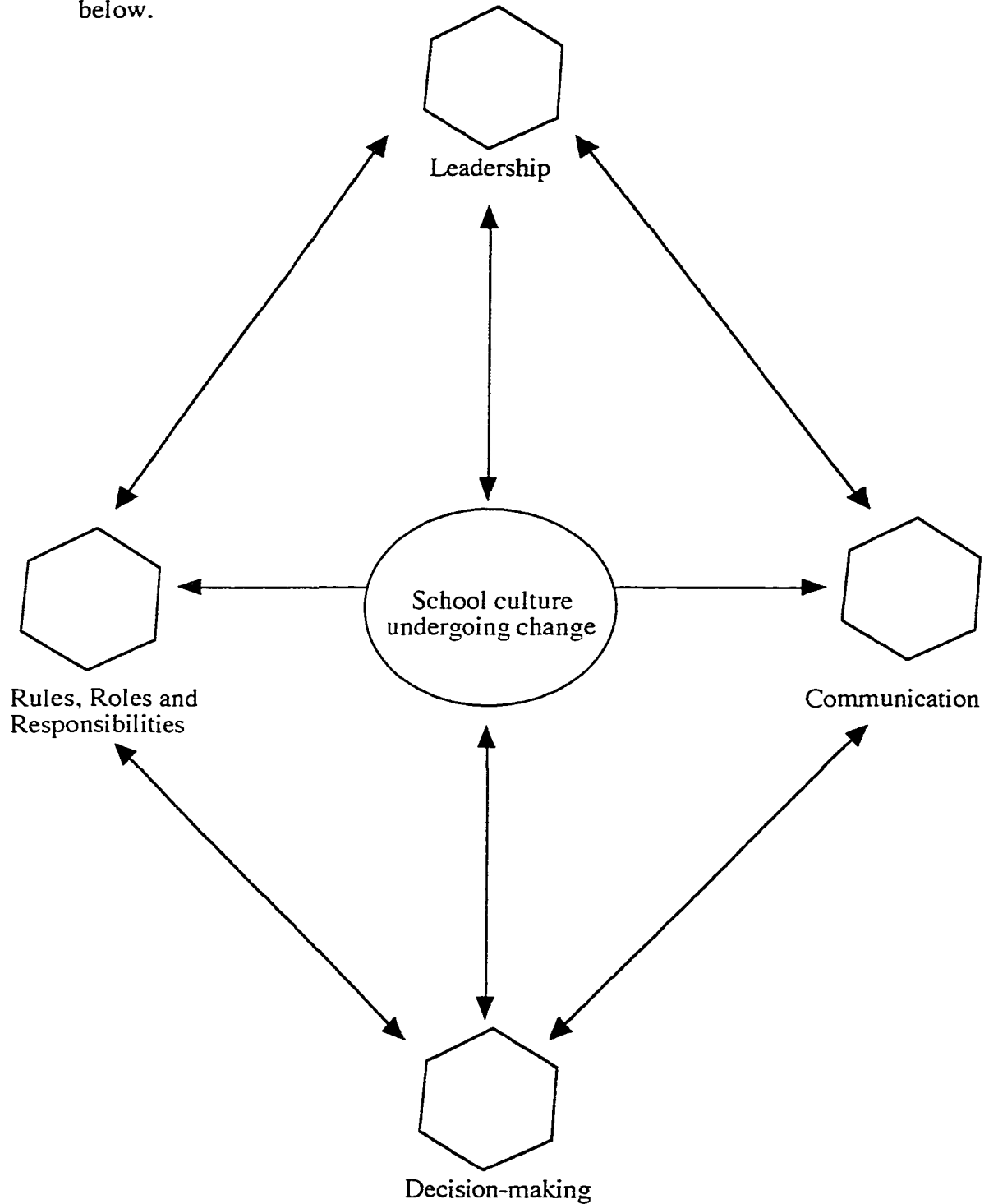
A Model for Further Study of Relationships Among Constructs

Figure 1.2 (see next page) represents this researcher's conceptual framework regarding the actual study itself and the plan for exploring relationships between the issues of power and control, teacher/administrator attributes, and the school change initiative. These relationships are represented by the end points of the arrows and as such, reflect the intent of the study-- to explore issues of power and control in individual school cultures, that emerge from the interaction of each construct as it is related to the others and to the school change initiative in general.

The models in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 serve two purposes: a) to represent the integration of multiple theories as an explanation of the school change process in individual school cultures and b) to guide the construction of my research study on issues of power and control within school cultures during a school change initiative. Both models are based on the literature reviewed in Chapters One and Two and reflect the interpretation of my personal perspective in analyzing, interpreting, and applying findings to the construction of solutions in the real world. Therefore, these models are constructions that utilized both

Figure 1.2

A conceptualization of the researcher's study to explore issues of power and control in schools undergoing the common change initiative of inclusion as they are related to the four critical functions represented by the hexagonal figures below.



personal perception and literature research. The integrated use of constructs from the four theories may also prove helpful in understanding both the content and processes involved in issues of power and control that need further investigation within the individual school culture.

Although a difficult task, further exploration into the building and maintaining of those “critical energies” (Garmston & Wellman, 1995), through careful study of relationships that do and do not exist among teachers and between teachers and administrators, may be the key to unlocking the answer to real and lasting school change. Chapter Three outlines the methodology that was used in this study. In it, a section further explaining the rationale for use of the constructivist approach to research design has been included, as well as the actual processes and procedures used to plan, implement, and analyze the study.

Chapter Three - "A Unique Contribution to Knowledge":

Methodology of the research study

"As a research endeavor, the case study contributes uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organizational, social, and political phenomena".

Robert K. Yin (1994, p.2)

Rationale for Research Design

The researcher conducted a multi-site, multi-stage ethnographic case study, based on the traditions of qualitative/naturalistic inquiry and reflective of a constructivist paradigm of knowledge acquisition (Schwandt, 1997). Each stage of data collection, analysis, and interpretation contributed to subsequent stages, using what Glaser & Strauss (1967) referred to as the constant comparative method, which emphasized the building of the research process. The importance of "constructed realities", specific to each context, was critical to understanding this research design. Using data collection and analyses methods that emphasized the "emic" perspective of participants, yet acknowledged the "etic" perspective of the researcher (Stake, 1995), the author was able to relate stories of participants' constructed realities, while also adding her own thoughts and impressions that contributed to this collaboratively constructed study. Because issues related to researcher beliefs ultimately influence not only those involved in the research, but also those who read it, the following discussion seeks to clarify issues of knowledge acquisition and methodology critical to the understanding of this constructivist research.

Beliefs on Knowledge Acquisition

Beliefs about knowledge acquisition lie at the heart of any discussion regarding research methodology. The prospective value of the knowledge that can be derived from the researcher's study depends on underlying assumptions/beliefs and how clearly they are communicated to the reader. Therefore, the researcher proposes to share those beliefs with the reader in the following two pages. The researcher's beliefs about knowledge acquisition and its relation to the methodology used to conduct the study is best articulated by Bauman (1990), when he stated that:

All knowledge.. contains an interpretation of the world. It does not, as we often believe, reflect things as they are by themselves; things are, rather, called into being by the knowledge we have...The more knowledge we have, the more things we see--the greater number of different things we discern in the world. (p.227)

Knowledge, then, is understood, by this researcher as not "a simple reflection of what there is, but a set of social artifacts; a reflection of what we make of what there is" (Schwandt, 1997). Using this definition of knowledge to study the realities of individual cultures, the researcher chose to construct stories of each school from the participants' point of view, in an attempt to understand the phenomena of change from inside the school's culture. Therefore, using teacher and administrative voice to construct that reality was the focus of the research design. Also, becoming familiar with the "social artifacts" was critical to creating stories that reflected the space, mood, and ambiance of the setting. Multiple visits to the sites were mandatory to capture the intricacies of interrelated social, structural, and physical traits that reflected "what there is". By asking the culture's participants to collaborate in building these realities, the researcher was able to create a story for each school that presented and integrated both the participants' and the researcher's reflection of that image.

Traditions of the Constructivist Paradigm in Qualitative Research

The study of cultures, social arrangements, and human performance in context has contributed greatly to theory about school culture and change (Anderson, 1970; Bauman, 1990; Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Kimball, 1974; Smelser, 1994; Valentine, 1970; Wright

Mills, 1970). For, although it has historically been applied to research on people, it has also created new forms of research methodologies that are applicable to the study of schooling (Davis et al., 1991; Fullan & Eastabrook, 1973; Goodlad, 1984; Keedy, 1991; Lightfoot, 1983; Lortie, 1975; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996). However, for several years now, debate within the educational research community has taken on increased fervor in relation to the study of schools. Challenges to the traditional assumptions of realism and research based on the study of natural sciences, more commonly known as quantitative research, have grown increasingly popular with different factions within the educational research community (Erlandson et al., 1993; Gibboney, 1991; Glaser & Straus, 1967; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Greenfield, 1988; Harris, 1995; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Proposing methodology based on constructivist paradigm of knowledge acquisition, many qualitative researchers-- also known as ethnographers, historiographers, phenomenologists, and ethnomethodologists-- have begun to change the face of educational research (Lightfoot, 1983; Mills, 1993; Pace, 1992; Wilcox, 1982; Wagner, 1998; Wolcott, 1982). Issues related to methodological elements such as data collection and analysis have taken on new meanings and proposed new language that sometimes interferes with mutual understanding. The issue of data collection through the telling of stories from the participant point of view has often been raised in the literature (Coles, 1989; Pace, 1990). Interpreted by some as lacking in critical constructs of traditional, quantifiable data, these stories, on the contrary, often have been used to further common understanding, increase our knowledge of 'how' and 'why' events occur, and represent the voices that have been absent from the tables and charts common to statistical studies (Flinders & Mills, 1993; Wilcox, 1982; Wolcott, 1982).

This researcher chose qualitative methodology that reflects a constructivist paradigm for this research study based on the belief that teacher/administrator perceptions, as described by cultural participants and in relation to each of their cultural contexts, is a valuable addition to research on school change. Wineburg (1997) articulated the value of such research when he said:

This shift [from quantitative to qualitative] can be broadly summarized as a change in focus from studying individuals in isolation, often in artificial environments, to studying individuals in concrete settings, where they can draw on features of the environment, including the people around them, in executing their response. (p.61)

Exploring human behavior within their contexts is the basis for the study's methodology, emphasizing on-site data collection, while using the words and perceptions of the participants as descriptors of the processes that are taking place. Wineburg (1997) offered additional support for collecting data relative to contextual settings when he said that the issue of authenticity is one that is best assessed in relation to "its real-world referent" (p.62).

Value of Theory in Case Study Research

Rationale for the exploration of multiple individual school cultures through a multi-faceted lens of cultural, political, constructivist, and chaos theories was most clearly articulated by Bauman (1990), who stated:

Forms of life are many. Each one, of course, differs from another...but they are not separated from each other by impermeable walls; they should not be thought of as self-enclosed, sealed worlds, with inventories of contents all their own, with all objects they contain belonging to them and them alone...[they are] often superimposed on one another. (p. 228-229)

This perspective of inter-related, yet separate worlds, reflects the researcher's rationale for the multi-faceted lens through which this multi-site case study was conducted.

Understanding that the influence of one's perception of the value of such research on the research itself is an important part of the methodology to be considered (Peshkin, 1982), the researcher studied multiple examples of the kind of research that reflected such a view (Cohen, 1995; Lightfoot, 1983; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Pace, 1991; Tittle, 1995; Wagner, 1995). Of these, three were the most characteristic of the constructivist paradigm and were explicit in their use of it as the underlying theory on which they based their case studies (Lightfoot, 1983; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Pace, 1991). Lightfoot (1983) referred to her particular type of research as "portraiture", Muncey and McQuillan

(1996) described theirs as classic ethnography, and Pace (1991) referred to Coles' (1989) penchant for imparting knowledge through "storytelling" as her rationale for the particular type of co-constructed realities that she shared as a result of her case study research. As Stake (1995) and Yin (1994) have suggested, case study research offers both the researcher and the case a unique opportunity to interact in ways that other research does not. On-site visits by the researcher allowed for an integration of the insider and outsider view-- a perspective that allows for the synergistic building of a common reality.

Bauman (1990) reminded us of the inherent connection between the researcher's methodology for this multi-site case research study of school cultures and the sociological view of research when he said, "...acquisition of knowledge consists of learning how to make new discriminations...so that the interpretation of experience gets richer and more detailed" (p.227). After considerable reflection on the issues raised in the literature cited above, then, the researcher chose a qualitative approach to this study that seeks to use natural environments and the voices of cultural participants to relay the important characteristics of that culture. This study of differing school cultures, then, was an attempt to reveal these important "new discriminations" that may lead to a rich and detailed interpretation of experiences, critical to the knowing of those idiosyncratic ways of doing things as schools attempt change. It incorporated elements of both ethnography and phenomenology, as the study sought to represent the daily functions in the lives of three distinct school cultures undergoing a similar single act-- school change.

Methodology

Stages of the Research Study

The researcher conducted the multi-site case study in three separate and distinct stages in each school site. Stage one included individual tape-recorded interviews from selected teachers and at least one building administrator in each school; stage two included additional interviews of the same teachers from stage one, but in small focus groups in each school; and stage three included small focus group interviews of a new set of teachers, recommended by those in stage two. Formal and informal researcher observations and document/artifact review also contributed to the data collection, analysis, and interpretation

processes. The following sections outline procedures used both prior to and during the various stages of the research study.

Preliminary Procedures

Approval of the Committee on Human Subject Research was obtained following the amendment of and subsequent approval of the dissertation proposal by the researcher's dissertation committee in November, 1997.

A pilot study was conducted in one high school in the tidewater Virginia area. It was selected from those known by the researcher to be involved in the practice of inclusion as a school change initiative over the past five years. The purpose of the pilot study was to fine-tune the interview protocol and construct appropriate probes, as well as to explore the process of analysis to be used in the subsequent multi-site case study. Review of the tapes by the researcher and her committee chairperson, before the data collection of the larger study commenced, served to clarify the probes that would be used. The process of analysis took place two weeks later and is described, along with the lessons learned from the pilot study in general, in the Summary of the Pilot Study in Appendix A.

Access to this school site was first sought from the school division's special education department at central office and then from the school's special education department chairperson. Six classroom teachers were interviewed individually for 45 minutes to one hour at the school site. Written permission to tape-record the interviews was obtained by the participants and assurances of anonymity were guaranteed. The tapes were coded with fictitious names and the interviews transcribed by a professional transcriptionist. Neither the school selected nor the division in which it was located was accessed in the multi-site case study.

Criteria for site selection. The three schools sought for inclusion in the multi-site case study -- two in a southwestern state and one in a mid-Atlantic state-- were identified by the researcher as possible participants after telephone calls were made to a total of eight different school districts within the two states. Based on criteria described below, the schools were selected by the researcher and their initial participation solicited by telephone

contact (or in one case, a site visit) of the building-level administrator and/or a district-level administrator.

The criteria used by the researcher to select sites for the study included factors related to: size, demographic make-up of student population, location, and the presence of inclusive practices for at least the past three years. The following specific criteria were chosen because they represent a number of schools undergoing changes nation-wide:

size- large; a student population of at least 1600 (Tye, 1985).

demographics- representative of cultural and ethnic diversity of students in a typical urban/suburban school within a large metropolitan area in the United States (Louis & Miles, 1990).

location- within a southwestern and a mid-Atlantic state, as they represented locales that differed in climate, cultural, and economic/political educational realities and they were states in which the researcher had access to the general knowledge base regarding inclusive school practices.

policy on inclusion- schools that used a variety of inclusive practices and implementation methods, representative of differing policies/practices at the state, local and building-level, verified through telephone conversations with a participating staff member at each school.

Access and process of final selection of schools was conducted through telephone and/or on-site interviews between the researcher and central office personnel and/or a building-level administrator or special education department chairperson on each campus. These interviews took place before the actual decision to include the school in the study had been made. In each case, however, all three school districts required the researcher to present a proposal to conduct research, similar to the one presented to the committee on human subjects review at the University, which had to be approved by the school district office. No data collection took place until permission was granted. This approval process delayed the start of the study some three to six weeks in each school district. Once permission to conduct the study was granted by the appropriate district-level administrator, the building administrator or special education department chairperson at the

building-level was contacted in order to discuss the procedures for solicitation of teacher participants. All districts and participants were assured that no information related to specific names of school districts, schools, or participants would be used in the documentation of the study to protect confidentiality and to ensure anonymity of all participants.

Conducting the Stages of Research

Participant selection for stage one and two was conducted through a solicitation process for teachers whose names appeared on a list of 25-35 prospective teacher participants from each school, provided to the researcher by either a building-level administrator or the school's special education department chairperson. A letter from the researcher which explained the purpose of the study and the procedures involved in the interview process was placed in all prospective teachers' school mailboxes. The letter also included an offer of \$10.00 per interview, along with assurances of anonymity and their involvement as being purely voluntary. The letter asked prospective participants to indicate their willingness to participate in the study by returning the letter, signed, indicating possible days and times they would be available for the first stage of interviews, if they were willing to participate. They were to return their responses to a box marked "Change Research" near the faculty mailboxes on each campus. The total number of teachers who responded affirmatively to participate in stages one and two interviews represented 10-15% of each school's faculty, resulting in a total of 30 teachers overall, with seven to twelve teachers from each school. These stage one participants were contacted about the stage two focus group interviews by letter, again, from the researcher, three to four weeks after the completion of stage one interviews. A similar process of responses as to dates and times was followed in order to schedule teachers into small focus groups for the stage two interviews. In each school there were a few teachers (2-3) who participated in stage one interviews, but were either unable or declined to participate in the stage two focus group interviews.

Teacher participants in stage three focus group interviews were purposefully solicited from a list of peer nominations, made up by the stage two focus group

participants. At the conclusion of the stage two focus group interviews, participants were asked to list the names of three teachers on an index card, who they felt were leaders among the school faculty and/or had longevity at the school and were knowledgeable about the “way we do things around here”. The names of these teachers were not shared with the other group members, unless the participants did so on their own. A list of all nominated teachers for stage three was compiled upon receipt of these index cards. Solicitation letters were then placed in the teacher mailboxes of all nominated teachers (carefully excluding those who either had already been solicited or had actually participated in stage one). Total number of teachers who responded to this final solicitation, via similar methods used in stages one and two, was seven. In each school, four to seven teachers responded that they were interested in participating, but finding a common meeting time, narrowed the number of actual participants in stage three to two or three teachers in each school. Participation of building-level administrators totaled four in all. Each building level administrator was asked at the onset of the study to voluntarily participate in an hour-long tape-recorded interview with the researcher. All were willing to do so. At least one was interviewed at each school during stage one visits, only, but were purposefully excluded from the stage two and three group interviews, as the researcher sought to provide a ‘safe’ place for teachers to interact, discuss, and disagree, if the case warranted it, in small group interviews. The participants in this study were highly representative of the larger faculties in each school. Some were department chairpersons, others had been awarded “teacher of the year” at their school, and many were involved in extra-curricular activities. All were or had been active and interested in the inclusion program.

Instrumentation

The interview protocols used in the multi-site case study were constructed after careful examination of the literature on school culture, change, and inclusion. The stage one interview protocol was piloted and modified during the pilot study and adapted for each individual interview, as the researcher deemed appropriate to the participant’s “story” (See Appendix A-- Stage One Interview Protocol). The three stages of interviewing were

facilitated by a different protocol in each stage. However, the protocol for each stage was consistent across schools (See Stage Two and Three Interview Protocols in Appendix A).

Teacher-interview protocol was a semi-structured instrument designed to facilitate the answer to one question: “Tell me the story of inclusion at your school” (see Appendix A). This invitation to tell a story, using a beginning, a middle, and an end was intended to focus on the process of implementing inclusion, representing a change initiative within the teacher’s particular school setting. The researcher stated this purpose directly to the participant before the interview began. As the participant told the story, probes were used to stimulate elaboration or further explanation of how, why, when, by whom, and where particular structures, relationships, processes, and interactions took place in their stories. Participants were also asked to consider problems or changes that inclusion had either undergone or facilitated in the “way we do things around here”. The participants’ view of inclusion’s other effects on faculty and school culture as a whole was also probed.

Administrator-interview protocol was a minor adaptation of the teacher-interview protocol. It asked for the same “story of inclusion”, but also inquired into information the administrator was privy to regarding special education organizational structures, administrative practices that interacted with inclusion, and history of the school’s inclusion implementation. Administrators were also asked questions that sought to compare and contrast administrative points of view regarding the implementation of inclusion with those of the teacher responses.

Researcher observations and document reviews were utilized to collect additional information regarding interactions, structures, relationships, and processes identified through observation and document review in each school setting. Data collected from formal and informal observations and document review of mission statements, inclusion plans, teacher/administrator memos, demographic reports, school newspapers, faculty newsletters, information from counseling and guidance, course selection booklets, student codes of discipline, master teacher schedules, phone lists, and other school records were collected and thoroughly reviewed by the researcher. Names of documents and artifacts that

have not been included in the Appendices, but were collected and reviewed by the researcher, are listed for each school under the respective Appendix— B, C, or D.

Teacher focus group interview protocols were constructed by the researcher after the completion of the stage one interviews and preliminary data analysis by the researcher. The stage two focus group protocol was designed to collect information regarding the teachers' perceptions of the subthemes that emerged from each school's set of individual interviews (see Appendix A). Therefore, although the lead questions for each school were the same, the probes were entirely dependent on the manner in which each group categorized the subthemes that reflected the idiosyncratic characteristics of each school's culture. The teachers were also asked to respond to the list of cultural descriptors I had developed for each school (see Appendices B, C, & D), which identified relationships, interactions, processes, and structures that were reflected in the researcher's preliminary analysis of her first site visit. The stage three focus group protocol targeted information that was directly related to the research questions, asking these teacher-leaders to comment on leadership style, communication patterns, rules, roles, and responsibilities, and the decision-making process at their school, specifically in relation to a change initiative like inclusion (see Appendix A).

Data Collection/Preliminary Analyses

The use of multiple data sources reflected in the teacher/administrator individual interviews, small group interviews, formal and informal observations, and document/artifact review strengthened the nature, volume, and value of the information gathered. The researcher observations and document/artifact review were designed to add rigor of the research by triangulating the data collection and methodology. An internal audit of the process of establishing codes and themes was conducted by the chair of the researcher's dissertation committee (See Appendix A- Procedures for Multi-stage Data Collection and Analysis).

Teacher interviews took place at a time either before, during, or after school hours, at the discretion of the participant, either on or off the school campus, in a room selected to insure both confidentiality and anonymity of the participant. The interviews were tape-

recorded with full knowledge and written permission of the participant. The researcher took notes during the interview that provided information related to the teacher's body language, physical appearance, and mannerisms, with researcher asides that reflected specific "impressions" by the researcher. The researcher notes were not shared with the participant as such, but rather were integrated into the information analyzed for each school. Each teacher's name was substituted for a pseudonym, assigned by the researcher and all data related to their interview was coded as such. All tapes were coded according to participant and school and mailed to a professional transcriber with instructions to transcribe each tape verbatim, identifying the researcher and the participant by pseudonym, as appropriate.

The identification of repetitive patterns of responses and emergent themes was documented using a system of color coded tabs, after each transcript was read through in its entirety. A list of underlying themes was made from each participant transcript and then compared and integrated with other respondents from that school, then combined, compared, and recoded as necessary. This system of coding was repeated as necessary until all patterns of responses and emergent subthemes had been identified.

Administrator interviews included a data collection and analysis process identical to that utilized for teacher interviews. Once subthemes had been identified from each administrator's interview, they were integrated with the information from stage one of the teacher interviews.

Focus group interviews were scheduled approximately one month after the initial individual interviews. All original teacher participants were sent letters via mail asking them to indicate a time that would best suit their schedules. Teachers were then grouped according to their responses and interviewed over the course of one day, in three to four small groups per school, each group interview lasting no more than one-hour. There were two to three original teacher participants in each school that were either unable or unwilling to be included during the stage two small group interviews. These focus group interviews, conducted during the second and third stages of the research study, were utilized primarily as member-checks and participant-checks, respectively. Member-checks gave members an opportunity to verify what they had told her, as well as give feedback to the researcher

regarding her initial analyses and interpretation of the data she had collected during the first site visit. Participant-checks allowed the opportunity to corroborate or dispute the initial analysis and interpretation of stages one and two with an alternate group of participants from within the same school culture, adding significantly to the information the researcher was seeking that would enable her to answer several of the research questions. Therefore, each of the groups contributed significantly toward identification of discrepancies in the perceptions of the cultural participants and the collective findings of the researcher for each school. Information obtained through the focus group interviews was analyzed for thematic agreement in order to better determine the level of congruence between participant perception of researcher analysis and the emerging constructed reality of each school's culture.

Researcher observations and document/artifact review took place during all three stages of the study. The researcher recorded (either through general field notes or actual voice-recorded narratives) formal observations of naturally occurring activities during the school day—visiting cafeterias and teachers' lounges during lunch periods, exploring hallways, workrooms, libraries, and offices. Documents were gathered whenever available for the taking, with some specific demographic information being requested from each school's secretary. The researcher also often engaged others in informal conversation in bathrooms, teacher lounges, and office areas. These were recorded as general field notes and along with all formal and informal observations, assorted documents, flyers, and official school publications, were used as data to support the construction of an accurate and realistic view of each school's culture.

The Integration of Multiple Data Forms in Three Stages of Analysis

The multi-modal data collection described in the previous subsection was used to triangulate the verbatim data of the participants and provide consistency in theme identification during the individual analysis conducted on each school. Each school's transcription analyses were conducted separately from one another, usually three to four weeks apart, in an effort to reduce the influence of one school's analysis on the others.

The preliminary analysis of each school's data (including all data sources described in the immediately preceding subsection and transcripts from all individual interviews in each school) produced a profile for each school that included "cultural descriptors" (see Appendices B, C, & D). These were presented to the participants in the stage two interviews for their consideration. Numerous subthemes that had emerged directly from the stage one interview transcripts were also presented to stage two group participants (see Appendices B, C, & D). They were asked to consider these subthemes in relation to their stories of inclusion and provide verbal feedback to the researcher (often resulting in rather lively discussions). They were then asked to work collaboratively to categorize these subthemes into larger, overarching themes, as they understood them to be related to one another within the context of their school, verbalizing their collective rationale aloud as they worked. These discussions were also tape-recorded and transcribed, then analyzed again by the researcher, resulting in a secondary analysis. The major overarching themes that emerged from this comparison of all stage two group interviews in each school resulted in the construction of a conceptual framework related to the "culture of inclusion" for each school.

The stage three focus group interviews were held after the secondary analysis was completed in each school. These new participants were asked questions related more directly to their understanding of their school's culture and the impact of inclusion upon particular cultural constructs (i.e., those issues specifically addressed in the research questions -- leadership style, communication, decision-making, rules, roles, and responsibilities, reciprocal influence of inclusion and school culture on these processes). These interviews were also tape-recorded and transcribed, then analyzed by the researcher to add critical information related to the research study's organizing questions for each case. This additional information contributed to the refinement of each individual school's analysis, resulting in a conceptual framework (See Appendix A-- Procedures for Multi-stage Data Collection and Analysis-- for a more detailed account of the coding and theme-building process used through the three stages of analysis and subsequent model-building).

Cross Case Analysis, Individual/Integrated Write-up & Dissemination

A cross case analysis was conducted after the completion of all three individual case studies, integrating the researcher's analysis of all three case studies through the identification of similarities and differences between and among individual schools (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The integration of repetitive overarching themes through a process of reduction that resulted in the identification of basic themes, common among all schools was used in the final stages of analysis. The final interpretation included the construction of a conceptual model that reflected the researcher's ideas about interactions among the various themes and the interdependence of the critical factors and school culture and their influence on issues of power and control. The final write-up of the research study included the stories of inclusion for each school in the form of three narrative case study reports that discussed themes and response patterns pertaining to each school. Each case study also included a conceptual framework that visually represented a summary of the researchers' interpretations of the analysis of each case study. Each group of teacher participants was polled by the researcher as to their preference for receiving information regarding this study. Although a few indicated they would like to hear a presentation by the researcher at their school, all agreed that receiving an executive summary of the school's individual profile as well as a summary of the study as a whole, after the dissertation defense was completed, would be sufficient feedback. At the completion of the model-building process, the researcher, in an effort to produce a more practical instrument for assessing a school's capacity for change, also constructed an instrument for use by school cultures undergoing change, called "A Reflective Self Assessment of School Cultures Undergoing Change", that may be helpful in determining issues of power and control in four cultural arenas (See Appendix A). It was also sent to each of the participating schools.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

As stated in Chapter One, it is customary in case study research to acknowledge limitations to the generalizability of the study from one population to another (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Any such generalization would be the decision of the individual reader and occur only to the extent that the reader identifies a particular individual school culture with

one described in the study. I do not recommend drawing inferences or conclusions for groups outside of those investigated. Although the reader may draw conclusions based upon comparisons between these schools and others, it is not the purpose of this study to report conclusions as representative of any groups other than those included in the study (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994).

I acknowledge the impact of my own prior life experiences on this study (Peshkin, 1982), yet, I do not view those experiences as limiting, but rather as helpful in relating to teachers and administrators and in understanding the issues particular to high schools undergoing a change to inclusion. My own experiences with the difficulties of scheduling, teacher participation, and administrative support clearly made me more aware of the importance of their consideration, but also made it easier for me to establish rapport and credibility with the participants. Having directed the change to inclusion at a large suburban high school in a southwestern state over a period of three years, my notions about the existence of issues of power and control in school cultures clearly influenced my ideas about pursuing this line of research. Having acknowledged those influences, however, I believe them to be assets to the study. I also acknowledge the vast array of prior and current experiences inherent within the complex lives of teachers and administrators at large urban/suburban high schools. In recognizing the potential impact of this diversity on the data collection and analysis of this study, I believe that such diversity, common to most high schools in urban/suburban America, significantly influenced the overall value of the study.

In Chapter Four, three separate case studies, written as stories told through participant voices, report the preliminary analysis of each study. The summary at the end of Chapter Four reports on the cross-case analysis that integrated all three cases and concludes with the consolidation of the three conceptual frameworks, one constructed for each case, into a “common culture of inclusion” model. In Chapters Five and Six, the researcher’s final analysis, interpretations/final conceptual model, and implications for future theory, research, policy, and practice are discussed in light of the literature reviewed in Chapters One, Two, and Three.

Chapter Four - "Ties that Bind":
Case studies of three high schools

" Each school has its own character and atmosphere. Each school is like a family and families vary tremendously in their history and in the ties that bind".

Seymour Sarason, 1990 (as cited in Goodlad, 1997, p.103)

Preface

This multi-site case study of school culture and change was conducted over a period of four months (February through May of 1998) in three high schools-- two in a southwestern state and one in a mid-Atlantic state. The names of all teachers and administrators interviewed or referred to in the study, as well as the identities of the individual schools and the districts they represent, have been changed to protect the anonymity of all participants. While many characteristics of the schools studied were idiosyncratic, collectively, there were several common characteristics. All three high schools were located in suburban school districts adjacent to large urban industrial areas. Each school housed a student population between 1600-1800 students. There had been a gradual change over the past 10 years in the socioeconomic makeup of the students who attended the schools, with increasing numbers of African-American and Hispanic students (i.e., in Case Study #1, an African-American student population of 26% and a Hispanic student population of 11%; in Case Study #2, a Hispanic student population of 75%; and in Case Study #3, an African-American student population of 52%). The demographics of the faculties were not characteristic of the student populations which they served, with the teachers being overwhelmingly Caucasian, except for Case Study #3, where there appeared to be a sizable African-American faculty population, compared to the other two. The

practice of inclusion had been in place for at least five years in each school, with one assistant principal being assigned as administrator over special education programs.

All case studies included a data collection and analysis process that integrated formal and informal observations of the researcher; informal conversations with faculty members; the ‘voices’ of the participants from all three stages of interviews; documents chosen by the researcher that might reflect elements of the critical functions identified in Chapter Two (i.e., school profiles, student handbooks, course of studies, newspapers, examples of communiques from administration to parents/teachers/students, parent newsletters, available reports of school-wide assessment, examples of materials available through schools’ counseling departments, any other written material accessible to the researcher during regular school visits) and the interpretations of the researcher. Each case study was prepared separately, focusing on the individual patterns and themes that communicated the particular culture of that school. Each has also been titled using a short quote from one of that school’s cultural participants, which captured the dominant voice of the school’s stories. The individual case studies were formatted in the following fashion: Part One: Description of the school-- political, social, and economic characteristics that were evident both within the school itself and the district as a whole; Part Two: Stories of Inclusion-- an outline of particular patterns of responses that included specific examples of information received from the individual interviews in stage one; Part Three: Emergent Themes-- a discussion of the results of the analysis of the major emergent themes and their subthemes; and Part Four: Summary and conceptual framework of relationship of emergent themes within each case. There is also a multi-case summary and cross-case analysis at the end of this Chapter. Researcher asides are included in *italicized* brackets to reflect any ‘impressions’ the researcher had that may have influenced the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the data.

Issues that Impacted Schools Between States

Each school was a smaller component of a larger school district, which presented policies and guidelines formulated by two different states. Although there were clear indications that distinct/building-level characteristics transcended these state-wide

differences, there were also state-level differences that impacted external and internal influences on inclusion's implementation. In particular, the southwestern state recognized teacher certification in special education under the heading of "generic special education", while mid-Atlantic state continued to adhere to strict guidelines that granted certification to special education teachers according to a larger array of differing disabilities. These different systems of certification also drove different kinds of practice between the two states. Special educators in the southwestern state have been, by virtue of their generic certification, free to move in and out of a much larger variety of classrooms as either self-contained special education classroom teachers or as co-teachers in a general education classroom. The practice of categorical certification and subsequent student and teacher segregation in the mid-Atlantic state allowed individual special educators less access to either general or special education classrooms. There were also differing economic barriers and enablers between the two states that may have impacted inclusion's implementation. Specifically, the southwestern state underwent a change about four years ago in its method of reimbursement to school districts for services to students with disabilities. This change included the weighting of services to students with disabilities in general education classrooms equivalent to services to students with disabilities in resource and self-contained classrooms. As a clear move to facilitate inclusion's implementation, this same economic incentive did not exist in the mid-Atlantic state, where school districts continued to be reimbursed according to the number of special education programs under each category of disability. Clearly, the impact of these differences in state policy and practice cannot be ignored in any discussion of external influences on teacher practice inherent to inclusion's implementation.

Summary of Stages of Data Collection and Analytic Process

After the initial stage-one individual interviews were completed, transcriptions were coded by the researcher for patterns of responses. The resultant subthemes for each case study (see Appendices B, C, and D, accordingly) were then shared with participants in the stage-two small group feedback sessions. Participants were asked to work collaboratively to identify relationships among these subthemes, grouping/categorizing them accordingly.

The researcher also shared a list of cultural descriptors for each case study (see Appendix B, C, and D accordingly) with the participants and asked for their feedback as to its accuracy in characterizing the culture of each school. Any qualifiers were noted as suggested, along with the overarching themes each group decided upon. Tapes of these small group interview sessions were transcribed, also. Stage two may also be described as an member check-- allowing the participants to provide feedback to the researcher as to the accuracy of the researcher's descriptions and interpretations of what participants have previously said. Stage three participants were asked to discuss a number of relevant cultural characteristics of their school in relation to inclusion and to school changes in general. The tapes of stage three interviews were transcribed and analyzed to determine agreement with previous participants' perceptions. Stage three may also be referred to as an informant check-- using an alternative group of informants to confirm the perceptions of the original participants. Based on the researcher's interpretations of the analysis, a conceptual framework was constructed that explained the relationships among the emergent themes from each case study. These are included as figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3, in the following respective sections devoted to each of the schools studied.

Case Study # 1

“A Faculty that Runs Like a Well-Oiled Machine”

Denise (1998), a general education
electives teacher

Part One: Description of the SchoolIntroduction

This section will highlight the following subsections related to the description of the school: a) demographic/historical information; b) physical setting; c) organizational structures of the school, with subsections that emphasize building-level administrative organization, special education/inclusion programs, and other structures and interactions that are helpful in describing the school’s operational style; and d) demographics of the participants in all three stages of the interview process. A discussion of relevant issues included within each subsection has been based upon all data collected during the three site-visits to this school. Researcher asides are in italicized brackets. The name of the school and its participant faculty members have been changed to protect their anonymity.

Demographic/Historical

Mountainview High School was situated atop a hill in the northern section of a large metropolis, known for its wealth and cosmopolitan life style, in this southwestern state. A national leader in fashion, technology, and business, this city of over three million people encompassed more than one public school district. Located within the larger city limits, but belonging to a smaller suburban school district, Mountainview High School had a long and distinguished history of academic and athletic excellence. Known in the late 60’s and early 70’s as a college-prep school, its once all-Caucasian student population came from homes of affluent business and community leaders. Today, however, the socioeconomic backgrounds of its student population differs drastically. As one teacher stated, “We have very wealthy and very poor kids at this school. But very little middle”. The school’s most recent Student Information System Report (see Appendix B) listed its student population as 62% Caucasian, 26% African-American, 8% Hispanic, and 4% Asian. Twelve percent of

the students were listed as free/reduced lunch and 11% were categorized as Special Education students.

The neighborhood that immediately surrounded the campus was replete with middle to upper middle class homes, mostly brick, with well manicured lawns and late model cars. A well established neighborhood, it had seen an influx of minority and “working class” families over the past ten years. Numerous large apartment complexes had built up over the years [*Reported by teachers to be “government subsidized”*] and accessibility to educational excellence was no longer reserved for the well-to-do. Several of the teachers interviewed mentioned the change in the student population and the subsequent “increased demands for meeting the newer students’ more diverse learning needs”. This had reportedly put a “strain” on the school’s more experienced faculty, as they strove to maintain their historically high standards.

The school district within which Mountainview resided, a large well funded one, had served the families of Caucasian children for over 35 years. This particular high school was the second oldest in the district [*the oldest school bore the name of the suburban town in which it lay, clearly marking its identification with the district*]. Mountainview High School, however, grew up within the city limits of the metropolis. Therefore, although it bore the name of the suburban school district, it abided by the laws of the metropolis from which many of its families had sought refuge. Consequently, the faculty, with an unusual record of longevity, reportedly acted in ways which often went against the wishes and desires of the district central office staff, especially concerning the implementation of inclusion (This issue will be discussed at length later in the case study).

The 90+ faculty members of Mountainview High School prided themselves on their many years of experience and dedication to the school. The average years of experience at this school was 25, with many teachers having proudly boasted over 35 years of longevity. Several had been around since the school opened and spent their entire teaching careers within these same hallways. Those teachers with 10-15 years of experience were still considered the “new ones”. Clearly, there was an atmosphere of pride in previous

accomplishments, tempered with frustration over the multiple challenges they were facing, including the increased diversity around them.

Upon my second stage of visits to the school, the participant teachers were abuzz with the breaking news that 15 % of the faculty had elected for an early retirement buy-out plan from the district. With a history of low teacher turnover (traditionally three to five a year), the participants appeared devastated at the thought of losing so many of the “old guard”, those teachers who had set the pace for many years, and were now relinquishing the reins to the newer teachers, with less than 20 years under their belts. There were expressions of anxiety and uncertainty about what the future would hold for a school faced with increased diversity, not only from its student body but for the first time, from its faculty as well.

Physical Setting

The physical structure of the school, itself, was both intimidating and inviting. Situated on a hill, overlooking a wide expansive northern section of the city, its two-story brick and stone exterior framed an inviting glass entrance way and an edifice of open windows. The wing immediately to the left of the main entrance housed the auditorium and gymnasiums. The office area was easily accessible to visitors, situated in the first hallway, between two front entrance ways. On the opposite end from the auditorium, the numerous windows of the library looked out over the park immediately across the street. Wide bright hallways were meticulously clean, floors shined, and lockers painted, with no signs of graffiti or trash anywhere in sight. On both sides of the school’s entrances, down long hallways, were glass cases that displayed pictures, artifacts, and explanations of the various clubs, organizations, and athletic teams. It appeared that no student endeavor had gone unnoticed, as there were at least 20 different groups featured, in one way or another, in the display cases. Some groups, like the athletic teams and social clubs, appeared to be racially segregated, with several displaying pictures of either almost all Caucasian or all African-American students *[This observation of racial segregation was repeated later in the day, as students segregated themselves into the two eating areas during lunch periods. The Caucasians congregated in the smaller, “bring your own lunch” area, while the African-*

American students populated the larger, more traditional cafeteria where lunches were purchased]. The classrooms were located on either side of six hallways— three upstairs and three down— that run parallel to the street, between the two long entrance halls.

The hallways at Mountainview High School were both distinctive and memorable for a variety of reasons. The absence of signs of vandalism, as mentioned earlier, was only one of them. Other reasons appeared to be the result of the work of the faculty themselves, as numerous signs of communication between faculty and students were visible along the walls of the hallways. Near the counseling offices, a plethora of college flyers, from 20 to 30 different institutions, decorated the wall. All along the halls there were communiques advertising specific courses that students might want to enroll in, such as German, Sociology, and Broadcast Journalism. A group of students sat in the hallway, near the entrance to the Gymnasium, apparently working quietly on a classroom assignment, without the presence of a teacher. Displays of student work lined the walls in between classrooms and class room doors acted as bulletin boards for notes from teachers to students. The hallways appeared to be used for communication at Mountainview, as important information for assignments and field trips was also posted near classroom doors. Each teacher's name and subject area was clearly identified on the outside of each door and most of the doors remain closed. There was a nicely landscaped courtyard between two of the hallways that had paved sidewalks leading from one outside door to the other.

There were several faculty gathering places inside this school. One of them, the teachers lounge, was located directly across from the main offices. There was also a "living room", located in the main hallway, used for special education parent meetings, as well as the researcher's group interviews. Another area used by teachers, located next door to the student services office, was a suite of tiny conference rooms, which were also used for the researcher's individual interviews. These small rooms offered telephones and privacy for parent/teacher meetings and conferences. The main office area housed the teacher mailboxes and was used as a busy way-station for intermittent teacher interaction [*Access to this part of the main offices was evidently closely guarded. On her first day on campus,*

this researcher was approached by a very inquisitive secretary who asked what this researcher was doing. Clearly, an introduction to office staff would have been appropriate at this school, though not until her second day on campus was this offer made by the assistant principal. From then on, she was welcomed by the office staff each day as if she were a new faculty member]. It offered a copy machine and numerous written materials about the school and the district, readily accessible to visitors, parents, teachers, and substitute teachers [*Several of these documents were helpful in forming a more complete picture of the influence of parent and district-level involvement on this school's culture*]. The counselors' office area consisted of a large and inviting waiting room, with several comfortable chairs and reading materials readily accessible on two tables. Clipboards were attached to the large bulletin board and students were directed to "sign up" to see their grade level counselor. An array of materials targeted at vocational students sat on a long table (a list this literature may be found in Appendix B). Small individual offices were located off the interior hallway. There were two clerical support staff ready to attend to the needs of inquiring students.

Organizational Structures

Administrative organization Mountainview High School has a history of strong teacher leadership, demonstrated by the inconsequential comings and goings of five head principals over the past 35 years [*the participating faculty was clear that only one or two of the principals they had experienced had made any real impact on this faculty. In particular the last one had attempted to make changes among the school's way of doing things, without much success, leaving-- to the relief of the faculty-- at the end of last year*]. This year's new principal was welcomed by the majority of the faculty, a good sign for retaining his position next year. He was a former faculty member at this school, who had, since leaving his position as a coach there, obtained a doctorate degree in education and led another smaller school district as its superintendent. Having returned to Mountainview as head principal this year, Dr. Ever made significant changes in the duties and assignments of the assistant principals on staff. The most notable change was the re-assignment of the assistant principal for student services and special education. Having been a part of this

administrative team for the past nine years, this was the first year that Mr. Stone had not been assigned as administrative liaison for the special education students. A new assistant principal, formerly a special education classroom teacher but with less years of administrative experience, had been assigned those responsibilities this year, along with those of the junior class. Two other assistant principals were responsible for the sophomore and senior class students. The counseling department consisted of six counselors, two for each grade level, 10th-12th. Counselors played an important role in class scheduling and course advisement, especially for students with disabilities. Classroom teachers were organized around departments, with department chairpersons heading them. "Ad-hoc committees" were formed on a school-wide basis, as needs were identified, to study issues of concern and report back to the larger faculty in weekly faculty meetings.

Special education/Inclusion programs. The faculty which made up the special education department was as diverse as the needs of their students. There were two separate programs for students with disabilities, each having their own lines of communication and specific structures in place to provide services. The two programs were described as "central" and "local" *[The labels were holdovers from former years when the more severe students with disabilities were housed in a central facility and the mild to moderately disabled students were served on home campuses. Although all students with disabilities that are served within the district were now housed at their home schools, faculty and administration alike continued to use the labels, illustrating the continued division of the two separate programs within the school].* The special education staff consisted of those in the local program— four "helping teachers" that served students with mild to moderate disabilities, assisted by two paraprofessionals - and those in the central program-- two "inclusion teachers" that served students with severe to profound disabilities, assisted by two paraprofessionals and two "ED" teachers that served one classroom of students with emotional disabilities, assisted by one paraprofessional. These two programs operated independently of one another, without a special education

department chairperson *[but with “heads” of each that operated and were recognized as such without any formal designation]*.

The term inclusion, at this school, pertained to the students from the central programs that appeared on campus from centralized settings within the district about 6-8 years ago and began attending regular academic classes with the assistance of “peer helpers”-- general education students who worked with students with severe and profound disabilities enrolled in general education academic classes. These helpers were paired with one particular disabled student for the semester to provide academic and behavioral support in a general education class for one period a day. The peer helper attended this class with his disabled peer every day to receive the elective credit. The disabled peer received academic credit according to the criteria set out in the Inclusion Handbook-- a manual for all staff that been produced and disseminated by the inclusion facilitator on campus that clearly outlined the philosophy, policy, and procedures to be followed in implementing the “new” inclusion program at this school (see Appendix B).

However, inclusion, as defined in this study, had been happening at this school for over 20 years. Students with mild to moderate disabilities (under the case management of the “helping teachers”) were included in all general education classes and given access to a generic special education resource classroom, as needed, since the late 1970’s. These students had been mainstreamed into regular classes through the mandate of an earlier principal. They have been served over the past 20+ years, through special education services, by a system of accommodations and modifications that was communicated between individual general education “content” and special education “helping” teachers *[Although the staff did not refer to this older practice as inclusion, it clearly met the criteria for inclusive practices outlined in this study and will therefore be referred to as such through out the remainder of this dissertation]*.

Other structures/Interactions. One of the most striking characteristic of this school was its enormous capacity for individual teacher communication. Both technology and teacher practice had contributed to this effort. Particular structures and equipment were put in place several years ago to enhance the communication efforts between and among

teachers and staff. Not only did each teacher have a voice mailbox within departmental and/or classroom phone lines, but every teacher had a cellular phone assigned to them and distributed by the school district, that was used for any length of time on campus, without charge. Off campus, the teacher was billed at the standard rate, but was free to use the phone for personal business.

Another important and idiosyncratic cultural characteristic of this school was the oft-mentioned practice of having the head football coach lead the weekly faculty meetings. Initiated this year by the new head principal, this unusual practice appeared to be approved of by the majority and “added structure” and order to the meeting. As a well-respected member of the faculty, the coach commanded both the attention and the respect of this very venerable faculty.

The school operated on the traditional seven, fifty-five minute period day, but offered “0 period” an hour before school, allowing students to take eight periods a day if they so desire *[another example of this school’s adherence to the old style of education. With so many high schools going to block scheduling and other new and innovative practices, it was somewhat surprising to this researcher that this school’s daily schedule remained almost exactly as she had remembered her own]*. Teachers received one fifty-five minute planning period and duty-free lunch each day.

Demographics of Participants

Eleven classroom teachers participated in the initial stage-one individual interviews. Two of those did not return for the stage-two small group feedback sessions, although they indicated they were interested in doing so. Both of these teachers communicated their regrets to the researcher, but had prior commitments which prevented them from participating when the majority of the others were free to do so. Two assistant principals were also a part of the individual interviews, but were not included in the feedback sessions, as the researcher felt that their presence might cause some discomfort for the classroom teachers present. Two additional classroom teachers were part of the stage-three small group interview. Again, six other additional teachers had expressed an interest in participating in this stage, but were not able to do so after the final interview time was set.

Of the 15 participants interviewed overall, two were male-- one a classroom teacher and the other an assistant principal-- and 13 were female, with one being an assistant principal. There were six special education teachers and seven general education teachers interviewed. Subjects taught by these teachers ranged from general education courses, such as mathematics, chemistry, biology, history, Health, P.E. and economics, to self-contained/all subjects in the special education local and central programs. The number of years of teaching experience ranged from 16 to 34 years, with one teacher having taught for four years. The number of years of teaching experience at this school ranged from 10 to 24, with two teachers having taught there five years or less. All teachers reported having had students with disabilities in their classrooms over the years, some with more severe disabilities than others and in larger numbers during some years than others.

The chart below is an easy reference to participant voices cited through out this chapter:

<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>ethnicity/gender</u>	<u>Faculty/assignment</u>	<u>yrs at this school</u>	<u>stage #</u>
Denise	Caucasian/female	gen.ed. elective teacher	11-15	one & two
Mark	Caucasian/male	gen.ed. core academic teacher/coach	16-20	one
Tim	Caucasian/male	Asst. Princ./Student Services; prev. AP/Spec. Ed.	5-10	one
Meg	Caucasian/female	spec. ed. teacher	26+	one & two
Peg	Caucasian/female	spec. ed. teacher	26+	one
Betty	Caucasian/female	Asst. Princ./spec. ed.	1-4	one
Pat	Caucasian/female	spec. ed. teacher	5-10	one & two
Beth	Caucasian/female	spec. ed. teacher	5-10	one & two
Kathy	Caucasian/female	spec.ed. teacher	1-4	one & two
Dorothy	Caucasian/female	spec. ed. teacher	11-15	one & two
Sue Ann	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. elective teacher	21-25	one & two
Mimi	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. core academic teacher	11-15	one
Claire	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. core academic teacher	16-20	one & two

Lydia	Caucasian female	gen.ed. core academic teacher	5-10	three
Lorraine	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. core academic teacher	26+	three

Part Two: Stories of Inclusion

Introduction

Participants in stage one of the study were asked to contribute their stories of inclusion, after which the researcher continued to question and probe according to the information given her by the participant (see Stage One Interview Protocol in Appendix A). These interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim by a professional transcriptionist. The transcriptions were then analyzed by the researcher for categories/patterns of responses. Those categories/patterns are described in this section, using voices of the participants to illustrate those issues which were heard most often. The participants cited were representative of the larger group, unless noted as discrepant from the others. This section has been organized in the following manner to reflect the major patterns of responses regarding the participants' stories of inclusion: a) initial implementation; b) on-going problem-solving/changes to inclusion program and c) impact on students and faculty.

Initial Implementation

Teachers and administrators told similar stories of the process of inclusion, but reported varying scenarios regarding its initial implementation; including the involvement of federal, state, district and building-level administration, faculty and staff, and/or parents. Of the nine individually interviewed teachers, who had ten or more years of teaching experience at this school, only two of the special education teachers were directly involved in the initial implementation of inclusion as it is defined in this study *[This discrepancy in the nomenclature used at this school and that used in the researcher's study was somewhat of a problem during the individual interviews as some of the teachers had to be reminded often, that this researcher wanted to hear what they knew about the beginning of the "helping teacher" program as well as what they were calling the "inclusion program"]* and one of their special education colleagues were aware of the 'real' story of how the decision to mainstream all the resource students into general education classrooms in the late 1970's

was made and communicated to the staff at that time *[There were many different accounts given about how inclusion had come about at this school. Only Meg and Peg knew the 'real' story as they were first-hand participants in its implementation]*. These two special education teachers, Meg and Peg, were now the *[unlabeled]* “lead teachers” for the local program and related the incident as follows:

...the principal at that time-- he was the second principal of this school...saw a vision of the future where...special education students would be educated out in the regular classroom and that the special education teacher would provide the service rather than the actual instruction...we were absolutely horrified, we just said that that could not be done...we thought...there are just some students this could not be done with and he said, ‘Yes, I think it can and if you’re willing to try, I will support you with the faculty’.

Several teachers were under the mistaken impression that the special education teachers had initiated the move out of the resource classes into the general education classrooms. Some cited the “mandate by federal and state government at the time” (a misconception of P.L. 94-142 that was enacted in 1975), as influential in making the transition, while others assumed it was a “joint decision of the district, school building administration, counselors, and special education staff”. But according to Meg and Peg, “We didn’t work it through site-based management or any of that. We hadn’t heard of site-based management...This was pre-conflict resolution and everything. This was in the days when the principal said and you did it”. Although there was an interesting array of perceptions about how inclusion came to be a part of this school’s culture over 20 years ago, as reported by Meg and Peg, the principal actually stood these two very brave teachers up in a faculty meeting on the first day of school that year and said, “this is what we’re going to do and I want you to get behind these two ladies and help them make this happen” and the rest, is history.

Complications have arisen over the years, however, due to the lack of support initially from the district central office staff for the inclusion movement. On more than one occasion, Meg and Peg were asked by district special education coordinators to reinstate the resource rooms for students with mild to moderate disabilities. They have continued to

resist this request and, therefore, considerable friction between the administration and special education staff at Mountainview and district central office staff has continued to this day. The innovators have held their ground over the years and are now the “model” program for inclusion in the district and have presented at several state and national conferences on inclusion. Dorothy, another special education, reported that she had actually been asked to “spy on the program” when initially assigned to the school, but refused. One of the complications around the conflict between central and local programs of inclusion that continued to be problematic involved the students with more severe disabilities and the hand that the central office had in implementing it at Mountainview six years ago. It’s implementation has been viewed by the local program staff as a more mandated than site-based decision. Some participants indicated that it might even be possibly a “power play by the central office, in their on-going effort to keep Mountainview in control” (This issue will be enlarged upon and discussed at length within various subsections later in the paper).

When asked why inclusion was originally implemented there in the late 1970’s, the answers were overwhelmingly, “Because it is better for the student”. As Denise, a general education elective teacher related:

I believe it was implemented here to try to better the lot of the kids that needed special help...I think very early on they [“helping teachers”] realized that even though they [special education students] were getting the academic education...they weren’t getting the socialization skills that they thought they should have...

Several teachers cited other related factors, in addition to the positive impact on students, that may have also contributed to the decision to implement inclusion. Claire, a core academic teacher with 16-20 years of longevity, responded to the question of “Why inclusion was implemented at this school?”, with “I think maybe because it sounded good and we had the teachers who could do it”. Pat, the “inclusion” program specialist and a special education teacher for the more severely disabled students, added that, “Historically the school was always on a track for college bound students and I think that was a more acceptable way, if a family in this neighborhood had a child with a disability...it wasn’t as stigmatizing...[to be in mainstreamed classes]”. Another electives teacher, Bobbi, with 21-

25 years of longevity at this school, corroborated parental input as a major influence when she stated that, "I can remember they had a separate classroom and then their parents were demanding that they be given equal. So that's why they've included them into the classroom". Clearly, helping students with disabilities to function in a more normal environment, increased socialization with their non-disabled peers, and parental pressure were all viewed as reasons why inclusion was instigated at this school.

On-going Problem-Solving

Participants were also asked about their own involvement in inclusion, including their experiences with problems that may have come-up around its on-going implementation and subsequent methods of solving those problems. This discussion often led to several additional lines of inquiry that included: a) how changes in the inclusion program have been orchestrated, b) how roles and responsibilities of staff have evolved, and c) ways of communicating about student and program needs and strategies for meeting those needs. Each of these broad inclusive categories addressed below by the participants will be highlighted through their voices.

Changes in the inclusion program over the years were characterized by the participants as few and far between. Other than the difficulties with central office cited previously and the addition of students with severe disabilities from central programs into general education classrooms (which created its own set of internal problems and will be discussed further in varying subsections of the paper), only the ongoing maintenance of the program from year to year was cited as change. One of those maintenance issues was the selection of student course work and scheduling of students into particular teachers' classrooms. There was some variance in the perceptions teachers expressed regarding the procedures used for choosing which teachers would have which students. Similar to the varying perceptions regarding the initial start-up of the program, there were conflicting ideas about how the process of scheduling took place. Several teachers *stated* that student schedules were all computer generated, according to policy and procedure, but at the same time, also voiced doubts that it actually happened that way. The Assistant Principal, Mr.

Stone, initially indicated that the schedules were set by computer, but later in the interview recanted, when he mentioned that:

We talked to the special education teachers and tried to make sure that if they have a child that has special needs ...when they are involved in the schedule making, that they don't try to put all their kids in a particular teacher ['s class], that they spread it out among the population.

Meg and Peg also cited scheduling and course selection as one of the changes that had taken place over the years. They confessed that hand scheduling was an important part of the success that students experienced in the inclusion program. Noting that inclusion had not always gone well, they revealed that "there were some teachers that were more receptive and there were some that weren't and there were times the schedules got changed". However, their hand in arranging these student-teacher matches was not something that was widely publicized. Interestingly, suspicions of this hand-picking was voiced by several general education teachers. In fact, as related to this researcher, it was one of those covert types of agreements that are unspoken, but commonly understood.

Meg and Peg explained the difficulty that had arisen over the years from changes in course offerings. As they recalled, initially the classes were more tiered-- there were "correlated language arts" and "practical or intro...maybe they were a little slower paced...and the majority of our students were in that so it narrowed the faculty range that we had to work with and that was good". However, when the state ruled that these classes were to be disbanded in favor of more heterogeneous groupings several years ago, an additional burden was put on the teachers, as they were asked to deal with a wider and wider range of abilities in their classrooms. As Mr. Stone stated:

...it is very difficult for a teacher when they have a regular class that now they have local special education kids, they might have a BA kid in there and an aide, they might have a Voc skills child and an aide in there...you also have to look at the general population and the diversity of the kids there. That's a huge difference ...between the bottom and the top [it] has increased significantly over the last six or seven years.

For the special education teachers, the flattening of the course selections through the removal of basic courses, presented additional challenges, as more and more general education teachers became involved in teaching students with disabilities in general education classrooms. This meant that special education teachers were more spread out, which necessitated ever broadening circles of communication, and concurrently influenced the emergence of new roles and responsibilities for all.

Negotiating roles and responsibilities was an ongoing task for faculty, staff, and administration at Mountainview. When the idea of putting students with disabilities into general education classrooms was first broached, Claire, a general education core academic teacher, remembered thinking that “for me, it needed to be more succinct as to what exactly our role was. That’s the way I felt, kind of frustrated...I don’t think just giving more time to somebody...that doesn’t seem like it is going to work”. Mimi, a general education core academic teacher spent a great deal of time talking about the confusion she perceived around the terms accommodation and modification-- two methods of offering special education services to students in the general education classroom. She expressed concern that part of her role in providing services to students with disabilities was to either accommodate the student’s strengths and weaknesses or modify the criteria for grading. However, for her, there was an accompanying issue-- time that the student spent out of the classroom with the helping teacher. She perceived that this distinction was “written down somewhere in [the student’s] records” but felt there were discrepancies in the implementation of the grading procedures. Although clearly outlined in the school’s Inclusive Education Program Manual (see Appendix B) and explained in detail by other participants, Mimi expressed difficulty in understanding the difference between the two strategies and their impact on the students’ grades in the course *[the concern she expressed regarding the “fairness” of modifying content and consequently grades appeared to negatively impact her perception of the general education teacher’s role and responsibilities in relation to both the instruction and grading of mainstreamed students]*. This was also an issue with Bobbi, who stated that she sometimes found it easier to “just pass them” rather than hassle about the difference between accommodations and modifications. The special

education teachers were aware of this ongoing need for clarification. As Dorothy stated, “Occasionally there’s a teacher who...doesn’t understand the difference between an accommodation and a modification, We do have to work with that teacher”.

Meg and Peg recalled that, as new special education teachers, they had to redefine their roles and responsibilities, becoming “adept not only at instructing but...a special education teacher needed very good people skills and we collaborated with each other and with the other special ed teachers. We did whatever worked.” Claire reiterated the collaborative roles between special and general education teachers when she stated that, “they do a lot of leg work and they do touch base with all the teachers”. General education teachers were also viewed as collaborators, as Denise explained, “I deal directly with their helping teacher or in the case of the severely disabled students with their supervising teachers...We determine how to weigh the grade if the class has to be modified...It takes a little bit of extra work to deal with special ed kids, but not much”. Clearly, the general education teachers interviewed felt that the special education faculty shouldered the brunt of the work load in supporting students with disabilities in regular education classrooms.

There was, however, concern on the part of some teachers that the addition of students with severe disabilities in general education classrooms over the past six years had added more to the role and responsibilities of general education teachers than might be tolerated. Several special education teachers mentioned ongoing undercurrents of dissatisfaction between the special education central and local programs, due to the “pressure that is being exerted on general education teachers now that the more severe students are being included”. Some special education teachers reported concerns that the extra responsibilities general education teachers were being given in order to facilitate the inclusion of the students with more severe disabilities in core content classes would begin to wear them down, eroding the working relationships they had built up over the years.

The counselors were also mentioned as being “involved in the inclusion program”. They were viewed by many to be an integral part of inclusion management. As Denise stated:

They are very aware of who is special ed and who isn't...Even when we have ARD [Admission, Review, and Dismissal; commonly known elsewhere as IEP] meetings, they are very involved. They keep tabs on the kids, they know what their problems are...Our counselors are excellent.

Most participants reported that the counselors' roles included making decisions about which teachers to assign to those students with unusual problems associated with their disabilities. Making the right match between student and teacher was often cited as a strategy used to ensure student success and ongoing teacher participation in the program. When asked what he believed to be the process by which he was consistently assigned to teaching students with disabilities, Mark, a core academic teacher and coach, responded:

...those times when I have regular classes, I tend to get some of those kids that may have had problems...I know that I was kind of picked out...I don't know if once the class rolls were printed if the counselors didn't insert and make some changes as needed. I don't think there is anything wrong with that because what they are doing is trying to put the kid in the best environment...in their opinion.

Administrative support by assistant principals was also mentioned as an important role in the ongoing maintenance of the inclusion program, as Denise reported, "They help the teachers out if they have a problem...if there is a discipline problem with one of the kids". Several teachers mentioned the help assistant principals gave in "arranging a student's schedule" to better facilitate a successful inclusive environment *[Although several of the general education teachers claimed they didn't really know how they always got so many special education students in their classes, many others suspected that this very process did take place, acknowledged it to be an 'under the table deal', but accepted it as a necessary evil in inclusion's implementation. They were willing to be used as they were aware there were other faculty members that were not so willing to have special education students in their classrooms].*

Communication. At Mountainview High School, teachers reported that communication about inclusion did not happen through scheduled in-services or on-going staff development. Instead, individual teacher interaction on a regular basis was clearly the

preferred mode of communication. Dorothy stated that teachers preferred the one to one method, as she described how that process took place, “We try to set a time when it is mutually convenient for both of us and just sit down and air things”. Repeatedly, the participants agreed that “individual teacher interaction” was used to solve problems around roles and responsibilities, as well as student performance. This was enhanced by the increased accessibility of teachers to one another in recent years through the use of technology (as mentioned earlier). But more traditional methods of communication continued to be used, also. As Claire related, “I catch up with my special education colleagues as I walk in from the parking lot, catch them in passing in the hallway, or seek them out on my off period”. Mark reported that he and the inclusion specialist “...seek each other out during the course of a week. We talk to each other about progress and how things are going, and any other concerns we have...”

Communication regarding individual teacher expectations about student performance was managed using a variety of techniques, from “lists of students in your class with disabilities at the beginning of the school year”, to “forms that the special education teachers send around during each grading period to monitor progress”, reported Denise. ARD meetings with parents, teachers and administrators were also used to manage students’ individual programs and communicate both student and teacher expectations.

However, communication was not always so successful in the early years of implementation. As Claire remembered, “I think for a long time it was the ‘no talk’ rule...it just seemed like it needed to be addressed, but I guess they [the administration] just didn’t want to bring it out in the open because they felt bad about it or something”, but in the past ten years “it has come out more in the open and even in our in service meetings”. Mark reported that he heard teachers “talking at lunch, in the lounge, places like that” about their reluctance in implementing the newest wave of inclusion. “They were very negative. They didn’t want those kids...they were afraid they would slow things down” he remembered, but openly, “there was never any negative versus positive discussion. It was just this is the way it is going to be”.

Conflict resolution through small/large group interaction was reportedly nonexistent at Mountainview. As Denise stated, “We have never had any confrontational problems about inclusion since I have been here”. Although there were several accounts of teachers that “were upset about it [inclusion] in the beginning...”, she recalled, “the special education teachers would go and talk to them and try to resolve the problem and managed to do that quite successfully”. Special education teachers in both local and central programs, however, did talk in individual interviews about the strain between the two programs, but refrained from open conflict and did not confront one another in the small group interviews. In fact, the researcher was requested to not mention the struggle between the central and local programs in the small group feedback sessions where faculty from both programs might be present together.

Historically, teachers at Mountainview were not accustomed to acknowledging dissension openly, as evidenced by the revelations of more than one teacher. The “no talk” rule (referred to earlier) had apparently been instigated several years ago [*Participation in my study obviously compromised several teachers under this rule. Based on participant comments, some seemed more comfortable breaking it than others and some, the researcher suspected, refused to break it*]. Claire revealed that administrations in the past had discouraged open communication about “problems” inside the school. As she stated “...we couldn’t talk about anything because we weren’t sure who was listening ...It has not been a very pleasant situation around here for the past eight years...and that has really fractured the staff...”. This previous stifling of faculty input was mentioned by other teachers in referring to the immediate past administration. Apparently, the principal, “brought in from the outside”, had come to Mountainview with “several change agendas” which, in his opinion, required little input from the staff. Distressed over such a blatant demonstration of administrative power, Claire reported that the seasoned faculty had “retreated to their classrooms and closed their doors. Morale got really low for a while”. Mark corroborated this with, “The prior building leadership was almost autocratic and teachers were afraid to say a lot of things....I don’t know if there would have been any repercussions but I just felt like under the prior building leadership, teachers by and large

just kind of hibernated in their rooms and there wasn't a lot of interaction". Recently, however, Mark felt that with the change in building leadership this year, "...we are more open to discussion, because he [the new principal] is more...of a staff oriented administrator in which he wants discussion and he wants input. I think that this faculty will go that way where we are much more open about discussion and airing grievances." Claire agreed that, "Dr. [Even] is trying to [make] that better, he's doing a lot better in communication".

The school's tradition non-confrontational style of communication around problems (i.e., agreeing to disagree in a very covert manner) coupled with the on-going dissension between the central and local inclusion programs and building-level and central office based decision-making, however, had taken its toll on the local and central special education departments within Mountainview. Lines of communication among the various factions within the special education programs had become almost nonexistent, as information rarely traveled from one program to another. Staff members in one program were unable to answer simple questions regarding number of staff or generic procedures that had to do with the other program. Unresolved issues were reported by all of the special education staff, specifically around how inclusion was impacting the two programs, local and central, and the school as a whole.

Impact on Students/Staff

Each teacher shared at least one story of individual student impact attributed to the implementation of inclusion and most teachers also reported an overall impact on the student body as a whole regarding the increased affection for and consideration of students with disabilities. Although stories of individual student impact were not a line of inquiry included in this study, it was often difficult to focus the participants on the questions at hand, as they preferred to engage in long narratives regarding a particular student with disabilities they had in their class and the gains s/he had made as a result of inclusive practices. Equally as dramatic, were their stories of positive impact on the lives of general education students who "deeply cared about and included students with disabilities in their day to day interactions". The stories of one particular teacher are referenced here to

illustrate the changing attitudes and beliefs of many faculty members, as well as the student body-- both important determinants of school culture and indicators of real and meaningful school change.

Mark spoke at length about the impact of diversity on both the special and general education students at Mountainview. Currently teaching advanced-level core academic courses, he missed the rewarding interaction he valued between students with varying abilities in his classroom. His remembrance of those meaningful interactions from previous years of teaching students with disabilities in the general education classroom stood as testimony to the impact inclusion had made on his life and the lives of students, as he said:

First of all, I think that for whatever reason, I relate well to these kids. I have fun with them...You have to alter what you do in the classroom. You measure progress in pretty small steps ...not in large steps. In terms of subject matter the challenge for me always has been to try and find ways to animate it and make it something t they can relate to as well as possible. The idea of inclusion I agree with. Because I just think to simply ostracize someone for whatever reason I just don't think that's fair...I think that the regular kids in the classroom feed on that...and I encourage the [regular] kids in my classes-- when I have those students who are disadvantaged- to help me with them and before you know it you've got interaction going on and you've got relationships that are being formed and I think that is really cool. That is something that really excites me to see these kids as callous and as harsh as they can be at times, they find that as something that they can enjoy and I think it creates a pretty healthy environment. It makes you feel good about what you do. I try to encourage my regular students to help because I think...they feel good about what they do and [the way] they help me with them. But that is what I do. I don't think I have a magic potion or sure fire way...I have fun with those kids...I like the inclusion process-- I think it is good for our society.

When asked if his beliefs mirrored those of the rest of the faculty, he responded:

...you get older teachers...they are slow to change... we are creatures of habit...a lot of them are starting to retire. They have all had enough of this....teachers that

have not dealt with these kids much don't know how to deal with them. How to turn them on to education and some of them will never be turned on... I think teachers all over the country have to deal with that.

Mark also related his own journey of change regarding content modifications and grading practices when students with more severe disabilities entered his classroom. When asked if he believed other teachers at Mountainview had undergone similar changes in practice due to inclusion, he stated:

You are talking about individuals and an administrator can't tell a teacher you have to do this and that, I mean they can encourage it, and at some point that can mandate it. State boards can mandate it. But when you get behind the classroom door, teachers' personalities are still going to be teachers' personalities...I just choose to look for the good in kids and not the bad...I want to give them a chance to succeed instead of fail. I think failing a kid is the easiest thing to do. I think finding a way to teach a kid to step up to a challenge is the challenge for a teacher. That's just me.

Several other teachers indicated that although inclusion had been a successful endeavor for years at this school, not all teachers had embraced the idea of having difficult to teach students in their classrooms. But overall, all agreed that it was "good for the kids". As Betty, an Assistant Principal, stated, "...these kids have grown up with these other kids with disabilities and they are so accepting of them and they love these kids. I think the kids are the ones that make it successful." Denise reiterated the positive impact that the acceptance of students with disabilities by their peers has had on the climate of the school, when she said:

...if you will go watch them in the hallways, you will see the severely disabled kids walk up to the most popular kids in the school and say 'hi' and they will say 'hi' and hug each other, and walk down the hall together...so they feel like they have a good friend...I give a large part of the credit to the kids, not all to the teachers by any means, of course we sort of set the mood, but there is so much credit [to be given] to the students in this building.

[There was often so much talk that teachers wanted to engage in during the interviews about their stories of individual student impact due to the inclusion program, that the researcher was forced to redirect the participant back to the researcher's agenda, in order to get the kind of information she was seeking. This faculty liked to talk about kids!]

Part Three: Emergent Themes

Introduction

Data analyzed (including participant's transcribed individual and small group interviews, formal and informal observations, and document and artifact review) by the researcher resulted in the emergence of the following overarching themes and subthemes (The subthemes, along with a list of cultural descriptors developed by the researcher, was presented to the individual interview participants when they returned for the stage two small group sessions. They worked collaboratively to categorize them into overarching themes). The list below is followed by a narrative description of each overarching theme related to its subthemes, including other relevant cultural characteristics derived from all data collected:

Accessibility/Acceptance of Diversity

individual consideration
 inclusive philosophy
 administrative support
 personal relationships
 flexibility in scheduling
 changing demographics
 mutual support

High Expectations/Student Success

academic emphasis
 accommodations/modifications
 peer helpers
 tutoring program
 tradition of excellence
 student self-esteem

Professional Practice & Respect/Peer Supports

interpersonal interactions
 self-directed faculty
 individual teacher autonomy
 teacher networking
 variety of responsibilities
 collaboration between gen./spec. ed.
 clear boundaries

Accountability/Laws & Constraints

active parents
 local/central program
 state/fed. guidelines/IDEA
 state graduation test
 course requirements
 district input

Discussion of Themes

The four overarching themes which emerged from the analysis of all data collected, reflected a convergence of both researcher and participant point of view. Each overarching theme emerged as a focus of the stage two group categorization activity, through researcher analysis of the stage two transcripts. The related subthemes resulted from a distillation process of those originally identified through the stage one transcript analysis. Cultural descriptors derived from the original stage one participants were confirmed in stage two, member check group interviews. Therefore, not only do the overarching themes describe the categories used to relate subthemes to one another, but they also effectively describe the school's cultural beliefs, values, and traditions, as described by the study's participants. Each overarching theme will be discussed in detail below, with voices of the participants in the stage two group interviews used to highlight specific subthemes.

Accessibility/Acceptance of diversity. Accessibility and acceptance of diversity emerged as an overarching theme from each of the groups of participants in stage two of the research. Individual consideration and personal relationships stood out as reoccurring subthemes in both individual and group interviews and were the building blocks of their inclusive philosophy. As a member of group three stated, "I think we have a very open-minded faculty and they are very caring...I think they bend over backwards to be accepting." Another group member stated that "Personal relationships you have to have, each kid is unique. You have to treat each kid special...and individually consider the individual disability".

Administrative support that enabled flexibility in scheduling, including specific teacher selection, was cited as a facilitator of accessibility and promoted acceptance. As a third group member observed, "They have more contact with their assistant principal who can make some of those divisions." Mutual support among teachers was mentioned numerous times as an aspect of inclusion at Mountainview. As Meg and Peg stated:

...you knew the ones you could collaborate with. When there were success stories there were...teachers that brought the... [new ones] on...we worked with them all

of the time. We knew the ones that were good at adapting for your kids and they were the ones that were real good teachers anyway.

Acceptance of diversity had come about through not only the inclusion of students with disabilities but was also a result of the changing demographics of its entire student population. Although teachers had been in serviced in cultural diversity for several years, now, there were still many veteran teachers who cited diversity as a major issue. As Bobbi related that:

Well, the school has definitely changed since I have been here. One of the biggest changes is the apartments...what used to be singles apartments has changed into government subsidized ...low income apartments and that is a pretty definite impact on our school...It used to be the white middle class suburbia high school.

The impact of this gradual infusion of diversity over the years was a subtheme related through both individual and group interviews. It received heightened consideration during the group interviews, as teachers talked more openly when together about the impact of cultural diversity on the traditions of the school. It was categorized under this subtheme by several of the stage two groups although the issues of which came first, diversity or acceptance was not clearly articulated.

Professional Respect & Practice/Peer Supports. Professional respect and practice and its accompanying peer supports represented an enormous amount of the responses by participants and highlighted the value of professional integrity among the faculty. In referring to it as an overarching theme, some groups labeled it support, some faculty involvement, and another professional respect.

The accompanying subthemes were often reported as an integrated effort, indicating that it would be difficult to characterize one without use of the other. Their use in professional practice at Mountainview was clearly an important factor not only in the life of the school as whole, but particularly in facilitating inclusive practices. Lorraine, a participant in stage three related the importance of networking and collaborating between special and general education teachers, when she stated that:

...if you network a lot and you see them [other teachers] in the lounge and in the hall and you talk, you can build on common things whether it is getting the student organized...or making sure they [students] are not putting off a test...every student has a different problem he needs to be working on.

She went on to share how this practice had overflowed into general education teachers networking with one another to ensure standards of practice in relation to individual students. These interpersonal interactions were also built around an understanding of individual teacher autonomy and a self-directed faculty. As Denise stated:

..anytime there has been any sort of change brought about in this building, it was sort of a ground-swell movement...this faculty does not respond well to 'I'm the boss and you are the bossee'...This faculty responds very well to 'We need your help'. Not 'You are going to do it'...It makes a big difference...it has to do with how to handle people...and most people on this faculty seem to be pretty good at it because we all know how stubborn we are individually.

Clear boundaries were also mentioned several times in both sets of interviews. Respecting one another professionally was directly tied to respecting individual teacher autonomy. As one of the group IV participants, said, "I think that is one reason it [inclusion] works. Because we don't step on people's toes too often". The impact of peer support, professional respect, and the varying responsibilities of teacher practice on the inclusion program was summed up by Dorothy, when she said:

...it is at the building-level and teacher to teacher level where the inclusion process is done, teacher to teacher, class to class, with individual modifications and accommodations... special ed teachers have networked, we have communicated to teachers...we tend to have a personal relationship, a personal working relationship with these teachers...it works because those of us who are helping teachers and inclusion [teachers] are expert enough in what we do to be respected by the general faculty.

High Expectations/Student Success. When the participants were asked, in stage two interviews, to identify overarching themes or “common threads that ran through all categories” they had identified, every group named high expectations and student success. This overarching theme reflects one of the most enduring characteristics and a life-long tradition of Mountainview High School. As a school grounded in a record of excellence in both academic and athletic performance, teachers often referred to the school’s history of low faculty turn-over as a contributing factor. Having the luxury of retaining several of its founding teachers, the “old guard” had reportedly had been extremely successful in enculturating the new ones. A tradition of excellence was touted proudly and repeatedly by participating teachers with 20+ years of experience. More recent members of the faculty also referred to this strong tradition as a clear focus for performance expectations.

Student success was a goal which, reportedly, was achievable by the majority of students, especially those with disabilities. Accommodations and modifications had been implemented for those students many years ago and the seasoned faculty was now quite adept at carrying those out in general education classrooms. Although these alterations to class assignments, time requirements, or grading criteria were performed mostly by the general education classroom teacher, it was quite clear that the special education special education teacher or inclusion specialist was instrumental in developing those alterations through the IEP committee process and then communicating them to the classroom teacher. Monitoring the student’s progress by making sure the accommodations and modifications were being met and therefore, also meeting the needs of the student were important tasks for special education faculty. Group two of the stage two interview process summed up what they believed to be the essence of high expectations at Mountainview when they stated that:

The fact [is] that we do have high expectations of everybody, not just our regular or popular students, but everybody. The teachers do use accommodating teaching styles. We have a very talented faculty here. The accommodations and modifications are made to that goes along with that. Academic emphasis goes right up there with high expectations.

Group one reiterated the emphasis on high expectations but widened its scope to include building-wide issues, with "...we expect high performance, not only from ourselves as individual teachers but from our co-workers, our janitors, our building administrators, the students".

The peer helpers and after school tutoring programs were mentioned often as having had an enormous impact on the level of student success in general education classrooms. As Mark described it:

They've got these peer tutors that escort them to classes. that are with them, ...help them physically, turn papers, open books, write things and they dictate things... they really have it streamlined. I think the jobs they do makes it easier for the instructor.

Student self-esteem was referred to frequently as teachers told their stories of individual student experiences related to inclusion. Closely related to student success, teachers recounted the experiences of individual students who, now finding themselves capable of acceptable academic performance in general education classes, finding independence an increased motivation to continue on their path of academic success. The school had implemented supports for students in the larger population, as well, that needed extra help in passing the state graduation test. These after school tutoring programs were seen by the participants as a clear indication that the school as a whole was committed to carrying on its traditions of excellence along with its more recent commitment to equity.

Accountability/Laws & constraints. Although the least mentioned category in individual interviews, the overarching theme of accountability/laws & constraints was a result of every group's stage two activity. Seen most commonly as a necessary evil they had learned to accommodate, the faculty felt strongly that this category was more of a hindrance than a support. Teachers lumped issues such as central office mandates with state and federal regulations, often referring to them as "outside influences" or "things which we have no control over". One group labeled them "restrictions" and included administrative issues, also. When asked what impact the group believed rules had on the faculty, one teacher responded with:

Rules? I think it depends on the leader. In the past we had a principal who was so dictatorial, people rebelled. But right now I think our school is getting better because we have some body who gives you the rules but is also very understanding.

The central and local programs were also included in this category, with many teachers believing that how things were done between the two programs was some sort of mandate from the district central office. There was also talk by some of the district office being behind the more recent inclusion movement of central programs an. One teacher mentioned that the newer wave of inclusion had been “pushed on the faculty”. The faculty had only been informed of the new inclusion program, there had been no discussion of whether they, as a school, were in favor of the movement. Outside influences such as this were discussed as issues “over which teachers have no control”.

Many assumed that both the old and new inclusion movements were a result of “state and federal mandates and that the local school district had been mandated to implement inclusion”. Although mandates of accountability that included changes in course requirements and state testing for graduation had been implemented over the years, teachers did not report that these requirements had significantly changed the practice of teaching at Mountainside. However, they did report that their perception of inclusion as a mandate (per IDEA) had been an effective stimulus toward instructional change. Although most teachers believed that the decision to implement inclusion had been “out of their control”, they attributed its subsequent success to the skill of the special education staff and the professional culture of the entire faculty. As one teacher reported, “ We did what we had to”.

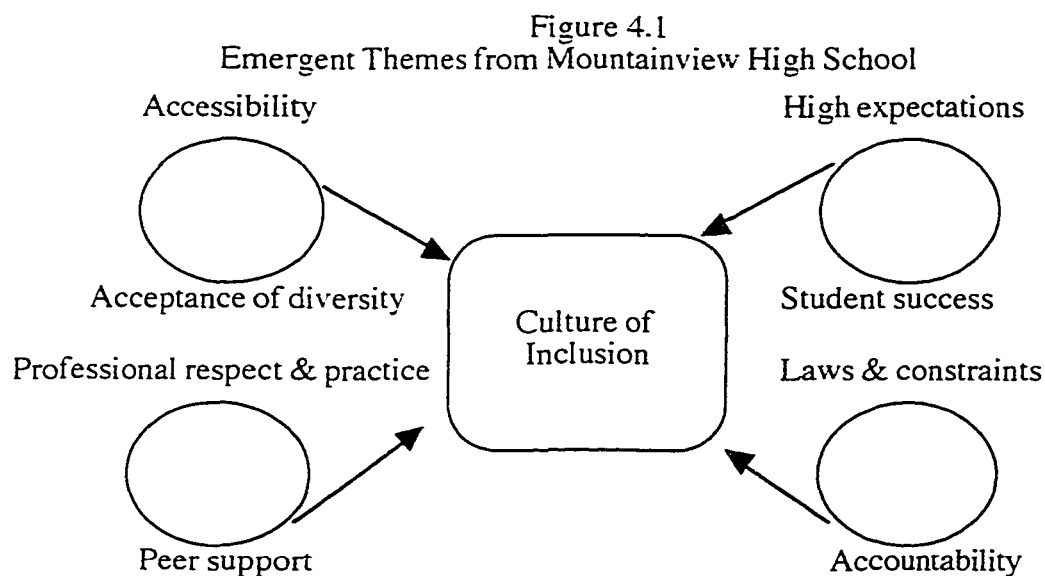
Parental influence was cited more often in the group interviews than in individual ones. The impact of parental pressure on school practice, including administrative decision-making, was discussed at length by more than one group. Several teachers reported that they recognized the influence of parents on several decisions that had been made over the years, but that that influence was more and more reflected of a small group of parents who seemed to be involved in everything. Documents gathered by this researcher also indicated

that parents played a relatively influential role in the cultural values, beliefs, and traditions of the school. However, several teachers expressed concern that the parents that they had attempted to contact regarding student academic performance were not responsive. This issue was often raised in conjunction with concerns about racial diversity and the changes the influx of minority students had brought to the life of the school.

During the stage two process of the selection of categories, teachers saw the subthemes as interactive and recognized that several of them were interchangeable and would fit under more than one overarching theme. One teacher summed up the relationships among the subthemes when she said that the reason it all “worked at [Mountainview]” was because “we don’t separate these things out. They all work together”. This participant awareness that the subthemes and overarching themes were intricately interrelated was an important factor in the researcher’s subsequent interpretation and conceptual framework addressed below.

Part Four: Interpretation and Conceptual Framework

Below is the researcher’s conceptual framework of the ‘culture of inclusion’ at Mountainview High School:



The four circles represent those themes that contributed to the culture of inclusion (represented by the center square) at Mountainview High School. Each of the themes reflected two areas of emphasis, as the circles are labeled at the top and bottom.

Throughout the stories of inclusion at Mountainview High School, there was an unrelenting emphasis on accessibility and acceptance of student diversity. Teacher after teacher told their own personal account of professional growth in learning to deal with the challenges of a changing student population: Greater diversity in the problems students brought to school, greater diversity in the scope of needs to be met, and greater diversity in the challenges that faced each teacher daily within the classroom. The manner in which these challenges had been met was one of the ways in which this school defined itself. Having embraced a philosophy of inclusion of students with mild to moderated disabilities many years ago, its more recent challenge was the acceptance of students with differing cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds as well as the integration of students with severe disabilities into classrooms, often reserved for average students in other settings.

A tradition of students being individually considered as exceptional learners, begun under the first wave of inclusion in the 1970's, opened the door for the more severely disabled to be accepted and included. As Tim, the male assistant principal said, "The fact that it started with our less severely handicapped children and built. I think it made it a lot easier. I think it made teachers more tolerant of kids...I think they have a better insight...". Several teachers referred to the impact that individual consideration of student needs had on their daily practice, including those students without identified disabilities that might benefit from similar considerations. As one teacher reported, "I know inclusion has changed the way I teach other students, as well."

Without these underlying beliefs and practices, an integral part of the traditions within this school's culture, it is not clear if inclusion would have been implemented so successfully at Mountainview. Therefore, the answer to the question "Whether or not the prevailing attitudes of teachers and students have been a response to changing demands from a differing population or inclusion has changed attitudes and beliefs and therefore continues to be successful?" was not clearly articulated. Most teachers indicated that successful inclusion was probably the result of both-- a changing environment coupled with changing attitudes had produced the prevailing climate of acceptability of diversity and accessibility for all.

A strong characteristic of the faculty as a whole, professional respect/practice and peer support also appeared to be an important facilitator of the inclusion program. Numerous citations of the integrity and competency of the special education faculty, in particular, were noted by the researcher as an outstanding characteristic of this school's inclusion program. The early establishment of clear boundaries by Meg and Peg in dealing with general education faculty, had set the stage for the following years. Unusual in their choice of inclusive practices, this school had never ventured into the now popular practice of collaborative teaching, that many inclusive schools are engaged in today. Instead, they purposely had chosen the collaborative networking model. As they related the strategy they used during those first years of implementation, it was evident that their knowledge of the faculty's desire for individual teacher autonomy and self-direction had paid off for them. They remembered that:

...we let the teacher know they were in charge we were not there as the police person to say you've got to do this, you've got to do that, we went in with the attitude of we're here to help, we are both trying to do what's best for this student

Meg and Peg reported that they had increased their credibility with the faculty by treating them with personal integrity. Clear boundaries were observed among many of the staff, with mutual respect and support being the hallmark of their personal and professional relationships. As Meg and Peg said:

We didn't sit in the lounge and say so-and-so won't do this or so-and-so won't do that, and we tried to always be sure that they could respect us, too. We always tried to carry our part in what we did...we felt like we were respected members of the faculty as well as they were. They always looked at us as peers. We always tried to help them.

Their endeavors paid off as teacher after teacher reported high regard and the utmost respect for the special education staff, citing their "expertise and integrity" as one of the big reasons why they felt inclusion "worked" at their school. Elaine, one of the participants in the stage three interview and a general education teacher in advanced-level core academic

classes could not say enough about the special education staff and the manner in which they have communicated successful inclusive practice to others. She stated that:

...they have done a very, very good job of educating the faculty and really explaining to us from the beginning of the program...they always networked with us, just daily, if not every other day. Listened to us and encouraged us to network with the other teachers if we shared a certain student. That helped a lot...I believe first we were strongly encouraged by them. Then when we did it, we saw how valuable it was and how much it worked...

As a faculty, they continually helped one another to adjust, maintain, and refine their professional skills and expertise in order to better meet the needs of their ever changing student population.

The most striking characteristic of Mountainview's inclusion initiative was the commitment of its special education teachers to the workability of accommodations and modifications for not only the student but the general education teacher as well. It was difficult to determine whether their first allegiance was to the student or the classroom teacher. Clearly the professional respect and practice/peer supports were an important part of that student success. The impact of the former upon the later was a clear connection. As the inclusion program's initiators, Meg and Peg were already intricately tied to the faculty through a tradition of mutual support. Faculty members had long ago established protocol for professional behavior that emphasized "helping one another out". They capitalized on such support, working from the inside to build on the strengths of the faculty and the students as well. In addition, the principal allowed them to come up to school before the year began and work with counselors to make sure the students with disabilities had schedules that would facilitate their success in the general education classroom, by "hand-picking" teachers they knew to be accepting of diversity and willing to consider individually the students with disabilities.

Prior leadership at Mountainview had produced varied results in its impact on classroom practice, but has been instrumental in either alienating or coalescing the faculty around particular issues. A former principal, bent on changing the school to meet his own

agenda, forced teachers behind closed doors and severed a long tradition of internal communication. Rebuilding those lines was facilitated through the use of technology this year (cellular phones and voice mail boxes), which appeared to be an effective facilitator of individual teacher interaction, one of the vital components at this school for successful inclusion. A faculty held together by years of carefully carved-out traditions was not easily dismantled by ineffective leadership. At the same time, inclusion was not notably impacted by any one style of leadership, save the initiating principal who, evidently (according to several teacher recollections), was a powerful personal presence and one that could influence the faculty to “do most anything”.

A clear tradition of excellence established when the school was new, all-Caucasian and college-bound appeared to have set the stage for years to come and was an interesting twist on the “new accountability” movement. As Denise stated, “We expect to be accountable. We have been doing this for a long time and we aren’t doing it because we have to be accountable...”. Therefore, the impact of the fourth overarching theme was naturally heightened, due to the school’s well-honed traditions that were operationalized through the three others.

Special education law (P.L. 94 - 142) may have predated the initial inclusion movement at Mountainview, but it certainly did not mandate the type of inclusive practices that were hallmarks of successful practice at this school. Clearly ahead of the accountability movement, the school is now on the forefront of the intersection of the policies of inclusion and accountability that are just now coming to light in the literature, as well as in practice nation-wide. While other school buildings and districts are just beginning to struggle with issues of standards and assessments for students in inclusive schools, Mountainview was setting the standard for practice that produces successful students with and without disabilities, over 95% of them capable of passing the state’s graduation test (see School Report Card in Appendix B).

Summary

The clear interaction of all four themes was instrumental in not only defining/reflecting the culture of the school as a whole, but many of the reasons the faculty attributed

to the success of its inclusion programs. Each worked in tandem with the other to support and enhance the viability of the school's mission (see Appendix B) overall. Though not clearly articulated as such, the inclusion program had evolved over the years to also fit into that mission and subsequently into the culture of the school. Teachers interviewed at Mountainview High School talked about the kind of professional integrity and tenacity in teacher leadership often written about in school reform literature. Yet interestingly, the term 'teacher leadership' never passed the lips of one participant at this school. Even though "empowered faculty" was mentioned (only once), one left with the impression that this group of educators was somewhat unaware of their own impact on the leadership of the school, referring only to past or present principals when asked about "leadership style".

In conclusion, one ponders the future of Mountainview High School: How well will the four overarching themes persevere in support of one another, as a rapidly changing student, parent, and faculty population continues to increase in size and influence? Will the values and traditions of the past become eroded by the overwhelming challenges of the future? Will teachers be able to cope effectively with the ever increasing demands of an inclusive high school? The answers to these questions appear to be hidden in the future interpersonal interactions between teachers and their on-going high expectations for all students. For now, the actions of two venerable special education teachers, over 21 years ago, will continue to echo in the hallways of Mountainview High School, as it struggles with new challenges to its traditions of excellence and equity. As the "old guard" gives way to the new, one contemplates how well traditions honed over years of experience in one world will hold up in that of another. Hopefully, they will survive, as long as the professional integrity exhibited through the actions and beliefs of its current faculty continues to exist.

Case Study #2

“Warning: Teachers are on their own here”

Fred (1998), a general education
core academic teacher

Part One: Description of the School

Introduction

This section of the case study will highlight the following subsections related to the description of the school: a) demographic/historical information; b) physical setting; c) organizational structures of the school, with emphasis on building-level administrative organization, special education/inclusion programs, and other structures and/or interactions that are helpful in describing the school’s operational style; and d) demographics of participants in all three stages of the interview process. A discussion of relevant issues included within each subsection is based upon all data collected during the three site-visits to this school. Researcher asides are in italicized brackets. The name of the school and its participant faculty members have been changed to protect their anonymity.

Demographic/Historical

Buena Vista High School has been located for over 50 years within an industrial community that borders a large metropolitan area in the southeastern portion of this southwestern state. The suburban town of less than 100,000 residents was originally inhabited by industrial/refinery workers in the large chemical plants that sprung up along the ship channel in the early 1940’s. Historically populated by all-Caucasian, blue-collar, working-class families, the residential neighborhood immediately surrounding Buena Vista High School was made up of small frame houses, now predominately occupied by poor Hispanic families. Small home-owned businesses lined the two-lane main street, which was badly in need of repair. Regardless of its state of ill-repair, however, this street was the main thorough fare that led from the interstate highway to the old neighborhood. Reminiscent of a by-gone era, the signal lights still dangled from wires stretched from one side of the street to the other. Pot holes spotted the parking lot of a small strip center, nearby, where most of the stores had gone out of business.

For two decades, from the late 1950's to the late 1970's, Buena Vista High School reigned as one of the powerhouses of high school football in this state. It's demographics having changed gradually, yet drastically, over the past 20 years, the student population was currently 75% Hispanic, 14% Caucasian, and 11% African-American (see Ethnic Distribution by Grade in Appendix C). Although the district reported the ethnic breakdown of its 1023 classroom teachers district-wide to be 76% Caucasian, 10% Hispanic, 13% African-American and 1% other, teachers at Buena Vista continued to be overwhelmingly Caucasian, with very few (less than 10%) of African-American and/or Hispanic origin. The principal was a Hispanic male in his mid 40's, with a history of administering schools in several other school districts around the state similar to this one-- lower socioeconomic communities that were previously all-Caucasian and had once prided themselves on the students' past athletic accomplishments, but were now mostly comprised of minority populations, with little success in athletic endeavors [*In fact, he had spent the bulk of his one conversation with me, recalling the athletic records of the various schools of which he had been principal over the past 20 years*].

This once all-Caucasian low/middle class school district, now headed by a Caucasian female superintendent, had grown to include not only a large poor Hispanic population, but also more middle to upper middle class families in the past 10 years, subsequently dividing it's total high school student population between two very diverse student bodies. The only other high school in the district was much larger in student population and predominately Caucasian and "rich", with more African Americans enrolled than Buena Vista, but few Hispanics. With a third high school, scheduled to open in the Fall that would "divide up the other high school", participants reported doubts that very few (maybe 10%) of the junior or seniors from Buena Vista would choose to attend the new \$28 million high school because it was known as the "rich school".

Documents produced by the school division's central office reported an ethnic mix of students district-wide that was 20% African American, 53% Hispanic, 24% Caucasian, and 3% Asian and American Indian. The district's peak student enrollment for the previous school year was 17, 579. Although reportedly not indicative of Buena Vista's student

population, average SAT scores in the district have met or exceeded those nationally, and have consistently been above state averages for the past five years. According to this same document, students have not fared as well, however, on the state graduation test, implemented by the state over eight years ago as its accountability measure and barrier assessment instrument to graduation. Having recently undertaken an aggressive “Test Improvement Initiative”, targeted to meet or beat a 90% passing rate within three years, each school is now required to provide: a) a minimum of 90 minutes each day dedicated to both reading and math instruction, b) state test remediation classes for all students who have not passed one or more portions of the test, and c) advanced strategy training for teachers in test-teaching strategies. The school district boasted an “ambitious rate of improvement over the past two school years”, increasing the exit level passing rate from 43% to 58% (This state requires a 50% passing rate for each school, in order to remain in the “approved” category).

Although a public relations brochure touts the school district as “an affordable, safe, desirable, and convenient place to live”, issues of accountability have been at the crux of the faculty/administration interactions at Buena Vista for several years, with teachers reporting that “all the administration cares about are state test scores”. Having been labeled by the state as “on probation” in previous years for repeatedly performing below the acceptable level on the state test, the school’s most immediate goal has been to improve state test scores. High teacher turn-over was an on-going problem. Between 15% to 20% of Buena Vista’s classroom teachers have elected not to return each year. Therefore, with its history of low academic performance, high teacher turn-over, a large student population (reportedly more than 85%) on free/reduced lunch, and an expanding number of students identified with disabilities (close to 20%), this school had all the earmarks of being “at-risk” [A category defined by the state and identifiable as those students who have applied for free or reduced lunch].

Physical Setting

Buena Vista High School was an enormous brick structure that encroached upon the narrow, bumpy neighborhood streets on which it was situated. Although it

encompassed a full city block, the lack of open grounds surrounding it contributed to a sense of it “looming” over the modest frame houses that surrounded it. Directly across the street from a side entrance to the school, was a compound of four to five portables scattered around a small brick building that housed the school district central office staff. Behind this unassuming cluster of administrative structures, was the park for which the school district and its anchor high school were named. Deserted and devoid of any modern playground equipment, the park took in a full city block. At intermittent intervals along the four streets bordering the large flat grounds of the park were an elementary school with a state agency run day care attached, family services agency offices, a church, and a community building.

Built prior to World War II, Buena Vista had undergone extensive remodeling in the past 10 years that had given its edifice a newer, more updated look. A long cement walk way lead from the small parking lot across the street to the main entrance way. A ramp provided easy access for students with physical disabilities to enter the main doorway that led directly to the glassed-in main office area. Situated immediately inside the front door, the main office was directly across the entrance way from the school’s new modern library. A wall of glass trophy cases lined the entrance hallway across from the front doorway. Several pictures of past graduating classes had been placed on the glass shelves, along with trophies of athletic events from more than 20 years, ago. To the right, on the wall that acted as a cornerstone for the main office, was a larger than life picture, running floor to ceiling, of a former high school football All-American, dressed in full athletic uniform, with his name and school year, 1957, engraved on a plaque at its base, and he was Caucasian.

The speckled marble floors were original to the building, as were its interior concrete walls, painted in a light blue gloss. To the left of the main office was a short hallway that housed the attendance office and the teachers’ lounge, where teachers’ mailboxes and snack machines were located. The end of this hallway opened into another long hallway that housed the cafeteria and classrooms to the left and assistant principals’ offices and a snack bar to the right. Two or three other hallways, as well as a stairwell leading to the second floor, were connected to this main downstairs passageway. The adjoining hallways, each leading to a serious of “nooks and crannies” (small cul-de-sacs

that housed out-of-the-way classrooms) appeared as a series of mazes that were unconnected to one another (see map of the school in Appendix B).

Two other “teacher lounges”, one on each floor of the main interior hallway, appeared to be more like “workrooms”. One had only a table with no chairs and a copy machine in it. The other on the second floor had two small round tables surrounded by chairs, snack machines, and a copier. Both rooms were empty upon repeated visits there. New-looking classroom doors appeared to be a result of a previous renovation, each having a two foot square window in it. Sandstone plaques attached next to each classroom doorway indicated the room number, but there was no identifying information regarding teachers’ names or subject areas taught. Only the cafeteria, which could be entered by a door on either side, was labeled as such. Lockers lined both sides of the hallways, each one having its own built in lock, another obvious result of the school’s renovation. One teacher commented that the previous principal who planned the renovation must have been “paranoid about teachers talking about him, because the blueprints were clearly outlined to prevent teachers from gathering together” *[There was a very real sense, on the part of the researcher, of isolation and anonymity as one moved along the hallways. The halls seemed narrow, with low ceilings and small openings that led to dead ends].*

Organizational Structures

Administrative organization at Buena Vista High School included a male Hispanic head principal and four assistant principals (APs), two males (one African American and one Caucasian) and two females (one Hispanic and one Caucasian). The Caucasian female AP had been assigned to the special education program as an administrative liaison. This was her first year at that assignment, though her fourth year as administrator at the school. She was also the AP in charge of curriculum, which she had supervised in the past. She worked collaboratively with the special education department head on scheduling students with disabilities into general education classrooms, supervised special education staff, and determined staffing needs for the various special education programs. The other three APs divided the grade levels among themselves, in terms of handling discipline referrals. They were also assigned other duties, such as facilities management, textbooks, etc. The head

principal dealt with individual APs regarding issues related to their assignments, as needed. Several counselors were in charge of scheduling classes. One department chairperson headed each instructional department and acted as liaison between the teaching faculty in their department and administration. The special education department chairperson also acted in a supervisory role, determining policies/procedures and roles/responsibilities for the special education staff at Buena Vista. The central office administration included a Director of Special Education, who single-handedly approved this research study. *[In Case Study # 1, the researcher had sought approval to conduct research from both the District Office Administration the school's principal. In this case study, the District's Director of Special Education granted approval and informed the researcher that it would not be necessary to seek the approval of the school's principal, also. Rather, she requested that all contact be directed to the school's special education department chairperson. The researcher was able to have an informal conversation with the principal during the second site visit, but his permission was never directly sought by the researcher, per instruction from the central office administration, and contrary to the previous case study].*

History/description of special education department/inclusion program *[For the purposes of this case study the "inclusion" program at this school, refers to the enrollment of students with varying disabilities in general education classrooms, with periodic support from the content mastery classroom that was open all day and either a special education teacher or a teacher assistant scheduled to be present in nine general education classrooms - including history, geography, ESL-reading strategies, transitional English, biology, physical science, and building trades].* The inclusion program at Buena Vista was initially implemented six years ago, when the former school's special education department chairperson began "team teaching", by mutual agreement, with a general education history teacher. The next year, having received a grant from the state to facilitate inclusion, special education aides were hired to expand the program of support to students with disabilities, as more were moved into general education classrooms. This additional special education staff was used to ease the transition of students with disabilities from resource to general education classrooms, providing them with hands-on instruction according to the needs of

the teacher and the course's content within the general education classroom. The program grew under consistent leadership within the school's special education department for three years. Several additional general education teachers were recruited into the "team teaching" program that was the hallmark of the school's support for students with disabilities in general education classrooms.

Content mastery, a kind of "come and go" resource room, had also been used to support both the general education teacher and their students with disabilities for the past five to seven years. Special education students were allowed to leave the general education classroom and go to the "content mastery" room, manned by either a special education teacher or a teacher assistant, to work on class assignments that might require individual accommodations or modifications for that student. The content mastery class was also used to tutor students in reading, writing, and math skills. After three years of growth, the initiating special education department head left the school and the grant money was no longer available. Additional staff, who had been originally funded by the grant, were removed and the inclusion program began to flounder.

During the school year previous to the one in which the research study was conducted, support for the inclusion program at Buena Vista consisted mainly of the content mastery room. With no acting department chair and the previous assistant principal who was in charge of special education not really giving it the attention it required (as mentioned repeatedly by the participants), supports for general education teachers and their students with disabilities within the general education classrooms had all but disappeared. Consequently, the district's director of special education recruited a special education department chairperson from one of the district's elementary schools to revitalize the inclusion program at Buena Vista for the current school year.

Upon arrival at Buena Vista this past Fall, the new special education department chairperson made several changes to the inclusion program. Having submitted an application for staff development funds to support inclusion implementation to the local offices of the state education agency, the new department chair also drafted an Inclusion Plan (see Appendix C, in collaboration with the district director of special education, but

reportedly no one else from the school, itself) that outlined the steps in which inclusion would be reconstructed at Buena Vista. The content mastery room was targeted for a reduction in use, along with an increase of special education teacher participation as “classroom facilitators” in general education classrooms. New rules and procedures for general education teachers regarding sending students with disabilities to the content mastery classroom were put into effect. There were also additional procedures that included monitoring of students’ progress by special education teachers, acting as case managers, through the completion of forms by the general education teachers. Special education teachers were also assigned different academic departments within which they were to act as “liaisons” for departmental issues between general and special education.

The current staff of seven teachers (two Caucasian males, two African-American females, and three Caucasian females), one teacher assistant (a Hispanic female), and the department head (mentioned earlier) comprised the special education department. They were responsible for a self-contained life skills classroom (which was taught by two of the eight teachers); several resource classes in math, English, and reading improvement; an accelerated self-contained classroom for over-age special education students; a vocational program that included several occupational training classes and on the job supervision (the sole responsibility of one special education teacher); and nine “inclusion” classes. During the first semester, two of the special education department teachers and their chairperson had participated in the inclusion program, acting as inclusion facilitators in general education classrooms by providing hands-on instruction to individual students with disabilities, including making necessary modifications and accommodations to the assignments or tests, as needed. These two teachers were also scheduled to teach special education resource classes, coach a sport one period, teach a health class, and instruct students in the content mastery class one to two periods. The special education teacher assistant manned the content mastery classroom three of the eight periods and also acted as an inclusion facilitator for six periods in general education classes, moving back to the content mastery room after the first thirty minutes, during four of these. Within the special education department itself, five 9th-12th English resource classes, two math resource

classes, and two reading improvement resource classes were offered (for further clarification see the Special Education Master Schedule and its revision in Appendix C).

Other structures/interactions relevant to the study of school culture and change included a form of block scheduling which had been implemented at Buena Vista in the past two years, under an “AB” format. Four courses were taught one (periods one-four) day (A) and four additional courses (periods five - nine) were taught the next day (B). With this alternating (A-B) schedule, it was possible to hold eight 90 minute classes three times each within six school days. Using the traditional dual semester and six, six-week grading periods to constitute the school year, students were given the opportunity to accrue eight credits per year. The school day ran from 7:20 a.m. to 2:20 p.m. Teachers received one 90 minute planning period per day, along with duty free lunch.

Full faculty meetings were held “periodically, as needed” and department-head meetings, also attended by the AP for curriculum and special education and the head principal, were held on a weekly basis. Departmental meetings that involved the classroom teachers in each department were held monthly and led by each department’s chairperson. The principal had begun, in January, to join these departmental meetings on a monthly basis, as well as to meet weekly with his AP staff and counselors. Reportedly, his increased involvement in these meetings had been initiated as a result of a central office directive.

Demographics of Participants

The 16 participants in this case study were interviewed by the researcher over a period of four months, during three separate site visits. They included the following: a) eight general education and two special education teachers, three of whom were males and seven females, interviewed individually during stage one and invited back for stage two focus group interviews (at which time, three general educators, one Caucasian male and two Caucasian females declined to continue their participation for reasons ranging from “responsibilities for athletic events” to “other commitments”); b) one Hispanic special education teacher assistant, interviewed in stages one and two; c) one Caucasian female special education department head and one Caucasian female AP, interviewed in stage one

only (due to their positions as supervisors, they were not invited to the stage two group interviews); and d) three additional female general education teachers-- one Caucasian, one Hispanic, and one African American-- interviewed as a group in stage three, only.

Each participant was assigned a pseudonym by the researcher and audio tapes were coded accordingly. These pseudonyms were used in citing quotations from the transcribed tapes to insure anonymity of each participant. Other descriptors have not been changed, reflecting the actual individual traits of each participant. The chart below summarizes the general demographic information of all participants interviewed in this case study:

<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>ethnicity/gender</u>	<u>faculty assignment</u>	<u>yrs. at this school</u>	<u>stage #</u>
Maria	Hispanic/female	spec. ed. teacher ass't.	1-4	one & two
Matt	Caucasian/male	gen. ed. core academic teacher	5-10	one
Fred	Caucasian/male	gen. ed. core academic teacher	1-4	one & two
Wendy	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. electives teacher	1-4	one
Betty	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. electives teacher/ department head	11-15	one & two
Mary	Caucasian/female	gen.ed. electives teacher/coach	5-10	one
Richard	Caucasian/male	gen. ed. vocational teacher	1-4	one & two
Patti	Caucasian/female	spec. ed department head	1-4	one
Fran	Caucasian/female	spec. ed. teacher	1-4	one & two
Eleanor	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. electives teacher	5-10	one & two
Tracy	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. core academic teacher	1-4	one & two
Sandra	Caucasian/female	spec. ed. vocational teacher	5-10	one & two
Rachel	Caucasian/female	Ass't. Principal for Spec. Ed.	1-4	one
Jo	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. electives teacher/ department head	n/a	three
Grace	African-Amer./female	gen. ed. core academic teacher	n/a	three
Celia	Hispanic/female	gen. ed. core academic teacher	n/a	three

Part Two: Stories of Inclusion

Introduction

Participants in stage one of the study were asked to contribute their “stories of inclusion”, after which the researcher continued to question and probe according to the information given her by the participant (see Stage One Interview Protocol in Appendix A). These interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim by a professional transcriptionist. The transcriptions were then analyzed by the researcher for categories/patterns of responses. Those categories/patterns are described in this section, using voices of the participants to illustrate those issues which were heard most often. The participants cited were representative of the larger group, unless noted as discrepant from the others. This section has been organized in the following manner to reflect the major patterns of responses regarding the participants’ stories of inclusion: a) initial implementation, b) changes to inclusion/on-going problem-solving, and c) impact on students and faculty.

Initial Implementation

Stories from participants at Buena Vista addressed a variety of issues that dealt with the initial implementation efforts. Participant perceptions regarding the initial implementation were categorized into three parts: a) how inclusion was initiated, including any pre-inclusion stories that served to add explanation regarding the manner in which it was implemented; b) why inclusion was implemented, including the multitude of influences which constituted reasons for the school’s involvement in inclusion; and c) initial problems that occurred in its start-up. The following subsections highlight the above issues.

How inclusion was implemented. According to the reports of several teachers and administrators, Buena Vista’s inclusion program was initiated seven years ago, under the direction of a former special education department chairperson, who has since moved on to another school district. Three of the staff interviewed during stages one and two were part of that inclusion initiative. When asked how they thought inclusion had begun at this school, each reported that the former special education department chairperson was particularly influential in getting things off the ground. Among those interviewed in stages one and two, Betty, a general education electives teacher, had the most years of teaching

experience at Buena Vista. Her memories of inclusion's initial implementation were unique in that they included a historical perspective over the past 11-15 years, when she had first come there. She recalled that the year she arrived "we had a very poor special ed department, it really needed to be totally revamped". When asked specifically "what was the problem?", she responded:

The faculty. There were a couple of people working in there that... had been teaching for really long times, it seemed to me like it was just a holding tank. ...I don't think there was a chairperson [then]...There wasn't a lot of structure to the program...The lady ...she was the main one...had been here a long time... they kept her until she wanted to retire and she was just not functional...she just left a couple of years ago...

She went on to tell how that the special education program had been evaluated by the state about ten years ago:

...they had a faculty meeting about the special education department ...They said, 'We have got to revamp this. We have got to meet certain criteria that we are not meeting'. So it was put out to all the teachers in the faculty meeting that we need to upgrade our special ed system and that we are going to start a certain paper trail, where we followed each student, did modification sheets, follow-up...follow through with the modification sheet, really get a handle on it.

This revamping was facilitated eight years ago by the arrival of a special education chairperson, someone who was actually over "the lady who had been taking care of it, over the [older] teacher. At that point there was more of a structure to it... Then when the inclusion thing happened, we were sent memos, we were sent them from the administration building as well as our own building, the faculty meeting - there was a big thing about it."

Matt, a general education core academic teacher, was the first teacher with whom the "team teaching experiment" began. He told his story of inclusion's beginning and the relationship that developed between himself and the former special education department's chairperson, this way:

My first year here...I was working closely with her the first semester, personalities tended to mesh pretty well...I was making an effort to work with the [special education] kids and she asked me if I would help her with the freshmen in a geography study, which meant she would come in and team teach with me and work the classes together. We changed schedules around to make a heavy concentration of students. We ran about 60% [special education students] the first semester we tried [it]. We taught real well and we had good results from it and the kids came a long way...The second year we worked together went fantastic...We expanded it to take up two class sections and I feel like it was real effective.

Sandra, a special education teacher who had been the force behind the integration of students with the most severe disabilities into the physical school setting seven years ago, remembered the initial inclusion movement of students with mild to moderate disabilities from traditional resource rooms to general education classrooms, as:

The [special education] department head that we had here was wonderful and was very interested in the inclusion process. She had come from a state where inclusion was the norm and she had a vision that no one here had ever seen before. I was lucky enough that she shared that vision with me and I caught it. So we worked to try to get other people to see the vision... It started with the principal of the school and then we went to the heads of the departments and we talked about the possibility of these students moving into classrooms...

She also provided insight into the culture of the school at the time inclusion was implemented, as she recounted her own battle with the school's rules that, upon her arrival as a new teacher, did not allow her own students class to eat in the cafeteria or pass in the halls at the same time the rest of the student body did. They had been relegated for years to portables outside of the school building and was not allowed to interact within the larger setting, due to what she called, "safety issues" that the administration had cited. As she stated, "...the APs... were just scared to death that something was going to happen to one of my students." Rules existed that prohibited her students from eating in the cafeteria at regular lunch times, using bathrooms in particular parts of the building, and passing in

hallways between class periods. She explained that in order to integrate her students even physically into the life of the school, she had to “write memos to the administration explaining how each student would be supervised” during lunch and bell times. They had to “start with one student at a time and work up until all nine students” were allowed to go into the cafeteria during the regular lunch periods.

Matt talked of the ease with which the former special education chairperson had recruited willing general education teachers into team teaching with special education staff. This support of inclusion of students with mild/moderate disabilities into general education core academic classes was an example of her early influence on the faculty. He stated:

Just on a one to one level, ‘Hey would you be interested in doing this? You don’t have to, I think your teaching style and personality would be well suited. I’m not going to tell the principal who refused’. So that approach before anything was formally presented seemed to be the most effective in getting people to volunteer, to accept [it].

Sandra also stated that the initiating principal had been very supportive of inclusion. He “really backed the special education department head who was here before and this is the way it got started”.

From reports, then, of those participants who were a part of the faculty at the time of initial implementation, it appeared that the presence of an influential special education department chairperson, who worked with the principal, department heads, and teachers to build up participation from year to year, was of utmost importance and clearly outlined the manner in which the inclusion of students with all types of disabilities was begun. Reports also indicated that while some teachers came aboard immediately, others were more reluctant, but eventually joined in as support was provided.

Why inclusion was implemented. Participants responded overwhelmingly that inclusion was originally implemented because “we had to...we had no choice...it is the law”. Matt believed that the former special education chairperson who had spear-headed its initiation “was told that it was a program that needed to be in place...This was not something we could have decided ‘yes’ or ‘no’ we are going to do it as a faculty. Because

when you are talking about inclusion you are talking about something that is federally mandated and federally enforced”. Betty’s reply was that, “...it came from administration...the District administration. Inclusion was definitely an issue. It was something to be taken care of. It was like this is the law and we will do this and this is what is expected of you”. Fred, a general education core academic teacher, offered a multitude of explanations, “I think it is the state law...there are some politics going on, it costs less money ...because you can cut back on support services, I think...Parents are pushing for inclusion...They don’t want their students outside the normal classroom for very long because it brands them....”. Another general education teacher, Wendy, stated that “I think they went along with a trend that is going on in this state” and it was a decision made at “the District Administration Building”. There appeared, then, to be a perception by the participants that a combination of grass-roots, personal visioning, and district-level administrative pressure on Buena Vista facilitated the initial inclusion program, along with a mutual understanding that inclusion was also the result of federal and state mandates.

Initial Problems in inclusion’s start-up. Sandra recalled that once the students with milder disabilities started moving into the general education classrooms and were allowed to come out for the content mastery help they needed, “different teachers handled it different ways. Some teachers were very pleasantly surprised that everything worked very well”, but “some teachers were totally aghast and still are that they have to deal with the process... We had a lot of resistance, a lot of resistance”. At one point, “[it] didn’t look like it was going to happen...There was a real negative feeling that these students had never been out in regular education classes before...[and] weren’t capable of doing the work”. On the other hand, Matt remembered that “when the inclusion implementation came about here there were very few problems. People who didn’t want to be involved weren’t involved...That was the easiest way to handle it. Find out who doesn’t mind, who wants to participate, who doesn’t mind working with those special needs students and involve those people and leave the rest out”.

The continuation of the initial inclusion effort was dependent for the next two years on the influence of the former special education department chairperson. Several teachers

were aware of a grant she wrote which funded “classroom facilitators” who went into the general education classroom to help the students with disabilities, as she, herself, continued to do. With the influx of additional support in the general education classroom, more and more general education teachers began to sign on as participants in inclusion. Fred also remembered the initial implementation of inclusion as, “The first year I was here [three years ago], we had something that was very organized... there weren’t any problems”. However, as Patti pointed out, the “classroom facilitators” then were “not individuals with a background in education”, these were “people from the community, off the streets”. This support, along with the Content Mastery classroom - that acted as an immediate classroom support for any special education student in any general education class at any period during the day - kept the newly implemented program running relatively smoothly for two years. Once the grant funds ran out, however, the extra help was removed. At the same time, the former special education department chairperson moved on, leaving the program both leader-less and unsupported.

On-going Problem-Solving

The inclusion program at Buena Vista continued to experience problems over the past two years - specifically, since the departure of the “founding” special education department chairperson. Reports by participants indicated that most of the problem-solving endeavors had been focused on changes to the program itself. These changes were either a result of or directly effected by the following: a) decision-making and communication at both the individual school and district level and b) negotiation of roles and responsibilities for those involved within the school setting. The changes over the past two years and the issues referenced above are addressed in this subsection.

Changes to the inclusion program in the past two years, in both the leadership within the special education department and consequently changes to the inclusion program itself, were mentioned by almost every participant interviewed. Reportedly, the departure of the former special education department chairperson and the subsequent removal of classroom supports, resulted in a “disastrous” year for inclusion at Buena Vista. An assistant principal had been appointed to oversee the department and manage the staff and

programs, but in reality, little to no supervision/management actually occurred, according to several participants. Paperwork and procedures fell into disarray. Mary remembered that:

I just know a lot of stuff went wrong last year. Things didn't get done... paperwork wasn't done, teachers trying to hide things and do things under the table, things like that...my complaint was with the assistant principal that was in charge, things weren't done the way they were in the past.

"Last year we kind of [went] adrift", Fred concurred. Patti also reported that without the in-classroom facilitators:

...Content Mastery had become a dumping ground at that point and everybody felt like if they had a discipline problem or a student who was learning disabled they would immediately send him to Content Mastery to work....[It] would end up anywhere from 25 to 60 kids per hour.....The sad part about that is that at the end of last year the teacher that was assigned to Content Mastery...immediately put in her resignation and asked for a transfer off this campus because of the disastrous situation...

When asked how the problem of content mastery was addressed last year without a department chairperson, her reply was, "It wasn't addressed. That's why the disaster occurred".

Maria reported that large numbers of special education students who had been included in general education classes that year had failed. Apparently due to these difficulties, Patti had been "recruited" to Buena Vista from a district elementary school, by the Director of Special Education, to set up her Inclusion Plan for the current school year. However, as reported earlier, participants believed that inclusion had been implemented here several years ago. Therefore, Patti's arrival at this school in August, to "start" the inclusion program created confusion among the staff. As she stated:

I was asked to come over here and start inclusion. By the very nature of their word 'start' I feel that they [central office administration] did not really have an understanding that they [Buena Vista] had started...[but] when I visited with the Geography teacher...he had a very clear understanding that there had been an

inclusion program here before...depending on who you talk to, inclusion could have started four years ago on this campus...I kind of see it has been revisited twice. It has two beginnings. I think the district had good intentions four years ago, but without training. One of the things I was asked to do prior to being hired was write an inclusion plan for this school. It just simply said that we would start with in-class facilitators and we would diminish the use of Content Mastery and then moving into Phase Two which would actually be a co-teach situation and then Phase Three where it was a marriage between regular ed and special ed.

This confusion about whether or not the inclusion program had already been introduced into this school is critical information in seeking to understand faculty reactions to Patti's Inclusion Plan. As Fred reported:

We had a change in the person in charge...and one of her goals...was to eliminate the [content mastery] room and there was a lot of confusion at the beginning of the year. It wasn't implemented well...As I understand she was misled as to how far along with...inclusion we were. So when she got here she had to straighten out a mess...[It] upset a lot of teachers...The participation in the [content mastery] room dropped to zero, almost zero...the system wasn't working and teachers were complaining".

These feelings were echoed by several other participants, some with less candor than Fred, but almost all reflected on the difficulties that the faculty had gone through during the current school year regarding inclusion. New procedures regarding Patti's inclusion plan were announced at the beginning of the school year, during a faculty meeting. Sandra, a 5-10 year veteran in the special education department, recounted the reaction of the faculty to the announcement that the use of the Content Mastery room would be severely curtailed this year, when she said that:

There was an outcry in the faculty meeting. It was immediate...the response came immediately...Those of us who knew the impact it would have on our students spoke up and then the regular education teachers....said 'wait a minute, this is going to be a problem'...there was a discussion, but no backing down came for the

first several weeks of school...teachers kind of puffed up and said, 'well, you know, you are going to have some problems here'...there was some discussion with the AP, but nobody backed off at all. Then within several weeks when students started failing in classes there was a look at what was going on and the why's and wherefore's from the top of this department. Some folks began to say, 'maybe we need to think about this a little bit'.

The faculty outcry and subsequent "ham-stringing" that was perceived by regular ed teachers, finally resulted in Rachel, the AP in charge of special education, backing off and reassessing the situation. As Rachel stated in February, regarding changes that had taken place during the current school year:

...we just readjusted and reevaluated some things...we are not reaching enough of our kids with the personnel we have right now...we are reevaluating how we are going to get back up and get a running start more completely into the inclusion process...get our special education teachers more hands-on...and reach out in a different manner to the teachers so that they will feel like they are getting a little more support... I don't know if it is that or if it is just a concept that some people are just not willing to go with yet at this time.

The problems that plagued Buena Vista around the new changes continued through out the current school year. Teachers continued through April and May to report difficulties in getting the support that had been promised in January. Clearly the changes that had been part of Patti's Inclusion Plan had not taken hold and the faculty grew more and more disgruntled as the year came to a close. As Patti stated, "I think you have to have a regular ed staff that is willing and until that happens and until you have an administration it is not going to happen".

Decision-making was an issue raised often in relation to the changes in inclusion that had been brought on during the current school year. Participants reported a general lack of teacher involvement in those decisions that affected them on a day-to-day basis. Some decisions, such as those regarding implementation procedures about inclusion, were

perceived by several as having come from “across the street”, referring to the central administration building. Even Rachel, the AP in charge of special education, reported that:

...[Patti] was brought on campus being told we were going to have inclusion, that was her objective for being here, her purpose in life. I just guess I wasn't part of the decision making team on that.... I thought it was kind of a foregone conclusion...

The decision to curtail the use of the content mastery room this year had been particularly hard on the general education teachers who felt that they already had “no control over what happens about inclusion”. As Sandra stated, “I don't know if the decision to not have content mastery was a joint decision”. Announced at a faculty meeting and reportedly without any prior discussion with either the special education staff at Buena Vista or the other department heads, she and “most of my peers were shocked by it”. Clearly, this decision had sparked a surge of “hurt feelings” among the faculty that had still not been repaired by the end of the school year. Maria, the special education teacher assistant assigned to a full day of content mastery and in-class facilitation, was quite open about her opinion of the tactics Patti had used to make changes, stating that “...now it is like we have somebody that is telling everyone what to do”.

Several teachers also blamed the head principal for his lack of decision-making. In fact Fran reported that decisions about inclusion were being made “autonomously by the two of them”, referring to Patti and Rachel, in regards to the changes to inclusion this year. However, Patti reported that she believed she had been brought over to implement changes in inclusion because the administration in this building wanted it that way. In fact, she stated that “...they had already made a decision that this is where they were headed” before she came on board. Several teachers, on the other hand, understood that lack of decision-making power was actually inherent to the nature of special education programs. As Fred stated:

We have what is called a Site Based Committee of teachers and the principal. They are supposed to make decisions that affect the whole school and changes...[but] I think because special ed is a lot of what is mandated by law, you just have to

implement it...We feel our suggestions fall on deaf ears. We are usually told what is going to happen, then we adjust accordingly.

Conflicting information such as this contributed to the general confusion prevalent regarding the issue of decisions-- who was making them and for what reasons? The only thing that participants reported they were clear about regarding decision-making and inclusion was that teachers-- both special and general education-- were being left out.

Communication was another process reported frequently by the participants that was lacking, particularly in relation to the participation of teachers. Although there was, evidently, much that crossed the lines between building-level and "across the street" central office administration, many believed as did Matt, that, "...the right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing most of the time". Regarding the manner in which communication happened at the building-level, Sandra stated:

There's not a lot of overt action that goes on, or at least that I see in this building. From my perspective, everything is kind of subliminal...faculty meetings are perceived as an encumbrance and so are not used in that respect. The perception from the top is that they are an encumbrance so they don't use them very often. Communication generally comes through our mailboxes or...there are department head meetings every Tuesday...It is very much top-down management modality here.

Other teachers also reported that communication was "lacking" both among teachers and between teachers and administration. Matt reported that teachers did not congregate in workrooms to talk, but rather there were "cliques" of teachers that "went places after school together" or socialized on weekends together. Reportedly, however, there were many issues left more or less "unspoken" and often did not end up in resolution at Buena Vista, but rather, were "dropped". Fred reported that during department meetings with the principal, "we get told stuff and we are going to do this, we are going to do that. Its not a thing where we make suggestions and try to solve problems. Its an informative thing". He went on to say that the "Principal was instructed to do this because he doesn't have enough

contacts with the teachers. When asked, “instructed by whom?”, he answered, “The Administration building...across the street.”

Eleanor, reported that her experience this year regarding communication of individual needs of students with disabilities in general education classrooms had been “open between special education and myself”. Patti was the case manager for all of the students with disabilities that were placed in Eleanor’s general education elective class. A similar report came from Richard, who, like Eleanor, had been invited to IEP meetings this year, for the first time since he had been at Buena Vista. Tracy also stated that, with Patti as the case manager for her students, “I come in at the beginning of the semester and sit down with her and go over the students one by one” Wendy reported, however, as did others, that the general education teachers may or may not be informed ahead of time that students with disabilities are being placed in their classrooms. Her story of two students with mild mental retardation enrolled in her reading class, revealed information about both decision-making and communication patterns in regards to class placement. Some teachers reported, as did Richard, that they had been invited to IEP meetings where such a decision was made, or that Patti had come to them individually to discuss the prospect of a student’s placement in their classroom. But others, like Wendy and Fred, recounted serious problems with lack of communication around individual student placement and eventual removal of students who “didn’t work out” in their general education classrooms.

In regards to specific communication procedures regarding the new inclusion plan, documents had been developed this year for the purpose of improving the feedback process among teachers. However, several teachers recounted a particularly problematic beginning of the school year, when, as the general education teachers did not readily receive the lists of special education students and their recommended accommodations/modifications as they had in years past, they became concerned. It was “several weeks before we knew who was special ed in our classes”, Matt recalled. Finally, after an “uproar” from the faculty, “lists were circulated with the names of every special education student in the school and teachers were asked to indicate who, on the list, was in their class”. Many teachers protested that such a procedure was a violation of the students’ rights to confidentiality and

refused to respond [*Actually, school districts often circulate lists of students with 'special conditions' among the faculty, but a more discreet process would have been to send the appropriate accommodations/modifications for each special education student to the individual teachers responsible for their implementation, without needless exposure of special education students' names to the entire faculty. This latter procedure, though time consuming, was the practice used at the school district in which I was previously employed*]. Finally, as the second semester approached, Patti spent “several days preparing a list for each general education teacher and then asked them to sign off that they had received it”. This “signing off” procedure had left “bad feelings” between Patti and several of the general education faculty, while others saw those same actions as “really helpful” and felt that she had “done a lot to communicate with the teachers this year”.

Additionally, in response to cries from general education teachers for needed support and in order to enable the special education case manager to “track individual student’s progress”, the school’s standard progress report form had been amended in January to include information regarding IEP-determined accommodations and modifications that general education teachers were responsible for implementing in their classrooms (see Appendix C). However, use of the new “tracking” documents was reportedly “sporadic and dependent on the individual special education teacher/case manager as to whether or not the issues were ever addressed between the two teachers”. Several special education and general education teachers found the additional paperwork on the progress report as “just another burden to the general education teachers’ already overloaded list of responsibilities”. Many general education faculty members stated that they had “neither seen nor heard from special education staff who were assigned to their department” and/or “responsible for monitoring students with disabilities”. By the end of the school year, all of the participants reported that they felt the planned “supports that were to be in place for inclusion were missing” and they were now “on their own” in dealing with the students with disabilities in the general education classrooms.

Negotiating roles and responsibilities was a subject closely related to communication and one raised by several participants. Communication, or rather the lack of

it, profoundly affected the roles and responsibilities of general education teachers, of which the overwhelming majority interviewed felt that the brunt of responsibilities for the new Inclusion Plan had fallen into their own hands this year. Fred reported that the general education faculty thought the inclusion plan was “a joke”, because as far as they could tell the special education faculty was “doing nothing” for weeks on end at the beginning of the school year. With the majority of the special education students already included in general education classes, no in-class facilitators in place, and the use of the content mastery room severely curtailed, they “couldn’t figure out what the special education teachers were doing all day”.

One of the roles that was reported as particularly stressful was that performed by Maria, the special education teacher assistant. According to the schedule prepared by Patti, Maria had been given responsibility for the Inclusion Plan support system at least 90% of the time. Two special education resource teachers were scheduled as in-class facilitators one period a day and to “man” the content content mastery room two or three periods out of eight, with Maria responsible for it the other six periods. However, it had been reported to Maria several times by general education teachers that students had been sent to the content mastery room when one of the other special education teachers was scheduled to be there, but no teacher had shown up. When questioned about the frequency of the in-class-facilitator’s support, several general education teachers also reported that the special education teacher assigned to support their class only came “about one day a week”. The schedule (see special education amended schedule in Appendix C) reflected the “in-class facilitator” to be present every day, but Maria reported that Patti was not able to “make the teachers do what they are supposed to do” *[the researcher unsuccessfully solicited, three times in writing, the participation of the two in-class facilitators for this study and once left a message in their rooms. Interviews were held for three days in the room next door to the content mastery room, where they were “stationed”, but there was no response from either of them]*.

The role of adapting, accommodating, and modifying was reported by all those interviewed to be the responsibility of the general education teacher, unless there was an in-

class facilitator present or the content-mastery room was open and they chose to send the student there. The most common reason given for sending a student to content mastery was “to have a test read”. Most other accommodations/ modifications were made by the general education classroom teacher “on the spot” in their own classroom, without immediate contact with the student’s special education case manager. Matt saw this role as natural to that of teaching, while others felt that this was a task that many general educators resented and in fact, were not willing to nor very adept at performing. As Sandra related:

I think one of our major problems is that we still have difficulty with teachers understanding what it means to modify the work, individually. Teachers will, out of frustration, when they have 180 students, modify the grade rather than the work a student does.

This concern was also voiced by Fred, as he reported the way he handled modifications for students with disabilities in his general education core academic class. He stated that, “ I handle them in my classroom. I just give them more time and modified tests and work, [like] they wouldn’t have to do the complete worksheet they could do sections of it”. When asked to explain how he handled that with each student, especially when he had no help in the room, he stated that:

I don’t tell them to do less. I just tell them to ‘do what you can do’. Then in my mind I say ‘they can get half of it done’ and if they are working the whole period that is the best they can do. That is what I will grade is the half they did. I don’t make a big deal of it that way. The other students don’t know then, usually. If it is a problem, I’ll grade them but I won’t hand them back and they don’t know... .

Although individual teacher practice varied, most reported the same attitudes toward accommodations and modifications. As Matt stated:

I feel most of the faculty handles their modifications the way it is necessary. I think a lot of people are intelligent enough here to make their modifications on the spur of the moment. I mean, you see a kid struggling with a test and you can work with them and read some of the questions to them and make some mods on the spur of the moment...

The question echoed by several of the other teachers, however, regarding roles and responsibilities was, “What if there are teachers who choose not to take on that role and there are no supports, no lines of communication open for them, from the special education department? How will the students with disabilities fare then?” The answer lay in the impact inclusion was having on students and faculty alike.

Impact on Students/Staff

During the initial stage-one interviews, although attitudes and perceptions about inclusion’s impact varied considerably, almost every participant agreed that the effects of inclusion on the students were mostly positive. The biggest concerns were about the “manner in which the new inclusion plan had been implemented. The faculty was still reeling from the multiple changes that had been made and several were still confused about whether or not the content mastery room was to be used or not. Overall, however, there was consensus that: a) general education teachers were “handling it on their own”, with supports from Patti and Maria and b) students with disabilities were benefiting from inclusion, as a whole. Some of the testimonies to the positive effects of inclusion (either over the years or from the new inclusion plan this year) included Matt’s report that , “aside from the older school people, I think our mainstream faculty probably touches on different learning styles more often than they did before”; Sandra’s observation that, “we are far, far better off now...a large percentage of them [general education faculty] are much more able to understand and communicate with us [special education faculty]...than we were seven years ago”; and Richard’s reflection that “I think that inclusion has brought...a habit of treating everybody the same... children learn that in society regardless of your handicap...they learn it is okay not to be the best at something”.

Some of the “negative effects of inclusion” cited by participants included, “increased paperwork for progress reports and documentation if you fail a special education student, so people just pass them, now”; “it is hard to slow down and do modifications for one student when you have 20 others ready to go”; “some of the general education teachers are really having a struggle...they are so used to being the boss in the classroom”; and “I don’t know how much they are getting out of the class to be honest with you”. An

additional issue related to inclusion's impact on the faculty as a whole, was voiced by Wendy, when she stated that:

...we are...just dealing with the situation...it is kind of one of those things where it is a real touchy subject, everyone is saying the same thing, but nobody wants to say anything because you don't know what the repercussions are going to be.

[This sense of retaliation was observed early on as some of the participants appeared to be hand-picked by Patti to shed a positive light over the inclusion program. At one point Patti told me that "you don't want to talk to that teacher. They don't have a very positive perspective of the program". The solicitation of participants in stage-one proved to be quite difficult, as there were no additional takers in response to my second and third pleas for help. The teachers that did come forward, after the initial three or four that volunteered immediately, were either solicited by Patti or by myself. This resulted in two very different stories being told during stage one as to Patti's role in the change process].

Part Three: Emergent Themes

Introduction

A secondary analysis of the transcripts from stage one conducted by the researcher resulted in the emergence of several subthemes and cultural descriptors (see Appendix C) that were presented to the same initial participants during the stage two group interviews. Their collaborative work produced larger overarching themes that grouped the emergent issues into four different categories. The following list, then, is a result of the researcher's analysis of all three stages of participant interviews, as well as the documents and informal observations which took place over the three site visits to Buena Vita High School. Each overarching theme is discussed in the subsections following the list, using the participants' voices to highlight the most salient points.

[see themes chart on next page]

Lines of Communication/Support system

high teacher/student turnover
 teachers always “in the dark”
 inconsistent leadership in spec. ed. dept
 reluctance to address issues as a group
 confusion regarding how and why of changes

Implementation Methodology/Management Style

administration’s “top-down” leadership style
 reactive decision-making
 ineffectual head principal
 lack of integrated effort
 multiple players in administration

Teacher Attitudes/Professional Aptitude

resistant to changing procedures
 left to handle it “on their own”
 added responsibilities to their work
 issues of staff professionalism
 uneven/lack of participation by special
 education staff

Constrictions/Perceived Mandates

federal and state laws
 state mandated graduation test
 overt district-level influence
 IEP decisions (student placement &
 modifications)
 the “new” inclusion plan

Discussion of Themes

Lines of communication/Support system. The lack of communication and resultant failure of an effective support system was an overarching theme identified by all groups in the stage two interviews. They reported that high teacher turn over and changing demographics of the community and student population were responsible for much of the school’s culture of “silence” that made it difficult for new and continuing teachers to adapt to changes. A reluctance to “speak up” and “address concerns as a group”, was identified by several of the participants as characteristic of many of the school’s faculty. Many teachers agreed that issues or concerns “just don’t get dealt with”, leaving teachers “in the dark” about new procedures. In fact, there were indications that a ‘silencing effect’ on the faculty, either due to real and uncomfortable “consequences”, like Wendy referred to, or because years of “things being ignored”, had created a culture of “disconnectedness” within the faculty, as Matt explained. Either way, unresolved issues were reported as rampant among the faculty and inclusion appeared to be just one of these. A general confusion about procedures, fueled by multiple changes during the current school year, without adequate

explanations or dissemination, had resulted in “hurt feelings”. Inaccurate perceptions of how and why procedures had changed also contributed to miscommunication and feelings of “disempowerment”.

Participants also repeatedly reported that support systems that were supposed to be “in place” were not followed through on and this left even greater holes in a culture of “indirect communication” that was already present. The inconsistent leadership in the special education department over the years was also identified by almost every participant as a factor related to inclusion’s “failure” and a large contributor to the lack of communication about procedures regarding inclusion. Over the past five to six years, there had been innumerable changes in the manner in which inclusion was implemented. Although many participants cited the effectual implementation by the former department chairperson, almost all cited the year prior to this study, when there was no department chairperson, as being “chaotic” and “disorganized”.

The current special education department chairperson’s arrival on campus had reportedly added fuel to an already smoldering fire of discontent. Although the intention had been to restore inclusion’s presence in the school, the manner in which it had been done had reportedly been “detrimental” to the cause. Her apparent lack of control over some special education teachers’ performance of their duties, designed to support the inclusion movement, left general education teachers without lines of communication they desperately needed to effectively serve the special education students in their classes. Fred stated that the lack of their obvious presence among the faculty left general education teachers unsupported. As he said, “I rarely saw them. I would have to seek them out if I had a problem”.

Participants, overall, reported that all of the above issues worked *together* to create an inclusion program that was deficient in effective communication and supports needed to appropriately include students with disabilities into general education classrooms [*There was clear consensus at the end of all three stages of interviewing*].

Teacher attitudes /Professional aptitude was another of the overarching themes that emerged from the researcher’s analysis of the stage two interviews. Participants readily

admitted that this was a faculty “resistant” to change. Every group found this issue to be “highly characteristic” of Buena Vista’s faculty. Several even talked about how things might be different in the future if “some of the ones who have been talking about retiring for some time now, really go through with it this year”. As Matt stated, “...depending on who they hire...we could be a very forward thinking campus in one year”.

Concerns were also expressed that the general education faculty had been left to handle inclusion “on their own”. Matt reflected this sense of isolation when he stated that if inclusion was to be successful, then “Things are going to really have to happen because of the faculty, in lieu of the administration, not because of it and I think we are going to have a few people that are going to rise to the occasion”. The impact of added responsibilities to the workload of the general education teacher was voiced over and over again. Central to this issue were the concerns regarding the uneven/lack of participation on the part of the special education staff to support inclusion. As Fred stated:

...the system wasn’t working and teachers were complaining that they weren’t getting assistance. These [special education] teachers who were normally assigned to the resource room were doing nothing...

Rachel, the AP in charge of inclusion voiced her concerns regarding the plausibility of providing appropriate supports (i.e., in-class facilitators and content mastery tutoring) for inclusion when the special education staff is either “unable or unwilling” to provide them. She stated that “you really need to hire your faculty with inclusion in mind. It’s difficult to implement these kinds of changes when the special education staff has not been hand-picked for that purpose”. These questions regarding the professional attitudes of the faculty both individually and collectively were echoed by Fred who stated that, “We have sort of a situation this year that most teachers...just closed out special ed. ...They think it is a joke. There were teachers down there for a half a year who did nothing...” It appeared, however, that concerns about professionalism among the staff were not restricted to the special education staff alone. More than one participant echoed Fred’s sentiments that, “We have several teachers, quite a few that are to me - unprofessional. Some of them practically

run over the students trying to get out of the parking lot every afternoon. These teachers make it rough on the rest of us”.

Clearly, the particular attitudes and professional aptitudes of teachers at Buena Vista were an important cultural component that reflected a long history of personal interaction. It was reportedly, not something that could be easily changed, yet profoundly impacted any changes that were introduced into this school.

Implementation methods/Management style were often referred to in the individual interviews and became an overarching theme that emerged from the stage two group interviews. While some participants cited lack of appropriate administrative decision-making as the reason for innumerable unresolved conflicts, Fred summed up the problems of implementation and management:

...it is usually we are being told to do something and we don't know the planning behind it ...the district changes it's ideas and special ed is one of them. They jump in feet first and they don't know where they are going. They are trying to implement something that worked fantastically at one school, but they don't do all the planning and all the programming ahead of time and they don't present it to teachers in an orderly fashion and we are just told what to do and we don't really understand it and then we go through it piece meal ourselves trying to implement it and we get no help.

Clearly, the issue of multiple players in the administration was also a problem for teachers as they were forced to answer to many bosses - both inside and outside of the school building. There was considerable confusion around who was actually in charge of implementing the inclusion program, “central office special education director, or the head principal?” Almost all of the participants indicated that the Director of Special Education for the district was a major player in making decisions about inclusion's implementation. It was repeatedly reported, however, that those who supposedly had the authority at the building-level were either ineffective in using it or did not choose to use it, as in the case of the special education teachers who were often “no where to be found”.

The administration's "top-down" leadership style was often described as a characteristic of the culture of Buena Vista, also. However, few thought it was effective in making changes and several even blamed the school's head leadership for its many problems, including the current "failed" implementation of the new inclusion plan. Fred described the head principal:

..he's not really a people person. He is really not student-oriented either. We do things that make no sense. Some principals bend over backwards to do things for students, help students, recognize students, but [he] is like 'I have to do it'. So he makes a few announcements here and there...

He was also characterized by many teachers as being ineffectual in dealing with the APs as a group. He chose, rather, "...to deal with them one-on-one, as problems came up..", reported Rachel, the AP for special education. This appeared to create discontinuity in leadership, as Matt reported that often, "the right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing". Patti, however, reported that she had never known the head principal "to make a decision on his own", indicating that collaborative decision-making was the norm. There were no other participants who corroborated this report. Rather, they stated that when issues were brought up by the faculty, decisions were often "not made at all" by the administration and teachers were left to figure it out "on their own".

Constrictions/Perceived mandates were also identified by each stage two group as an overarching theme for this school. The perceived presence of federal and/or state mandates that made inclusion a "given" rather than a choice were voiced by all. Clearly under the impression that inclusion as they were practicing it was what the state and federal government had mandated, teachers acquiesced on the surface, but continued to report that they disapproved of much of the practice that they saw as a part of special education. Quite reluctantly, Richard, who had initially sung the praises of Patti and her special education leadership in February, reported during the stage two interviews in April that she had changed a failing grade of one of his students. This occurred as a result of an IEP meeting, after he had clearly explained to her that "absences and not turning in class work was the reason for the failure, not any issues pertaining to accommodations, modifications, or the

student's disability". This candid disclosure in the group prompted Maria to reveal that "many students with disabilities had failed classes this year and almost all of them had been excluded from taking the [state graduation] test", leaving them unaccountable yet free to graduate, but without, she feared, the academic skills they would need to enter the work force and be successful.

The influence of the district's agenda to implement inclusion, perceived by all participants, but not clearly articulated as to "how much" influence or exactly how that gets operationalized, was constantly present. Many knew that Patti had been recruited by the special education director "across the street" to implement the new inclusion plan. There were several other references to "across the street" that indicated that inclusion was not the only change they felt they had no control over. IEP decisions were also a realm that participants felt were "out of their control". "We have no decision in who will be in our room, We are just assigned. I think they pass around a load", Fred stated, referring to the particularly difficult class he had the year before - one that he described as "the class from hell".

Another point of contention that participants perceived as a constraint on their autonomy was the issue regarding special education students' exemption from the state mandated graduation test. Maria was particularly vocal on this subject, as she was one of the staff privy to this information. A decision made by the IEP committee (exemption from the state test) did - for all intents and purposes - remove a student from the one accountability measure designed by the state to separate the competent from the incompetent student. Without taking the test and yet still being allowed to graduate, teachers felt that their efforts to hold on to to any kind of academic standard for students with disabilities, was to no avail. The person who chaired each one of those IEP meetings and exerted the most influence over such a decision was Patti, the new special education department chairperson.

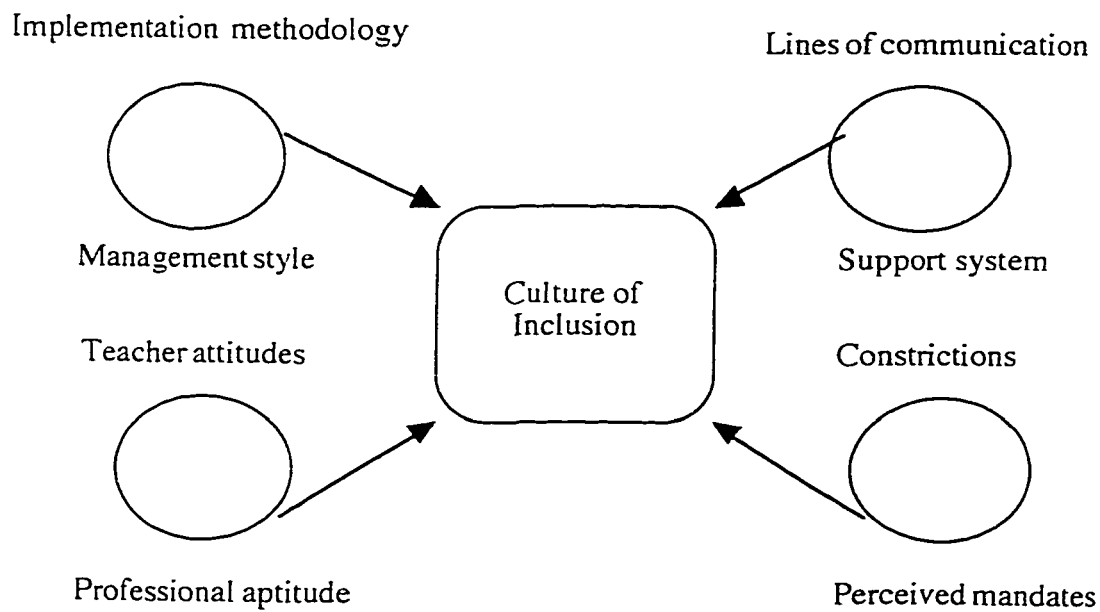
The interaction of each of the subthemes related to constraints and perceived mandates formulated the perceived authority under which inclusion operated at Buena Vista. Participants clearly saw each of these as a valid form of power and control over their

teaching practice. They were issues over which they found no control, but also issues over which they struggled daily to circumvent, in an effort to restore some sense of autonomy to their professional lives. Each also represents for them a symbol of the continuing process of disempowerment that they perceived to be both inescapable and inherent within the lives of today's teachers.

Part Four: Interpretation and Conceptual Framework

The relationships among these overarching themes and subthemes and the culture of inclusion at Buena Vista has been depicted through the conceptual framework illustrated below, which integrated the researcher's preliminary analysis of all the data collected during this case study:

Figure 4.2
Emergent Themes from Buena Vista High School



The four circles represent those themes that contributed to the culture of inclusion (represented by the center square) at Buena Vista High School. Each of the themes reflected two areas of emphasis, as the circles are labeled at the top and bottom.

The relationships among the four overarching themes appeared to be highly integrated in this case study. It would be difficult, then, to determine which impacts what, other than to say that it is the researcher's interpretation that they are all impacted by one another. Therefore, this discussion will also be an exercise in integration, without attempt to separate one theme from another.

Upon the second and third site visit to the campus teachers were lamenting about the "mess" inclusion had become this year. Continued lack of support for general education teachers, "under the table deals" in changing students' grades, and scores of students failing classes and being exempted from the state graduation test were just some of the complaints heard from every group of participants, as the school year ended. In fact, participants from stages two and three interviews, conducted later in the school year, reported that "things have actually gotten worse". Many of the supports that had been promised at mid-year by Rachel, the AP for special education, had not materialized and teachers appeared angrier than ever. Even those who had originally applauded Patti's early endeavors (i.e., Richard and Eleanor), now agreed with other group members critical of her leadership, seeing no positive results from the program as a whole for either teachers or students. Those who had been initially critical of her changes (i.e., Fred, Maria, and Sandra) were now livid that unethical procedures were being used to change students' failing grades as well as exempt scores of students with disabilities from the state graduation test, even though they were in general education classes all day. Of those that originally had been torn between applause and criticism regarding the new Inclusion Plan, two (Matt and Tracy) did not return to the stage two group interviews. Patti's own teacher assistant, Maria, who was originally reluctant to reveal her negative feelings, voiced her anger and discouragement over the effects the "new" Inclusion Plan had on the students with disabilities this year. There was, then, by the end of the school year, a clear and chilling sense of hostility, as many of the participants were now more openly critical and at times angry with Patti. She had reportedly been unsuccessful in facilitating the in class supports that had been promised for months. Teachers had begun to question what she was doing with her time and all were visibly upset about the special education teachers who

were supposed to be acting as case managers and liaisons, but had not been seen for several weeks.

The connection between lack of support for the classroom teacher and lack of communication between the special education department and the general education classroom teacher, had resulted in a general feeling of disconnection among teachers and between faculty and administration. The tumultuous struggle for power and control at Buena Vista High School was reflected and perpetuated by the particular methodology used to implement this year's inclusion plan. The school and district's "top-down" management style, referred to by several participants, was evident on several levels: between the new special education department chairperson and her staff; between the special education department and the general education teachers; between the central office administration and the building-level administration; and between the teachers and the "perceived mandates". Discord within the special education department itself over the past two years, as well as in previous years, had severely damaged the "reputation" of special education and greatly influenced teachers attitudes regarding their roles and responsibilities for students with disabilities. While every teacher interviewed believed in the inclusion of special education students, the lack of follow through in supports from the special education faculty had dampened the enthusiasm of the general education teachers who found themselves carrying the "brunt of the load".

As many faculty, both special and general educators, reported, the program "hit an all time low this year", with lack of clarity regarding current practice and accusations of ethical wrongdoing, such as "padding" the grades of special education students involved in inclusion. With reports that "most of the special education students had been exempted from the state graduation test, even though they are in all general education classes", faculty members speculated that the special education department chair was protecting the special education students from the inadequacies of the inclusion program, by orchestrating these exemptions, rather than considering each student's participation in the accountability process, as intended through IDEA (1997) *[It could also be concluded that the policies of inclusion had, in this case, enabled the practice of exclusion from measures of*

accountability for students with disabilities. This practice, clearly against the wishes of many of the faculty and the recommendations of inclusion specialists at the state and national levels, left special education students unaccounted for in their academic performance in the classroom, as the local emphasis was on increasing the passing rate of students who take the state test. It was especially difficult for Maria to stand by and watch students of her own heritage, that she may have single-handedly provided support to, be deprived of an “equal chance” at graduation, through appropriate examination, rather than exemption. She felt strongly that they should be given a chance to graduate like the general education students/.

In-class facilitators, designed to support both the student and the general education teacher, were not performing their duties and many procedures were either in-question as to whether or not they were in use or there was need for policy and procedures to be communicated. Betty had observed that “the program is only as strong as your people”, indicating that the competency of the special education staff was in question by many, a tradition, evidently, of this particular school. Yet, the AP, Rachel, spoke as if nothing could really be done about that “situation”, stating that “we have to work with who we have”.

It appeared that the tenure of the head principal was also in jeopardy, as Sandra reported in April that, “...central administration has been trying to get rid of him for three years, now” [*a revelation that was critical to understanding the feelings of despondency which these teachers communicated throughout the case study*]. As the year progressed and more and more “cultural secrets” were revealed, one began to understand more clearly what real chaos this school was in. Perceived mandates that acted effectively to convince the faculty they had no choice but to carry out inclusion at their school [*with or without appropriate supports*], were orchestrated from the district-level office of special education and communicated through Patti’s new inclusion plan. Apparent endorsement by the building-level AP lent additional credibility to the cause, along with the “IEP” decisions that general education faculty took to be “the law”— all contributing heavily to a general and profound sense of disempowerment by the faculty.

On the other hand, however, there was clearly a struggle for survival going on at Buena Vista. Coming from an elementary school environment, Patti had, evidently, been led to believe by the special education director, that these high school teachers could be handled much like the teachers she had directed at the elementary school. However, although high teacher turn-over had left this faculty disconnected as a professional culture, the department heads still had enough fire in them to flare up at the first sight of change.

Buena Vista appeared to be on a track of self-destruction. Fighting from the inside *[while attempting to fend-off attacks from the outside]* had left them weakened as a faculty and exhausted as individuals. The fate of inclusion lay in the hands of those brave enough (like Matt, Fred, and Wendy) and fresh enough (like Tracy, Richard, and Maria) to continue the fight for the appropriate education of students with disabilities and the supports that will be needed for their successful inclusion.

Summary

Buena Vista is a high school long on tradition but short on participants left to carry it on. Due to a transformation in community and student population, a faculty that had once served students true to their own heritage and values had been forced to assimilate with the outside world or leave and many had chosen the latter. Overall, the current implementation of inclusion at Buena Vista was a “disaster”, one that was not only failing students, but general education teachers, as well.

Problems with decision-making, communication, and roles and responsibilities were perceived by many of those interviewed as both impacting upon and being impacted by the changes in inclusion. Decisions regarding inclusion appeared to be made by only one person - the special education department chair, with occasional participation of the AP. Communication was a one-way street - from administration (including the special education department chairperson) to teachers. Roles and responsibilities regarding students with disabilities were the sole charge of general education classroom teachers who were untrained and ill-equipped to carry out the task of inclusion alone. The culture of inclusion had been created by traditions of poor communication and lack of support systems, along with ecological conditions related to inclusion’s implementation

methodology and management style (both in-house and across-the -street), that impacted teacher attitudes and eventually fractured the professional aptitude of the faculty.

Disempowered and disconnected, the teachers of Buena Vista performed their duties regarding inclusion *[as they perceived them to be mandated]* reluctantly and ineffectually, while creating a culture of hostility and retaliation.

Change has been difficult at Buena Vista. However, by the end of the school year, many traditions seemed to have survived. Lacking in the needed ingredients for change-- collaboration and cooperation; shared decision-making and shared values; and professional respect and high academic standards--teachers at Buena Vista were continuing to use their traditional weapon of "ham stringing" through "grade-controlling" in their struggle against the *[perceived]* mandates of federal and state laws and regulations, as well as *[real]* district-level interference. But the greatest struggle was against one another and it will continue to be as long as a culture of confusion (fed by miscommunication) and disconnection (fed by internal strife) persists. Change has also been destructive at Buena Vista. In fact, this school appeared to be on a path of self-destruction. For, in a faculty unable to let go of old traditions *[inexplicably tied to a culture of students and practices that no longer "fit"]*, it seemed that the continuation of the 'Battle of Inclusion' at Buena Vista would eventually result in the loss of a good education for any student.

Case Study #3

“This Building is a Very Interesting Culture”

Claire (1998), former special ed department chair; currently general ed electives teacher

Part One: Description of the School

Introduction

This section of Case Study #3 will highlight the following subsections related to the description of the school: a) demographic/historical information; b) physical setting; c) organizational structures of the school, with emphasis on building-level administrative organization, special education/inclusion programs, and other structures and/or interactions that are helpful in describing the school’s operational style; and d) demographics of participants in all three stages of the interview process. A discussion of relevant issues included within each subsection is based upon the three stages of data collection and analysis conducted in conjunction with three sets of site visits to the school. Researcher asides are in italicized brackets. The name of the school and its participant faculty members have been changed to protect their anonymity.

Demographic/Historical

Old Dominion High School was founded in 1954 in a industrial section of this moderately-sized city in a mid-Atlantic state. Steeped in historical significance, this community was known for its industrial working-class heritage and strong interpersonal relationships. The high school was originally located amidst one of the poorer sections of the southern portion of the water side community. Surrounded by low-income housing, the original school site was an integral part of the “decaying, blue-collar neighborhood”. Traditionally Caucasian, the school was integrated in the late 1960’s and continued to serve the lower socioeconomic class, even after its consolidation into a newly created school district in the 1970’s, creating a much larger, more suburban school community. At the “old school” the student population dwindled to less than 800 during the mid-1980’s as the population in the school division began to grow outward, away from the older, industrial neighborhood. Its student population was described ten years ago as at-risk, with “50% of

the students in Grade 9 one or more years behind grade level” and 37% of the population on either free or reduced lunch (1987-88 Self Study).

Four years ago, the school division elected to close the original site of Old Dominion and reconstruct the school in a more suburban/rural setting, miles away from its original city location. This relocation of the district’s oldest high school served two purposes. First, it enabled the school district to provide a much larger and more modern facility and second, it enabled the district to reconstruct district attendance lines, in effect, creating a new expanded student population. The newer student population had grown over the past four years to include over 1600 students and a much larger population of students/parents from higher levels of socioeconomic status. Racial and ethnic proportions remained much the same as they had for the past ten years, although the African-American student was now in the majority (57%), with the remaining students being predominately Caucasian (40%) and either Hispanic or Asian (3%). Reportedly, there had been quite a bit of dissension among the more affluent parents who found themselves victims of the school districts rezoning. Many of the newly-zoned parents of students from more affluent homes had refused to allow their children to attend the new school when it opened and elected instead to either move or enroll them in private schools. Although now situated within easy access to homes in the more affluent suburban neighborhoods, the school seemed disconnected from its poorer population which had remained intact, even though the once neighborhood school was now far removed from the majority of the community it served.

Once a close-knit faculty consisting of many “old-timers” used to “running their own show”, the faculty had expanded in size and diversity over the past four years, along with the student population. There had been a noticeable increase in African-Americans hired as members of the teaching faculty in the past four years, as well as the resignation of many of the ‘old guard’. Reportedly, the inclusion of the newer faculty into the older more defined faculty-culture, had not been fully completed, as yet. In fact, on my first visit to the school, one of the old-timers revealed in an informal conversation that occurred spontaneously in the faculty lounge that the newly expanded faculty had not quite “jelled”.

Physical Setting

Old Dominion High School is now situated on a flat, treeless, yet expansive plot of land, several miles away from its original location. The large brick two-story structure was built four years ago to take the place of the older building. Accessible by only a narrow two-lane road that had only a few years ago been considered rural, the school now sat within a mile or so of a long stretch of six-lane suburbia, bordered on both sides by one strip shopping center after another. The school was also within walking distance of a new affluent subdivision. Small brick homes-- once considered rural-- still dotted the sides of the two-lane road, many displaying large gardens or small orchards. Upon entrance to the school grounds, a large sign (with several missing letters) announced the school's name and dual dates of construction (*in an attempt to carry over the heritage of the previous building*). Divided cement driveways led cars to either a large rear parking lot or a small visitors' parking directly at the front of the main entrance and buses to a long curbed sidewalk that accessed the school's entrance on the side adjacent to the street. Set back some 50 yards from the busy two-lane road and surrounded by an abundance of open grassy spaces, the building appeared larger from the outside than the inside.

Upon entry into the main access to the school, the administrative offices were immediately across the hall from the expansive glass-fronted entrance. To the left and right of the entrance way was a long open hallway. To the left was the cafeteria, gymnasium, vocational "shops", and auditorium. To the right were the four wings of classrooms on each of the two floors. The suite of administrative offices contained a large sitting area with couches and coffee tables for waiting visitors, separated from the clerical support staff by a long counter. The assistant principals' offices were out of sight, but accessible from behind the counter and to the left. They were also accessible through a door off the main hallway. The teachers workroom, and counselors and nurse's offices were to the right beyond the counter, also accessible from a door leading into the main hallway. The principal's office was neither visible nor accessible to visitors from either the central office area or the main hallway (*in fact, I never saw a door marked "principal's office", although I moved about*

on both sides of the central office area to visit the assistant principal and the counselor's secretary and make use of the copier in the teachers' work area).

There was also a large alcove to the right of the main entrance which was used to display an enormous paper-mache tiger and numerous plaques and pictures that chronicled events and honors that pertained to both past and current faculty/students. Along the walls of the large open cafeteria, were 25 to 30 framed photographs of the graduating classes that Old Dominion had produced since its inception. The wings devoted to traditional classrooms were housed on both floors in identical fashion. There was a twin main stair case that connected the floors and also served as the main gathering place for "viewing" in between classes. A large sky-light illuminated this central gathering place and the walkways over the stair case on the second floor functioned as balconies which were lined with student observers at each passing period. The Media Center was located above the administrative offices on the second floor and used detectors to monitor the exiting of library materials from the center without permission. The classrooms were located along four separate hallways on either floor. Each classroom door was flanked by a long narrow window and contained a small square window within. Lockers lined the hallways between classrooms. There were four teachers' lounges, two adjoining one another, located on each floor, that were accessible from the hallways. Near the main stairwell, these lounges were designed to serve as multi-purpose centers, equipped to provide areas for relaxation, lunch, and work areas. Each lounge contained a sitting area with couches, long lunch/work tables pushed together, and ten to twelve built-in "study carrels" that lined the perimeter of the room. Most of the carrels appeared to be permanent work areas for specific teachers, decorated with family pictures and other personal items as well as professional materials, while others were empty. Reportedly, these were desks for teachers who were considered "floaters"-- not having an assigned classroom for their planning period. A computer was available in each of the lounges, near a bookcase which housed various editions of educational texts. There were also stacks of leisure reading materials. Bulletin boards flanked the doors to the interior restrooms and displayed both personal (kittens for sale, apartments for rent) and professional (district policy on personal leave) information. Over

all, the teacher lounges, which also housed microwaves, coffee pots, and snack and drink machines, appeared to be welcome respites for teachers to gather either in solitude or small groups.

Several participants reported that the design of the new building appeared to play some part in the recent, yet ongoing problem of faculty/administration alienation. They reported feeling “disconnected from one another and between faculty and administration” due to the physical distance between the administrative offices and the academic classrooms in the new school. Apparently, the design of the “old building” had contributed to a feeling of accessibility and closeness that the new structure lacked.

Organizational Structures

Administrative organization. The school was headed by a female principal, Dr. Andrews, who had been promoted to that position just three years ago, from assistant principal for instruction. It was mentioned several times by the participants that she had a “special education background” (although it was not clear if that background had been in administration or a classroom setting). There were three assistant principals for administration, one assistant principal for instruction, and one administrative assistant. There were also six counselors, headed by one director of counseling, as well as several other clerical and parent/student activities staff persons.

The faculty was organized under traditional academic departmental lines, with department chairpersons being responsible for conducting departmental meetings which acted to disseminate information from the faculty senate meetings held monthly. There were also various other committees (i.e., the policy committee, the social committee, the student activities committee) which held meetings on an “as needed” basis. The faculty senate was the most powerful of all the committees, as it was comprised of all the department heads and had, reportedly, changed little in its membership over the past 25 years. This extremely stable environment was credited with the faculty’s ability to stay relatively unscathed over the years, as changes had come and gone. As one department head revealed, “As a newcomer to the faculty senate the first year I was here, any suggestions I raised in regards to changing procedures were shot down immediately. I was silenced by the other members

who reminded me that I had only been here a year and didn't as yet understand how 'we do things around here'".

The school had a previous history of strong faculty control, specifically while in the old building, but things had changed in more recent years and the new principal held much tighter reins on the decisions that were made and information that came from the central office. Reportedly, the old faculty had begun to retire, about five years ago, due in part to these administrative changes, and those who were left voiced their disgruntled opinions openly in the teachers' lounges. Meanwhile, the large population of newcomers over the past five years served to further alienate the faculty from one another, many participants sharing concerns that "you had to be careful what you said" in front of other faculty members, as one never knew who was "listening".

History /description of special education department/inclusion program. The special education department included a department chairperson (newly appointed mid-way through the first semester), 18 special education teachers, and 10 paraprofessionals. The former special education department chair was still a faculty member, although at her request, she had been reassigned as the general education computer teacher mid-way through the first semester of this school year. There were special education self-contained classes for students with moderate to severe disabilities as well as those with learning and emotional disabilities. There were also resource classes for students with milder learning and emotional disabilities and inclusion classes where a general and special education teacher shared teaching responsibilities. The special education population was reportedly "very large" and the fastest growing population within the school. The assistant principal "in charge" of special education reported that the population of students with disabilities was over 275 *[With this figure well past the national average of 10-12%, more than one teacher proposed that one reason for the large number of special education students might be the large number of at-risk students at this school.]*.

Technically, the "inclusion program" at this school was characterized by an array of services available to students with disabilities in regular education classes. This array included resource classes taught by special education teachers, inclusion classes co-taught

by one special education teacher certified to teach students with learning disabilities and one general education content area teacher, and supports available to students as defined in their IEP's and administered by either special or general education staff (i.e., accommodations /modifications in testing, assignments, etc.). However, when participants in the study referred to the "inclusion program" at Old Dominion, the co-teaching classes were the focus of their discussions [*except for Claire, the former special education chairperson, who was careful to explain that inclusion constituted the above wide array of services*]. Reportedly, all of the resource teachers co-taught at least one period of inclusion classes. Each special education teacher also acted as a case manager for 20 or more students with disabilities, in addition to their regular teaching assignment.

The practice of co-teaching (the main instrument used to facilitate inclusion at this school) had been in operation for five or six years. Reportedly, it began as a "grass-roots" intervention for lower-level core classes, where students were in need of additional academic support. The original faculty participants were a reading improvement teacher and a general education English teacher, along with a general education math and special education teacher. At the end of the initiating school year, the assistant principal held a meeting to solicit additional co-teaching partners and "formalize" what the teachers had begun on their own. Reportedly, the special education resource teachers endorsed the addition of co-teaching as a practice to support the already implemented practice of including students with disabilities into the general education academic content classes, as they felt the students benefited much more from these than from the special education resource rooms. The practice of co-teaching was currently present in about eight classrooms, ranging in content from English, to history, to science, and math. Plans for next year included continuing the focus on ninth grade courses for co-teaching arrangements.

Other structures/interactions

Old Dominion had also spent the past three to four years in study and planning for the implementation of another innovation - block scheduling, which was scheduled to begin next year. It was commonly understood by most participants that this change in class

scheduling had been instigated by the central and building level administration. The district had been moving in this direction over the past several years and the faculty had been given numerous opportunities for inservice and information sessions about block scheduling before being asked to “vote” on its implementation during the current school year. Many participants reported that the vote had been overwhelmingly in favor of it (95-98%). However, they also understood that it probably would have been implemented anyway, no matter how the vote had turned out.

Historically a close-knit professional community with a “laid-back” style of administration, the mission of the school had clearly changed over the past ten years *[During the last stage of interviews, two of the participants revealed that they felt that the mission of the school and the district as a whole had changed drastically in the past four to five years. In their opinion, the new superintendent’s focus, clearly reflected in the subsequent appointment of the school’s current principal, was on increased test scores]*. In a self-study, conducted and reported on during the 1987-88 school year, faculty members wrote that the mission of Old Dominion High School was “...to educate students to meet the challenges of a modern society...[by] develop[ing] their potential academically, socially, emotionally, morally, and physically”, recognizing that “the fulfillment of this goal enables the students to become effective, productive citizens in a free democratic society”. In order to achieve these goals, the faculty recognized “...that all students are individuals with their own particular abilities, needs, interests, and heritage...and to meet these needs the students will be provided with experiences, opportunities, and activities that will enhance their self-image, their sense of responsibility to others, and their desire and respect for learning”. They also wrote in their “statement of philosophy” that, “The success of the educational program...is the result of the open communication and cooperation of its members that foster an atmosphere of mutual trust, growth, respect and understanding”. The objectives listed, by which these goals would be accomplished, included “individualized instruction”, a “varied program of instruction” addressing varying levels of student achievement, “teaching basic skills”, “presenting oral communication and listening skills”, “policy making in a democracy”, “cultural growth and personal

development”, and a long list of activities under the category of “staff development” (1987-88 Self Study).

In contrast, the Student Handbook for the 1997-98 school year stated the mission of Old Dominion High School as the following: “...to provide all students the opportunity for a comprehensive education in a safe environment that instills self-confidence and a desire to achieve academically, technically, and socially in order to become productive citizens and life-long learners...”. Objectives listed that would accomplish such a mission were: “improved grades, improved test scores, improved SAT scores, improved PSAT scores, improved Standard 9 scores, improved LPT scores, improved AP scores, improved physical fitness scores, and increased number of honor graduates”, along with “...be prepared for entry level employment and post secondary training”, and “...demonstrate improvement in attendance”. While ten years ago the faculty wrote that the “success of the educational program at [Old Dominion] is the result of the open communication and cooperation of its members that foster an atmosphere of mutual trust, growth, respect, and understanding”, the “Tactics” cited to achieve their newer 1997-98 objectives were designed to “... increase involvement...”, “strengthen communication...”, “improve student achievement ...[and] attendance”, and “decrease apathy and improve attitudes of parents, students, and staff” (1997-98 Student Handbook). Curriculum goals stated in the 1987-88 Self-Study targeted “...the needs of all students, ranging from gifted...to those with special needs...” and recommended that these goals be accomplished through the “students’ acquisition of skills and knowledge”, therefore increasing their ability to “...function effectively in society... pursue further education and/or enter the world of work...[and] develop personal qualities such as self-direction, creativity, rational thinking, independence, love of learning, and a sense of the aesthetic...” Clearly, the focus of education had changed at Old Dominion High School over the past ten years, and a new administration and faculty were now charged with achieving an “improved” education for its reconstructed community.

Demographics of Participants

There were 12 participants from Old Dominion High School interviewed during the course of the study. Ten of them were interviewed in stage one, including seven women and three men. Three of the ten were special education teachers (two females and one male), five were general education teachers (three females and two males), one was a reading specialist (female), and one was the assistant principal in charge of special education (also female). Six of the original ten participants returned for stage two group interviews (two men and one woman did not respond to the stage two request and the female assistant principal was intentionally excluded). Stage three participants consisted of two new females, both general education teachers. The following chart summarizes the general demographics of all participants, using pseudonyms to ensure anonymity:

<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>ethnicity/gender</u>	<u>faculty assignment</u>	<u>yrs. at this school</u>	<u>stage #</u>
Betty	Caucasian/female	gen. ed core academic teacher and co-teacher	1-4	one & two
Nadine	African-Amer/female	Asst. Principal/Spec. Ed.	5-10	one
Mary	Caucasian/female	general ed. electives teacher and former co-teacher	16-20	one
Matt	Caucasian/male	gen.ed. core academic teacher and former co-teacher	11-15	one
Frank	Caucasian/male	spec. ed. co-teacher	5-10	one
Janet	Caucasian/female	gen. ed. core academic teacher	5-10	one & two
Gretchen	African-Amer/female	gen. ed. core academic teacher	5-10	one & two
Claire	Caucasian/female	gen ed. electives teacher/ previous spec. ed. teacher and department chair	5-10	one & two
Mark	Caucasian/male	gen. ed. core academic teacher and former co-teacher	1-4	one & two
Deidra	African-Amer/female	spec. ed. resource teacher/ dept. chair/former co-teacher	1-4	one & two

Evelyn	African-Amer/female	gen.ed. core academic teacher	5-10	three
Marie	African-Amer/female	gen.ed. core academic teacher	25+	three

Part Two: Stories of Inclusion

Introduction

Participants in stage one of the study were asked to contribute their “stories of inclusion”, after which the researcher continued to question and probe according to the information given her by the participant (see Stage One Interview Protocol in Appendix A). These interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim by a professional transcriptionist. The transcriptions were then analyzed by the researcher for categories/patterns of responses. Those categories/patterns are described in this section, using voices of the participants to illustrate those issues which were heard most often. The participants cited were representative of the larger group, unless noted as discrepant from the others. This section has been organized in the following manner to reflect the major patterns of responses regarding the participants’ stories of inclusion: a) initial implementation, b) changes to inclusion/on-going problem-solving, and c) impact on students and faculty.

Initial Implementation

Stories from participants at Old Dominion addressed a variety of issues that dealt with the initial implementation efforts. Participant perceptions regarding the initial implementation were categorized into three parts: a) how inclusion was initiated, including any pre-inclusion stories that served to add explanation regarding the manner in which it was implemented, b) why inclusion was implemented, including the multitude of influences which constituted reasons for the school’s involvement in inclusion, and c) initial problems that occurred in its start-up. The following subsections highlight the above issues.

How inclusion was implemented. The majority of participants interviewed in stage one revealed that they were not privy to exactly how the inclusion program (characterized most often as co-teaching partnerships between a special and a general education teacher)

came about at Old Dominion. Only one teacher interviewed, Mary, was actually involved in the initial start-up of the practice of co-teaching, other than the assistant principal who reportedly facilitated its ongoing practice. According to this assistant principal, Nadine, co-teaching classes were initially a grass-roots endeavor by two sets of co-teaching pairs who agreed to combine their teaching efforts in an English (one pair) and a Math (another pair) class. This arrangement was initiated six years ago in order to serve an increasingly larger special education population within general education classrooms. This start-up effort on the part of individual teachers was followed up by Nadine at the end of that school year, as she asked volunteers to consider additional co-teaching arrangements for the following school year. However, when Mary was asked whether the practice of co-teaching came about through teacher-led grass-roots efforts or by suggestion of the assistant principal, Nadine, she repeatedly denied remembering exactly whose idea it was. She did state, however, that "...when I was approached would I do this, I said, 'yes', because I knew the teacher very well and I knew that we could teach together". When other participants were asked the same question, several doubted that it was a teacher-led grass roots effort, as that would not have been characteristic of this faculty. Other participants' stories did support the notion that it began with a couple of sets of teachers pairing off, as a response to the burgeoning numbers of students with disabilities in the school overall and in general education classrooms.

Mary continued her story of the co-teaching initiation:

...because I was so successful with that, the next year they asked other teachers if they would like to do it. The teachers were always asked, the regular ed teachers were always asked, 'do you want to do it?' Then we had a meeting to explain what was going on, they asked me to come a couple of times and tell what we did. Then they would decide whether they wanted to do it or not. Nobody forced it on anybody, it was always volunteering.

Frank, a special education teacher and current co-teacher, was part of the second year's expansion. Frank remembered that:

As far as I know we didn't have a faculty meeting about it...it wasn't a vote...it was an administrative decision...it was between the particular classes and the special education teachers...you signed up for what you wanted to do...they sent a paper around that said 'choose one'...we were eager to participate, I was anyway. We had these meetings and paired up with teachers...it was...[Nadine's] philosophy - 'pick somebody you are happy with'.

Frank also believed that the idea of starting an inclusion program that supported students with disabilities in the general education classroom, "...came from the special education [central] office". Claire, the former special education department chairperson and a six year veteran at Old Dominion, remembered that:

...there always had been, on an informal basis, special ed kids in regular classes, but there had been no formal programs. Probably not until about four years ago that [Nadine], the Assistant Principal here, said, 'we need to have some sort of formal process to make this more successful'. They kind of established the minimum guidelines for how that should happen and how that should occur and who was going to co-teach with whom. We got volunteers... [Nadine] saw what was going on kind of informally with special ed teachers going into [regular ed] classrooms. That's when she said, 'Okay, let's formalize what's going on here'... So it was a formalization of the process that was already happening. And more organization, she said, 'okay, we need somebody to work with the Math teacher, who wants to do Math, or who wants to do [whatever]?', and so there was organization finally to the plan.

[Although all teachers agreed that initial participation in the inclusion program as a co-teacher was voluntary, this appeared to mean that any teacher could withdraw from such an assignment at the end of the school year, if they were unhappy with it for any reason; not that the assignment to co-teaching was always through their own initiative. Although the two interviewed that were a part of the initial start-up year-- Mary and Frank-- reported that they had volunteered, subsequent co-teachers, such as Mark, Deidra, and Gretchen,

reported that they were able to “withdraw” at the end of their first year’s “assignment in the inclusion program” [.

Why inclusion was implemented. Frank suggested that inclusion was implemented because it was “the new thing to do...something decided upon by the central administration”. Claire reported, however, that, as the district did not have a formal policy on inclusion, the real reason for its implementation was to “help the students be more successful in regular ed classes”. In fact, Claire believed that the lack of inclusion’s implementation being formally addressed by the central office had actually hindered inclusion’s success at Old Dominion. She clearly attributed its implementation to the needs of the students and the staff at Old Dominion, rather than any central office initiative. Gretchen supported Claire’s reasoning as she stated that she believed that inclusion had been implemented at Old Dominion because:

...we have a lot of kids that are classified as LD, ED...we do have a high number of special education children...some students, yes, they do work better with a regular setting, it helps their self-esteem. But I think it’s just numbers, trying to push the numbers into regular ed and maybe trying to get them circulated into the general population and then eventually getting them out.

Betty voiced a similar belief about reasons for inclusion’s implementation. She cited getting “the special ed students out of the special ed classes” in order to “help their self-esteem. I think it actually helps them succeed”. Gretchen also believed that the motivation behind the inclusion program’s implementation at Old Dominion was based, somewhat on, “...just going with what’s new and different”. However, Claire felt that, “...overall, teachers felt a real need to be doing this”. Janet and Mark, both general education core academic teachers, believed that getting special education students out of resource classes was definitely in the students’ best interests. Both, along with Gretchen, were critical of what they saw taking place in special education resource classes, as they all described the resource room as “not much goes on in there”. All three referred to times when they had been by a resource room and there were no more than three students in the room, talking with the special education teacher about what they had seen on t.v. the night before. Frank, a former all-day special

education resource teacher, stated that he was “relieved” to get out of the resource room and expressed his doubts as to the value of resource rooms for students with disabilities.

Mark summed up the multitude of reasons voiced by participants regarding inclusion’s implementation when he stated:

I think probably the good reason for it is that we have a very high special ed population...I think another part is there was an initiative within the city, I’m not sure how much of it was really well planned and how much of it was ‘hey, there is a new thing and it seems to be that the courts and the federal government think this is a good thing, so maybe we better jump on the bandwagon’. I suspect it was a little more of the latter.

While a few teachers remained clueless as to why inclusion had initially been implemented at Old Dominion, the vast majority did agree that the inclusion of students with disabilities in the general education classes had been implemented in order to benefit the special education student *[There appeared to be as much confusion and lack of information about the why of inclusion as there was about the how of it].*

Initial start-up problems. *[Initially, participants were reluctant to express any negative opinions about inclusion’s implementation, citing that “I wouldn’t know about any problems “ or “I can only speak for myself and I haven’t had any problems with it”. However, as the pool of participants broadened, respondents began to relate experiences to me that were less than positive, as general education teachers that had previously been a co-teaching partner and were no longer part of the inclusion program were interviewed. While the teachers who were interviewed on day one were reluctant to talk of any problems, by day three enough information had been given by the teachers who were not as positive about their experiences with inclusion, that a different picture of inclusion’s implementation was emerging. The first and second day’s participants (Mary, Betty, Matt, Frank, and Nadine) were either completely satisfied with inclusion’s implementation or were only willing to talk about their own personal experience with it and resisted sharing what they had heard from others. Nadine, the assistant principal “in charge” of inclusion and special education had upon the researcher’s initial arrival on campus and in the presence of the*

researcher, “recruited” two of the participants, who appeared to agree to participate rather reluctantly and in response to her insistence. Their verbal and nonverbal responses to her request to participate, left no doubt in this researcher’s mind that these two (Frank and Mary) would not have participated without Nadine’s encouragement].

Problems in the initial start-up of inclusion (that did emerge during the latter participants’ stories) included issues related to role definition between the special and general education co-teaching partners. These issues were reportedly the result of two characteristics of the faculty as a whole: a) “territorialism”, as a feeling of intrusion into one’s territory exhibited by the general education teachers assigned as co-teachers and b) the lack of content area competencies by the special education teachers assigned as co-teachers. Betty explained territorialism as simply, “Some teachers don’t like to have another teacher in the room. They don’t feel comfortable with another teacher”. Some co-teaching teams were able to “get past” the issue of territorialism by clearly defining the roles and responsibilities of each partner, accomplished through partner meetings that occurred at the discretion of the individual teams. Participants reported that no on-going support meetings were used to discuss such issues in front of others *[Although Nadine had insisted otherwise]*. When problems arose between partners, it was the custom to either “work it out” on their own, or, if desired, ask for Nadine’s assistance in a private meeting between the individual teams *[No one interviewed had used this option although several referred to it]*.

The second issue related to initial start-up problems dealt with the perceived competency of special education teachers who were asked to co-teach a general education academic class. The traditional special education classroom assignment for these teachers, before co-teaching was implemented, had been the “resource room”, where study skills and learning strategies were the focus of instruction. Asking these teachers to become content specialists was a problem, voiced by many of the participants, in the initial start-up and one that reportedly had not been adequately addressed over the past five years. As Claire reported:

Instructionally, the special education teacher doesn't often know the subject matter and in some instances we have had the regular ed teacher state that, 'they didn't know what they were talking about. I gave them this lesson, they were suppose to do their homework on it and they didn't and said incorrect facts about something'. Gretchen also reported that the contribution of the special education teacher in the general education classroom had not always been helpful, when she stated that, "Some [general education] teachers feel like they don't have anybody in the room even though there was someone in there because they don't take an active part". This particular problem of perceived competency of the special education staff involved in co-teaching was not only a start-up problem, but due to issues highlighted in the following section, an on-going problem, as well.

Changes to Inclusion/On-going Problem-solving

The most often-mentioned on-going problem related to inclusion at Old Dominion was the lack of problem-solving effort among both teachers and administrators and therefore, the lack of needed changes being addressed. On-going problems that emanated from the lack of problem-solving, referred to by those teachers who were willing to share their views *[which eventually became 90% of the participants]* were: a) issues of competency within the special education co-teaching staff not being addressed overtly, but framed more as personality differences and teaching styles between co-teachers, b) general education co-teachers burning out after only one or two years in the program, and c) supports for both teachers and students (such as regularly scheduled problem-solving meetings, inservices, staff development opportunities, and scheduling considerations) not being in place to provide a smooth transition for teachers and students into inclusion co-teaching classes. *[Clearly, these issues are closely related and often overlap in the conversations of participants. They are highlighted within the three broader categories the researcher has chosen to frame the discussion of on-going problems around inclusion implementation at Old Dominion].*

Therefore, issues around on-going problems of inclusion (once they were identified) can be more broadly categorized as "participant concerns" regarding:

a) communication among special and general education teachers and between teachers and administrators, b) appropriate definition and performance of roles and responsibilities between co-teaching partners and special education case managers and general education teachers, and c) lack of effective leadership among either the faculty, administration, or both to provide needed supports that could facilitate the problem-solving process and subsequently effect needed changes. Each of these concerns is discussed below, using the voices of particular participants to highlight the most repeated responses.

Communication. Forms of communication designed to support inclusion and utilized by the special education case managers reportedly included written progress reports and/or informal conversations with the students' general education teachers [*However, when specifically asked to produce any forms used by teachers to communicate student needs or progress, neither Nadine or Deidra were able to produce them. When asked, Frank stated that each teacher "did their own thing" about forms for documentation and follow-up. Conversations with the AP in charge of special education and the current department chairperson confirmed this view, that there was no particular form used uniformly by the special education staff to communicate regularly to the general education teachers*]. Co-teaching "pairs" met as needed to plan co-teaching classes and/or case managers and general education teachers caught one another "on the run" regarding student progress and/or supports as needed. The assistant principal, Nadine, reported that "inclusion meetings" were held which intended to support the development of the inclusion program. However, most participants reported a general lack of both faculty and administration engaging in group discussions around the identification of problems related to the practice of co-teaching. As Betty, a general education teacher (who during the initial interview, "could not think of any problems around inclusion's implementation"), stated:

Really, [we] don't talk about inclusion. I was just asked to participate and now Mrs. _____ and I just collaborate. We've never talked about it formally. I would like to have an inservice on it because it would make me a better teacher.

The level of communication among teachers regarding the needs and/or progress of individual included students also varied, as Betty stated that communication between

teachers concerning students was “...dependent mostly on which special education teacher you’re talking about. Some of them you hear from quite often, but some you don’t hear from all year”. While Frank, a special education co-teacher, reported that he maintained “continual contact with general education teachers” concerning his special education student case-load (even those not in co-taught classes), he also reported that formal special education department meetings or meetings between co-teaching partners were really not used to “...discuss each kid...we don’t have a staff meeting...like in middle school...We didn’t sit down and say ‘what’s the problem?’ ...We just kept to ourselves and if it worked, it worked”. He also shared his beliefs/*which represented the beliefs of most of the others interviewed*/about communication between co-teaching partners. He referred to his initial trial at co-teaching, which had proved unsuccessful, when he explained that:

It didn’t work because...he wanted to do the whole thing by himself. He didn’t want me to come in and teach. He just wanted me to help...[I] never sat down and said, ‘you know, John, why aren’t you letting me teach?’ ...I realized this wasn’t going to work out...so why aggravate the situation?

This practice of avoidance was repeated by several other participants as they shared their stories of how they had elected to remove themselves from co-teaching partnerships by merely informing Nadine that they no longer wanted to participate, without discussing whatever problems they were having with the arrangement itself and/or their co-teaching partner. Mark, who described his break-up with his former co-teaching partner, Deidra, as “...[she was] as happy not to have to co-teach as I was not to have her teach”, reported that problems related to partnerships were never really discussed in the inclusion meetings he attended. In fact, Deidra viewed the reasons for their break-up quite differently, as she reported:

...it wasn’t a personal conflict, just that a regular ed classroom and course...you have to be at a certain subject...at a certain time...as far as my teaching style, I consider myself more laid back, I’m not as structured.

[Reportedly, their unwillingness to confront their differences resulted in neither one of them continuing in the inclusion program, since their one-year partnership ended three

years ago]. Although several teachers did reveal in individual interviews that they were “unable to work things out with their co-teaching partner”, mostly due to what they called “personality differences or teaching styles that were different”, they reported no real effort to either publicly or privately communicate these problems [*Although Nadine and a few teachers had indicated that Nadine would be the person to whom these “staffing” issues would be taken, if the teachers choose to do so*].

Role definition. Another on-going problem in the inclusion program that emerged from participants’ stories was the determination and performance of roles related to classroom instruction between the co-teaching partners. One of the most repeated issues voiced by participants regarding the roles of co-teaching partners was criticism of the special education teacher as an ineffective teaching partner in content-oriented general education classrooms. Mark, a general education core academic teacher, who had opted out of the co-teaching arrangement after his first year, was particularly critical of his former special education teacher/partner [*who ironically was the new special education department chairperson*]. He related that her skills in the subject area were so poor that she had actually mis-corrected a student’s paper when it had been correct all along. Other general education teachers, such as Janet, felt that the quality of teachers in the special education department was “embarrassing” and Claire, the former special education department chairperson, reported that there were special education teachers “that nobody really wanted to teach with”. On the other hand, other teachers blamed co-teaching partnership difficulties on the “enormous amount of material that special education teachers must know if they are to move from one general education content class to the other”. Still others lamented the difficulties in matching “teaching styles” among individual teachers, proposing that “we all have our own ways of doing things”.

Another on-going problem related to role definition was also one of the initial start-up problems. Voiced by many of the participants, it involved teacher roles in the classroom and was articulated by Claire as the “power struggle between who is going to run the classroom”. The determination of the respective roles of each co-teaching partner was

clearly left up to the discretion of individual team members at Old Dominion. As Mark reported:

...I looked on the special needs teacher ...more as an aide and that is kind of a role that she seemed comfortable with. With the exception of the study skills unit that she taught, that was the only thing she taught.

Betty and Frank, however, reported a very different story of role definition in their two different co-teaching partnerships. Although Betty believed that originally, "...inclusion class was [where] the regular teacher would teach and the special ed teacher would just come in and help special ed students do their work...", she noted that now, "I think it has come to, especially this year, the co-teacher special ed teacher actually teaching some classes, teaching some lessons." She had been co-teaching with a special education teacher for the past two years and found the experience fulfilling and rewarding. She especially enjoyed the opportunity to work with weaker students and considered her co-teacher in English to be a big help. She described the division of teaching roles in her her co-taught class this year as follows:

[She] and I are teaching a novel. I'll teach one chapter and she'll teach one chapter and we will go back and forth and I think that helps. She knows a lot more about special ed teaching methods than I do. If I taught the entire novel, I might not reach those special ed students the way she can.

When asked how this arrangement had come about and had Nadine been part of that decision, she responded that:

I didn't feel really prepared to teach the special ed students...so I just talked to her about it and I said, 'I think that if you actually teach and we go back and forth and teach the lessons that would be beneficial to them' ...No, it was just us".

Betty was aware that things had not worked out as well for other partnerships, as she related that, "...it is different for each inclusion class...". Last year, related her co-teaching partner's experience from last year, in which she was the special education co-teacher, as follows:

...she didn't do a thing but sit in the back of the room, totally didn't do a thing except if someone raised their hand and needed help, she would go to that person and help out. She basically felt like she wasn't even needed there. So it is different everywhere.

Leadership for supports. The third on-going problem cited by several of the participants centered around the issue of supportive leadership. This issue encompassed multiple levels of leadership, including leadership within the building administration, leadership within the special education department, and leadership among the teachers themselves. The general consensus was that leadership was lacking overall.

The special education department, in particular, had a tradition of weak leadership. It had been led in the past for ten consecutive years by a male department chairperson, who, as Claire, the immediate past special education department chairperson, reported:

...would, knowing people from Downtown were in the building, ...turn off the lights and move his class to a section of the room where they couldn't be seen from the door...He would do that so he wouldn't have to talk to anybody from downtown... [like] his supervisor.

She went on to describe the interaction of his behavior with the previous building administration as follows:

My understanding is that they [the administration] had called him on the carpet on a few things he had done and not done as department head and he basically went in, he was eligible to retire, and said, 'take this job and shove it' and walked out. That's how I got this job in the middle of the year.

Most of the teachers interviewed indicated that the assistant principal in charge of inclusion was the 'true' leader of the special education department. This was particularly shocking to the former special education department chairperson, Claire, who had considered herself the department leader. It was not always clear, however, just what role this Assistant Principal (AP) was actually able to play in helping to solve inclusion's on-going problems. Gretchen described her ideas about the AP's leadership regarding inclusion this way:

Well, we have one designated administrator that we go to specifically for the special ed student...if there is a problem or you have a question about something and you don't know who the resource teacher is, or the case worker, you go directly to that person...In many cases she was helpful...but as far as getting help in the classroom or things like that, I think it was out of her hands. I really do.

The overall administrative leadership within the building was openly criticized by more than half of the participants and alluded to in a critical fashion by others. There were also those who made no comments about the building leadership (Mary and Frank). Gretchen and Janet were the most critical of the head principal's leadership style. They characterized her as a "top-down" administrator that operates, "very by the book. Strict". Gretchen remembered the first year the head principal was there:

...The year she came in...I just felt like we were being watched. Every step we made...As far as how many days you took for sick leave, everything was watched and a lot of teachers resented that...You heard a lot of negative things, it was tough.

Janet revealed that a contingent of teachers in the building had asked for an administrative review of the principal in the past two years and a representative from the central office had come to the campus to meet with this openly disgruntled faction of the faculty. Other participants reported that things had "gotten better recently. You see her in the halls more often now...She will actually acknowledge you in passing". Gretchen even conceded that, "It has gotten better, I don't know, maybe she is taking some managerial courses". As she was a former special educator, all participants felt that the head principal had "some part in the decision" to keep inclusion going at Old Dominion, although no one was able to articulate exactly what that "part" was. *[This 'roasting' of the head principal by many of the participants came as quite a shock, as others had been quite tight-lipped about any problems at the school. It also made the group interviews more interesting as several of the groups engaged in active discussions about their differing perspectives on the head principal's leadership style].*

Issues regarding faculty leadership were mentioned by participants in relation to the school's ability to solve on-going problems around inclusion. The change in the faculty

make-up since the move to the new building four years ago, had left the faculty, as participants described, “still evolving”, since there were now more *new* members than *old*. One participant reported that the newly configured faculty “had not yet jelled” in the ways the faculty from the old school had. Faculty leaders from the old school still sat on committees, such as the Faculty Senate and the Policy Committee, and continued to be the major players in the decision-making process for the majority of school changes. As Frank stated, he wasn’t really “privy to how or why decisions were made regarding issues of inclusion” at Old Dominion because he “wasn’t on any committees”. Claire reported that her years as department chair and therefore a member of the Faculty Senate were a real eye-opener regarding who was actually in charge of things at Old Dominion. Reportedly, suggestions she brought up in the Senate were always shot down by the other members who had been in their same positions for the past 15-20 years. She felt as if any of her contributions were automatically negated due to her lack of longevity as a new member.

Other teachers spoke of the “old guard” and its “unwillingness to change” as a major influence on what issues got addressed and what issues got ignored by the administration. Many teachers reported a feeling of “disconnect” between the faculty and administration and within the faculty itself. Several attributed this to the configuration of the new school, stating that “we are all so spread out now”. Others attributed the faculty’s reluctance to engage in problem-solving regarding the issues surrounding inclusion to the multiple demands that competed for teachers’ time. Still others believed that the lack of cohesiveness within the faculty and between faculty and administration was a major hindrance in reaching any real consensus on “how we do things around here”, with several participants mentioning a lack of consistent practice around issues from disciplining students to daily school procedures.

Impact on Students/Staff

The impact of inclusion’s implementation on the students and staff of Old Dominion was also reported with varying opinions. While all of the participants recognized the positive effects it had on the students with disabilities in the general education classroom (i.e., increased student academic performance, better standardized test scores for the

building as a whole, increased self-esteem for special education students), some teachers felt that there were negative impacts for the general education students in those same classrooms. Mark and Ginger were two of the participants that felt inclusion was not working. While Mark saw inclusion as a wave of the past and predicted its demise as more and more emphasis was being placed on rising test scores and a general concern for increased accountability, Gretchen reported that:

...people that actually do it change opinions about it...at first I was optimistic, then after doing it for a year or two and it not really working the way I thought it should have, from what I understood it should have...I would say it is not successful...I don't feel it is being done correctly.

Mark echoed this conviction when he reported that:

...I was just so frustrated with it that I just wanted out of the program. I still think it is a good idea. I just have a sour taste in my mouth the way it was done here, at least in my case.

Both teachers also expressed concern about inclusion's negative impact on general education students. As Gretchen stated:

I think it is unfair to the general ed student because I have to water down my lesson plans a lot ...and then what you have is remedial basically...I think it is just detrimental to the students. I don't think it is fair.

Other teachers saw clear advantages to the impact that inclusion had on the general education faculty and the students with disabilities. Betty stated several reasons why she supported inclusion, as follows:

I think it actually helps them [students with disabilities in general education classrooms] succeed because they probably aspire to a few higher goals. I think it really helps the students...I think the other students perceive them as 'normal', whereas they wouldn't if maybe they weren't in inclusion classes. As far as relationships go, the special ed teachers now relate more to the core areas because we all work together...I don't know that we would really work as much with the special ed teachers if we didn't teach inclusion.

Contrary to her colleagues, however, Betty also stated that the administration was very supportive of inclusion and “I don’t think we could have a better program”. Frank was very happy with inclusion’s impact on the special education student in co-teaching classes. He cited some of the changes that he believed inclusion had made on both teachers and students, when he stated that:

[Inclusion] made changes in communication and in how the regular teachers look at the special ed teacher and how they look at LD[learning disabled] kids, I think in some areas like Math it has helped the kids. Speaking overall, I think the kids benefit.

Deidra voiced the opinion of several others regarding inclusion’s impact on the teaching styles of the general education faculty, when she stated that, “I would say that a lot of regular ed teachers are more educated about the special ed child. I find some of the accommodations that we use, they can also use with the regular ed kids”. However, Deidra and Claire also expressed concern that the general education faculty was losing interest in inclusion, citing their concerns over the large general education faculty turn-over as co-teaching partners. Reportedly, there was a lack of willing general education co-teaching participants. Within the pool of participants from this research study, alone, in stage one, seven had been co-teachers, five of whom had withdrawn from the inclusion program after one year (Matt, Gretchen, Mark, Deidra, and Mary). Two others (Betty and Frank) were still participating and two more (Janet and Claire) had never been a part of it. *[The obvious lack of willing participants that were currently participating as co-teachers was puzzling. A possible interpretation might be that they were not happy with inclusion either and opted to not participate, rather than voice negative opinions].* None of the teachers interviewed who had left the co-teaching partnership had participated for more than one year. Of those still participating, Betty had completed her second year and was very pleased, and Frank was completing his fifth year and hoped he never had to go back to full-day resource room assignment again. Mark, Deidra, and Gretchen reported being dissatisfied with their experience and had requested to not return to a co-teaching assignment, while Matt explained that he changed courses and grade levels after his first year of co-teaching and

had not returned to co-teaching classes, since. Frank also related an unsuccessful experience he had several years ago that necessitated him changing his co-teaching partner, but he was very happy with his current arrangement *[Accusations of questionable methods of implementation and concern over follow-up on the part of the administration surfaced now and then through all three stages of the interviews]*.

Part III: Emergent Themes

Introduction: Overarching and subthemes

A secondary analysis of the transcripts from stage one conducted by the researcher resulted in the emergence of several subthemes and cultural descriptors (see Appendix D) that were presented to the same initial participants during the stage two group interviews. Their collaborative work produced larger overarching themes that grouped the emergent issues into four different categories. The following list, then, is a result of the researcher's analysis of all three stages of participant interviews, as well as the document reviews and informal observations which took place over the three site visits to Old Dominion High School. Each overarching theme is discussed in relation to its subthemes in the subsections following the list, using the participants' voices to highlight the most salient points.

Population/Structural Influences

history of educating at-risk students
 rapid increase in students/staff
 large increases in special ed.
 high turn-over of general ed in co-teaching
 "new" building/"new" principal

Teacher Practice/Professional Responsibilities

special ed/gen. ed. teacher roles in co-teaching
 varying levels of support in gen. ed. classes
 difficulties in matching gen. and spec. ed. faculty
 one-to-one teacher collaboration
 issues of competency regarding spec. ed.
 teachers

Evolving Faculty Culture

history of caring/student-involved
 loosely aligned faculty/administration
 "old guard" resistant to change
 "new" faculty not yet "jelled"
 uneven lines of communication

Federal Mandates/Administrative Support

federal/state/district guidelines
 lack of faculty voice in decision-making
 "top-down" leadership
 AP led special ed department
 inconsistent implementation of policy

Discussion of Themes

Population/Structural influences. One of the major recurring themes that emerged from all three stages of participant interviews, observations, and document analyses was the structural and population changes, including rapid increases in student and staff populations, coupled with the move to the new building and the subsequent change over in building-level leadership, that had occurred over the past five years. The inter-relatedness of these subthemes was voiced by many of the participants, as those in group two, stage two stated:

The increase in student population most likely would need additional staff, which is going to have an impact on scheduling...and the large number of special ed students in the general ed classroom, the large increase in general population of the student body...is most likely causing an increase in at-risk population.

The impact of this rapid increase in student populations, especially the alarming increase in the special education population was discussed among participants in group three, stage two, as follows:

The large numbers of special ed students in this building impacts us building-wide, because we have to have additional classrooms, additional teachers, it is the biggest department in the school, therefore those things are going to impact regular ed because many of the [special ed] students are going to be out there. [It] impacts administratively with discipline and referrals and all those kinds of things that trickle down from that. Because of the large numbers.

Participants in stage three talked about the high turn-over in the faculty in general in the past five years, when they stated that:

...we have a lot of people here that have only taught at this school, five years...Turnover is very high and you have a group of younger people. Most of the people I taught with have retired or gone on someplace else. So it is a totally different group than when I came here.

The introduction of inclusion and the general education teacher participation in co-teaching classes were also subthemes voiced by many of the participants that had grown out of the need to better serve students with disabilities in general education classes. Many participants voiced the need for increasing these students' tests scores and achievement levels as reasons for inclusion initial implementation, but concerns regarding the problems in inclusion's implementation were reasons offered for the current problem of high turnover in general education teacher participation in co-teaching classes.

The school's history of educating at-risk students was mentioned, also and evident as a historically significant "mission" of the school, both in the previously mentioned document from 1988 and especially by those faculty members that had been at Old Dominion for 10 years or more, dating back to the "old" school building and its presence in the pre-existing "poor neighborhood". The move to the "new" building was felt to be a move that broke those ties with the original neighborhood, but also led to greater diversification of students, as students from more affluent neighborhoods were now part of the mix *[although it was suggested by at least two of the participants that some of the newer students from more affluent homes had refused to attend Old Dominion after its relocation and the division's redistricting]*. The configuration of the "new" building was also discussed as part of the structural/population changes that had taken place. In response to a probe related to population changes and structural changes, since the move to the "new" building, one member of group two, stage two related that:

I think it has a little more to do than just the numbers increasing.. They have music and PE down at the opposite end of the building and I never go down there. I don't even get to the cafeteria usually. I eat lunch in my room. So these people I never see...[In the "old" school] we ate with the kids...There was no place else to eat so you ate with each other...

The interrelatedness of the subthemes under structural/population influences highlights the cyclic relationships reflected in many of the participants' views on the school's culture and inclusion's implementation. They also highlight the overall related nature of the three other major themes that emerged from the study.

Evolving faculty culture. The second emergent theme in this study was foreshadowed by many of the comments the participants made in relation to the subthemes from the previous section. However, there was a clear organization by the group participants in stage two that also highlighted the evolving faculty culture as a major theme that was separate, yet related to population/structural influences.

Descriptions of the “old” faculty were an important part of the subthemes that emerged, as participants repeatedly referred to the “old guard” and the “old school”. Stage three group participants described this former faculty as “very controlling”. One participant shared that, “I think it was a little cliquish”, while the other shared that, “I came in at the tail end of it and there were some strong personalities in this school.” When asked if they worked together, the response was, “If they liked youthey did work well. They were very good, very effective”. However, it was also shared that this faculty from the “old school” had been given “a lot of leeway” by the then administration, an administration that was also described as “lax...too loose”. As one participant in Group Three, stage two shared, “The whole atmosphere and attitude has changed and the administrators have changed”.

While the historical mission of the “old school” was clearly focused on educating the at-risk student (1987-88 Self Study), problems had arisen over the past few years (reportedly due to population, site, and administrative changes) which had left the current faculty questioning its “new” mission - increase test scores - and the goals and objectives being used to implement it. While one teacher described the faculty as having “not quite jelled”, others saw the division between faculty and administration and among faculty as much more serious. One participant’s explanation for the state of the current faculty culture seemed to sum up the feelings of many of the participants who shared ideas about the impact of the changes that had taken place. She stated:

There are good things that come out of change, I think there are a lot of opportunities that have come out of the change for us. However, I think people look at the focus on the negative rather than the long term because we are looking at how it affects today. I think that what has happened as the result of the in-fighting

or maybe the resentment of the leadership style, you have people who have put up defenses, just like kids...and that becomes 'why I don't join committees, or I no longer sponsor', and that is where people have gotten to this point, because that is more or less the backlash of you are changing something.

While the area of communication was discussed by several participants as a cultural deficit of the current faculty in general, it was referred to often regarding the inclusion program. The lack of communication to solve on-going problems was evidenced by the general lack of knowledge among those interviewed as to how things worked regarding inclusion, such as the scheduling of included classes (i.e., deciding which classes would be co-taught each year, which students with disabilities would be included in them, which teachers would be paired together, etc.) There was also a lack of formal structures in place to facilitate communication regarding practices/procedures that could be used to solve some of the problems teachers encountered with students with disabilities in regular classrooms *[Although the AP in charge of inclusion had talked at length about group inclusion meetings she held with all of the co-teaching partners, almost all of the teachers interviewed who were currently or previously involved in co-teaching did not report any such meetings being held on a regular basis (even when participants were asked directly about their existence) and others reported not being aware of any such meetings ever having taken place. Participants also could offer little information regarding how the program had evolved or how decisions were made on an on-going basis].* While some teachers felt they had open lines of communication, others reported, often not knowing who the special education staff was that was responsible for the supports in the classroom. Frank summed up the extent of problems with communication and how it impacted inclusion when he commented that, "To be perfectly honest with you, some of the people in the school probably don't know it [inclusion] is happening."

Teacher practice/Professional responsibilities. Another major theme that emerged from all stages of the research was that of teacher practice/professional responsibilities. The general consensus of participants was that the general education teacher was now bearing the brunt of the burden of educating students with disabilities in the general education

classroom and that (due to the lack of support and/or improper implementation) these general education teachers were pulling out of the co-teaching arrangements, making the job of finding replacements more and more difficult.

The lack of agreement regarding role definition was also impacting its related problem of role performance. While some co-teaching pairs were able to work out roles between themselves that supported one another and also met the needs of students with disabilities in the classroom, there were co-teaching classrooms where neither teachers nor students were being supported.

Although most of the participants chose to frame this issue of lack of appropriate support in the general education classroom from the special education staff as “differences in teaching styles or personalities”, a few were clear that the level of competency of the special education co-teacher was problematic for them as either their general education partner or a general education teacher who depended upon the special education staff to consult with them regarding accommodations/ modifications for students with disabilities in their classroom. Claire, the former special education department chairperson, was especially vocal regarding issues of competency among the special education staff, as she stated that:

...there are really good teachers and there are really bad teachers. We just don't have a lot in the middle...you can give them help, but it is hard to do a lot about incompetency...We had some [special education] teachers that volunteered to do it [co-teach] that nobody wants to work with.

The roles of special education and general education teachers were often mentioned in conjunction with issues of communication, a cultural deficit already cited as part of the evolving faculty culture. However, communication was also mentioned as an integral part of the shared responsibilities of co-teaching partners and general and special education teachers that did not co-teach. Participants in stage three saw a relationship between the lack of communication between special and general educators and role performance. As one stated:

I don't think the communication lines are open. You get a student first of the year, you may get a note, there is no follow up...I get the pieces of paper that says this kid needs to do this, he needs to do that, but then you don't see it happening...I think it is mostly paperwork, it's bureaucracy...covering themselves. You can't possibly do all those things, they spend all that time writing all that stuff down instead of actually doing it...So it falls on the [general ed] teacher.

Another general education participant in stage three related her experiences with the special education staff as follows:

Now I have one resource teacher and she works well, she sends the evaluation [on her special education students] periodically. But I have not received feedback from all the others except at exam time. So I am wondering, 'Where are they during the school year?' and I feel the burden is really on me...I know at the beginning of the school year we had this big thing on inclusion, there were these grand plans, but yet I have not seen it materialize. It just hasn't materialized.

The unrealistic expectations that special education teachers would be competent in multiple content areas at the high school level was also an area of teacher roles/performance that emerged as an issue in inclusion's problematic implementation. As one participant stated, "I think its a lot to ask one person to be versed in six subjects...they don't have time to do all that. And if they [special ed teachers] don't know all the work they can't help them [students]".

The issues of matching teachers for co-teaching pairs and the necessary collaboration between the two was also a focus of the stories about inclusion's implementation. It was generally stated that if the match was "right" then the collaborative relationship took care of itself and problems of implementation were not realized for that team. Two representatives from two different teams attested to the magic of the "good match", stating that everything ran smoothly in their co-taught classrooms and all students benefited from inclusion. There were others, however, who either through direct experience (Mark and Deidra) or first-hand observation, reported that a "bad match" left neither teacher happy with their assignment and "the students suffered".

Clearly issues of teacher practice and professional responsibility were foremost in the stories of inclusion at Old Dominion. Teachers roles and the importance of appropriate role performance were reportedly influenced by issues of professional competence and lines of communication.

Federal mandates/Administrative support. The fourth theme that emerged from this study is also related to issues that have been raised in previously mentioned themes. No one was quite sure how the federal, state and district stood on the issue of inclusion, but many assumed it had been implemented more because the district liked to "try new things" than because it was something they had really planned for and had a commitment to. Claire reported that there was no formal district policy on inclusion and others acknowledged that they didn't really know from one year to the next if inclusion would even be continued.

Many participants felt that the problems that surrounded the implementation of inclusion were due to the "lack of follow-up" on plans that had initially appeared sound. Stage three participants summed up several other participants' views about how inclusion had been supported at Old Dominion when they stated that:

[Inclusion] Programs have been introduced, but because maybe of no follow up on it, they have just kind of fallen through...there are some schools that are doing some fantastic things and I just don't think the spark is here...in this school I don't think it functions well. I don't know if that is leadership style and it could be. I think that could be a result...I just think in a school environment such as ours it would not work...I just think this program here does not work well.

This recognized lack of administrative and faculty support was reportedly the product of several other cultural characteristics that were interrelated, as well. The "top-down" leadership style of the head principal was often blamed for the lack of input by the faculty regarding many areas including inclusion. Many of the teachers reported that their opinion were sometimes polled by the principal on school issues, but they were confident that no matter how the vote turned out, the decision would be made according to what the principal wanted. The polling was only a "token" involvement in the decision-making process. As the participants in stage three stated:

I think often times decisions are made without a majority or even a minority of the involvement of the faculty. I think that we have input, but whether or not it carries any weight...we make suggestions but whether or not the suggestions are really carried out...I just don't feel that they are.

Another participant spoke about the influence of a core group of faculty on the administration's decision-making process. She stated that:

I think you have a certain core group that are always heard over other people....if something is not right then they scream loud enough...usually the [other] people will sit back and just say, 'well, it is not going to happen' and just go along with the core group, who is talking very loud.

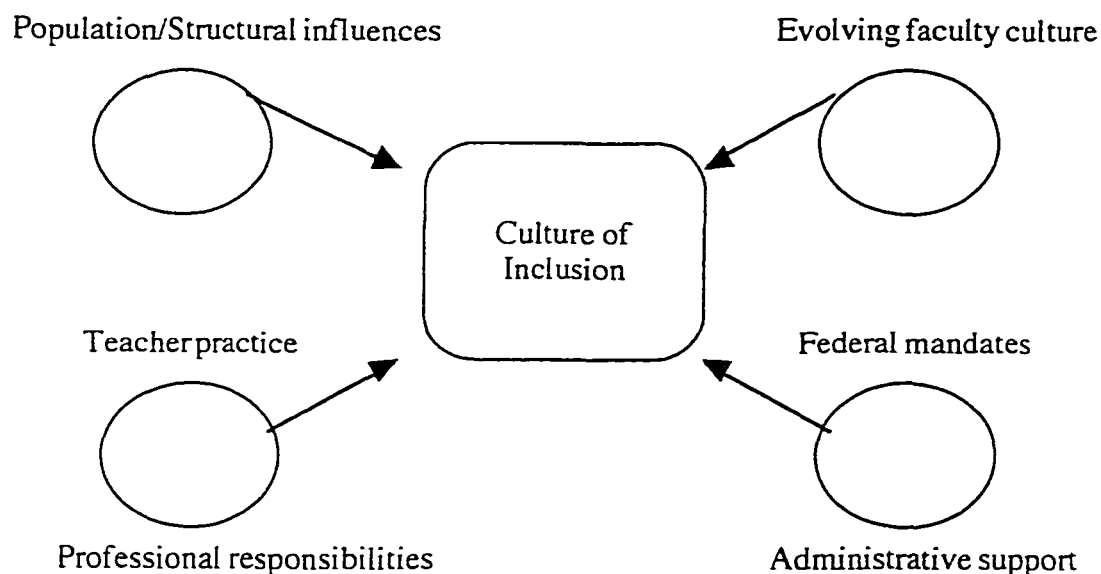
The fact that the AP led the inclusion movement was problematic, also, as Claire revealed that the AP was known for "protecting the special education staff". Others referred to the administration "not doing anything about the teachers who weren't doing their job" and all reported problems with "the administration not enforcing policy" in a consistent manner. Some participants also referred to the administration as "coddling" the special education students, which may have led to the increasing numbers of students in special ed, because "students take advantage of that".

Overall, the theme of federal mandates/administrative support reflected the dissatisfaction and "lack of's" that participants shared in regards to inclusion's implementation. Lack of communication, lack of faculty-involvement in decision-making, lack of administrative follow-up and lack of clearly defined performance standards for special education teachers were issues related to all of the other major themes, as well.

Part Four: Interpretation and Conceptual Framework

The relationships among these overarching themes and subthemes and the culture of inclusion at Old Dominion can be depicted through a conceptual framework illustrated below, in Figure 4.3, which integrates the researcher's interpretation of all the data collected during this case study:

Figure 4.3
Emergent Themes from Old Dominion High School



The four circles represent the themes that contributed to the culture of inclusion (represented by the center square) at Old Dominion High School. Two of the themes reflected two areas of emphasis, as two of the circles are labeled at the top and bottom.

The major themes that emerged from the case study of Old Dominion High School are both interrelated and interdependent. Beginning with the multiple changes that were imposed upon the school, from the burgeoning student population over the past eight years to the displacement of the school's historic building, the faculty now bears scars that reflect each of these emergent themes. As each theme emerged from the stories of the participants, it became apparent that the relationship of one to the other was directly related to the effects each had on the faculty's newly emergent culture, including changes in administration and

finally impacted internal teacher practice and among faculty relationships. In an effort to untangle this web of inter relatedness, the impact of such drastic changes in the school's historically strong teacher culture must be considered.

Originally devoted to the education of students who came from homes entrenched in the culture of poverty, the faculty had, over the past 40 years and prior to its upheaval, wielded a heavy sphere of influence over its loosely functioning administration. Proud of its earlier mission and clear in its purpose, the old school faculty had been clearly in control of the school's procedures and integral in the development and implementation of policy. Upon the school's relocation to its new site, several important changes happened concurrently. The school's student population grew by 100% and a significant change in both personnel and leadership style heralded the beginning of a new era in the history of Old Dominion. Leadership with a heavy hand and a singular purpose of increasing test scores now headed both the building and the district. Those on the faculty who had enjoyed considerable power, watched as that power was systematically eroded through intentional changes in both the substance and purpose of education. Although many of the old school faculty continued to sit on committees, their sphere of influence no longer reached to the head principal's office. Although willing to listen to faculty concerns, there was little indication from the head principal that she intended to share any real power with those who once had a great deal of it. This displacement of influence had both a disheartening and an angering effect on the remaining faculty from the old school. More importantly, it had created a gap between faculty and administration that was being widened every day, through a kind of 'passive' resistance to one another.

Inclusion at Old Dominion was suffering from this unhealthy relationship, through deficits in three important areas: lack of administrative support, ill-defined expectations for teacher performance, and uneven school-wide communication. Although one teacher referred to the newly evolving faculty's lack of having "jelled", it appeared that the deficits were much more severe. For although these cultural deficits had adversely impacted inclusion's implementation, the fact that many faculty members were reluctant to even acknowledge them had left those willing to work on the issues through appropriate

problem-solving techniques, without an avenue to even address them. This resulted in a silencing effect that served to keep the teachers quiet about their concerns *[One teacher was willing to discuss at length the mood of fear and retaliation that hovered among the faculty. She described in detail her feelings of distrust regarding “who might be listening” and what the consequences might be for voicing any negative opinions concerning the life of the school. One teacher told this researcher that he refused to get involved in the negative talk, preferring to concentrate on the positive].*

Overall, the implementation of inclusion at Old Dominion, which had started out with rather loosely defined aspirations, now six years later was being severely hindered by on-going problems among faculty and between faculty and administration that showed no signs or promise of being addressed, much less solved. These problems left unresolved, the appropriate supports for students in general education classes, along with the practice of co-teaching is destined to fail, most likely a little each year, as fewer and fewer general education teachers become less and less willing to participate in a program that perpetuates only the appearance of inclusion.

Summary

The relationships among the four emergent themes at Old Dominion High School were highly influenced by a tangled web of student, staff, and administrative changes. The faculty’s response to these changes has been especially problematic for the successful implementation of inclusion. Once a highly self-governed faculty, tightly controlled by its dominant faculty leaders and strongly committed to serving the at-risk population within which it lay, this new faculty, now housed within a new building, served a new population of students, under a very different set of rules, imposed upon them by a new administration, at both the district and building level. Admittedly, the “old guard” was responding with what appeared to be a passive-aggressive stance, while the newer faculty was looking for guidance.

The “new” school had not adapted well to its environmental and structural changes. In fact it had developed maladaptive behaviors that were threatening inclusion’s future existence. Only one or two teachers appeared to be functioning happily within the inclusion

program. The majority of teachers felt that the inclusion program was unsuccessful and not working within the restraints of such a dysfunctional faculty/administration relationship. One of the symptoms of this 'dysfunctional' relationship was the manner in which the issue of teacher incompetence was addressed (or not). It was often voiced [*by those who were unwilling to frame it as such*] as a difference in teaching styles or personality differences. Administration supported this reframe, unwilling to respond to issues of incompetency within the special education staff and offering no real supports for team problem solving or school-wide conversations on issues that needed addressing, like scheduling or course content.

The abundance of special education faculty (30 in all, including 18 special education teachers) without a comparable decline in responsibility on the general education staff [*general education teachers reported seeing only three students to a classroom in special education resource rooms*] and the unresolved issues of special education teacher performance fueled the flames of resentment that were growing each year as more and more general education teachers grew weary of carrying the majority of the responsibility of inclusion on their already overburdened shoulders. Clearly, Old Dominion was experiencing more than just growing pains. With a disjointed faculty, an unresponsive administration, and an unclear mission regarding the education of students with disabilities, only a semblance of inclusion was being implemented. There were also indications that an unwilling general education faculty was on the horizon, threatening inclusion's continued implementation.

The most critical feature of the story of inclusion at Old Dominion, however, was none of the above. It was, instead, the obvious steadfast determination on the part of the AP and a few of the teachers to act as if nothing was wrong. Denial, clear and simple, appeared to this researcher, to be the strategy used for survival. Yet, its continued use only served to further the program's demise. Without an open recognition of problems that plagued this faculty and administration, opportunities for dialoguing between the two (or even among the faculty) appeared limited. 'Cultural healing' seemed to be a first step in facilitating the supports that inclusion needed here.

The future of inclusion at Old Dominion is as at-risk as the students it is committed to serving. Having lost its rudder, due to the onslaught of environmental and structural changes, the traditional core that supported both policy and practice within a tightly-knit community of professionals has come apart. Without a swift and effective turn-around on the part of both faculty and administration, this school is headed on a collision course with failure. It will take a deliberate and concentrated effort on the part of all players, to put it back together again.

Summary of Case Studies and Cross-Case Analysis

Introduction

This last section of Chapter Four serves a multitude of purposes which include summarizing, analyzing, illustrating, and interpreting the three case studies. On the following page, a chart (figure 4.4) is presented which summarizes the researcher's interpretations of the profiles of the individual school's culture of inclusion, briefly describing three elements noted within each: stage of change, leadership style, and faculty morale/roles. This synopsis of the varying stages of the inclusion process and faculty and administrative issues which emerged within each case study serves as an initial format for comparing the schools-- a sort of prelude to the more detailed cross-case analysis that follows. The chart has been constructed using the researcher's words to interpret the 'state of affairs' in each school. In addition, this part of Chapter Four includes: a) a short narrative of each school, which summarizes the overarching themes that emerged within each school's collective story and identifies the use of critical functions, b) a summary of the cross-case analysis conducted by the researcher, c) a chart that demonstrates the array of overarching themes in all three schools and their similarities, and d) a consolidated conceptual framework of all schools' contributions of emergent themes to a common arena.

Summaries of Three Case Studies

Each case study is a collection of teacher voices that contributed to the story of each school. The emergent overarching themes that were a part of each school's story represents the problems and solutions that each school encountered concerning the implementation of inclusion. In the planning of this multi-site case study, particular constructs were targeted by the researcher, within a fairly broad exploration of issues of power and control, that were believed to be involved in the implementation of a school change initiative (inclusion) within school cultures. These constructs-- decision-making processes, communication, leadership styles, and rules, roles and responsibilities-- were identified by participants in their individual stories as critical functions within the school cultures. Participants also reported that these functions were used or not used to make transitions necessary for inclusion's appropriate implementation. Therefore, critical functions and overarching

Figure 4.4

Summary Profile of the Implementation of Inclusion in Three High Schools

<u>School name</u>	<u>Stage of change</u>	<u>Leadership style</u>	<u>Faculty morale/roles</u>
Mountainview	- <i>fully</i> included w/ appropriate supports; central/local spec. ed. programs jockeying for power within school & between school and dist.	Building-level special ed. department leads the inclusion initiative; principals have been mostly “hands-off” re: inclusion	high; empowered; mutual respect btwn. spec. & gen.; “don’t rock the boat” stance; strong spec. ed. staff
Buena Vista	- most mild/mod. students included w/ <i>out</i> supports; faculty vs. special ed. dept. chair; historically uneven bldg. level implementation	special ed. dept. chair uses heavy-handed approach; academic dept. chairs fight back against multiple changes within spec.ed. dept.; sig. involvement from district level; weak administration	low; resentful; needy; in-fighting among spec.ed faculty & all out “war”btwn. faculty & principal; extremely weak spec. ed. staff; concerns re: mutual respect
Old Dominion	- most mild/mod. students included w/ supports not <i>appropriately</i> implemented; not seen as a school-wide change; limited impact; declining participation by general ed. teachers	asst. principal leads the inclusion program; unclear involvement at district level; principal perceived as inaccessible and intimidating; “old guard” resistant to authority	low; fearful/distrust; issues of spec. ed. teacher competency; high burn-out of gen ed. as co-teachers; “disjointed” faculty

themes created a framework for the telling of each school's story and are used in this section to summarize the researcher's initial interpretation of each case study.

Mountainview's Story

The story of inclusion at Mountainview High School emphasized several important themes that were significant components of the school's culture. One of those was accessibility and acceptance of student diversity. Teachers told of the challenges they had encountered in learning to work with a changing student population. But, having embraced a philosophy of inclusion of students with mild to moderated disabilities many years ago, this more recent challenge of students with differing cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds, as well as the integration of students with severe disabilities into general education classrooms, was met with an increase in accessibility to the entire scope of school culture. This applied to teachers' involvement in the critical functions of decision-making, communication, and roles and responsibilities within the faculty. Accessibility to these critical functions was instrumental in creating a culture of inclusion that served both the needs of students and classroom teachers.

High expectations and student success was another area of emphasis at Mountainview. As one teacher reported, "we have high expectations of everyone here, including the janitors" and it had reportedly "always been that way". Once considered a high-profile college-prep school, situated in an affluent neighborhood, this school's culture continued to uphold its long-time tradition for excellence, in "all areas", as the PE teacher reported that the school boasted both an Apollo astronaut and a winning PGA professional. Teachers refused to "water down" curriculum or let students off with less than their potential, holding anyone who became a member of this school-- whether counselor, teacher, or student-- to a high standard of performance, no matter what the task (including the state-mandated graduation test). Clearly this faculty was not intimidated by inclusion's implementation, but, rather, adjusted as necessary, without jeopardizing the already critical functions they had in place for many years.

A high level of respect for one another's practice and an informal, yet extremely strong network of peer support was also characteristic of Mountainview's story. Intensive,

productive, individual interaction between general and special educators was described as regular, respectful, and rewarding, creating a strong independent culture of professionals that valued and supported instructional expertise among one another. This was one of the most important contributions to the culture of inclusion at this school and supported the other critical functions that already existed. Even the “old guard” was commended for their skill in teaching, as members of this faculty were careful to preserve mutual respect for one another. Student relationships also demonstrated mutual respect and support, as demonstrated through the program of “peer helpers”, that provided hands-on classroom peer support to students with severe disabilities in general education classes.

Accountability/laws and constraints were also important considerations in the school’s story. Characterized by self-accountability that responded constructively to those laws and constraints imposed upon them, the school’s critical functions were used to integrate inclusion’s implementation-- as a perceived law-- into the school’s culture of accountability. As one teacher reported, they had already made themselves accountable to one another and inclusion did not change that.

Buena Vista’s Story

At Buena Vista, a management style/implementation methodology that seemed overbearing and confusing to both general and special education teachers, resulted in a story of increasing troubles for the inclusion process. The involvement of central office personnel in setting both the agenda and practices that involved drastic changes in an already weakened program, had detrimental effects on the students with disabilities, as they continued to sit in general education classrooms with less and less support. Weak building level leadership coupled with a strong push for changes from the special education department head, left the general education teachers without a voice in the decision-making process. The resultant feelings of frustration and anger, widened the gap between special and general education, resulting in a struggle of significant proportions about inclusion.

There were poor lines of communication among faculty members and numerous promises from the administration that did not materialize, regarding supports for students with disabilities and the general education teachers responsible for them. The inclusion

program was continually in a state of flux, with numerous changes and lack of information about how to go about implementing new procedures. Follow-through as to who was responsible for what, was also a problem. Consequently, the general education faculty felt left “on their own” with students with disabilities sitting in their classrooms, without appropriate supports and were growing increasingly angry at the long list of responsibilities that had been “dumped” in their laps. Little to no support was available to the faculty through administrative leadership, auxiliary personnel such as counselors, district level facilitators, or even through peer relationships.

Numerous accusations of teacher apathy and intimations of special education staff shirking their duties were reportedly characteristic of teacher attitudes regarding the aptitudes of their peers at Buena Vista. Special education departmental disorganization and growing concerns regarding unethical behavior on the part of the department chairperson was also of particular concern to many participants. Questions about special education teachers’ willingness to support co-taught classes were also raised, as the need for additional clarification of procedures and follow-up was voiced. Discouraged over weak administrative leadership, while pressures to implement inclusion increased and without the supports needed, these teachers were understandably pessimistic about the future of inclusion.

Constraints and perceived mandates presented more problems with no solutions to Buena Vista. While district level administration indicated to the faculty that inclusion was a mandate, administration at the building-level was not helpful in supporting the critical functions needed to appropriately implement it. Increased paper work, confusing schedules, and rules, roles and responsibilities that had never been clarified, also acted as self-constraints this school placed upon itself. For, not only was inclusion perceived as a mandate it was also implemented as one among the faculty, leading to significant struggles between the special education department and the general education faculty.

Old Dominion’s Story

Old Dominion’s story was one of population and structural influences that had greatly impacted this school over the past five years. Significant changes-- including a new

school building, a more diverse student and faculty population, and relocation to a different geographic and economic subdivision of the district, influenced the implementation of inclusion. Structural changes in leadership at the district and building level emphasized test scores over long-held traditions of community and collegiality. Left without a faculty cohesiveness that would have enabled the utilization of its critical functions, the transitions that were also necessary for the appropriate implementation of inclusion were not smoothly made, if it at all.

Evolving faculty culture was also an important consideration in the story of Old Dominion. The move to the “new” school had also meant a change in principal and superintendent, which made an enormous impact on teachers who were accustomed to “running the show”. Described as “disjointed” and “not quite jelled, yet”, the new teacher culture floundered. There were also changes in the school’s academic mission that had negatively impacted the attitudes of many teachers, contributing to their retreating from positions of leadership or totally withdrawing, since many had chosen to retire early. With a rising population of students with disabilities, this left new teachers without mentors to enable the passing on of appropriate classroom instruction and reportedly, students and teachers had suffered.

Teachers at Old Dominion were initially reluctant to shed a less than positive light on professional practice at their school. Gradually, however, the school’s story emerged as indications arose that all was not well. Participants eventually shared common concerns about the level of expertise exhibited by some of the special education staff in the general education classroom. Questions regarding appropriate instruction in the special education resource classes followed, as more teachers began to feel more comfortable acknowledging and expressing their frustrations regarding a faculty culture that just didn’t seem to “have it all together”. The impact on the culture of inclusion was also less than positive. Newly recruited general education teachers, who had become co-teachers with some special education teachers, who were reportedly less than competent in high school subject matter, were “burning out” after one or two years, leaving inclusion’s future clearly in jeopardy.

Federal mandates, of which many of the teachers considered inclusion to be one, and administrative support were issues that presented problems with no easy solutions for Old Dominion. Their story emphasized the demands of one on the inadequacies of the other. Many teachers felt pressured to be a part of the inclusion program, yet administration's role in facilitating it, proved to be more (or less) supervision and single-handed decision-making, rather than real support. As an evolving faculty, they were unable to mobilize critical functions in order to problem solve the needed solutions. The implementation of inclusion suffered, under weak teacher participation and a lack of collaboration skills. Left on their own, teachers questioned their own capacity to provide adequate supports to students with disabilities in general education classrooms.

Cross Case Primary Analysis and Initial Interpretations

A cross case analysis of the studies was conducted by comparing and contrasting similarities and differences among the overarching themes, resulting in a grouping of three overarching themes around four common arenas. The narrative discussion below describes the cross-case analysis and seeks to clarify the identification of similarities and differences among the schools' overarching themes, through comparison and contrast. This analysis resulted in the identification of four common areas, around which, one theme from each school coalesced (as illustrated in figures 4.5 and 4.6, following the discussion).

Arena 1

One of the similarities among the schools' overarching themes was the presence of internal and external determinants that were particular to the individual settings. One theme from each school addressed these determinants. Clearly, each of these themes, Accessibility/Acceptance of diversity, Management style/Implementation methodology, and Population/Structural influences, were contributors to those structures, processes, relationships, and interactions that impacted their individual school cultures from both outside and inside the school setting. There were, however, differences in the manner in which each culture dealt with them. Participants identified a 'cultural' set of behaviors that their school utilized to respond to the challenges presented to them. At Mountainview, accessibility to classes, individuals, and adaptive procedures allowed both students and

faculty to interact, support, and problem-solve with one another. Accessibility was sustained through the culture's beliefs about the acceptance of diversity, and demonstrated in practices related to student learning, communication, interpersonal relationships, and expectations. For example, by utilizing differentiation in curriculum and instruction, the faculty set the standard for professional practice.

At Buena Vista, however, a faculty that lacked leadership and direction, found it hard to respond effectively to the district's agenda for change, mandated through the actions of a new special education department chairperson. Without a comprehensive system of supports, it became increasingly difficult for teachers to respond to the reportedly confusing demands that characterized the manner in which inclusion was being implemented. Problems in management and implementation concerns stemmed from poor communication, lack of a professional presence among the faculty or administration, and enormous pressure to implement changes without appropriate explanation or follow-through.

At Old Dominion, drastic increases in both the diversity and numbers of students attending the school, as well as its physical relocation, changes in district and building level leadership, and subsequent large faculty growth and turn-over, propelled the school culture at Old Dominion into a unstable climate that made it difficult to maintain the critical functions necessary to build cohesiveness. This array of internal and external determinants found among all three schools formed a common arena within which the differing responses of the various schools' cultures were demonstrated during inclusion's implementation.

Arena 2

The second similarity among the overarching themes was related to faculty relationships and academic expectations. Rooted in each school's collective understanding of a set of common behaviors among its faculty, these relationships and expectations prescribed the differing "ways of doing things around here" that influenced both faculty and student performance and greatly impacted the culture of inclusion. The three themes

that coalesced around this arena were high expectations/student success, lines of communication/ support systems, and evolving faculty culture.

At Mountainview, faculty carried on a tradition of high expectations and student success, established 35 years before, that were dictated by patterns of behavior established long ago. This process appeared to go on successfully, regardless of changes in student populations. While at Buena Vista, a long tradition of miscommunication and lack of classroom support for general education teachers placed students with disabilities academically at-risk. The faculty had effectively resisted changes forced upon them from the special education department, leaving relationships strained, to say the least, and academic expectations last in a line of overwhelming concerns. At Old Dominion, faculty relations that had been carefully dismantled through innumerable changes in every aspect of this school's culture, had suffered dramatically, impacting the newly constructed staff's attempts to reconfigure itself. Increases in the student population overall and the subsequent increase in numbers of students with disabilities placed in general education classrooms over the past five years, left general education teachers in need of additional resources from the special education department that were not available. Academic expectations also suffered as the impact of evolving faculty culture impeded the necessary mentor-relationships that could have improved faculty relationships and expectations of both teacher and student performance. Issues of faculty relationships and academic expectations were similarities among the themes, yet, idiosyncratic to each school's culture.

Arena 3

The third similarity among the overarching themes was illustrated in their common focus on professional practice in relation to teacher aptitudes and beliefs. Again, while common in issue, each school differed in the application of these issues within its particular culture. Although all schools reported that the majority of teachers believed that inclusion was an appropriate option for the education of students with disabilities, there were marked differences in schools' reports of teachers' aptitudes for actually implementing inclusion. These aptitudes were reportedly judged by their peers to be either adequate or not, according to the quality of instructional practice teachers displayed in their classrooms. The

three themes that coalesced around this arena were professional respect and peer support, professional aptitude and teacher attitudes, and professional responsibilities and teacher practice.

At Mountainview, teacher respect was high for others' professional practice and individual personal relationships provided a framework for a network of supports for one another. The school's belief that inclusion was an appropriate school-wide practice was possible because of the strong faculty perception that teacher expertise was high in both the content areas and the special education staff. At Buena Vista, however, there was consensus around a belief in inclusion, but a general concern about the level of professional practice among all faculty and frustrations over the inability to measure the aptitude of special education teachers in general education classrooms, due to the lack of follow through to provide in-class special education teacher support. Consequently teacher beliefs about the impact of inclusion on their teaching were less than positive. At Old Dominion, communication about one another's professional practice was hindered, as internal communication had been damaged by the changes that now separated the faculty from one another. Again, although most believed that the faculty supported inclusion as a belief, several were concerned about the appropriate supports required by the special education staff and their level of expertise in the content areas. The viability of inclusion was questioned at this school due to poor faculty relationships and concerns about teachers' aptitudes for supporting it. While these themes emphasized professional practice, aptitude, and belief systems, each school exhibited them, specific to their own cultural characteristics.

Arena 4

Similarities in overarching themes that coalesced around the fourth common arena included issues related to federal/state mandates and administrative influences. Themes from each school that coalesced around these issues were accountability/laws and constraints, constraints/perceived mandates, and federal mandates/administrative support. The schools' stories reflected teacher-understandings that inclusion was mandated by either federal or state law and yet, either substantially supported through planned administrative

practice or merely given 'lip-service' to, without actually receiving the administrative support it needed. The differences in the manner in which each school's district and building level leadership dealt with these issue of inclusion, was again, specific to the school's internal set of behaviors.

Mountainview had, from the beginning, used building-level decision-making, regardless of district-level directives, to implement inclusion. The school's decision to implement inclusion had been made long before the laws had codified its existence at their school. Therefore, laws that they believed mandated inclusion were secondary to its implementation. Teachers reported that they held themselves accountable to one another, regarding the practices they used to monitor and support students with disabilities in the mainstream. Although district-level interference in site-based decision-making and state-level policy mandating graduation tests were seen as constraints on teachers' instructional time, inclusion would go on at this school whether it was mandated or not.

At Buena Vista however, the school culture was constrained by its own lack of skills to negotiate with one another and problem-solve around a the district-level mandate. Having pushed the implementation of inclusion so strongly on a faculty that had few internal networks in place to implement it, inclusion was not being welcomed at this school. Although the participants spoke about their beliefs in inclusion as an appropriate practice in educating students with disabilities, the methods by which it had been introduced, had been less than productive. The faculty was reacting quite reluctantly, as one might expect, to something they were being forced to do, without the opportunity for input or feedback.

Old Dominion believed inclusion to be a federal mandate, although several teachers also expressed a belief that the district and/or the head principal was backing it. Others were quite clear that the district was not involved and many others did not seem to know why inclusion was begun at their school. Regardless, administrative support was not providing the needed resources for its appropriate implementation. The strong influence of one assistant principal in charge of inclusion, left no room for teacher leadership in the program. Therefore, although there was a perceived legal impetus for its existence, its

implementation seemed to be more of an acquiescence to ‘the powers that be’, rather than a deeply felt commitment to ‘the cause’.

Illustrations of Cross-Case Analysis

The chart below (Figure 4.5) illustrates the similarities of each school’s contribution to the creation of the four common arenas and the emergence of new ‘labels’ for those similarities that the researcher found within each arena.

Figure 4.5

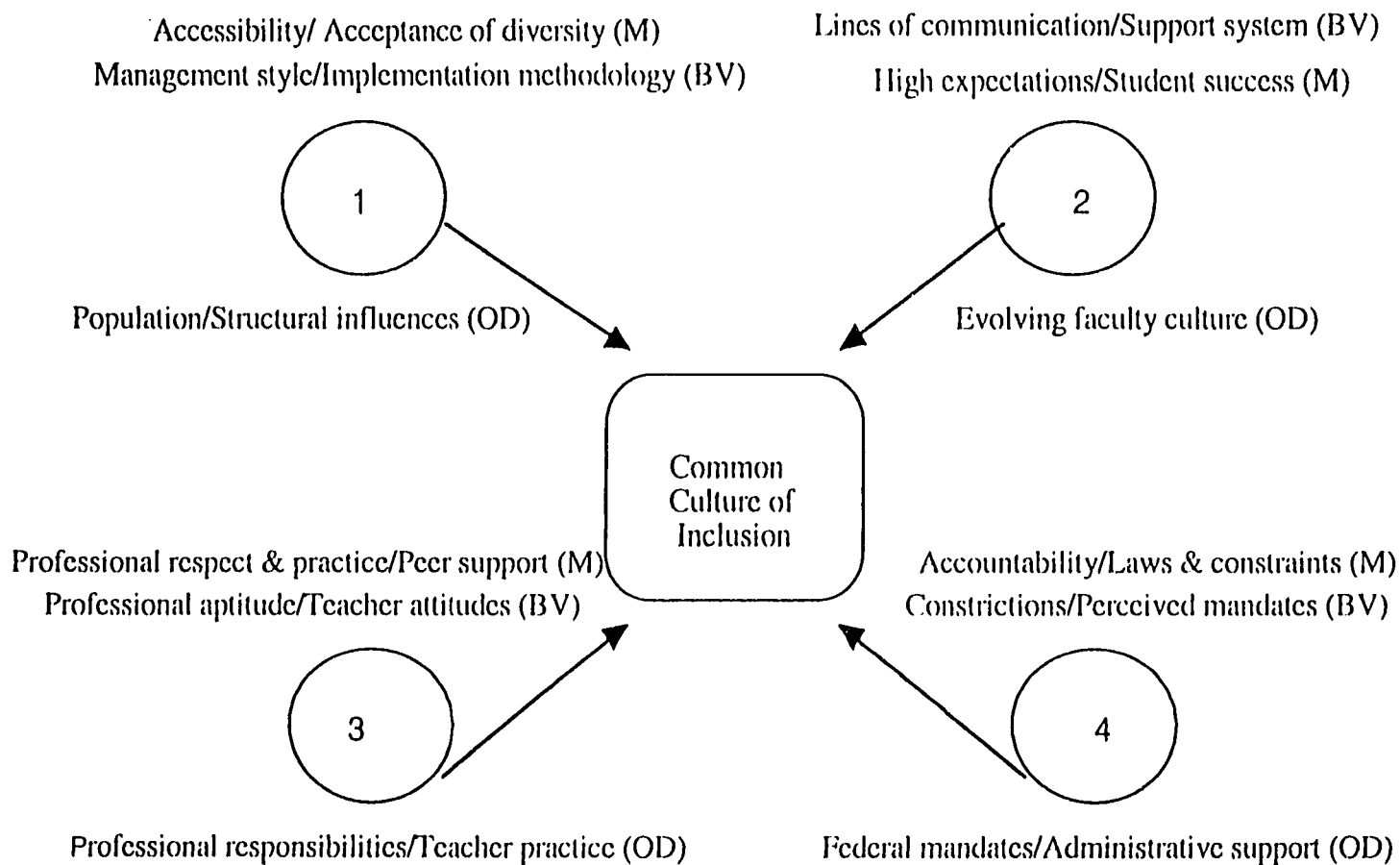
Cross-case Analysis of the Emergent Themes from Each of the Case Studies

<u>School</u>	<u>Arena 1</u>	<u>Arena 2</u>	<u>Arena 3</u>	<u>Arena 4</u>
Mountainview	Accessibility/ Acceptance of diversity	High expectations/ Student success	Professional respect & practice/ Peer support	Accountability/ Laws & constraints
Buena Vista	Management style/ Implementation methodology	Lines of communication/ Support systems	Professional aptitude/ Teacher attitudes	Constraints/ Perceived mandates
Old Dominion	Population/ Structural influences	Evolving faculty culture	Professional responsibilities/ Teacher practice	Federal mandates/ Administrative support
<u>Similarities among Themes</u>	<u>Internal/External determinants</u>	<u>Faculty relationships/ Academic expectations</u>	<u>Professional practice/Teacher aptitude and beliefs</u>	<u>Federal & state mandates/ Administrative influences</u>

Emergent themes from each case study, as they were grouped by the researcher into numbered randomly arenas that reflected similarities. Those similarities among all themes in an arena are identified by new ‘labels’ and underlined in the last row.

In addition, a conceptual framework of the cross-case analysis is presented on the following page (Figure 4.6) and is explained in detail in the passages following it.

Figure 4.6
A Consolidated Framework of Themes that Contributed to a Common Culture of Inclusion



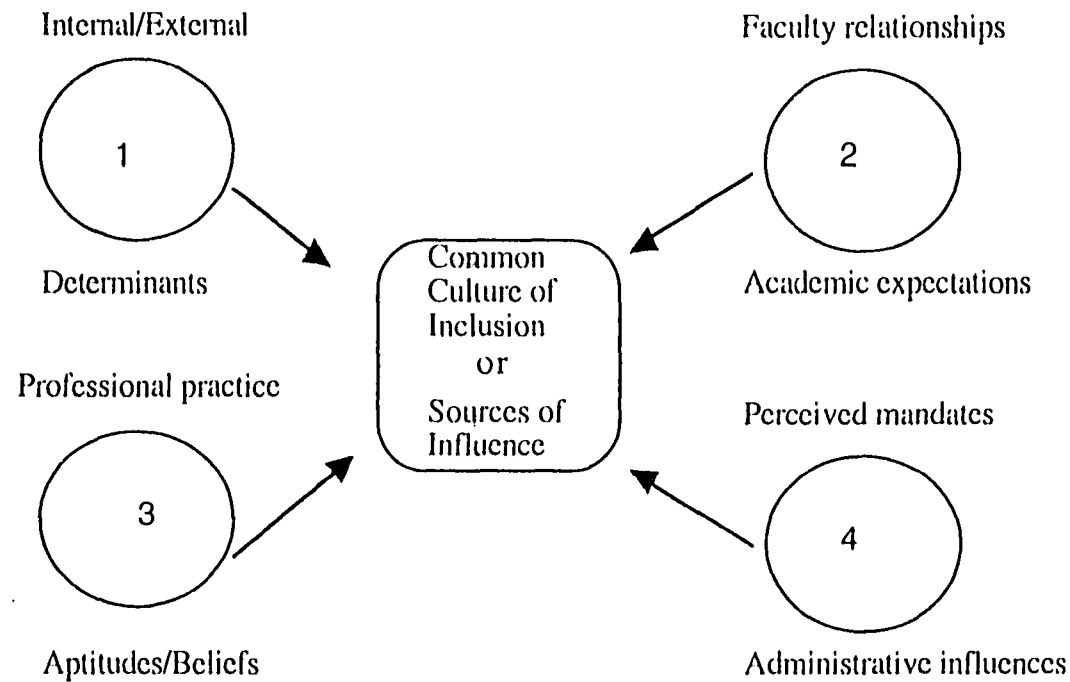
A conceptual framework of the four theme-related arenas (represented by four randomly numbered circles) around which one theme from each case study coalesced. Each arena contributed in equal part to the construction of a common culture of inclusion (represented by the center square).

The above conceptual framework of consolidated emergent themes demonstrates the coalescing of the overarching themes around common arenas and the creation of a collective conceptual framework that represents all three schools, called a 'common' culture of inclusion. One contribution from each school makes up the focus of each arena, demonstrating the similarities as well as the differences in the schools' separate but still common experience with the change to inclusion. This framework will continue to be used in Chapter Five as the researcher moves back and forth from single case studies to a more generic perspective on school change.

The cross-case analysis, then, has explored the relationships among the overarching themes that emerged in all three schools' conceptual frameworks, highlighting the similarities and differences among the three case studies. From this analysis, the researcher reconstructed the individual frameworks (figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3) into a consolidated framework (figure 4.6) which illustrated the coalescing of three overarching themes (one from each case study) around four researcher-identified common arenas. This coalescing might be interpreted as the emergence of a basic theme, defined here as 'the underpinning qualities of all emergent themes within a common arena'. Four basic themes, then, appear to be shared by all schools and have been interpreted, therefore as the four major contributions of the schools' culture to a "common culture of inclusion".

A graphic which illustrates the basic themes the researcher found to be common among all three cultures of inclusion is presented as a "basic themes model" on the next page (figure 4.7). By continuing to use the same shapes (circles for themes identified and a square for the sum of their contributions to the schools' cultures), the model's infrastructure remains the same, as illustrated above (figure 4.6), yet now demonstrates the 'collective' contributions of all three case studies to the implementation of a common culture of inclusion. Taken one step further, through the researcher's interpretation, then, the 'common culture of inclusion' becomes the realm of possible 'sources of influence' in order for the model to better communicate its relevance to issues of power and control addressed in the study's original overarching questions .

Figure 4.7
Basic Themes that Contributed to the Sources of Influence in School Cultures Undergoing
a Common Change to Inclusion



Similarities among the three case studies' emergent themes are distilled into four basic themes (represented by the four randomly numbered circles). The common culture of inclusion, to which they all contribute, also reflects the sources of influence (represented by the center square) that are impacted by the four basic themes.

This basic themes model above (figure 4.7) serves two purposes: a) to clarify the transition from consolidation of overarching themes to broader, basic themes that portray core similarities among the three schools' cultures of inclusion and b) to emphasize the transition from a common 'culture of inclusion' to 'sources of influence'. Forces at work both internal and external to individual school contexts are often reflected in the issues of power and control among faculty and between faculty and administration (Blase, 1990, Blase & Anderson, 1995; Lieberman, 1988; McNeil, 1985, 1986; Macpherson, 1988; Raywid, 1990; Short & Greer, 1997; and Wasley, 1991). The contribution of each of the basic themes to the realm of possible sources of influence that predisposed these school cultures to issues of power and control will be discussed in the next chapter.

In summary, then, Chapter Four has included the case studies of three schools involved with the implementation of inclusion. They demonstrated the widely variant manner in which inclusion is both perceived and the methods used by differing school cultures to fit it into their existing building-level practices. Some schools were more successful than others in building and maintaining the critical functions necessary to inclusion's appropriate implementation. In Chapter Five, the four arenas (depicted in figure 4.7), around which themes from each case study coalesced, will be further analyzed and interpreted in relation to the initial organizing questions of this research study and previously reviewed theory and research.

Chapter Five - "Illuminating the Phenomenon":

Final analysis, interpretations, and relevance to theory and research

"Good theory serves many purposes at many levels, but at least it should convey a sense of richness and complexity of the phenomenon it seeks to illuminate."

Lawrence A. Cremin (1976, p.x)

Overview

This chapter includes the researcher's final interpretations of this multi-site case study and its relationship to the literature base in Chapter Two. These will be presented in two parts: Part I-- a rationale for and explanation of the construction of the study's final conceptual model and points of summary that incorporate all aspects of the researcher's interpretation, and Part II-- a discussion of issues of power and control derived from this study, in light of the interpretations and in relation to the study's organizing questions (see Chapters One and Three). The discussion in this chapter has been framed around the four cultural arenas that emerged in the researcher's final conceptual model (see figure 5.2). Therefore, the literature reviewed in Chapter Two has been included in the researcher's analysis of the model's relevance to current theory and research that comprises Chapter Five.

Part I: Construction of the Study's Conceptual Model

Introduction

In building a conceptual model that reflected a clear interpretation of the cross-case analysis of the three schools, issues that focused on both similarities and differences were considered, as discussed in Chapter Four. Four basic themes-- internal/external

determinants, faculty relationships/academic expectations, professional practice/attitudes and beliefs, and perceived mandates/administrative influences-- were derived, which reflected the overarching themes from each case study's conceptual framework. The researcher's final interpretations of the cross-case analysis were then constructed based on the literature reviewed in Chapter One and Two.

In order to explain the formulation of those interpretations, this section of the chapter will: a) describe the theoretical background for the study's final conceptual model; b) present the model and an explanation of its interactive properties; and c) outline the points of summary related to specific issues of power and control found among the three schools undergoing a school change initiative of inclusion.

Theoretical Background for the Study's Final Conceptual Model

Wright Mills' (1970) discussion on the use of the "sociological imagination" (introduced in Chapter One) emphasized observations of social structures, rendering one "capable of tracing such linkages among a great variety of milieu" (p.7). His perspective on the values of using the sociological imagination in research provided a theoretical base by which to apply the studies' final analysis, along with substantial support from the sociological literature (Bauman, 1990; Bredemeier & Stephenson, 1962; Boughey, 1978; McNall, 1977; Parsons, 1951; Restivo, 1991; Schneider, 1975; Smelser, 1994; and Valentine, 1970). As previously reported in Chapter One, Wright Mills (1970) believed that the relationship between "troubles, a private matter, defined as values threatened by an individual that are felt to be threatened" and "issues, a public matter, defined as some value commonly held by the public that is being threatened" might inspire a "spirited debate over the values dearly held" among members of a common culture, at times leading to a "crisis in institutional arrangements" (Wright Mills, 1970, p.6). The application of Wright Mills (1970) "troubles" and "issues", as applied to this study, might explain the issues of power and control among teachers and between teachers and administration during the school change initiative of inclusion. The use of the 'sociological imagination', then, by the researcher, resulted in the distillation of the the schools' individual overarching themes into

basic themes that appeared to encompass elements of each of the school's individual themes and made the new basic themes model (figure 4.7) more applicable to all three of the school cultures. This telescoping of private troubles of individual schools to more commonly understood public issues of the study in general allows the reader to view the conclusions of this study through a broader lens. The study's final conceptual model (figure 5.2), then, has been designed to promote an even greater understanding of the troubles of individual school cultures (overarching themes) in terms of larger public issues (cultural arenas). The following discussion explains the construction of the researcher's final conceptual model in more detail.

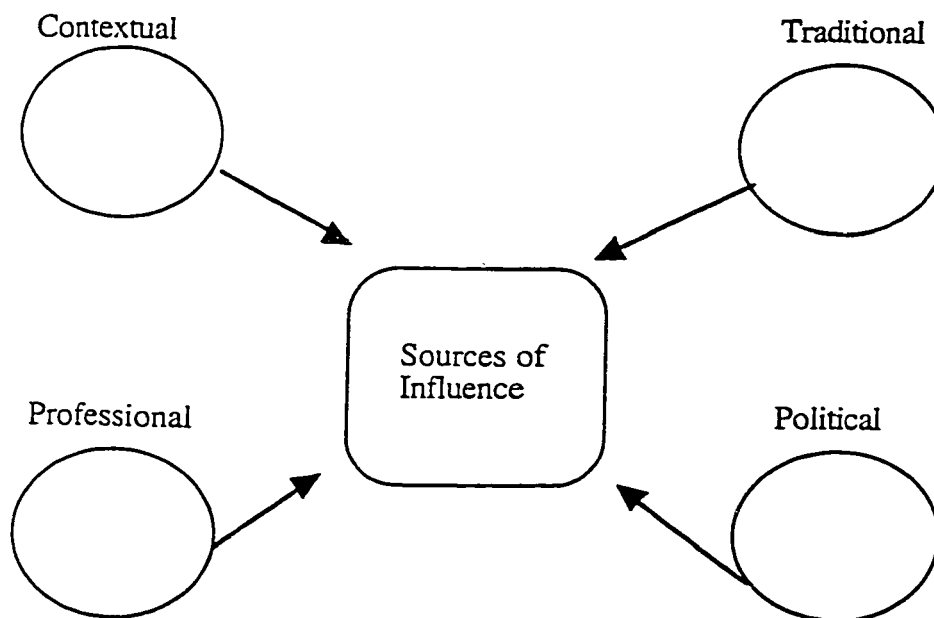
Realizing that "the most fruitful distinctions with which...[the sociological imagination] works is between personal troubles of the milieu and the public issues of social structure" (Wright Mills, 1970, p.5), four broad, yet interrelated, 'cultural arenas'-- "public issues" that reflected the "private troubles" of the individual school cultures-- were identified from the basic themes. These arenas also represented common sources of influence from the study as a whole (While this short discussion has been constructed to explain the application of Wright Mills' (1970) "sociological imagination" to the study's model construction, the cultural arenas have been described in more detail in Part II). These four cultural arenas, then, represent both the internal struggles of each school and the broader influences inherent in issues of power and control in the larger educational field. For, although each school was influenced in its practice of inclusion by these same four arenas, each also clearly exhibited its own idiosyncratic "ways of doing things" (Sarason, 1971). These idiosyncrasies were clear indications that the cultural arenas were also highly influential in determining each school's responses.

The next model presented in figure 5.1, is an adaption of the consolidated conceptual framework (figure 4.6) that summarized the cross-case analysis in Chapter Four and is reflected in the basic themes model (figure 4.7). The relationship of the schools' overarching themes to the four 'cultural arenas' demonstrates the transition of the collective culture of inclusion to 'sources of influence' that impact issues of power and control regarding inclusion's implementation. The cultural arenas identified and the relevant basic

themes they encapsulated are as follows: contextual (internal/external determinants), traditional (faculty relationships/academic expectations), professional (professional practice/aptitudes & beliefs), and political (federal/state laws/constraints/administrative involvement). The researcher has chosen these four descriptors and labeled them 'cultural arenas' for several reasons: a) they reflect the essence of the themes and subthemes that emerged from each of the case studies, b) they represent the researcher's interpretation of the issues of power and control that emerged from the voices of the participants, and c) they are highly correlated with the literature from the field. Clearly, influences of context, politics, teacher professionalism, and traditions inherent within individual school cultures, were viewed as major determinants in the studies of high schools (as reviewed in Chapter Two).

Therefore, the model below (figure 5.1) reflects the common cultural arenas that impact and contribute to the sources of influence in all three schools, when considered as one common culture of inclusion. It is a precursor to the study's final conceptual model, presented in figure 5.2 on p.237.

Figure 5.1
Four Cultural Arenas that Contributed to Sources of Influence in School Cultures Undergoing a Common Change to Inclusion



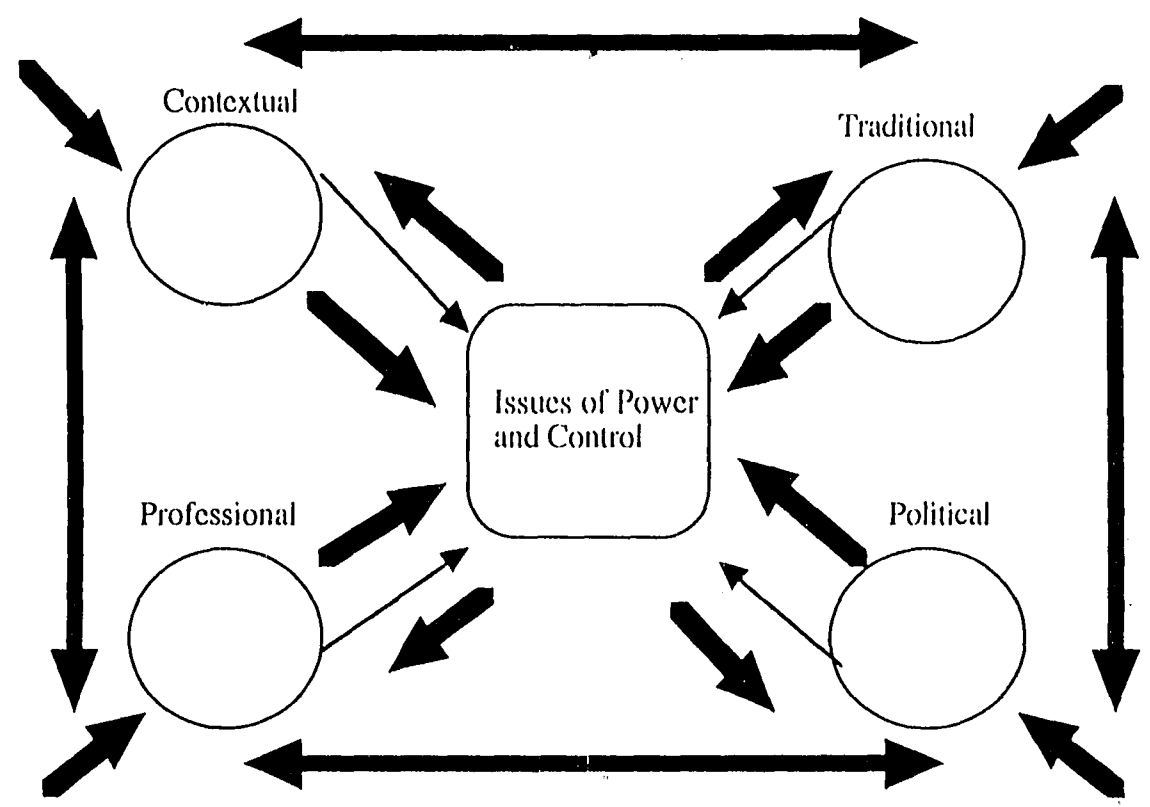
A model of the cultural arenas (represented by the four circles) that contribute to and impact sources of influence (represented by the center square) in three high schools undergoing a common school-change initiative of inclusion.

An Interactive Model of Issues of Power and Control

The researcher's final conceptualization (figure 5.2) of the study illustrates the interactive components as well as the embedded processes originally reflected in the individual case studies' conceptual frameworks. It has been designed to communicate interaction among the four arenas, while they, in turn, interact with the central issue of power and control. The dynamic quality of the model also represents the relationship of personal (individual) school troubles to broader issues in society, or as the researcher has presented them, cultural arenas. This ability to "swing back and forth from the 'big picture' to the isolated event" enabled the interpretation and explanation of this study in terms of "the broader imagery" (Anderson, p.1). For as Anderson (1970) reminded us, "...To specify the actual interrelations of social components and to develop rigorous theoretical analysis based on empirical research are the chief tasks of the sociologist" (p.1) and to that might be added-- the educational researcher, as well.

The construction of the four cultural arenas as interdependent and capable of high to low levels of performance, is critical to understanding the impact of 'sources of influence' on 'issues of power and control' in relation to school culture and change. These arenas are related to one another in reciprocal fashion. That is, each responds to one another's level of performance, creating an interactive, interdependent relationship of the arenas and the critical functions that either were or were not at work to facilitate the inclusion process (represented by the multiple bolded arrows). These considerations are depicted, then, within a dynamic model of cultural arenas that simultaneously interact with one another, depending upon levels of performance among all its parts. This dependence upon all arenas and critical functions operating simultaneously created the resultant variations of issues of power and control on each school's implementation of inclusion. The final enhanced model, seen in Figure 5.2, then, reflects the integration of these researcher's interpretations.

Figure 5.2
The Relationship of Four Cultural Arenas and Related Critical Functions to Issues of Power and Control in School Cultures Undergoing a Common Change to Inclusion



The researcher's final conceptual model of the interaction and interdependence of the simultaneous contributions of four cultural arenas (represented by the circles) on issues of power and control (represented by the center square) in school cultures undergoing a similar change initiative of inclusion. The bolded arrows represent the critical functions within school cultures that act to facilitate the interaction and interdependence of the cultural arenas: communication, leadership, decision-making, and rules, roles, and responsibilities.

Points of Summary Regarding Issues of Power & Control in the Implementation of
Inclusion Among Three Large High Schools in Two States

Drawing on this study's stories of inclusion and literature from the field of both business and school culture (a Campo, 1993; Anderson, 1985; Blase, 1990; Bolman & Deal, 1989; Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Fullan & Eastabrooke, 1973; Griffiths, 1969; Katz, 1955; Hord & Huling-Austin, 1986; Owens, 1995; Rossman, Corbet, & Firestone, 1988; Sarason, 1971, 1996; Snyder & Snyder, 1996; Westheimer, 1998), the researcher found important critical functions, communication; leadership styles; rules, roles and responsibilities; and decision-making, that took place according to a set of predetermined cultural characteristics idiosyncratic to each school. These functions, though present in some form among all schools, produced varied responses within the four cultural arenas. Those interactions and processes involved within each of the functions were examined by the researcher and are presented below, as points of summary that reflect common areas of interaction with issues of power and control. These were also constructed by researcher's after the completion of and in relation to the cross-case analysis. They attempt to capture commonalities, amidst differing responses by individual schools, specifically about inclusion and more generally, about the dynamics of school culture in the midst of change. They are as follows:

1. Some issues of power and control were related directly to inclusion's implementation:
 - a) There was common endorsement of inclusion as a philosophy.
 - b) Inclusion carries with it a power of its own, as a perceived federal/state mandate (different from other grass-roots initiatives that live or die according to widespread faculty ownership).
 - c) The perception of inclusion as a mandate, when coupled with previously unresolved issues of power and control between/among building level and/or central office administration and faculty, created "confusion" about leadership.
 - d) Issues of power and control between general and special education teachers were reflected in the manner and style in which the school chose to implement inclusion.
2. Particular cultural characteristics of each school impacted the rules, roles, and

responsibilities of both general and special education teachers during the initial and on-going implementation of inclusion:

a) Previously established communication patterns among faculty greatly impacted the development and subsequent implementation of rules, roles, and responsibilities for both general and special education teachers.

b) The perceived competency of special education teachers, either within their own instructional domain (i.e., resource and self-contained classrooms) or within those of general education (i.e., co-teaching and collaborative consultation) had a profound effect on the willingness of general education teachers to become and/or remain a part of the school's particular methods of support for inclusion.

c) General education teachers were described by both themselves and others as "territorial" about their own classrooms, creating barriers for co-teaching arrangements.

3. Programmatic leadership and decision-making were interdependent constructs:

a) The construct of leadership was relegated to building-level administration by the faculty, regardless of the level of empowerment within the faculty (even the most empowered faculty had little cognizance of its own internal leadership).

b) Instances of collaborative decision-making occurred mainly between teacher-pairs and focused solely on individual-classroom, instructional planning and practice.

c) While seniority/longevity among faculty members provided a type of cultural leadership (i.e., serving on important policy-related committees such as faculty senate and curriculum committees, etc.), it also at times limited and constrained attempts at change like inclusion, often leaving the "old guard" relatively unscathed.

d) The person (s) responsible for programmatic decisions regarding the change initiative was also viewed as its 'leader', regardless of their position in relation to the faculty.

e) Building-level mid-managers' (i.e., assistant principals, counselors, special education department chairs) roles made it possible for them to provide substantial support to inclusion programs through scheduling, staffing, and grading procedures.

f) The role the building-level principals was one that held potential for impacting the success or failure of changes like inclusion. Whether or not it did, depended on the manner

in which the principals utilized their powers of decision-making and communication among the faculty around on-going problem-solving.

4. Schools had 'cultural secrets', important information instrumental to accessing the school's unique capabilities for either facilitating or hindering a change process such as inclusion:

- a) Those persons on staff that were privy to these 'secrets' wielded power among the faculty that enabled them to influence the success of the change initiative.
- b) These 'secret holders' chose to either use their power or not, depending on their own personal view of the viability and/or value of the proposed change.
- c) These 'cultural secrets' were privy to only a few faculty members and often covertly communicated.

Part II: School Culture, Change, and Issues of Power and Control

Overview

Vast amounts of literature on issues related to school culture and change have supported not only the pursuit of empirical research on the subject, but also invited researchers, practitioners, and theorists to make sense of the interactions and processes found to be influential in school change (Barth, 1990; Bremer, 1977; Carlson, 1965; Cohen, 1995; Conley & Cooper, 1991; Elmore, 1990; Fullan, 1991, 1993, 1996; Gibboney, 1994; Goertz, 1996; Goodlad, 1975, 1984, 1990; Goodman, 1995; Hall, 1988; Herriott & Gross, 1979; Hopkins et al., 1994; Keedy, 1991; Keith, 1994; Lieberman, 1988, 1995; Miles, 1967; Morrish, 1976; Sarason, 1971, 1996; Sizer, 1984, 1996). This cacophony of voices, joined by theorists, researchers, and practitioners who have also explored issues of power and control in educational settings (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Freidman, 1991; Goodlad, 1997; Lutz & Iannaccone, 1969; McNeil, 1986; Milstein, 1980; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Ogawa & Bossert, 1995; Poole, 1995; Sarason, 1997; Short & Greer, 1996; Simpson & Jackson, 1997; Stager & Fullan, 1992; Wasley, 1991; Weick, 1976; Wirt & Kirst, 1997) has produced a comprehensive knowledge base, which has been carefully considered by researcher in constructing the

final conceptual model for this multi-site case study. The body of literature cited in this chapter and the next is not only consistent in highlighting theism issues as those that emerged from this study, but also is helpful in prescribing policy and practice that may better support inclusion's implementation.

Through a focus on the individual cultures of three high schools attempting to undergo and/or sustain the particular change initiative of inclusion, the researcher has, in effect, added her own voice to this chorus. Acknowledging that all four cultural arenas within the researchers's constructed model hold an array of information regarding internal and external forces exerted upon schools particular to their settings, each will be discussed in relation to a thorough review of the relevant literature and framed through the perspective of Wright Mill's (1970) sociological imagination.

In the following subsections, the researcher's discussion of the interpretations of this study and its application to the current knowledge base in school culture, change, and inclusion, have been organized to reflect : a) issues of power and control within individual case studies, b) relevance to current and seminal literature in the field, and c) applicability to the points of summary and to the conceptual model as a whole. The overall organization of the narrative also reflects Anderson's (1970) ideas about the value of "swing[ing] back and forth between individual events and 'big picture'", resulting in personal troubles and public issues being examined simultaneously.

Issues/Troubles Within the Contextual Arena

The multi-modal methodology implemented in this study revealed that there were critical determinants of how schools respond to change that were exerted through the contextual arena. These determinants were found to be both internal and external to the school setting and included the following themes which emerged from the case studies: a) population/structural influences, b) management style/implementation methodology, and c) accessibility/acceptance of diversity by both faculty and students; presented in this order to better demonstrate their inter-relatedness within the cultural arena. This section will focus on those aspects of the above internal and external contextual determinants which

influenced issues of power and control during inclusion's implementation and how they might be related to the literature base.

Population/structural influences

Population influences highlighted in this study can be divided into two categories: changes in the demographic make-up of the school's student body and a general increase in the number and severity of students with disabilities in the population. Changes in the demographics of student populations being served in all three schools was one of the influences on issues of power and control in this study. Reported by the majority of teacher participants and substantiated in student data reports (see Appendices B, C, and D) received from each school, increases in student diversity was a clear external influence impacting the decision to implement inclusion. Documents from the schools revealed that a once all-Caucasian school, Buena Vista (BV), was now over 75% Hispanic, while a former college-prep school, Mountainview (M), in an affluent neighborhood was now almost 40% minority (the overwhelming majority of which were African-American). The one school, Old Dominion (OD), whose student demographics had held constant (48% Caucasian, 52% African-American), reported instead, an over all increase in student diversity, due to an influx of students from "wealthier homes" since the school's relocation. These significant changes in student population were felt by many participants to be something over which they were powerless. Yet, all were cognizant of the choices they continued to have in adapting their roles as educators to the changing demographics.

School reform literature has begun to address the impact of schools' changing demographics (Gay, 1993; Townsend et al., 1996) and represents on a larger scale a part of the national conversation on the need for major school restructuring (Banks, 1993; Cawelti, 1997; Gordon, 1985; Lipsky & Gartner, 1996; Slee, 1996). The response to issues of educating students with a wide degree of cultural diversity within the same school setting includes practices compatible with the appropriate inclusion of student's with disabilities (The Council for Exceptional Children, 1993; Bursuck & Friend, 1996; Garnett, 1996; Manning, 1996; Villa & Thousand, 1995). These have been supported, also, through change initiatives that focus on students-at-risk and urban schools

(Comer, 1988; Herman & Stringfield, 1997). Many of the major proponents of inclusive practices (Cook & Friend, 1993; Pugach & Johnson, 1995; Villa et al., 1993; Wang et al., 1992) consider the changing demographics evident nation-wide as a reason for making all schools inclusion-friendly. General education teacher-practices deemed supportive of inclusion, such as collaborative relationships for both students and teachers (Cook & Friend, 1993; Farmer & Farmer, 1996; Givner & Haager, 1995; Pugach & Johnson, 1995; Tindall, 1996; Stainback, 1996), increased parental involvement (Comer, 1988; Keith, 1994; Slee, 1996), curriculum adaptation (Falvey et al., 1995; Gaskins & Elliot, 1991; Pugach & Warger, 1993), and diverse teaching methods (Fuchs et al., 1996; Goor & Schwenn, 1993; Kronberg, 1995; Olson et al., 1997) have been supported by many inclusion proponents as the panacea for the influx of diversity that is happening most dramatically in the nation's urban/suburban communities.

The increase in the number of students with disabilities and the severity of disabilities being presented in this study also had a real impact on issues related to inclusion's implementation at all three schools. Most teachers reported the increase in numbers of special education students as a reason for implementing inclusion in the first place. Therefore, the increasingly large numbers of students with disabilities only made the relevance of inclusive practices for students with diverse learning needs more apparent. This increase in numbers, however, was reportedly not a factor in the power struggles among staff once the implementation of inclusion had begun. Rather, the increasing special education population actually contributed to the notion that inclusion held a power of its own, as there was little the faculty felt it could do about the existence of students with disabilities in its schools.

The literature on student diversity and the identification of students with disabilities has documented the alarming increase in special education populations, especially the mild/moderate categories of learning and emotional disabilities, over the past ten years (Cannon et al., 1992; Goor, 1995; Podemski et al., 1995; Pugach & Seidl, 1996; Reuda, 1989). Educators concerned about disproportionate numbers of culturally and linguistically diverse students being identified as eligible for special education programs

have proposed new guidelines for the referral and identification process (NASDSE, 1995, 1996). These recommendations emphasized an increase in awareness of issues of diversity in assessments and interventions that also impact the system as a whole, calling for more inclusive practices in general education classes to reduce referral rates for special education assessment. Much of the literature that has proposed classroom instruction compatible with the practices of inclusion has suggested that inclusive practices can also reduce the numbers of students referred for special education assessment (Bursuck & Friend, 1996; Sage, 1996; Skrtic, 1995; Villa et al., 1993; Wang et al., 1992). Although this was not an issue explored within the scope of this study, it was reported that the numbers of students being served under special education were much smaller in the school most comfortable with inclusive practices as the norm (M). That same school did, however, also have the smallest percentage of students at-risk (defined by the districts' policy for criteria for free and reduced lunch). However, literature that supports the use of inclusive practices to address the needs of all at-risk students was evidently ignored by the faculties who had large numbers of students with disabilities among a population of mostly at risk students (OD & BV). These schools actually demonstrated less use of inclusive practices and increased issues of power and control. Instead of encouraging one another to use practices consistent with those recommended for inclusion, these schools with large at-risk populations, continued to struggle over the "extra work" required of teachers, ignoring what appeared to this researcher to be a contradiction in their resistance, as changes would purportedly have been beneficial to the majority of the student body.

Structural influences related to building-level organization also contributed to issues of power and control around inclusion's implementation. The physical building and space that made-up each school's setting was found to be one of two structural influences on the establishment of power structures among all schools. The relocation of one school (OD) from its former fifty year-old home in a neighborhood in which it was centered, to a massive empty field had an enormous effect on the continued development of its school culture. Once a close knit faculty, accustomed to eating lunch together in the same small lounge, located in easy reach of the school's central office, this faculty was now dispersed

among five separate wings of a new school building. The two other schools (M & BV), located within the same state, were as different in physical structure as they were in their implementation of inclusion. For, while one (M) had walls of windows, and freshly waxed floors, and white-washed hallways and demonstrated a clear, rational plan for organization of classrooms, library, accessible offices, and a central teacher's gathering place at the front of the school; the other (BV) was windowless, dark and cavernous, with hallways that led to a never-ending labyrinth of mazes, segregating one classroom from another and teacher work areas from common areas of congregation. One of the participants of this school (BV) went so far as to speculate on the apparent intentions of the former principal when he attributed the obvious lack of concern or deliberate intent in separating the faculty from one another, to his "fear that he might be talked about behind his back". This faculty's awareness that the structural configuration of a school setting can profoundly impact opportunities for teachers to gather, exchange ideas, and possibly gain strength as a coalition (at times against the administration (BV & OD) and at times toward increased professional practice (M), was illustrative of the issues of power and control that can either lurk in dark hallways or be illuminated through windows of opportunity.

Although no evidence was found in the literature of a school's physical structure being related to school culture and change, there is a cohort of educational researchers and theorists who have focused on issues related to increasing opportunities for teachers to gather together in small groups, in an effort to establish professional communities (Eckmier & Bunyan, 1997; Fullan, 1991, 1993, 1995; Lieberman, 1988; Siskin & Little, 1995; Sergiovanni, 1997; Starratt, 1996). The impact of creating opportunities for teachers to talk, plan, problem-solve and at times, attempt to intervene in the decision-making process that could provide needed support for inclusion programs of quality and integrity has been documented in the literature on teacher professionalism (Barth, 1990; Carlgren, 1996; Goodlad, 1984; Joyce & Calhoun, 1995; Miller, 1990). This literature also included issues related to the culture of teacher workplaces (Carlson, 1992; Conley & Cooper, 1991; Johnson, Snyder, Anderson, & Johnson, 1997; NASSP, 1996; Rosenholtz, 1989; Rousmaniere, 1987; Snyder & Snyder, 1996), teacher leadership and empowerment (Blase

& Blase, 1994; Glatthorn, 1992; Guskey & Peterson, 1996; Sergiovanni, 1996; Short & Greer, 1997; Wasley, 1991), and the more general category of teacher role definition (Ferguson & Ralph, 1996; Heck & Williams, 1984; Hargreaves, 1994; Johnson, 1990; Lieberman, 1988, 1990; Lortie, 1975). This literature discussed issues relevant to the day to day roles and responsibilities of teachers as they strive for a professional presence in their schools. The literature's reflection of a need for further exploration of such issues is consistent with this study, also. For those schools (OD & BV) that failed to offer its faculty members opportunities for coalition by either the construction of physical barriers or lack of consideration for physical enhancers, were hampered in their development of purposeful relationships that supported inclusion's appropriate implementation. They (OD & BV) also struggled more and with less resolution about issues of power and control among teachers and between teachers and administrators, than did the school (M) who maximized its use of the building's physical structures to support opportunities for the enhancement of an already strong professional culture.

Administrative organization was the other aspect of structural influences that was revealed in this study. Each school's internal professional relationships were organized under a common hierarchical framework: head principal, a set of assistant principals, department chairpersons, auxiliary support personnel such as counselors and specialists, and classroom teachers. In all three schools, general education classroom teachers were also organized in a common fashion— within departments related to the content of subject areas which they taught. Surprisingly, none of the schools reported that inclusion was a subject discussed within either their faculty or departmental meetings. All schools also had a head council, comprised of department chairpersons and at least one of the senior building-level administrators. However, inclusion was reportedly not discussed there, either, except at one school (BV), where the special education chairperson's proposal for changes was vehemently opposed by the rest of the council.

So, where was inclusion's 'seat' of power and control, if not within the prescribed organizational structures? In general, methods of implementing inclusion were discussed, debated, and decided upon between individual general and special education classroom

teachers, co-teaching pairs, among the special education staff, and/or between a building-level administrator and the special education department leader. This phenomenon can be best explained through a discussion of the organization of the special education department within each building. For understanding the rationale that underpinned these diverse arrangements was a critical key in unlocking issues of power and control regarding inclusion's implementation that emerged, upon initial observation, appeared randomly diverse, among the individual school cultures. Because no two schools were alike in their organization of special education departments and therefore neither was their manner of implementing inclusion, they also differed in the struggles they encountered and the degree of success they experienced in resolving them.

Special education teachers were not included within any of the schools' subject-area departments. Confined, instead, to a department of their own, regardless of the subject matter or type of classroom in which they taught, special education teachers were for all intents and purposes 'professional outliers' in two of the schools' cultures (OD & BV). Only at one school (M), did special education teachers act as full-fledged members of the faculty, serving on school-wide committees and participating in leadership positions during faculty meetings. In fact, half of the special education staff at this school (M) had performed administrative duties around inclusion's implementation-- planning program guidelines, establishing procedures, and writing manuals to be used in inclusion's school-wide implementation.

The other two schools' (OD & BV) special education faculty appeared marginalized-- staying mostly on the fringes of the school's professional culture. One school's (OD) participants even found it difficult to recall exactly who their current special education department chairperson was, while their former special education department chairperson reported that she had been admitted only two years ago to the senior council, on which all other department heads sat, although she had been department chair for five years prior. At the third school (BV), the special education department chairperson was known all too well, but in a less than positive light and certainly not privy to the inner circle of professional leadership that the other department chairs enjoyed among the faculty as a

whole. In fact, it was clear that this department chairperson was held in poor regard by several of her own department, adding to the complexity of issues of power and control in that school. The relationships forged among special educators and general educators will be discussed in greater detail under the traditional arena, but there were clear indications those relationships (in part due to teachers' assigned position and in part due to acquired positions as professionals) acted as a contributor to the structural influences that made up the contextual arena.

Issues of power and control were clearly evident within all three of the varied special education department organizational frameworks. At one school (M), however, these issues appeared to be contained within the special education department itself, as two totally separate inclusion programs were running simultaneously. There was no designated department chairperson at this school. Instead, the three separate disability programs-- mild/moderate learning disabilities, emotional disabilities, and severe/profound disabilities-- operated in almost total isolation from one another. The "local" program, which included mild/moderate disabilities, vied for control over student placements with the newer "central" program, which served severe/profound disabilities. The central program, now the "voice" of the district office within the school, was gaining status among the faculty as a whole. Concerns over "ruining our reputation" for "inclusion with integrity" were voiced by the school's local program's staff-- two of them, inclusion's originators. Yet policy and procedures were also being set and managed daily by a highly respected "central" program teacher and building level inclusion facilitator, a designation from central office. Reluctant to admit to this embarrassing struggle, both parties had respectfully agreed to disagree and worked hard to keep up appearances. Most teachers were unaware of this 'posturing' that was going on quietly among the special education faculty.

Meanwhile, the situations at the other two schools were yielding different results, but for similar reasons. At one of them (BV), both special and general education faculty had become increasingly distraught about the changes in the inclusion program that were being brought on by the new special education department chairperson. While at the other (OD), a small group of teachers, led uniquely by an assistant principal with little to no input

from its figure-head special education department chairperson or special education faculty, was still attempting to implement the school's inclusion program. In this study, then, it appeared that professional relationships forged between general and special educators and among special educators themselves, were greatly influenced by the school's unique administrative and departmental organizational structures (as suggested in all of the points of summary).

No studies were found that explored issues of power and control between special education and general education teachers in relation to organizational barriers within individual school cultures attempting to implement inclusion. While there have been some authors who have proposed the dismantling of special education as a separate entity within the field of education (Sage & Burrello, 1994; Skrtic, 1995; Wang et al., 1992), there have been many more who have addressed the issues of organizational structures in inclusive schools through the roles teachers play. Much like this study, the literature has highlighted the general practice of collaboration (Cook & Friend, 1993; Givner & Haager, 1995; Korinek et al., 1994; Pugach & Johnson, 1995; Tindall, 1996) and two particular forms of it-- "co-teaching" (Bauwens & Hourcade, 1991; Cook & Friend, 1995; Friend et al., 1993; Reinhiller, 1996; Walther-Thomas et al., 1996) and consultation (Chalfant & Pysh, 1989; Glatthorn, 1990; West & Idol, 1990). These were the two main methods used to implement inclusion in schools (Cannon et al., 1992; Council for Exceptional Children, 1993; Kronberg, 1995). Several research studies have reported encouraging results regarding the positive impact of collaboration and co-teaching on inclusive schools (Berres et al., 1996; Butler & Boscardin, 1997; Cannon et al., 1992), as well as the potential impact of school culture on change initiatives (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Davis et al., 1991; Snyder & Snyder 1996). These studies are consistent with this research in both their focus and their illumination of problems that arise as school cultures attempt to undergo a change initiative of inclusion.

In summary, the population and structure influences within individual school's cultures undergoing a change initiative were contributors to the contextual issues related to power and control. The literature was consistent with this study in at least two ways: a.)

changes in student demographics impacted need for diverse teaching practice and b.) a school's physical and administrative structures which pre-dated a change initiative were important determinants in the manner and to what degree the change was implemented

Management style/Implementation methods

Management style and implementation methodology were related, yet slightly different components, that occurred simultaneously within all three schools. While these intrinsically paired internal determinants were clearly idiosyncratic to individual school cultures, they also heavily impacted the faculty's attitude about inclusion and were inextricably linked to issues of power and control. At one of the schools (M), management style and its complementary implementation methodology actually made up inclusion's infrastructure. Each functioned, in direct response to the school's particular demands, allowing the power of decision-making and communication to be funneled through those individuals who were major players in inclusion's implementation (i.e., counselors, special education teachers, assistant principals). For example, this school used purposeful scheduling as an inclusion facilitation tool, placing students with disabilities into particular general education-teacher's classrooms. One of this school's 'cultural secrets', it was used quietly and utilized judiciously to promote collaborative problem-solving-- one of the mainstay's of this school's management style and implementation methodology. Because this school did not use co-teaching as a part of their inclusion program, the collaboration among multiple players (counselors, assistant principals, and general and special education teachers) as equal partners was a daily practice; in effect, over-riding an otherwise traditionally hierarchical organizational system.

At the other two schools (BV & OD) management style and implementation methodology, although still closely related, did not seem to actually support one another or inclusion's implementation. Both were often erratic, disorganized, and not clearly understood by the participating faculty, as teachers reported that rules, roles, and responsibilities changed as often as faculty involvement. This apparent disorganization contributed to much of the resistance at one school, yet was an integral part of a tacit agreement at the other. At one of the schools (BV), the person in charge, the special

education department chairperson, using a mandate-approach to enact new rules given out in the school's first faculty meeting of the year, attempted to use her position to exert influence over the more powerful faculty leaders. She found out very quickly that this style of management would not get things done at this large high school. The special education teachers were not cooperating, either. The assistant principal admitted that they were "doing the best we can with what we have", in regards to the special education teachers assigned to support inclusion. But by the end of the school year, general education teachers reported that very little special education teacher activity occurred in their classrooms, as the department chair had apparently given up on monitoring/enforcing the few classroom supports she had left in place. In the third school (OD) a management style and implementation methodology was used that contributed to issues of power and control. Here, the building's assistant principal "in charge of inclusion" appeared to have only a superficial involvement in the management and implementation issues, as she spent most of her time attending parent meetings and dealing with student discipline issues. Most evident was the lack of responsibility given to the building's special education teachers, especially the department's chairperson, resulting in a lack of teacher involvement in the power-based processes of decision-making, communication, and leadership. The assistant principal in charge of inclusion in this school was clearly in-charge. She attended all parent meetings for students with disabilities, solicited all co-teaching participants, scheduled all classes that were co-taught, and reported that she conducted all collective meetings of co-teaching partners.

Issues of power and control regarding inclusion's management and implementation at this school (OD) had been carefully calibrated to limit that of the faculty and maximize that of administrators, similar to the manner in which these issues were handled in other school affairs. Some of the problems with inclusion were found in inconsistent practice and inadequate supports for general education co-teachers, who often found themselves assigned a special education teacher who was uncomfortable with teaching some of high school content areas. Several teachers reported that many of the large numbers of special education teachers at this school were less than helpful to general education teachers in

maintaining open lines of communication, completing documentation required for tracking student performance, and collaborating around teaching and learning strategies vital to the success of included students. Yet, more than one participant suggested that the assistant principal maintained a careful and protective watch over the special education department, in apparent defense of its members who were personal friends of hers. One interpretation might be that this “very interesting” situation created a form of patronizing that, upon second look, may have actually promoted the interests (or rather, disinterest) of the patronized special education faculty, by allowing them to be free of controls on one level because they gave up power on another.

The purported impact of management style/implementation methodology on school change initiatives has been explored in the literature on organizational dynamics and development (Bolman & Deal, 1989; Bushnell, 1971; Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Owens, 1970) for many years. Often addressed through intricate taxonomies of hierarchical organizational development (Carlson, 1965; Griffiths, 1969), some educational theorists have depended heavily upon purported qualities of a particular set of management styles and implementation methods to produce real and lasting change without full consideration of the organization’s culture (Fullan, 1993; Gibboney, 1994; Greenfield, 1988, Goodlad, 1997; Sarason, 1996). Although, clearly an internal determinant in this study, management styles and implementation methodologies served as only one aspect of the contextual arena. The contribution of management style/ implementation methodology to issues of power and control may be more dependent on whether or not contextual differences were considered. In this study, however, the important contribution to the contextual arena was not dependent on merely the presence of a particular management style/implementation methodology or whatever grand theory it represented, but rather, on whether or not its design met the needs of the existing school culture.

Some studies that have investigated aspects of management style/implementation methodology related to issues of power and control have cautioned educators about the effects of: a) constraining principal-behaviors on teachers (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Freidman, 1991; Southworth, 1993), b) the impact of subversive teacher cultures on

principals change initiatives (Muncey & McQuillan, 1997; Keedy, 1991; Rousmaniere, 1997), and c) the effects of teacher leadership on individual school cultures (Short & Greer, 1997; Joyce, Showers, & Izumizaki, 1996; Wasley, 1991). This study was consistent with such literature, especially in its emphasis on efforts to create/adjust management styles and implementation methodologies that are more intrinsic and therefore more effective in supporting the individual school change process through multiple contextual channels.

Accessibility/Acceptance of Diversity

Accessibility to the full spectrum of the school's cultural components and faculty/student acceptance of diversity were important contributions to inclusion's apparent innate power. Like population influences, these emerged as common qualities among both faculty and students that predisposed the depth and breadth of inclusion's implementation. These components appeared to exist concurrently, much like the reciprocal relationship between the other paired components of the cultural arena. Two schools (OD & M) emphasized the high levels of support that the student body brought to the practice of inclusion, due to its wide-spread acceptance of diversity and in all three schools, teachers reported a cultural belief in inclusion as a philosophy (There were in every school, however, teachers who reported that some of the faculty questioned the viability of inclusion for students who did not easily fit into existing general education classroom practice. This small contingent was consistently reported as 10-15% of the faculty in each school). The degree of accessibility by special education teachers and students with disabilities to opportunities in extra- and intra-curricular involvement lent additional information to issues of power and control at work within each school's setting. This was demonstrated by the availability of and encouragement for groups of both teachers and students to participate equally in school activities.

At one school (M), accessibility to general activities for students and teachers and a program designed specifically to enhance accessibility-- peer helpers-- were instrumental in distributing power and control equally among students and faculty as a whole. For example, the special education inclusion facilitator and teacher in the class for students with

severe and profound disabilities was also the faculty sponsor for an extra-curricular club of exceptionally gifted students. This integration of talents among faculty and students was instrumental in neutralizing the effects of “high academic and athletic expectations” that could have easily exerted a power of its own, detrimental to inclusion, by further separating and dividing special education teachers and students from the mainstream. However, accessibility worked in tandem with acceptance of diversity, one supporting the other in ways that made one possible because the other existed. Teachers emphasized repeatedly the unconditional acceptance that the general education students exhibited towards students with even the most severe disabilities. They reportedly talked with one another on the telephone and shared social and academic experiences routinely. The mutual impact of accessibility and acceptance of diversity on issues of power and control resulted in inclusion being accepted as an integral part of this school’s cultural philosophy and integrated into its daily practice.

Two other schools (BV & OD), attested to a philosophy of students’ rights to inclusion in general education classrooms, but in neither were there supports or opportunities in place to develop relationships needed to demonstrate such a belief. Accessibility to the school buildings themselves had only recently (in the past five to seven years) been granted to students with more severe disabilities and there was little evidence that these students were participating in the full array of intra- and extra-curricular activities. The teachers were also more isolated from the rest of the faculty, in both their contributions to school-wide committees and their exposure to the academic agenda as a whole. This lack of meaningful involvement opened up serious questions for the researcher regarding the possibility of unspoken agendas around issues of power and control upon which special education faculty and administration might have had tacit agreement. Although acceptance of diversity at the academic level, was heralded by participants at both schools (BV & OD), little evidence of its practice was apparent. The same was true of the involvement of special education students and teachers in extra-curricular activities, although there were two coaches on the special education staff at one of the schools (BV). Again, the faculty of both schools professed a philosophy of inclusion, but demonstrated little application of such a

stance. The apparent discrepancy, then, between a professed acceptance of diversity and actual degrees of accessibility, was highlighted in these two schools by parallel issues of power and control. It might be interpreted then, that while professing acceptance, all participants had tacitly agreed to resist the practical integration through a careful constriction of accessibility. This might also explain the quick escalation of the faculty at one school (BV) when the arrival of a new special education department chairperson, sent possibly to upset the balance of power and control, in effect, did just that.

The literature on accessibility and acceptance of diversity has historically paralleled one another in the past few years (Those involved in writing and research on one of the subjects, have usually included the other). These are also the same authors that are interested in meeting the needs of diverse populations of students (Comer, 1980, 1988; Herman & Stringfield, 1997; Gay, 1993; Goor & Schwenn, 1993; Kozol, 1991; Pugach & Seidl, 1996; Townsend et al., 1996; Manning, 1996), in designing and maintaining inclusive schools (Berres et al., 1996; Villa & Thousand, 1995; Villa et al., 1993; Wang et al., 1992), and in deconstructing education from a dual to a unified system (Case, 1992; Gerber, 1996; Lipsky & Gartner, 1996; Sage, 1996; Skrtic, 1995). This body of literature was consistent with this study in its emphasis on the importance of demonstrating an inclusive philosophy and the array of measures that can be taken to insure appropriate supports that are needed. The literature has also emphasized the critical role all stakeholders play in creating accessibility and acceptance, including all teachers, administrators, parents and students (Berres et al., 1996; Comer, 1988, 1990; Janney et al., 1995; Farmer & Farmer, 1996; Peck et al., 1989; Pugach & Seidl, 1996; Sage & Burrello, 1994; Scheurich & Imber, 1991; Snell & Janney, 1993). To attempt to isolate the endeavor within the special education community, defeats both the intent and the deed. This study has also shown that 'lip-service', without hands-on commitment, did not promote inclusion's implementation as a viable school change initiative, as issues of power and control related to the cultural arena, often kept that from happening.

The emergence of issues inherent within the contextual arena of a school setting that contributed to issues of power and control added depth and breadth to this study. A

growing cadre of parents, teachers, students, and under represented groups— minorities as well as students with disabilities, along with educators and critical theorists, have focused recently on what they consider to be the failure of educational structures to include a large portion of our nation's population in the conversation on school reform (Christensen & Rizvi, 1996; Comer, 1980; Danielson, 1996; Fuhrman, 1993; Garmston & Wellman, 1995; Gay, 1993). They have called for transformational reforms overall— changes in teacher practice, professional relationships, and school governance; not merely a rearranging of traditional school practices or as Bickman (1998), stated, “tinkering around the edges”. Literature on inclusive practices and the creation of inclusive schools has addressed some of the issues that have been raised by these school reconstructionists, such as teacher leadership and empowerment, and accessibility and acceptance of students with diverse needs, that also emerged in this study. Issues of power and control among individual school cultures, within this multi-site case study, supported the premise of such literature, by highlighting physical/structural determinants that required changes in teachers roles, structural supports, and instructional practice.

Several studies have also viewed the problem of change in relation to the context in which it was happening. Even using a systemic approach to change— one that directs management and implementation issues from the top-down and emphasizes the coordinated effort of the state and district level system as a whole— there were clear indications that individual schools can have very idiosyncratic issues that may impede change even in the face of a carefully constructed systems approach (Goertz, 1996). The implications of this researcher's study were not supportive of the use of a systems approach that excluded considerations of the realities of the contextual arena. Implications of this study were, however, consistent with the literature on systematic approaches, that, after careful examination of issues of power and control within individual school cultures, might better interact with those contextual realities that have historically impeded real and lasting school change (Bredemeir & Stephenson, 1962; Cohen, 1995; Darling-Hammond, 1995; Davis, 1989; Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Little, 1994).

Issues/Troubles Within the Traditional Arena

Within each school, a particular set of values and expectations based on those values emerged during the study. These values were representative of the schools' traditional characteristics that were handed down from year to year. The two most common traditional values identified among all three schools were related to faculty relationships and academic expectations. These two areas of emphasis were demonstrated within each school's story, but in different ways, creating the arena's critical components. These components were: a) expectations/student success, b) lines of communication/ support system, and c) evolving faculty culture and are presented in this section in that order to facilitate discussion of their inter-relatedness and relevance to issues of power and control within the traditional arena.

Expectations/Student success

Expectations/student success was another of those interdependent components that demonstrated reciprocal qualities. While no interpretation of this study rendered the components causal of one another, there was a relationship identified through the participants' stories that paired these two aspects of the traditional arena. Expectations were described by participants as either high or low within individual schools. Aspects of their relative existence were identified in teachers' stories regarding expectations for themselves, their colleagues, administrators, and students. Levels of student success (i.e., demonstrations of achievement such as test scores, grades, and individual and school-wide accomplishments) were closely related to these expectancies. The contributions of this two-sided component of the traditional arena to issues of power and control was dependent on the degree to which they were demonstrated, as a part of each school's traditional value system.

For example, at one school (M), the faculty (whose average years of experience at that school, alone, was 25) continued a tradition of high expectations of all participants in the educational community— themselves, other teachers, administrators, janitors, paraprofessionals, and most of all, students. The school's culture clearly treasured its expectations of excellence, as it displayed examples of it in trophy cases that lined the

hallways and in stories told about individual accomplishments of past and present students. Even in the face of increasing diversity, this school's faculty was determined to keep both educators and students performing at what they repeatedly referred to as "high" levels. They shared common expectations that each would perform to the best of their abilities for themselves, one another, and all students, regardless of apparent limitations. For example, students with mild/moderate disabilities were also routinely expected to take and pass the state graduation exam, with only a handful being exempt through a process of careful collaboration of the student's consulting teacher, parent, and administrator. This set of closely protected cultural values contributed to inclusion's innate power, as it gave credence to the school's commitment to the individual academic performances of its entire student body, making it clear that no one's talent was too small to be considered. At the same time, student success was celebrated in all areas of the school's (M) culture-- athletics, dance, leadership, the arts, and academics. All racial and ethnic groups shared the spotlight, sending a clear and consistent message that student success would be recognized and rewarded, yet, also be expected from everyone, regardless of their class placement (The relative impact of which was demonstrated in the number of all students who successfully passed the state test as indicated in the school report card in Appendix B). These values about individual abilities and responsibilities supported the values of high expectations/ student success which acted as a kind of power that controlled many of the decisions and helped to create relationships that positively impacted inclusion's implementation at this school.

At another school (BV), however, talk that centered around expectations and student success was less inspiring. Teachers reported concerns about the performance levels of their administrators, colleagues, and students. Allegations regarding the special education faculty's lack of participation in inclusion's plan of supports, even questions about their whereabouts during class time, translated into low expectations of colleagues' professional performance. Teacher-talk about building-level administrators was characterized by comments of "uninvolved", "not helpful", and "too caught up with day to day management issues to expect much of anyone". The expectations for student

performance were also low. Of particular concern to teachers, were the many exemptions on the state-mandated graduation test that the special education department chairperson had approved for students with disabilities. Although many of them were full participants in the school's general education curriculum, these students had been relieved of the state-required test, yet still allowed to graduate (this southwestern state offers it students with disabilities two different criteria for graduation. One is by passing the state exam and the other is by completion of the student's Individual Educational Program). General education teachers expressed concern about the implications of this lessening of expectations for both students and faculty. By allowing them to graduate without a show of mastery in any content area, other than the specific objectives on their IEP, teachers were concerned that low expectations put students with disabilities doubly at-risk. This school's (BV) history also included a period of probation, imposed by the state's educational agency three years ago, for failing to maintain the state's criteria for passing rate on the graduation exam. Overall, stories indicated that there was a culture of low expectancies and low student success at this school. Although there was a cadre of teachers who said they valued individual student-success, their numbers were not great enough or their actions strong enough to exert power over a tradition of apathy. Consequently, over the years, low expectancies and student success contributed to a cultural sense of *powerlessness*, demonstrated through both teacher and student performance that severely disabled inclusion's appropriate implementation.

The third school's (OD) story of inclusion was full of contradictions about expectations and student success, reflecting a parallel conflict over issues of power and control. This was demonstrated through the following examples of discrepancy among teacher/administrative expectations. Teachers expressed concern for student success due to an inadequately supported inclusion program, while at the same time relating their principals' high expectations for professional and student performance. Similarly, although the school's mission statement had been drastically changed from a focus on community, self-esteem, and student outcomes related to contributions as American citizens; to increasing students' test scores, passing rates, attendance, participation in Advanced

Placement classes, and other achievement related issues; there were not reciprocal teacher expectations of increased professional practice that would be needed for increased student success. For, although teachers' stories focused on issues pertaining to teaching and learning within a diverse student body, they also related concern about the level of support the inclusion program received from the special education faculty as a whole. Clearly, then, this school (OD) suffered, much like the other (BV), from concerns about special education teacher performance, resulting in a general low level of expectancy from general education teachers about the help they would receive in a co-taught classroom. Participants mentioned more than once that they knew of several general education teachers, themselves included, who chose to teach special education students "on their own" rather than take a chance on the purported help of a special education co-teacher, who might actually "make matters worse", as one teacher stated. These low teacher expectancies of one another contributed significantly to issues of power and control around inclusion's implementation. There were also administrative agendas that complicated issues related to this school's (OD) purported contradictions in expectancies and student success. The introduction of a new superintendent and building-level principal committed to increasing the school's standing among the district was reportedly due to historically low levels of student test scores. This was easily interpreted by participants as an increase in administrative expectancy for student success. However, no parallel teacher expectancies of increased performance by either their peers or the students was evident in their stories. Rather, low levels of expectancy for student success within inclusion's implementation (due to their continued concerns of special education teacher competency) were the norm. At this school (OD), then, it might be interpreted that attempts to exert administrative power over issues of student success did not produce comparable teacher expectancies because the real control was held among a faculty whose low expectations for one another led to low expectations for student success. This conflict between teacher-administrative expectancies of both faculty performance and student success offered insights into how context-specific issues of power and control and a school's unique traditions can impact inclusion's implementation.

The literature regarding the relationship among teacher expectancies and student success (Furtwengler, 1986; Kritek, 1986; Ravitch & Viteritti, 1997; Rosenholtz, 1989; Sizer, 1984) is consistent with this study's portrayal of the dynamics that went on among these two variables in all three of the schools. Teachers' expectations of students' academic success appeared to greatly impact one another. As expectations for students increased (M), so did student success. However, the lack of expectations for student success (BV & OD) appeared to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Interpretations of this study also indicated that teacher expectations exhibited a greater control over student success than administrative agendas. The school (OD) with the discrepancy between administration and teacher expectancies was an interesting example of how these new agendas can affect a school's traditional values, creating conflict that impacts the viability of an existing change initiative. Studies of attempts to integrate changes which reflected administrative agendas that interfered with existing traditions of a school's culture, have also reported conflict that often stopped the change initiative from full implementation (Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Tittle, 1995; McNeil, 1985).

Lines of communication/Support systems

Another of the cultural characteristics within the traditional arena, related to issues of power and control, was lines of communication/support systems. These two components also were inextricably related to one another. The manner in which teachers interacted with their building-level colleagues appeared to be influenced by aspects that also supported the change initiative. Therefore, lines of communication and support systems of individual school cultures either facilitated or hindered inclusion's successful implementation.

At two of the schools (BV & OD), faculty reported communication to be lacking in its degree of both existence and influence on inclusion's implementation. Lines of communication were limited in their scope and fairly damaged in both schools. Each school had similar reasons for this deficit: a) irregular performance of the special education staff and/or b) confusing/ changing messages being transmitted. Likewise, in these schools, a support system (i.e., counselors, administrators, documentation forms, regular planning meetings, referrals, and case management) that would have been helpful to teachers and

administrators in following-up on the myriad of needs was either nonexistent or not operating to a sufficient degree to enable inclusion's appropriate implementation. A long tradition of unmet needs in one school (BV), contributed to the faculty's sense of powerlessness in keeping lines of communication open. Due to reportedly "weak and uninvolved" building-level leadership, strong internal supports were not present, even in the face of growing demands. Information was traveling only one way, from the special education department chairperson to the faculty as a whole, as critical changes to the one only remaining support system, the content mastery room, were being made. Without opportunities for discussion about the changes, this faculty became strongly opposed, yet their voices were largely ignored for several months. Finally, after the apparent "stonewalling" of the change (i.e., not sending students to the content mastery room for help and failing large numbers of students with disabilities in general classrooms who were left unsupported) the general education faculty was successful in getting the attention of the assistant principal and the change was modified. But teachers continued to complain that even the reinstatement of the content mastery room as a support could not make up for the continued need for instruction assistance in the classroom. That was being provided mainly by the teacher assistant, as the co-teaching arrangements initially planned had been scraped due to "lack of preparation and interest" on the part of the special education teachers. The other purported supports included a special education liaison for every academic department (reports by departmental members denied their existence) and case managers for each student (some of whom were never heard from). At the other school (OD), the apparent control of what little lines of communication (i.e., unreliable personal communication between teachers and erratic documentation of students' needs and instructional strategies to meet them) and support systems (i.e., assigned case managers that often did not keep track of their students' performance in general education and continued use of the resource room, which was criticized repeatedly as a "holding tank" for students with disabilities) there were regarding inclusion's program was left in the hands of one administrator, the assistant principal in charge of the inclusion program. She attempted to juggle these responsibilities alone, along with IEP meetings and discipline issues for

students with disabilities. Without more diffusion of responsibility, the inclusion program there (OD) suffered extensively from lack of consistent and helpful information between special and general education teachers, as well as the lack of planned meetings that were reportedly needed for larger groups of co-teachers to discuss issues they faced as collaborative partners.

At the third school (M), however, the presence of carefully designed lines of communication and support systems lent power and a diffusion of control that impacted inclusion's implementation positively. The publication of the school's procedures for grading, placement, and problem-solving, carefully outlined the rules, roles, and responsibilities of the wide array of participants (i.e., administrators, counselors, and general and special education teachers) in the inclusion process. There was very little confusion over processes and procedures, relationships and rituals, due to the clear and concise manner each cultural participant shared their needs (using frequent written and spoken forms of communication) and collaboratively problem-solved their solutions (again, in one to one networking). This school had spent many years "working things out" among the faculty as a whole, focusing on individual teacher interactions, continual, respectful, and productive, as its main line of communication. Its participants had been careful to emphasize the impact of years of personal relationship that contributed to this open and honest system. This school's support system was directly related to these lines of communication and in fact, was characterized by them (this school did not use co-teaching in its implementation of inclusion, rather collaborative consultation among special and general educators). Special education teachers had access to collaborative scheduling with assistant principals and counselors. General education teachers had immediate hands-on support from special education teachers during any period of the day (the resource rooms for each grade level were used on a come and go basis for students with disabilities experiencing difficulties in the general education classroom). Students with disabilities had the advantages of all of these, plus the individual hands-on support of their general education peers (as peer helpers) in academic classes. The most striking characteristic of this school's lines of communication and systems of support was that they were at times

indistinguishable from one another. The effect of this embedded lateral communication across the depth and breadth of the school, from faculty to students, were clearly seen in its strong independent culture. In relation to those components that were truly defined by its traditions, issues of power and control lay dormant. Instead, there was a general sense of empowerment by all participants, confident that they were meeting the needs of this diverse student body in ways in which they were all extremely proud.

While contributing to the culture of inclusion in each school, lines of communication and support systems also contributed to issues of power and control among faculty and between faculty and administration. In one school (M), traditions developed over years of inclusion's implementation had easily fit into the needed lines of communication and support systems rendered a powerful inclusion program, using a diffusion of control to balance the power through all facets of the schools operations. In two schools (BV & OD) both teacher and administrative and teacher roles were underutilized, resulting in broken lines of communication and lack of supports for inclusion. Likewise, there was no system for quality control, as responsibility for follow-through was not adopted by either teachers or administration. This lacking in one of the most integral components of the conceptual model--lines of communication/support systems-- left these school cultures (BV & OD) feeling powerless and left inclusion lacking in influence school-wide. Real power and control fell, by default, then, to those members of the faculty who held "cultural secrets". These faculty members also became 'power hoarders'; using power at their own discretion (sometimes not at all, if they did not support the change or sometimes, unfairly, if they favored certain individuals or groups). Such relationships among a school's culture may prove destructive rather than constructive, resulting in the change initiatives' total demise.

Literature reviewed in Chapter Two, on the effects of communication as systems-support are consistent with this study. In particular, business and industry has made significant contributions to the field of intra-system supports. Some have outlined the impact of internal communication (Blase & Anderson, 1995; Davis et al., 1991; Peters & Waterman, 1982), while others have focused on the pitfalls and advantages of

communication in hierarchical (Johnson & Evans, 1997; Katz, 1995) and loosely coupled systems (Eisenberg, 1995; Weick, 1976). This study was also consistent with the sociological literature which emphasized the importance of communication within individual cultures and the dynamics around patterns of its emergence (Anderson, 1970; Bauman, 1990; Bredemeier & Stephenson, 1962; Parsons, 1951). Certainly, this study also demonstrated the uniqueness of communication patterns within school cultures, referred to in the literature focused on the cultural roots of education (Dahlke, 1958; Kimball, 1974; Westby-Gibson, 1965). Several studies of teaching as a profession referred to not only the traditions of educational communities (Lortie, 1975; Hargreaves, 1994), but also the long history of teacher behavior that has shaped teachers communication with one another and with their administrative superiors (Altenbaugh, 1992; Rousmaniere, 1997). This study was consistent with the issues that were explored in the literature. The literature cited here was also helpful in the researcher's interpretations of the dynamics that were going on among school cultures.

Evolving Faculty Culture

The final component of the traditional arena is the phenomenon of evolving faculty culture. Each of the schools exhibited some degree of evolution within their faculty cultures, as changes in teachers and administrators made an impact on the functionality of the faculty as a whole. But while one participant characterized her faculty culture (M) as "a well-oiled machine", the two other faculty cultures (OD & BV) were not as fortunate. The degree to which this evolution was impacting issues of power and control within each school was also reflected in inclusion's implementation.

The faculty culture that had experienced the most upheaval (OD) was also the faculty culture that reported the greatest discrepancy in views on many of the issues related to inclusion's implementation. While some of that discrepancy might be attributed to a desire on part of some of the faculty to present their school in as positive a light as possible, there were also real, tangible issues that were affecting the evolution of this faculty culture, separating them from one another. Those issues were: a) the relocation and redesign of the school building, subsequently removing much of the faculty's physical

access to building-level administration, b) a drastic increase in teachers new to this school's faculty due to increased enrollment (as a result of relocation and redrawing of school boundary lines), c) an increase in racial diversity among the growing faculty, and d) the many resignations of staff from the old school in the past few years, leaving the school to integrate old faculty with new. This list of multiple transitions also reflects a kind of domino effect, beginning with the first transition listed and each one following having been caused in large part by the one before it, with the possible exception of c) and d).

As one of the "old guard" there (OD) stated, "this faculty hasn't quite jelled, yet". In fact, it was doubtful if this faculty culture had even begun to "jell" or had much of a chance to ever "jell". Traditions established at the "old school" haunted the faculty's older members as they reflected on their previous tight control over not only their students but depending on the administrative leadership, their principal as well. But with the addition of a new head principal along with the multiple other changes, this once powerful faculty culture had very quickly lost its control over much of what was now expected of it. With changes in mission statements, accountability measures, and most important personal and professional relationships, this faculty culture had difficulty carrying on its long-held traditions. Perhaps had only one of the important transitions from the list occurred, then this faculty culture could have stayed relatively intact. But that was not the case and faculty members who were not willing to continue the "jelling" process had left, creating an even larger hole in the once tightly woven faculty culture. The impact of this changing of "the guard" on inclusion' implementation was evident. Very few of the older faculty were continuing their participation as co-teachers (although half of the participants in this study were former teachers of the year, with some of them carrying more that 20 years experience at this school). Their stories of inclusion had numerous mentions of the changes in faculty membership, "ways we do things around here" and the lacking in faculty leadership that had evolved either from discouragement with the new principal's habit of "committeeing everything to death" or from the resignations of former teacher-leaders. Several of the newer teachers reported their surprise at learning upon their arrival there, that they were virtually "on their own" in planning and carrying out curriculum, as well as meeting the

needs of a diverse and often “needy” student body. Participants reported the lack of teachers supporting one another and departmental meetings that never even addressed such issues. More than one teacher indicated that they were in the process of requesting a transfer, while one reported that the move to this school had been “the best decision for her students [with severe disabilities] but the worst decision for her professionally”.

The negative impact of this evolving faculty culture on inclusion’s implementation, although unable to measure directly, was demonstrated in several ways: a.) teachers were not available to one another for collaborative planning and support, b.) general education co-teachers had little venues for expressing their dissatisfaction with the lack of academic support for students with disabilities in their classrooms, and c.) teachers never knew who they could trust or go to about their concerns about the program in general. Of particular concern to several of the general education teachers was the culture of incompetence that one participant reported had existed for years, within the special education faculty. With the lack of connection with one another and the suspicions referred to previously of special education receiving special protection, the needed helps for the inclusion program did not appear to be forth coming, rendering inclusion fairly powerless at this school. This was in part due to a faculty culture that having experienced crippling changes, did not have the strength to repair itself.

Issues of evolving faculty culture were also evident in the other two schools (BV & M), but with less dramatic results. Not that inclusion was being met with success at one of them (BV) but that the evolutions in that faculty had actually been taking place continually over the years, rendering it fairly disconnected for several years. The most interesting contributions of this historically weak faculty culture (BV) was the manner in which it mirrored issues of power and control that impacted the community which it served, especially in its response to the power structures outside of itself. Left with an ineffectual principal, that it was rumored the central office had been trying to “get rid of” for several years, this faculty was self-critical, full of internal strife, and lacking in strategies or practices that might have promoted more inclusion-friendly practices. Although there were some members not content to remain in such a powerless position, a lot of the faculty had

reportedly become professionally complacent and apathetic, or like 20-25% a year, had left. The impact of this faculty's culture on inclusion's implementation was predictable. While students suffered from questionable practices (exemptions from the state test) or the lack of involved teachers, the inclusion program was shriveling, losing any of the power the new department chairperson had attempted to infuse it with. Surprisingly, however, as a result of the dissension that had gone on over the past year about inclusive practices, the general education faculty had drawn strength from their resistance and emerged more cohesive and self-determined. So, although inclusion's implementation remained in question, the faculty culture appeared to have benefited by coalescing around a common enemy.

The third school (M) was also experiencing growing pains within its faculty's culture-- the addition in past years of the special education "central" programs and the subsequent "full" inclusion implementation-- but with responses that were characteristic of their traditional heritage. This faculty culture had several unique qualities that had protected it from intrusion and therefore decay that the other two faculty cultures had unfortunately experienced. These qualities were: a) a majority of the faculty had longevity at this school that exceeded 20 years, b) a long tradition of excellence within an affluent economic community that translated into both social and political power, and c) self-accountability for their work, seen more commonly among the legal and medical professions. These qualities translated into little changes in the faculty culture itself and the establishment of strong personal relationships that freely allowed professional interaction. Collaboration was practiced as a part of the faculty's cultural values and professional competency was the norm in all areas of inclusion's implementation. In truth, this faculty culture tolerated very little deviance from the long established norm of excellence, among its membership. Internal pressures drove less competent teachers out and solidified the ones that stayed. While there were some stories of new teachers leaving after the first week on the job, there were other stories of teachers who claimed to have stayed there for 35 years, because they wouldn't teach anywhere else (indicating that the standards of other faculty cultures weren't high enough). The impact of this strong, consistent faculty culture on inclusion's implementation was dramatic. Problem-solving around the day to day issues these schools

faced-- changing schedules, overcrowded classes, parent complaints, modifications and accommodations, and grading-- were easy hurdles for a faculty long on traditions that supported professional relationships and practice. Inclusion flourished in this atmosphere-- a lesson for faculty cultures that have questioned the decision to implement inclusion within an educational atmosphere of ever-increasing national and state demands for accountability. With inclusion's implementation, power and control were dispersed equally among general and education faculty, leaving neither group feeling they had to "bear the brunt" of responsibility and practice. Although this culture could easily be interpreted as an example of an empowered faculty, only one or two of the participants characterized it in such a manner, indicating clearly that it is not what one calls it, but how one does it, that matters.

Previous research studies that have chronicled the evolution of faculty cultures have also included rich descriptions of their inner workings (Poole, 1997; Harris, 1995; Keedy, 1992; Muncey & McQuillan, 1997; Snyder & Snyder, 1996; Southworth, 1993; Westheimer, 1998), including their influence on a particular school change initiative (Pace, 1991; Goertz, 1996). This study was also consistent with those studies which explored the impact of new voices (Johnson & Pajares, 1996) and new cultural norms during change initiatives (a Campo, 1993; Guiton et. al., 1995; Stager & Fullan, 1992) on faculty cultures. Several historical studies of the evolution of the concept of faculty culture in the field of education (Attenbaugh, 1992; Lortie, 1975; Rousmaniere, 1997) also supported the basic premise on which these stories of evolving faculty culture have been based. They outlined the impact of changing social and economic values related to faculty membership on teacher's political roles and the relative influence on faculty cultures in general.

Summary

The themes that emerged within the traditional arena held a vast amount of rich, dense information about the impact of faculty relationships and academic expectations on school cultures. Included in this arena were the school's underpinning values which, in turn, distinguish one school from another. Literature that emphasized the influence of these traditional components of change initiatives included research studies on teacher

expectations, communication and support, and changes in faculty cultures as a means to attaining real and lasting change. One point of consensus in these studies was the consideration of the traditions that make-up school cultures and their very powerful impact on the success or failure of school change initiatives. The literature base also supports this researcher's contention that there is still a need for further investigation into the idiosyncrasies of cultural traditions and ways in which they might be impacted toward further growth.

Issues/Troubles Within the Professional Arena

The consideration of influences within the professional arena on issues of power and control was reflected in this study through two basic themes that emerged—professional practice and aptitudes and beliefs. These were focal points within the schools' collective voice that emphasized the roles that teachers played as professionals within each school's culture. They are explored in this section through a careful examination of how the following components of this arena were demonstrated within individual school settings: a) teacher practice/ mutual respect and support, b) teacher aptitudes/skills, and c) teacher duties/ responsibilities. Because of the high degree of integration demonstrated among these three components and their inter relatedness, they will be discussed together, framed within the individual school cultures. The application of these three components among the schools will also be related to the study's conceptual model, application to the points of summary, and relevance to previous theory and research, and summarized at the end.

Teacher practice, mutual respect, and peer support were cultural characteristics closely related to the aptitudes and beliefs that determined duties and responsibilities of the participants in the inclusion program at each school. The diversity in inclusion's implementation methodology among the three schools was demonstrated through the multiple variations in the application of these closely related professional components. Schools demonstrated large variances in the degree to which these components existed and were related to one another. This intricate combination was more tightly woven and therefore more inclusion-friendly in some schools than in others. Commonalities existed among all three schools as to the degree to which the professional arena components

existed and were related to one another. Using such a 'measuring stick' for the professional arena, highlighted additional contributions to issues of power and control in school's implementing inclusion.

For example, at one school (M), teacher practice that supported inclusion was uniquely designed to fit into the already existing "high" professional profile of this once college-bound school's culture. General education teachers were considered by their peers to be "experts" in their own classroom. Their keen knowledge of the subject area and reliable skills in teaching students with diverse abilities were not only a major asset to the school's inclusion's program, but a mutually-held belief about practice among the school's cultural participants. As the special education teacher who instigated inclusion stated, "I knew better than to suggest that we [the special education staff] would go into their classrooms. We would not have been welcome". Therefore teacher practice at this school evolved from a quiet, but firm understanding, that general education teachers were very capable of teaching their subject and inclusion would not change that fact. Teachers asked one another to help in modifications and accommodations and offered input into the decision-making process that determined those variables. This system of reciprocal professional expertise was the foundation for inclusive practices at this school. When teachers needed help from their peers, they received it. When procedures were unclear, they were clarified.

Lines of communication were always open and professionals were constantly accessible to one another. Duties and responsibilities were agreed upon between the pair of general and special education teachers responsible for that student's educational plan. It was an arrangement based on particular teacher aptitudes, building on one another's strengths and supporting one another's weaknesses. It also fit pre-existing beliefs. Special education teachers respected and supported the role of the content specialist and the general education teacher respected and supported the expertise of the special educator in identifying and carrying through with the needed modifications and accommodations, or took care of that themselves, as many reported they had done. More importantly, having the same "high" professional profile as their general education peers, special educators took

their newly-defined teaching role seriously and vigorously, making sure there were no unmet needs due to inclusion's implementation. This combination of professional practice intentionally 'honed' to meet the aptitudes and beliefs of its cultural participants created a collegial community of teachers that empowered inclusion's unique manner of implementation. Within a culture of respect and support such as this one, issues of power and control very rarely became problematic. Professional practice built on aptitudes and beliefs that recognize expert status among all faculty members was able to eliminate the power struggles and maneuvering for control, characteristic of the other two schools, leaving inclusion an empowered practice.

This well-defined and closely monitored cycle of interdependence among professionals, practice, and attitudes and beliefs did not present in quite the same manner in the other two schools (OD & BV). Instead of teacher practice built on expert status of both special and general educators, these faculties seriously questioned one another's aptitude for the subject they were assigned to co-teach and the fulfillment of duties and responsibilities that had been given; both of which severely damaged mutual respect and peer support. At one (OD) of the schools, teacher practice was reportedly such a closely-held secret it was never shared among colleagues or in departmental meetings, leaving teachers to "figure it out on their own". This also left any kind of a peer support system, that could help teachers monitor one another and self-adjust, extremely lacking [*There were statements made that accused some of the "older" faculty of intentionally not helping the newer teachers*]. Many general education teachers' beliefs about their special education peers' aptitude for high school subjects kept them from volunteering as co-teachers or led directly to their withdrawing from the co-teaching partnership after a year or two. This lack of professional collegiality also led to a lack of mutual respect. A similar situation took place at the third school (BV), where the veteran art teacher shared her sense of the special education faculty as less respected among the faculty as a whole, while the assistant principal appeared to agree, apparently resigned to the poor caliber of special education teachers. In general, teachers felt isolated and unsupported by one another, many of them not knowing whether their peers were good teachers or not. In fact, at this school, other

than their criticism of the special education staff not carrying through on their duties and responsibilities to support included students in the general education classrooms, the subject of professional practice rarely came up.

The ramifications of these two types of professional cultures-- loosely connected (OD & BV) and tightly woven (M)-- attempting to implement similar but somewhat different versions of inclusion was enlightening. Peer perception of teachers' performance of their instructional roles (practice) exerted a profound influence on the formulation of mutual respect and peer support, resulting in a very interesting phenomenon-- teachers who needed it the most, received it the least. Also, differing issues of power and control among the faculties and between the faculties and administrations in other arenas did not impact commonalities in the professional arena between these two schools. Both emerged as poorly defined and loosely connected professional cultures with attitudes and beliefs that failed to contribute to mutual respect and peer support. This left inclusion's implementation in these schools (OD & B&V) powerless in the face of poor teacher practice and weak professional relationships. In fact, within the professional arena, both schools lost power professionally because they were too loosely connected to foster and sustain it.

The literature was replete with opinion pieces on the attributes of teacher professionalism and collegiality. Within these, there was emphasis on the other professional arena components related to teacher's work-- mutual respect (Carlgren, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994; Lieberman, 1988, 1990), peer support (Barth, 1990; Glatthorn, 1992; Guiton et al., 1995; Larson & LaFasto, 1989), and beliefs about practice that included the new realm of teacher responsibilities relevant to inclusive practices (Ferguson & Ralph, 1996; Givner & Haager, 1995; Herman & Stringfield, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1997; Wang et al., 1992). This study's interpretations of the contributions to the professional arena and their impact on the strength of professional cultures was consistent with much of the research cited here from the literature review. This study's finding that "highly" professional practice produced tightly woven cultures of teachers who depended on the collegiality of one another to problem-solve instructional dilemmas, widen their perspectives on pedagogy, and collectively explore their own purposes of education was

supported by much of the previous literature on school change (Goodlad, 1984, 1997; Hopkins et al., 1994; Lieberman, 1988, 1990; Lightfoot, 1983; Louis & Miles, 1990; Miller, 1990; Sizer, 1992, 1996).

This study's interpretations also supported previous research, related to the issues of power and control in teacher cultures undergoing a change initiative. In fact, much of the literature on teacher professionalism included the consideration of issues of power and control among a faculty culture. Several of these pointed out that professionalism and collegiality empower faculties (Barth, 1990; Blase & Blase, 1994; Short & Greer, 1997; Wasley, 1991). Some, like this study, also emphasized the importance of fit between pre-existing professional practice and the change initiative (a Campo, 1993; Blase, 1990; Cohen, 1995; Goertz, 1996; Hall, 1986; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Tittle, 1995), while other authors have proposed cultivating professional cultures in order to implement the change (Barth, 1990; Fullan, 1993; Maehr & Midgley, 1996; Rosenholtz, 1989; Stager & Fullan, 1992), and some suggested combining both strategies in implementing change (Bennis, 1989; Blase & Blase, 1990; Kritek, 1986; Lieberman, 1995; Lightfoot, 1983; Little, 1994; Marshall, 1995; McNeil, 1985). The interpretations of this study point out the advantages of using a combination of strategies, focusing on strengths of cultures that are traditionally "high" in professional practice as vehicles for change.

Issues/Troubles Within the Political Arena

The three high schools, although different in the ways in which they responded, were commonly influenced by policies and guidelines of the larger circle of influence outside of their settings, with which they all struggled; specifically, perceived mandates and administrative involvement. Identified as basic themes that reflected the core issues among three of the schools' major themes, they are discussed in this section as the political arena components of federal/ state laws/constraints and struggles between district-level and building-level staff. Each school's response to these components of the political arena and the subsequent contributions to issues of power and control around inclusion's implementation are discussed collectively in this section; in relation to one another, the

conceptual model as a whole, the points of summary, and the relevant literature base in Chapter Two.

[Point of information. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) passed in 1990 and updated in 1997 was written using language that added emphasis to the consideration of students with disabilities to be involved in the general education curriculum and to be included in age-appropriate settings, as much as possible with their non-disabled peers. This was not a change in the intent to provide an appropriate array of services to students with disabilities in public schools, regardless of severity of their disability or apparent impact of the educational environment. However, due to considerable pressure from both parent and other advocate groups, IDEA (1990) has been interpreted by many school district personnel to be a federal and state mandate for inclusion. It is, in fact, neither. IDEA has only mandated increased accessibility to general education classrooms as an option to be examined more closely by the parties responsible for a student's IEP, in consideration of the student's abilities and disabilities and in regards to its impact on the general education environment. There was however, a clear misunderstanding by all participants in this study that either the federal or state government laws had left them with no other option but to implement inclusion in their school setting. Therefore, one of this study's most significant interpretations was that inclusion holds a power of its own].

In addition to IDEA, there were state-level mandates that acted as constraints on inclusion's implementation in all three schools. One of these was the state-level accountability systems. [Point of information. In the southwestern state's schools, the state-accountability system which had been in effect for at least six years, set criteria for individual student performance levels on the state test for high school graduation. The mid-Atlantic state was in the process of implementing a similar mandate. There was, however, a significant 'loop-hole' in the southwestern state's application of their accountability system, that the mid-Atlantic state did not have. IEP committees in the southwestern state held full power to grant a high school diploma, even though the student had neither taken or passed the state graduation test].

Federal and state laws and constraints that applied to inclusion's implementation were important considerations to issues of power and control among all schools. For example, every school believed that they were under legal obligations to a) implement inclusion, b) respond to state-level mandates about issues of accountability around inclusion, and c) integrate new standardized tests into the practice of inclusion. These three considerations of federal/state laws and constraints framed the impact of one-half of this arena on individual schools.

The other half of this arena consisted of the district and building-level administrative influences that contributed to issues of power and control in the school's implementation of inclusion. These were characterized in some settings as district-level policy and recommended practice and in others as clear directives and agendas toward inclusion (or not) that involved the infiltration of personnel into the school setting. How each school responded to these real/perceived mandates and administrative influences was dependent on the presence and strengths of the components of the other three arenas (contextual, traditional, and professional).

At one of the schools (M), as in the other two, inclusion was now considered a legal mandate, but its origins were rooted in building-level initiation that was originally resisted (reportedly vigorously, for several years) by district-level special education administrators. In recent years however, the tables had turned in this district and the full inclusion of students with severe and profound disabilities were now being supported and engineered through the district-level administration, impacting issues of power and control at the building-level. However, the pre-existing strengths of this school's culture, as exhibited through the previously-identified traits within the other three arenas of the study's model, insulated this school from major repercussions that might have damaged inclusion's implementation in a weaker culture. The systematic manner in which decision-making, communication, and rules, roles and responsibilities were managed, resulted in on-going collaborative problem-solving that was in constant use to keep inclusion working smoothly. This school had also made an important commitment to issues of accountability and inclusion, by fully expecting students with mild to moderate disabilities to be as

accountable for graduation criteria set by the state as the general education student. Again, the strength and level of interaction among the components of the three other arenas, facilitated the viability of this practice. These interrelated issues were all intricately woven into the particular traits of this school's culture and maintained, surprisingly, not through building-level or district level administrative influences, but by the professional practices of its faculty culture, allowing leadership to be dispersed as equally as decision-making, communication, and rules, roles and responsibilities. Contributions to issues of power and control from the political arena at this school, then, were mostly internal, except for the previously-mentioned perception of inclusion as a federal/state mandate. Again, this school demonstrated the strengths of its inclusion program through the internal workings of its unique cultural traits.

At another school (BV), however, a similar struggle had ensued between building and district-level imperatives, but with much different results. Instead of crystallizing inclusion into a clear strong change initiative, this weaker faculty had purposefully impeded the clear directive of their "across the street" district special education administrator. They totally sabotaged the efforts of a very determined member of their own faculty, the new special education department chairperson, who had been assigned the role of the inclusion facilitator. The additional impact of weak building-level administrative influences of an unsupportive head principal and the onslaught of a rapidly changing student-culture, had contributed to the already damaged inclusion program (from the year before when inclusion floundered due to the lack of a special education department head). This left the school's old guard in-charge and committed to shutting-down any more attempts from the district office to make changes to this already over-burdened faculty. Issues of accountability under such a damaged inclusion program became particularly problematic. In an apparent effort to cut its losses, large numbers of included students had been exempt from the state graduation exam, leaving the inclusion program a sham. The dynamics that occurred within the political arena at this school resulted in power and control being used as a lever by district and building-level administrators both for and against inclusion's implementation. It could easily be interpreted that in the struggle over inclusion, these players forgot what it

was they were fighting for and ended up more in a struggle against one another than in a concerted effort to appropriately implement inclusion.

Still another scenario had taken place in the third school (OD) over the same time period. Changes that had taken place in the leadership of this school district, led to a complete overhaul of the school's once strong teacher-culture with a common purpose, devoted to the region's poorest students, and weakened the school's culture as a whole at Old Dominion. Beginning with a change in head principal, who was strategically placed at this school to "improve test scores", faculty had become so unhappy over the past four years that their inactivity appeared to be an effort to resist the district-wide change in focus. Overwhelmed with not only a relocation of the actual school building, but a re-culturing of the faculty that had doubled in size and diversity over the past eight years, teachers reported a feeling of 'disjointedness' overall. Added to these obvious stressors, a change in both district and building-level mission that emphasized test scores over teaching and statistics over staff development, there was little doubt as to the reasons for this school's attempt at inclusion implementation, having begun on a low note already, to be declining in both scope and impact.

Summary

The impact of issues of power and control during the implementation of inclusion from both outside the school's culture (i.e., federal/state laws and constraints) and within the schools' cultural arenas (i.e., district and building-level administrative influences) was directly related to the schools' individual cultural traits demonstrated through the other three arenas. This framed the political arena in a very unique light. For although educators often blame outside influences on the array of issues they must encounter, this study indicated that a school's contextual, traditional, and professional components were instrumental in impacting the school's response. And it is this response that defined issues of power and control around the change, not the change itself. While one of the schools, was able to design and maintain a rational response to inclusion, the other two responded with chaos, resistance, and apathy. In this study, then, political arena contributed to issues of power and control by basically either complicating the matter or staying out of the way, neither of

which resulted in similar responses by the schools. For, as each school's culture reacted to the influences of the political arena in a manner that pitted faculty culture against political influences, rarely did one of them come out the winner.

The interpretations of the study were consistent with the literature that focused on political issues within individual school cultures. Several studies chronicled unresolved issues between faculties and their building-level administration that made school change extremely problematic (Blase, 1990; Blase & Anderson, 1995; Freidman, 1991; Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Southworth, 1993). Important outside influences, similar to those highlighted in this study (i.e., district-level and community influences) that further complicated the change process were also represented in the literature (Cohen, 1995; Tittle, 1995). One of the issues explored specifically in this study was that of accountability and equity, critical components of school reform agendas that have arisen in the past 15 years. Several researchers have already confronted these issues with a common conclusion-- school are using various means to circumvent the controls over state-mandated testing and students with disabilities (Allegheny-Singer, 1996; Burke, 1996; Cooley, 1995; Danielson, 1996; LRP, 1998; McDonald, McLaughlin, & Morrison, 1997; NASBE, 1997; Thurlow, 1995; Warren & McLaughlin, 1996). Though several of these reports were initially disappointing, the reauthorization of IDEA (1997) and its renewed emphasis on equal opportunities for not only instruction in general education curriculum but also participation in accountability measures, may eventually heighten the impact of laws/constraints on individual school cultures. While some schools will find this increased emphasis challenging, others like Mountainview, will be able to integrate this apparent constraint into well planned and thoughtful practice that increases equitable opportunities for students with disabilities.

Conclusions about the Conceptual Model as a Cultural Indicator

An application of the study's model to each of the school cultures, as they attempted to implement inclusion, illustrates its interactive and interrelated properties as well as the degree of impact in all four arenas simultaneously. Individual and collective contributions of the arenas to issues of power and control and their relationship to the implementation of

inclusion were evident within each school's story. This section will highlight the activity within each arena, as exhibited by the individual schools.

At Mountainview High School, a strong, independent culture that valued professionalism, relationships, and individual effort was committed to a high quality of education for all students, regardless of their academic abilities. These characteristics were evident in the two arenas which contributed the most heavily to the school's image-- professional and traditional. Open lines of communication (i.e., cell phones, voice mail) connected teachers in every sense of the word. Their respect for one another's practice also bound them together under the same set of professional standards. At the same time, Mountainview's contextual and political arenas reflected important administrative structures that provided critical school-wide supports, while also offering the challenges of population influences and state/district laws and constraints. These the faculty were able to integrate into their own "ways of doing things" using critical functions that were diffused through out all of the cultural arenas. Bringing them under the influence of the culture itself instead of allowing them to dominate school practices was an important aspect of this school's response to outside influences. Each of the critical functions was available for use by the culture as a whole as well as by its individual members and dispersed among all the arenas equally, keeping struggles to a minimum. They also facilitated meaningful interaction among the arenas, a necessary component for inclusion's implementation. The reciprocal positive impact of one arena on the other also created an interdependency and successfully diffused issues of power and control, while strengthening the school's capacity for change and teacher empowerment.

Buena Vista High School's attempt at change suffered from a lack of available sources of support, as well as lack of professional respect for one another's practice. The culture's traditional and professional arenas reflected a history of low expectations, high teacher turn-over, and weak faculty relationships, due to years of unresponsive lines of communication and issues of unfulfilled roles and responsibilities by both teachers and principals. Critical functions were not used efficiently in this culture, leaving two of the most important arenas that might have served as facilitators for inclusion's implementation,

the professional and traditional, bereft of meaningful activity. Coupled with high concern in the contextual and political arenas, this was a formula for poor interaction, little inter-relatedness, and big issues of power and control. So big, in fact, that the faculty was rendered powerless and inclusion's implementation virtually nonexistent (other than the fact, of course, that students with disabilities were still in the general education classrooms). For without the sustaining effect of the four critical functions, issues of power and control emerged from within low-functioning arenas, leaving the faculty powerless to diffuse them. The struggles soon became the focus of the faculty, rather than inclusion's appropriate implementation.

Old Dominion High School, once a strong culture of dedicated professionals with traditions that valued individuals as well as community, had been overwhelmed with changes in both the contextual and political arenas, taking its toll on professional respect and support, while concurrently damaging lines of communication and the performance of roles and responsibilities. At this school, the overwhelming changes in all the arenas had damaged the school culture, leaving it with little internal capacity to utilize critical functions. Without the necessary processes to develop and maintain interdependence and interaction among the four arenas, issues of power and control grew and flourished, appearing in every arena, disabling the appropriate implementation of inclusion.

The applications of these three school cultures to the study's model has illustrated the relationship of school culture, the school change initiative of inclusion, and issues of power and control. Important attributes of the model include its portrayal of the simultaneous exertion of critical functions of communication, leadership, decision-making, and rules, roles, and responsibilities within and among each arena, on the school's capacity to manage change. It also highlights the school's capacity for interdependence and the importance of dispersing critical functions among the four arenas. The school's cultural capacity to diffuse issues of power and control through out the model is also related to its capacity for inter-relatedness among all four of the arenas.

In Chapter Two, the author proposed a conceptual model (figure 2.1) of the inter-relatedness of multiple theories reflected in the literature base that outlined relationships

among the critical functions explored in this study. Using constructs from political, cultural, constructivist, and chaos theories, these critical functions appeared to exist within a techno-rational model of cause and effect. Based on a system of values allocation, adapting environment, and the establishment of dynamic equilibrium, internal and external inputs/needs and supports/resources were determined through a decision-making process which produced rational outcomes/decisions. These were fed back into the system, reflecting a factory model of raw materials transformed into product. The results of this study, however, have brought serious objection to this factory-based model. While the critical functions (reflected in the cultural and constructivist constructs of the original model) do appear to be an important part of the school change process, they do not appear to operate in the rational sequential manner illustrated in figure 2.1. Instead, the critical functions act (or fail to act) in tandem with one another and are (or are not) dispersed among the four cultural arenas (figure 5.2). These arenas are also highly reflective of the political and cultural constructs represented in the original model, but have been reconfigured to illustrate their 'actual' involvement in the interaction of school culture and change represented in this study. Therefore, although the players have remained the same, the game has changed. The model that originally illustrated a sequential, rational format from start to finish, has been replaced by the study's resultant conceptual framework for an interactive, simultaneously functioning organic model of interdependence, able to 'telescope' from "public issues to "private troubles".

The new model's relevance to the literature has been demonstrated in this chapter, as issues of power and control in each of the arenas have been related to previous theory and research reviewed in Chapter Two. In addition the new more directly articulates the researcher's definition and description of "issues of power and control", its properties and potential for distribution among various constituents of the community from the sociologists' points of view, by incorporating ideas about power sources, along with those of "power dimensions" and control issues among communities, particularly schools (Bredemeier & Stephenson, 1972; Owens, 1995; McNeil, 1986; Milstein, 1980; Reisman, 1950). Clearly, the study's final model reflects many of the points made over the years

about the “amorphous” nature of power and the ability of those who possess it within communities to control change. In Chapter Six, the implications that become apparent from both the study and the model that has been constructed are outlined and discussed. These include recommendations for theory, research, policy, and practice for the field of school change and in relation to inclusion’s implementation.

Chapter Six - "A Reconstruction of Group Commitments":
Implications, recommendations, and reflections

"A revolution is for me a special sort of change involving a certain sort of reconstruction of group commitments. But it need not be a large change, nor need it seem revolutionary to those outside[it]. It is just because this type of change...occurs so regularly on this smaller scale that revolutionary, as against cumulative, change so badly needs to be understood".

Thomas S. Kuhn (1970/1996, p.181-182)

Overview

This study has been an exploration of issues of power and control within individual school cultures undergoing a change initiative, that emerged from within the case studies themselves. It offers schools a model for assessing their use of critical functions to develop and maintain strong cultural arenas that are interdependent, interrelated, and facilitative of the change initiative. While there is an air of excitement about the continued work to be done, there are also cautions about particular challenges which lie ahead and the manner in which educators may choose to encounter them. These challenges will be discussed in this chapter under implications for theory, research, policy, and practice.

Each section of this chapter offers a combination of the researcher's understanding of the study's relevance to these respective arenas, the literature base reviewed in Chapter Two and referred to again in Chapter Five, and any "left over insights" gleaned from the study itself that have not been previously shared. The chapter, as well as the dissertation, will conclude with the researcher's final reflections concerning the processes of research that proved most critical, and their impact on both the researcher and the researched.

Implications/Recommendations for Theory

This study has produced a conceptual model, based on its interpretations and the relevant literature base in Chapter Two, that reflected the simultaneous interactions within four cultural arenas in three schools undergoing a change initiative of inclusion. Although no attempt has been made to apply this model outside of the realm of this study, it does illustrate the projection of personal troubles of individual schools into public issues of the three schools as a whole (Wright Mills, 1970). The examination, then, of individual school cultures may have application to schools in general which are undergoing a school change. Further research will be needed in order to expand the scope of the model's applicability and credibility as an accurate instrument for describing the issues of power and control at work in school cultures, in general, and the degree of influence each cultural arena is contributing to issues of power and control in specific school settings. In order for the researcher to establish these hypotheses as "grounded theory" and therefore a contribution to the field of emergent theory in education, the model must be tested against new and previous studies for effectiveness and reliability as an indicator of cultural influences that are relevant to school's particular settings (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Implications of this study's model include the need for a closer examination of educational theories that are being proposed in the literature today. Some of these theories have been articulated through practice without appropriate exploration of issues critical to the problem of individual school cultures and change. One of those theories is that of "systemic" change (Fuhrman, 1993; Gibboney, 1991; Hatch, 1998; Joyce & Calhoun, 1995). Mentioned previously in Chapters Two and Five, systemic change is a growing practice among many school districts. However, there are strong indications from this study and others with similar findings (Muncey & McQuillan, 1996; Sparks & Bloomer, 1993; Wagner, 1993, 1994; Westheimer, 1998; Wilson & Firestone, 1987) that the application of a "systemic" theory of change should also include careful considerations of cultural indicators related to the change initiative or change itself, within individual school settings. As has been demonstrated many times over the past 100 years, changes from the "top-down", as many related to systemic change have been, have not significantly impacted

the “way we do things around here” (Bestor, 1955; Bremer, 1977; Carlson, 1965; Sarason, 1971) in meaningful ways. The literature on teacher professionalism and empowerment has also reported on these concerns, as they have specifically considered the implications for teacher decision-making (Guskey & Peterson, 1996; Hampel, 1995; Johnson & Pajares, 1996), teacher collaboration (Lieberman, 1988, 1995; Little, 1994; Stager & Fullan, 1992), and teacher collegiality (Blase, 1990; Eckmier & Bunyan, 1997; Joyce & Calhoun, 1995) in relation to the possible conflicting agendas of systemic reform and teacher participation. Several studies have also associated systems-change agendas with conflicts in values of individual school cultures that are attempting the implementation of inclusion (Burke, 1996; McDonald et al., 1997; Thompson, 1996).

Alternatives to be considered in attempts at systematic change were proposed in Goertz’s (1996) large, comprehensive study of state reform initiatives across five states. She identified difficulties in implementing identical changes within differing school cultures as an important implication for new theories on school change. Implications for practice included several suggestions that reflected a systematic approach. These suggestions included steps that could be taken that might help professional cultures, called “learning communities”, to emerge during the change process. Also referred to in the literature on “professionalization”, and “empowerment”, this new wave of reform has been aided through the prolific writings of leaders in the educational community who had studied school change for a number of years and have repeatedly emphasized the importance of cultural considerations in proposing change (Fullan, 1991, 1992, 1993; Goodlad, 1984, 1997; Lieberman, 1988, 1995; Sizer, 1984, 1992, 1996; Sarason, 1971, 1996). One of the alternatives to implementing systemic change has been the promotion of systematic assessment, identification, and dialogue among teacher cultures to determine what if any changes should take place within their school. Changing cultures through collaborative consultation (Joyce & Calhoun, 1995; Lieberman, 1995), the balancing of equilibrium and dissonance (Goodlad, 1997), the application of eco-centric models (Sarason, 1996), and networking for change (Sizer, 1996) are strategies and theories that have been explored in the literature on school change. Likewise, this study supports the theory that change is best

implemented in relation to existing positive school practices, building on the strengths of the traditions of successful professional practice. Whatever is working within a culture, be it personal relationships, collaborative decision-making, faculty meetings, etc., will need to be nourished and considered as a vehicle for change. Should there be a void in positive professional practice, then strategies such as teacher study groups (Fullan, 1995; Frances, et al., 1994) may be helpful in moving that school toward practice that is mutually respects and peer supported. Therefore, a careful assessment of school cultures as both private troubles of an individual setting, as well as public issues of an educational community, would appear to be a welcome addition to the theory base for school change.

This view of the phenomenon of school change from both the micro and macro level is also consistent with theorists that have applied the constructs of chaos theory, first proposed within the fields of natural science (Garmston & Wellman, 1995) to those elements of school change that at first look, seem unrelated and entirely situational (Dale, 1997; Jonassen et al. 1997; Mossberg, 1993). By expanding our historically myopic understanding of educational change-- once viewed through the singular lens of economics, or politics, or social systems-- to include the full breadth and depth of issues represented by all four arenas in this study's model. Using these four arenas, the broader cultural interpretations of issues can be considered, as one moves from issues faced by the educational community in general to the singular school setting; providing a clearer, more informed picture of the problem of school change. Through the use of a longer and broader view, similar to that referred to in chaos theory's application to the social sciences (Kiel & Elliott, 1996), then, the solution to apparently isolated puzzles becomes clearer and sharper, better illuminated through the integration of issues common to all schools.

In summary, then, recommendations for theory-development include further consideration of the following issues:

- 1) case studies of individual schools need to be examined and consolidated to better determine their applicability to this research study's conceptual model;
- 2) the idiosyncratic ways of doing things within individual school settings, so as to better

inform theories of systematic changes, as well as those that address the need for systemic change; and

3) the infusion of ideas about school change from theories more commonly associated with the natural order of things, such as chaos theory and other theories that explain the interaction of naturally occurring phenomena.

Implications/Recommendations for Research

The research design used in this study was an important factor in the depth and breadth of information gleaned. It also enabled the integration of analysis and interpretations which resulted in the construction of a conceptual model designed to guide further research. Continued exploration of such contextually-laden issues in education is critical to the eventual transformation of problem to solution. Combined with quantitative measures designed to investigate many of the issues explored in this study (i.e., the effectiveness of general education vs. special education classes to determine the relative impact of these two different teaching environments at the high school level), this kind of naturalistic inquiry into the cultural contexts of schools could contribute immensely to our understanding of critical processes at work in schools undergoing change, as well as lead to continual careful adjustment of the study's model (Spindler, 1982).

Lieberman's (1992) three foci for future scholarly activity summarized the researcher's recommendations for research. These were:

- (a) studying school programs, events, practices, people, organization, and particular cultures to better understand and describe the improvement of practice, (b) creating new frames and strategies for thinking about, understanding and acting upon this knowledge, and (c) building new collaborative structures and relationships between schools and universities that deal with specific and general areas of content and pedagogy, aimed at the transformation of research practice (p.8).

Fullan (1993) has also emphasized the exploration of rich and powerful dynamics that either facilitate or hinder cultural change. The continued exploration of these dynamics may be helpful in producing structural changes in education in general. Other researchers

(Goodlad, 1997; Sizer, 1996) have proposed that we move past the “tinkering” with existing practice to the examination of core questions about the why of education before we examine the many how’s being proposed in the change literature today. Several others believed that extensive research into the working lives of teachers will give us information integral to making those cultural changes possible (Hargreaves, 1994; Carlgren, 1996; Rosenholtz, 1989; Wasley, 1991; Pace, 1992). This study has implications for several of these issues regarding research endeavors, as they focus on learning more about the impact of context on practice.

There are also numerous considerations for research in the area of change toward inclusion, particular to both the setting and the issue. Examples of these are: a) impact of exercises in teacher empowerment on recommended inclusive practices, b) efficacy of differing collaborative practices in differing models of inclusive schools, and c) exploring preferences of general education teachers for inclusion’s implementation. The multiplicity of recommendations for further research from both camps makes the decision-making process about the needs of practice regarding further research, a confusing dilemma. In the field of special education, it seems, one can find support for any stance one may want to take regarding inclusion. Therefore, implications of this study support further investigation from both sides of the controversy, in hopes, again, that the longer broader view will increase our problem-solving skills and appropriately impact our decision-making processes. There is also a cadre of research being conducted most recently on the efficacy of particular inclusive practices, such as collegial collaboration (Givner & Haager, 1995; Pugach & Johnson, 1995), environmental planning (Fuchs et al., 1996; Olson et al., 1997), and differentiated instruction (Cooley, 1995; Falvey et al., 1995), that also needs further investigation within all kinds of settings in order to more clearly understand the impact of specific practice on the culture of the school and vice-a-versa. The full gamut of implementation methods, including co-teaching, consultation, accommodations and modifications, and the continued support of the resource room, should also be explored. As this study has shown, the exploration of inclusion’s implementation within school cultures that are weak, or non-productive, or even dysfunctional, adds an enormous

amount of critical information and valuable contrast to the narrower view of only exploring schools with exemplary implementation. The exploration of both are needed. For, the pursuit of depth and breadth in issues of power and control within school cultures involved in change initiatives will not only clarify the questions for public issues, such as the role of education in general, but will also be helpful to individual school cultures who are struggling with private troubles like professional incompetence and unethical practice.

In summary, then, recommendations for future research include further consideration of the following issues:

- 1) the continued use of naturalistic inquiry-- narratives of school change from teacher/ administrator perspectives and/or multi-site case studies that compare and contrast similarities in issues related to cultural influences on issues of power and control in schools undergoing various changes;
- 2) the integration of naturalistic inquiry and quantitative methods of assessing/evaluating the effectiveness of particular change strategies on school settings and their cultural influences; and
- 3) the ongoing study of inclusion as a school change initiative and those professional practices that are being tried in various settings with varying results.

Implications/Recommendations for Policy

One of this study's most important qualities has been its ability to bring into focus the enormous difficulties that arose in the implementation of federal, state, and even district-level policy. It was also successful in creating a litany of some answerable and some unanswerable questions. Both are discussed in this section.

Inclusion was an excellent example of a proposed policy that took many different turns in its implementation. There was enormous variance, even within the same state, in the manner in which the policy of including students with disabilities into general education classrooms was articulated in individual schools, highlighting very specifically the competing district and building level issues around its implementation. However, if policy cannot be implemented as intended, then what purpose does it serve? (other than to further frustrate, confuse, and confound already very complicated processes involved in school

practice). Although clearly intended as a rhetorical question, it presents implications for the field that are profound and somewhat shocking. If just three schools can make this big a 'mess' of one piece of policy, what are schools all over the country doing with inclusion, as well as the thousands of other pieces of unconnected policy? The researcher's answer is a rather distressing supposition: creating even more real problems for educational practice!

Finding solutions to this problem of disconnect between policy, or 'intended practice', and policy implemented, or 'real practice', is one of the purposes of policy research and an issue of some concern to the educational community (Davis, 1989; Fuhrman, 1993; Guthrie & Reed, 1986; Maxcy, 1994; Musella, 1989; Spillane, 1998; Wirt & Kirst, 1997). Many of these educators have asked the question, "How can research better inform policy?" Implications from this study indicate that the answer may lie in more research into practice, but a particular kind of research and a particular kind of practice. For, in order to better define and analyze the problems between policy and practice, we must come to understand not only how policy is implemented but why it is implemented in the fashion in which it is. Some educators have proposed the development of "cohesive" policy (Fuhrman, 1993) that offers 'one-stop shopping', much like the proponents of systemic reform. Implications of this study lead one to ask additional questions about the viability of such a monolithic approach (Spillane, 1998). Instead, recommendations from this researcher include the development of measures designed particular to each policy that might reduce the impact of the multiple cultures that will be left to implement it. For, as this study has demonstrated, good policy can be made a mockery of by very poor practice. When policy is too tightly prescribed or too loosely described, it can fall prey to those schools and districts that use it to continue the cultural struggles reflected in their problems of practice. In relation to policy development for inclusion, these recommendations, again, follow those of research—there is a need to investigate policy's implementation in diverse contexts. For, without a clear knowledge of what contradictions schools and their districts are encountering during inclusion's implementation, it will be difficult to offer appropriate solutions. Therefore, recommendations for policy implied from this research include provisions for the formulation of policy itself that will greatly increase the chances that:

a) it is accurately interpreted from state to district to school building and b) its implementation is viable, timely, and worth the trouble. That may very well mean more money. But how much is it worth to our nation's schools to have rules for practice that everyone understands, make sense of in the school setting, and can be carried out in a common enough fashion to be accurately measured? Implications from this research study have indicated that the answer to that question is 'Quite a lot'.

Issues of power and control among and within schools undergoing a change initiative might also be addressed through this study's implications for policy development. Writers and researchers in this particular corner of the literature have produced quite a bit of rhetoric concerning power structures and cultural barriers, parental and community involvement, and organizational structure and professional roles (Cohen, 1990; Fullan, 1993; Hargreaves, 1994; Sarason, 1997; McNeil, 1986; Lieberman, 1995; Milstein, 1980). Implications from this study indicate that multiple issues of power and control are found in the implementation of policies at the federal, state, district, and individual school levels. In order to better address the inequities in power dispersal raised in this study, the process of policy development should include a comprehensive study of the impact of issues of power and control within all of these venues, including the history, variables that have influenced them, and practices that have perpetuated them (Scheurich & Imber, 1991). Without a thorough examination of the full array of influences on issues of power and control, policy development runs the risk of repeating the inequities of the past, in pursuing promises for the future.

This study has also highlighted problems in the lack of definitive policy on inclusion, 'per se', that promotes common understandings by states, districts, schools and teachers. The following recommendations for policy-makers reflect important implications for special education administrators, as they implement and administer the inclusion process:

a) more effective federal, state, and district level monitoring so that the "spirit" of inclusion, as stated in IDEA (1997) and interpreted through federal and state

education agencies, will be accurately communicated to those responsible for implementing it, and

b) a more concerted effort on the part of the policy-makers themselves at federal, state, and district levels (including special education administrators) to consider the culture of the environment in which inclusion will be implemented, to better determine the readiness of the context, professional expertise of the teachers and staff, traditions of academic expectations for all students, and administrative supports available.

For, without the collaboration of all school players-- general and special education teachers, district and building level administrators, and parents and students-- the appropriate implementation of inclusion will experience many of the same difficulties exhibited in this study. Each district and school building must find the right "fit" for inclusion within the four cultural arenas that already exist for their school's culture. For without critical consideration of not only the cultural arenas, but the critical factors that provide the necessary interaction and interdependence of all four, it is doubtful that any real and meaningful change will take place. Special education programs will need to become more fully integrated into the policies that drive general education, including those set at state, district, and building level. These are challenging tasks for special education administrators and clearly will necessitate a "paradigm shift" for many who have found safety and security in a 'separate system' of rules and regulations that set them apart from the general education arena.

In summary, then, recommendations for administrators at all levels of governance-- federal, state, and especially local special education administrators, include further consideration of the following issues:

- 1) the disconnect between policy and practice that was demonstrated in the lack of knowledge and misinterpretation of policy developed at all three levels of federal, state, and district, in relation to the implementation of IDEA;
- 2) the cultural characteristics of individual schools as they strive to implement policy

developed for the masses, which may be either highly relevant or irrelevant to their particular school setting; and

3) the continuing struggle over issues of power and control that may hinder or enhance the impact of particular policies on various constituencies.

Implications/Recommendations for Practice

Implications of this study regarding educational practice are particularly focused at changes that involve inclusive practices, as that was the focus of change in this research. However, there are also issues to be considered that are relevant to schools undergoing change of any kind. In regards to inclusion, one of the most critical implications of this study was the role of traditional values and beliefs in inclusion's implementation. Although traditional values and beliefs that support a change by no means insure its acceptance or future success, it does appear to be an important foundation for a change to new practice (Fullan, 1993; Sergiovanni, 1992; Short & Greer, 1997; Janney et al., 1995; Villa et al., 1996; Vaughn et al., 1996). Therefore, it is important to assess those values and beliefs before any change can be considered. Granted, there may be faculty members who will oppose any change, but the literature has supported the premise that the majority of teachers should support it, before the change is implemented. Implications from this study also indicated that before a change is implemented, issues relevant to teacher practices, in particular, should be dealt with in open communication, soliciting input from all key stakeholders, those both integrally involved and more loosely connected (Eisenberg, 1995). Each of these issues are related to important cultural indicators that should be considered by special education administrators as they move to more fully implement the emphasis on the general education curriculum that IDEA (1997) supports.

Organizational structures and administrative support systems must also be assessed by both building level and district level administrators before a change like inclusion should be implemented (Cook & Friend, 1993; Goor, 1995; Hardman, 1994; Korinek et al., 1994). The issue is not that there needs to be a particular organizational structure in place, but those that do exist should be considered, according to their capacity and usefulness in

planning and designing the type and form of change that is best for that school. More specifically, the school's capacity for change in academic instruction must be considered. Clearly, if special or general education teachers are weak in particular skill areas that will be needed to make the change, there should be careful planning for professional development that addresses those needs (Kronberg, 1995; McKay & Burgess, 1997; National Center on Educational Restructuring, 1994). This is the responsibility of the special education administrator for the district and necessitates careful collaboration with the building level leadership.

Issues of peer support, including capacity for collaboration and increased collegiality must also be assessed and considered before a change like inclusion is implemented (Pugach & Johnson, 1995). While there has also been a large amount of the literature devoted to the issues of scheduling, co-planning time, and appropriate administrative supports for inclusion, this study in no way disputed those concerns, but did not find them to be the larger hurdles these schools were attempting to step over. Instead, the implications of this study indicated that inclusion was best addressed a) within individual school cultures, b) through a peer-supported faculty, c) who have carefully considered its own contextual, traditional, professional, and legal arenas, and d) designed a well-orchestrated approach based on its own strengths. These recommendations align themselves with Goor's (1996) reference to "responsible inclusion". Perhaps using the researchers' conceptual model to appropriately assess the four cultural arenas (as well as assessing the abilities of students and capacity for support within the total school environment), theory, research, policy, and practice can actually function in a responsive, complimentary manner, toward inclusion's appropriate implementation.

Therefore, special education administrators will need to be familiar with the issues of power and control that inhabit individual schools, being careful to allow the professionals that actually implement inclusion to design and create a format for service to students with disabilities that not only fits the individual needs of the student, but also fits within and facilitates the use of the four cultural arenas proposed in this study. All teachers will need to build a foundation of mutual trust and respect-- a task may require additional

training and re-educating of both special and general education teachers before that foundation can be established. Special education teachers that are weak in the academic content areas needed to support inclusive co-taught classrooms will require re-educating in at least one new content area before they can fully participate as an equal partner in the classroom. Successful teaching and learning strategies must be shared among all teachers, so that common knowledge about similar students becomes a part of a school's common practice. Again, both administrators and teachers will play a major role in the accomplishment of these critical goals. For, district and building level administrators that 'inflict' inclusion (or any change for that matter) on a school that is ill-prepared and unsettled due to recent changes in any of its four cultural arenas, may find issues of power and control too formidable to overcome. Therefore, consideration of the school's 'place' within the study's model, will lead to better understanding of the task they have at hand.

Implications for practice in the wider arena of school reform were also evident from this study. Among the multitudes of school change literature there have been innumerable recommendations about how to go about "doing it". However, the literature that is most relevant to the recommendations of this study focused, instead, on how to go about determining "what to do". For example, Goodlad (1997) has recently taken a new look at schooling that "gets to the heart of the issue", after years of researching what goes in in schools across the country (Goodlad, 1975; 1984; Goodlad, et.al., 1990; Tye, 1985). His campaign for deconstructing the essence of education in hopes of reconstructing a newer look at the purposes for schooling has also resulted in new ideas about individual schools being both "same and different". He reported on a large nation-wide study of the quantification of variables of climate, relationships, and curricula, and instruction on a wide continuum from diverse to very similar. The differences were vividly apparent in the areas of "human relationships" and their sameness was equally as dramatic in areas of curricula and instruction. Therefore, he has proposed a model for school change (Goodlad, 1997) based on the premise that "the ecosystems of schools differ; [yet] they also have profound similarities" (p.109). This dichotomy is reflected in the model's emphasis on establishing a balance between "equilibrium and dissonance", while forwarding "mission-bound

renewal". He called it "A Mission-driven, Responsive, Ecological Model of School Renewal" (p.106). The model has:

endeavored to depict both the swirling dynamic character of a complex ecosystem and a concept of steady movement toward greater health...there are penetrations from the surrounding context; some are internalized so as to effect improvement in the school's culture; some are tossed out; some are shaped to conform to the present state of the culture. (p.107)

The recommendations for practice, implied from this apparent agreement of Goodlad's (1997) research/model and that of this researcher, pertain to the practice of those "human relationships" that are so very divergent among the common practice of schooling. For if same really is different, then practice will need to reflect the influences of those relationships. In that reflection are many of the answers to school change, as individual school cultures strive to integrate the two, moving forward toward new educational practice. Effective leadership that facilitates such processes is critical to the success of school change initiatives. Several studies have indicated that particular leadership functions are central to providing openness and stability so that schools can respond flexibly to students' needs and to the communities they represent (Blase & Blase, 1994; Hampel, 1995; Harris, 1992; Keedy, 1991; Short & Greer, 1997; Wasley, 1991). Leadership should provide support to all team members throughout the uncertainty of change and involve the stakeholders in the development and management of the change process.

Finally, but possibly most importantly, there were implications of this study that directly related to the practice of teacher education. Although an enormous amount of literature has been written and research conducted on issues related to school culture and change, there has been very little by comparison translated to teacher education. Along with the more theoretical underpinnings, like educational foundations and philosophy of education, issues that pertain to the why of education have been consistently cut from the School of Educations' budgets at many colleges and university. Pressures for a more pragmatic education have pushed out the need for understanding schooling. Yet, there are demonstrations of poor teacher practice in schools everyday that demonstrate this lack of

understanding. Professional development schools that combine the pragmatics of teaching with an understanding of schooling and cultural issues that face new teachers offer the great promise for teacher education's renewed role of the "why" of education (Mantle-Bromley, 1998). Through careful cultural assessment related to not only classroom practice but the more general practice of professionalism, new teachers can learn through not merely trial and error, but through needed consideration of the traditions, context, politics, and professional issues relevant to their schools that impact not only their roles but the school as a whole (Parish & Aquila, 1996). A self-assessment of school culture, for teachers, is a product of this study and included in Appendix A.

Miles' germinal work on change (1967), visualized the three phases of change, initiation, implementation and institutionalization, as an overlapping process, acted upon by the passage of time. Educators will need to attend to the critical factors necessary during each phase of change if they expect planned change to be effective and adaptive to the environment (Bushnell, 1971; Wagner, 1998). The notion of adaptation within an organization during the change process, is ultimately an issue of culture and its values and traditions. These all important aspects cannot be ignored and in fact, must be overtly dealt with if change is to be a truly integrated process that becomes real and meaningful in the lives of teachers and students.

In summary, then, recommendations for future practice include further consideration of the following issues:

- 1) the examination of cultural values and beliefs before the implementation process takes place and the overt acknowledgement and open communication of differences that may exist among multiple constituencies;
- 2) the exploration of the school's capacity for implementing the change and the various cultural arenas that will need attention if it is to be successful, including: a) the possible re-education of special education teachers in specific content areas and the sharing of successful teaching and learning strategies among all teachers and b) the informed actions of special education and building level administrators that support inclusive practices in schools whose critical functions are equally distributed among all four cultural arenas and

work to develop such distribution in those schools where they are not;

4) an ongoing dialogue among educators that continues to examine the “why” of proposed changes in educational practice; and

5) the need for additional course-work and practical experiences in teacher education programs that focus on foundations of education, its philosophical underpinnings, and the importance of cultural arenas related to individual school change.

Conclusion: Researcher cautions and reflections

There are also a few ‘cautionary tales’ that can be told about the manner in which this type of research should or should not be carried out. Pitfalls that this researcher encountered, might be better avoided by others, if the following issues are considered beforehand:

1) The enlistment of a school administrator in making up the initial list of teachers to solicit for interviews can effectively limit the exposure one will have to the cultural issues at-play in that school. This may be a power-play all its own, intended to portray a particular picture of the school’s culture and/or the opinions of a few around the issues one hopes to explore. Be open to finding additional participants, perhaps recommended by other teachers, and/or use a teacher as your original informant— one who has been at the school for a long time and has no particular ‘axe to grind’ about the issue you are exploring.

2) Attempting to enlist participants through letters sent through the mail may not be as effective as asking for teachers’ participation through a faculty meeting or even repeated calls for “help” sent through their campus mail boxes. Also, your presence on campus during the plea for participation will heighten awareness and interest in the research project;

3) Acquiring a schedule of teachers’ planning times is most helpful in planning the logistics of interviewing multiple numbers of teachers in the shortest amount of time; and

4) Use of ‘down’ time between interviews can be extremely productive if one uses it as an opportunity to pursue real-life experiences within the school setting that can add depth to an understanding of the “way we do things around here”; such as eating in the school cafeteria, wondering through the hallways, visiting offices and libraries, etc.

Although multiple questions have been left unanswered regarding many of the

issues explored in this study, due in part to the depth and focus of exploration necessary to do so, this study does appear to have contributed to a line of research which needs further exploration. The manner in which researchers choose to do that will have enormous impact on the value of the endeavor. In this study, the researcher's 'on-site' presence made an enormous difference in the quantity and quality of information gleaned from the multiple modes of communication available. The researcher, therefore, is concerned about the use of traditional one-way methodologies (experimental, quasi-experimental, survey, questionnaire research) for deriving meaning from schools' practices, especially when they are based on the preconceived ideas of someone outside of that culture regarding what issues are relevant.

Daily contact with these laborer-teachers who came to the school-building to do the work of education, limited as it may have appeared to be at times, brought this researcher face to face with the realities of practice, in contrast to previous considerations of theory and research. Watching, listening, and interacting within the school's environment left indelible marks across the face of this study. The depth and breadth of information that came through incidental contact, alone, was overwhelming. This process of information-building through a continued presence in the school allowed for critical daily contact with school administrators, the special education department chairperson, and faculty, who became 'accustomed to her face'. This was instrumental in integrating all three processes of the study-- data collection, analysis, and interpretation. When considering the researcher's initial plan to include more traditional methods of quantitative research, it became clear that had those plans been realized, that study would not have been of similar depth, focus, or value. Information derived from the seeing, hearing, and feeling of the school building, faculty habits, staff interactions, and student activity, were only available to the researcher in ways that required constant and sustained interaction with the environment.

The stories that emerged from the studies' participants were at times, shocking, frustrating, and inspiring. As teachers wiped tears from their eyes, recalling the student they had helped or had not, got angry and sometimes even rude with one another over the sharing of common frustrations, or thanked me for listening to their concerns, this

researcher gradually, though reluctantly, formed a very special bond with each of the schools and the people they represented. That bond will not be easily discarded. The impact of the process of research on the schools that were researched has been considered carefully by this researcher, since her departure from them. At times, they seemed like a burden she had dropped and left behind. At times, they seemed like a burning candle left unattended. But most of the time, they seemed like a treasure of shared experiences. For, as she left those schools behind, invitations to “return and fix the problems” followed this researcher out the door, propelling her toward the continued study of teachers and their work— as individuals, as partners, and as cultures of very special people.

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Appendix A

Summary of the Pilot Case Study

Introduction

Rationale

The ability to insightfully explore unique school cultures and their sources of authority, patterns of communication, and facilitating and constraining practices related to particular innovations, may enable educators to better understand resistance to planned educational change. Issues of power and control during the implementation of a school change initiative of inclusion are important components of the school's culture to be considered when seeking to achieve real and lasting change. By further explorations of such issues, researchers may find new inroads to explaining the complex micro-societies of schools and the problem of culture and change.

Further inquiry into the unique systems of power and control in individual school settings may reveal information needed to implement the real and lasting change educators have been seeking for the past 100 years.

Background of the Case

The high school chosen for study by this researcher lies within a diverse socioeconomic urban community in Tidewater Virginia. The high school's 1600+ student body is made up of a diverse mix of racial and ethnic groups-- the majority being African-American. The school division was cited five years ago by the Office of Civil Rights for racially segregating both special education and gifted education programs, as well as for discriminately funding practices for individual school buildings. Subsequently, a school attendance rezoning and administrative building-level restructuring initiative took place district-wide, which sought to better equalize opportunities for minority students, teachers, and administrators. The administrative structure of the high school has also been reorganized-- from several assistant principals to two new assistant principals - one for instruction (a white female) and one for facilities (a white male). They are assisted by several administrative assistants who deal primarily with discipline issues. The head principal was also replaced during the restructuring initiative and is now an African-American male.

Alta Vista High School* is now more minority (mostly African American) than majority in its student population. The school continues to offer the traditional college-bound academic track that has provided the majority of course work over the years. However, there has been an increase in vocational and alternative classes, as the schools has diversified its programs in an attempt to meet the needs of the changing population. Remedial classes for the state competency tests as well as ESL classes for students with limited English proficiency are offered in addition to collaborative teaching classes for students with disabilities.

Participants of the Study

The five teachers that participated in tape-recorded interviews (one of the teachers interviewed requested that she not be tape recorded) were chosen by the special education department chairperson. They reported years of teaching experiences ranging from 3 to 20 years, with teaching experience at this high school ranging from 3 to 12 years. Three were special educators and two were general educators. The courses taught by these teachers ranged from science to math to special education resource support, with one of the special education teachers having an administrative role within the special education department. All teachers were collaborating teachers, involved in the inclusion initiative at this school.

Historical View of Inclusion's Implementation

Six years ago, school division administrators in the special education programs area initiated a change in the high schools in order to include more students with disabilities into the general education classrooms. This movement, known nationally as "inclusion" has been controversial within particular professional circles and continues to stimulate heated debated among special and general educators. Although inclusion can take many forms of implementation, this school division decided to implement inclusion using a collaborative teaching model. Collaborative teaching can be defined (within the context of this school) as *the practice of teaming general and special education teachers in classrooms in order to allow access to the general education curriculum for students with disabilities, while supporting both the student and the general education teacher*. In theory, it offers a unique opportunity for integrating the strengths of the special education program and the general education environment.

Special education teachers work collaboratively in one or more content area general education classrooms to help general education teachers meet the diverse needs of an “included” classroom. Collaborative teaching has been practiced in general education classrooms at Alta Vista High School* for more than five years. Reportedly, at this particular school, collaborative teaching has been characterized by the participation of special education teachers as “facilitators of individual instruction” in general education content areas. Although this implementation of collaborative teaching does not meet the guidelines for recommended practice by noted authorities in the field (cite), it is a system that has been accepted by the majority of its participants.

Research Methods

Research Questions

The following lines of inquiry served to focus the case study:

- 1). Within the school’s culture, what themes/patterns emerge related to issues of power and control, decision-making, and teacher - administrative attributes of leadership, communication, and rules, roles, and responsibilities, when undergoing the school change initiative of inclusion?
 - a.) how are these themes/patterns formed among teachers and administrators?
 - b.) how are these themes and patterns interrelated?
 - c.) how do these themes and patterns interrelate with existing cultural elements, such as structures, interactions, processes, and relationships?
- 2). How are school culture and the school change initiative of inclusion related to one another?

Data Collection Procedures

Individual one-hour, tape-recorded interviews took place either before school, after school, or during the teachers’ planning periods; either in the teacher’s classroom during their planning period or before or after school. Each participant was assured that their participation was voluntary, that their responses would be anonymous, and their identity confidential. The tapes were professionally transcribed by a person outside of the state. The names of the school and participants were coded on the tapes to insure anonymity of the participants.

The interview protocol was developed by the researcher to solicit “the story of inclusion in your school” from each participant’s point of view. Probes were used by the researcher as issues arose that appeared related to the research agenda. These probes included: changes in the practice of inclusion; changes in school culture due to inclusion; problems that have arisen in the implementation of inclusion, and the roles and responsibilities of teachers and administrators; and “ways of doing things around here” (ie., decision-making and communication processes) that may have enabled or hindered inclusion as a school change initiative. The open-ended interview process often took the researcher and teacher down very different roads than those of previous interviews, depending upon the individual perspective of the participant. Therefore, the interview process was viewed as emergent by the researcher, as it was shaped by the unique stories told by each teacher.

Data Analysis Procedures

Two levels of data analysis (levels II and III) were applied to the transcribed manuscripts. A level I analysis, commonly used in qualitative data, was not utilized, as the researcher felt that the open-ended nature of the interview protocol was not designed to elicit answers to particular questions that could then be categorized accordingly. Rather, it was felt that the entire manuscript should be analyzed as the answer to one large question, “Tell me the story of inclusion in your school”. The researcher developed a multi-phase process for the Level II analysis, using the “voices” of the participants to build overarching and subtheme based on Glaser & Strauss’ (1967) constant comparison method. Themes were built based on emergent patterns of response, then sorted and resorted using a system of both horizontal (by participant) and vertical (by subtheme) analysis to create cohesiveness.

Results of the Study

Level II Analysis: Identification of Emergent Themes

The level II analysis resulted in the identification of the following three overarching themes that emerged from the transcribed interviews:

- Teacher/Teacher Interaction
- Sources of Authority
- Professional Competence

Subthemes were identified that both related to the overarching themes and inter-related to one another. The overarching and subthemes are listed below:

<u>Teacher/Teacher Interaction</u>	<u>Professional Competence</u>	<u>Sources of Authority</u>
- decision-making	- roles/responsibilities of general and special education teachers	- special ed lead teacher
- collaboration		- school-based administrator
- communication	- reputation of special education	- district/state/federal

Level III Analysis: Interpretation

Issues of power and control within the culture of Alta Vista High School that emerged from the level II analysis, related to the school change initiative of inclusion, included: professional competency of both general and special education teachers, authority of the special education lead teacher, and district/state/federal mandates. These themes represented the perceptions of the interviewees, whether supported outside the realm of this school's culture or not, and constituted the constructed reality from which the participants operated. They served to structure and constrain the practice of inclusion by clearly defining those individual teacher-teacher interactions of decision-making; rules, roles and responsibilities; and communication that are critical to the practice of inclusion, as it is operationalized through the partnerships of collaborative teaching.

Elements related to issue of power and control. Professional competence was as an element that emerged and was directly related to the issue of power and control. It was grounded in stories handed down from year to year regarding the specific skills (or rather, lack thereof) of special education teachers in content areas in which they were not certified. It was the perception of the general education faculty that students were not receiving an adequate education within the special education resource classes. The role of the lead teacher in sustaining a 'hierarchy' of teacher participation in collaborative instruction was of particular importance, since no other building-level administrator appeared to intervene in the system. Although the lead teacher chastised special education teachers for accepting a clearly 'subservient' role, it was clear that those teachers were expected to overcome such a position 'on their own', using the traditional one-on-one method of communication and collaboration with their partner. The fact that no one ever took issue or disagreed with this

approach by the lead teacher was not surprising, as she apparently would not have supported such an opinion and the “chain of command” (accepted by the faculty) would not have permitted going past her to complain to a higher level either within the school or within the district.

The perception of inclusion mandates by district, state, and federal guidelines is also an example of how the particular cultural beliefs of this setting acted as powerful constraints on behavior, whether they were true outside of the culture or not [Inclusion has never been mandated by either the school division, the state, or the federal government]. Yet, the reality of this school’s beliefs about the necessity of inclusion had created a source of authority that supported and was supported by the role of the lead teacher.

Components of individual teacher interactions. The above elements related to issues of power and control served to create the only vehicle through which inclusion operates in this school - that of individual teacher-teacher interaction. No significant relationship of the practice of inclusion and the administrative leadership of this school emerged through out the interviews, other than the administrative role of the lead teacher in supervising special education teachers and coordinating the collaborative teaching program. Although there was a history of an earlier facilitative building-level administrator, there was no indication that such a relationship existed at this time.

The three components of individual teacher-teacher interaction that clearly defined the practice of collaborative teaching included: decision-making; rules, roles, and responsibilities; and communication. These were all facilitated/modulated through the direction and guidance of the special education lead teacher and the perceived issues of professional competency and district, state, and federal mandates. The intersection of these three components created the “space” in which collaborative teaching took place.

Interaction between school culture and the school change initiative of inclusion. All teachers agreed that the use of collaborative teaching had enhanced the culture of Alta Vista High School, due to the help it offered students of differing abilities in general education classrooms, whether they were special education or not. Reportedly, inclusive instructional practice was instrumental in enhancing the school’s attempts to manage the difficult demographic changes it had experienced over the past three to five years. Adapting to the

changes necessary for effective classroom instruction of this changing student population appeared to have been enhanced by the introduction of special education teachers as “helpers” in the general education classroom. As the lead teacher stated, collaboration has also “raised the reputation” of the special education faculty in the eyes of general education teachers.

The perceived unique needs of the special education department, created by federal and state demands, appeared to keep issues related to collaboration outside of the normal operating procedures used for other school issues. Every teacher interviewed stated that inclusion was a “federal mandate that had to be implemented”, with the special education staff mentioning that it was also the “best thing for the special education student”. The school’s normal lines of communication (i.e., committees, faculty-meetings) used for problem-solving and decision-making in areas related to more generic issues were not used in issues related to collaborative teaching. Individual relationships were the primary means of collaboration for inclusion, mediated when necessary by the special education lead teacher, as the most dominant source of authority associated with the change initiative. In summary, then, analysis of the inter relatedness of the emergent themes, school culture, and the school change initiative of inclusion, revealed that collaborative teaching appeared to operate outside the normal lines of authority and communication used in “the way we do things around here”.

Discussion of the Results

The results of this study indicated that issues of power and control are alive and well in this school’s culture. The particular history of the involvement of special education teachers in the instruction of general education content may be the most powerful factor in determining the unique operationalization of inclusion that this school demonstrated. The issue of competency, along with the large amount of authority given to the special education lead teacher, appeared to account for the limited role the special education teacher plays in the collaborative classroom and reflected enormous issues of power and control of one collaborative partner over the other.

The teachers interviewed in this study reported an enduring belief that federal, state, and district policy mandated inclusion in public schools. Although this is clearly not the

intent of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1997, the trickle-down effect of federal, state, and district guidelines has left the impression that such a mandate does exist. Consequently, the intended practice of inclusion has been stretched and bent to fit the unique political scenario created by this school culture's perception of the policy of inclusion. What has resulted is a very different practice of inclusion than might be found at any other school. Although Alta Vista High School may not have used the "way we do things around here" to facilitate the school change initiative of inclusion, it certainly has created its own distinct culture of collaborative teaching - one that follows a clear path of culturally constructed lines of authority.

Lessons Learned

Lessons learned about the research process, as it related to this study, are summarized below:

1. Teachers welcome sincere interest in their point of view and opportunities to tell their stories;
2. Access to knowledge about school culture is much easier to obtain than initially expected;
3. Teachers and administrators are readily willing to disclose issues of power and control relevant to their settings;
4. Not all teachers understand the "inner workings" of their schools. School culture is something they may have never considered before;
5. Conducting qualitative research within school settings can influence the research setting in both positive and negative ways. Therefore, the researcher has a responsibility to limit his/her influence on the way teachers view their own school's culture.

Changes that might be made to this study in order to further substantiate the findings and inform the researcher's interpretations include:

1. Interviewing the building-level assistant principal to obtain her "story of inclusion".
2. Conducting teacher focus group interviews with other teacher-leaders to ask questions regarding "the way we do things around here" that emerged from the individual interviews.
3. Use of participant-checks to gather additional input regarding the researcher's findings and interpretations.

One of the biases that this researcher brought to this study was the belief that the particular cultural components of individual high school settings would be utilized in the introduction and implementation of a school change initiative, such as inclusion. This belief was based on the literature regarding inclusion that recommended the active involvement of the principal in supporting and maintaining the inclusive environment through a.) provision of resources, such as time, materials, training, etc.; b.) structured meetings to plan, discuss, and create collaborative practice; and c.) development of equal partnerships in classroom instruction. These supports are considered by many educators to be critical to successful school change initiatives of inclusion. Although the results of this study indicated that no such cultural supports were utilized by this school in the inclusion change initiative, it is not clear if this is idiosyncratic to the practice of inclusion or if it would be true for the implementation of any school change initiative at this school.

Considering the results of this study, it is not clear whether the overall pre-existing school culture facilitated the unique issue of teacher competency within the collaborative teaching arrangement or if this issue of power and control was only a result of the inclusion initiative. What is clear is that issues of power and control influenced this unequal arrangement, by limiting valuable input into the system. Such input may have resulted in the changes one teacher so desired and led to other changes that would have greatly impacted the existing balance of power between general and special education teachers and the lead teacher.

Implications for Future Research

How the practice of inclusion interfaces with issues of power and control within individual school cultures appears to be an exploration worth undertaking, but one which will need careful, clear research design, reflective of those issues unique to each setting. Perhaps, additional inquiry that utilizes a multi-phase approach may better address questions which have been left unanswered by this study. This study verified the existence of such values, but only began to explore the threats that appeared to drive attitudes and subsequent behavior related to the school's practice of inclusion. Additional study of those threats in multiple settings and ways in which cultures might work to accommodate them during change initiatives may prove helpful in settings where other strategies have failed.

Likewise, school change initiatives which have experienced similar problems of implementation might also benefit from a similar study of individual school cultures and their unique issues of power and control that either facilitated or inhibited its successful practice. In consideration of such issues, researchers interested in school culture and change may wish to explore the following questions:

1. How are positive changes toward inclusive practice made in schools that experience less than optimal support from building-level administration?
2. Why do particular school cultures foster inclusive practices and others do not?
3. How might school cultures change their own sources of power and control, when needed, in order to facilitate school change initiatives in general?
4. Do other schools better utilize existing cultural norms and traditions to make real and lasting changes in instructional practice? If so, how?
5. How does the trickle-down affect of federal/state/district policy implementation impact school cultures undergoing other change initiatives?

Solicitation Letter for Participants in Stages One and Two

(Date)

Dear _____,

I am a doctoral (Ph.D.) candidate in the Educational Policy, Planning, and Leadership Program at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia and am conducting a research study in your school regarding the *process* of inclusion as a school change initiative. I have permission from your school division to conduct this important research study and am asking for your participation. Your name was suggested to me due to your involvement in inclusion at your school. Your participation in this research will help to shed new light on the challenge of achieving meaningful changes in educational settings.

I will be conducting two sets of interviews - one individual 45 minute interview, to be conducted at your convenience (beginning _____) and one focus group interview with 3 to 4 other classroom teachers from your school (to be held _____). The upcoming individual interview will be conducted in private, either on or off school grounds, as you desire. Total time required for this individual interview session should not exceed 45 minutes. The interview will not interfere with your professional duties. All responses will be anonymous and identities held confidential, including names of school division, school building, and teacher/principal participants. Your participation will be voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time or refuse to answer any questions without penalty, either personally or professionally. Tape-recording will be necessary in order for the researcher to use the actual language of the anonymous participants in analyzing the data. You will be asked to sign permission to tape record at the time of the interview.

If you are interested in participating in this important research, please indicate below and return the bottom portion of this form to the box labeled "change research" located next to the faculty mail boxes in your school office by _____ Indicate your preference as to date, time, and place. The first 15 faculty members who respond to this letter will be included in the study. You will be compensated \$ 10.00 for your participation in each of the two interviews.

If you have any questions regarding this study you may contact my advisor, Dr. Jill Buruss at the College of William and Mary, 757-221-2361. You may contact me at 757-565-4599. I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Phoebe Gillespie

_____ I am interested in participating in your research study. My preference for date and time of the individual 45 minute interview is _____ from _____ to _____
date time of day

I prefer that the interview take place _____ on _____ off the school campus.

_____ Name

_____ Telephone number

Solicitation Letter for Participants in Stage Three

(Date)

Dear _____:

I am a doctoral candidate in Educational Policy, Planning, and Leadership Program at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia and am conducting a research study in your school regarding the process of *inclusion* as a school change initiative. I have permission from your school division administrative offices, as well as the cooperation of your principal and the director of special education in your school division in asking for your participation. Your name has been suggested to me due to your leadership/longevity as a member of this school's faculty and/or your involvement in school governance. Your perspective on the culture of this school- "the way we do things around here"- and *change initiatives* that have either "come and gone" or "come and stayed" over the years, is very valuable to research on schools. Although you may have not been directly involved in the school change initiative of *inclusion*, I am seeking the critical information you may have regarding this school's "ways of doing things" and the manner in which other school changes have been dealt with "around here".

If you are willing to participate in a one hour focus group interview (with 3 to 4 other classroom teachers from your school) please indicate below and return the bottom portion of this form to the box labeled "change research" located next to the faculty mail boxes by _____.
Interviews will be held on _____, during a time convenient to both you and your colleagues.

You will be compensated \$10.00 for your participation. Total time required for the interview will not exceed one hour. Participation in this study should not interfere with your professional duties. All responses will be anonymous and identities held confidential, including names of school divisions, school buildings, and teacher/principal participants. Your participation will be voluntary and you may withdraw from the study or refuse to answer any questions without penalty, either personally or professionally.

If you have any questions regarding this study you may contact my advisor, Dr. Jill Burruss at the College of William and Mary, 757-221-2361. If you are willing to contribute to this important study on inclusion as a school change initiative please respond by _____ so that interviews may begin immediately thereafter. If you have further questions about issues concerning your participation, please feel free to contact me at 757-565-4599.

Sincerely,

Phoebe Gillespie

_____ I am interested in participating in your research study on school culture and inclusion as a school change initiative. I am available to participate in the one hour focus group interview on _____ at _____ time. You may contact me at _____ phone # _____.

 Name

Thank You Letter to Stage One Participants and Response Form for Stage Two Interviews

Dear

I want to thank you again for the time you contributed to the research study I am conducting in your school on school culture and inclusion as a school change initiative. The tapes of the individual interviews I conducted in February have been transcribed and I am in the process of analyzing this information now. I would like to schedule the second round of interviews, which will be held in small focus-groups, for Tuesday, April 14th. If you find it impossible to meet with me at that time, please return the bottom portion of this letter in the self-addressed stamped envelope, indicating an alternative time on Tuesday and I will attempt to reschedule your group. If for some reason you are unable to meet at all on that day, please indicate below and return it to me, also.

Overall, eight general education and four special education teachers participated in stage one interviews and are scheduled for the focus-group interviews in stage two. [The assistant principal who was interviewed in stage one, will not be part of the teacher focus-group interviews]. I have scheduled all 12 teachers into three groups (4 teachers per group) for Tuesday, April 14th. The groups' composition has been arranged with consideration for common planning periods (when that was possible), personal contact with other group members, and a wide variety of content areas represented in each group. In an effort to preserve anonymity of the participants, I have not listed the other teachers who will be in your group. You will find out who there are when you arrive for the interview. There will be special and general education teachers in each group.

During the group interview process, you will be asked to verbally respond to a short presentation of the themes and patterns that emerged from the analysis of the transcripts of the individual interviews. No names, teaching positions, or other identifying information will be used in the material I present to you. I am firmly committed to the confidentiality of the information I have received from all sources.

Please let me know if you are uncomfortable with any of the procedures or processes I employ in conducting this important research study. This one-hour group interview session will be tape recorded also, with the same assurances you received during the initial interview. **You will receive another \$10.00 for your participation.**

Thank you again for your valuable time and enthusiastic attitude. I cannot tell you how much it means to the field of education to be able to depend on *real* teachers in *real* schools to share with others how it *really* is!

Sincerely,

Phoebe Gillespie
College of William & Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia

*** Your group interview session is scheduled for Tuesday, April 14th
at**

Check one of the below and return in the self-addressed stamped envelope **only if you are unable to attend the above scheduled session:**

- I am unable to attend my scheduled interview. However, I can attend an interview session on Tuesday, April 14th at _____ (time of day).
- I am unable to attend the group interview at any time on Tuesday, April 14th. Please call me to reschedule for another day.

Name _____ Phone number _____

*** If you are able to attend your group interview at the above scheduled date and time, you do not need to return this form. I will be contacting you by phone before Friday, April 10th, as to the room we will be using for the interview session.**

Letter Requesting Informed Written Consent from All Participants


Dear _____:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research study I am conducting regarding inclusion as a school change initiative. Your involvement in this important research project will help to shed new light on the challenge of achieving meaningful changes in educational settings. Participation in this research project is voluntary and your name, school division, school name, and location will not be divulged to any one either during or after the research has been completed. There is no penalty - personal or professional - for withdrawal from the study at any time, nor is there penalty for refusal to answer specific questions during the interview process. Your agreement to have the interviews tape-recorded is integral to the validity of the research. However, each tape will be coded with a pseudonym to insure anonymity. Pseudonyms will also be used in the narrative of the report for school divisions, school names, and participant "voices".

Your signature is requested below to insure that you have been informed of the conditions of your involvement in this research, are aware of and understand those conditions, and are willing to participate. Please sign and date the form below. If you have any questions regarding this study you may contact my advisor, Dr. Jill Burruss, at the College of William and Mary, 757-221-2361.

Thank you again for your participation. Your compensation will be awarded after the completion of the interview process.

Sincerely,


Phoebe Gillespie

I have been informed of the requirements of my participation in the proposed research study and agree to participate, knowing all interviews will be tape-recorded. I also understand there is no penalty for withdrawing from the study at any time or refusing to answer questions which I do not wish to answer. I understand I will receive \$10.00 in compensation for my participation at the end of the interview process.

Signature

Date

Interview Format for Dissertation Research
Stage One - Individual Interviews

I. Introduction/Demographic Information

“I am a doctoral candidate at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia and am conducting interviews on school culture-- which I am calling “the way we do things around here” and the school change initiative of inclusion-- that is, “the process of including students with disabilities in general education classrooms”. I understand that your school has been involved in the inclusion of students with disabilities in general education classrooms for at least three years, now. I am interested in hearing how that practice came about and how it has and is being maintained in your school, from your perspective. But before we begin that part of the interview, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

How many years have you been teaching overall?

How many years have you been at _____ high school?

Are you a general or special education teacher?

What subjects do you teach?

(If general educator):

In how many class periods a day do you have students with disabilities enrolled ?

(All teachers)

How many years have you been involved in “inclusion” at this school?

In what ways?

What kind of supports does the school have in place for those students?

How many periods a day in classes that you teach do students with disabilities receive those supports?

II. Now, I would like for you to tell me the “story of inclusion” at your high school as you know it to be. Please start with what you know about its beginning (The researcher will prompt the participant to answer the following underlined questions as they tell their story. *Probes* (in italics) will be used as needed to solicit additional information

I. Can you tell me a little more about the early development of inclusion in your school ?

a.) Why do you think inclusion was implemented at your school? How did it happen?

- Who do you think was involved in the change?
- How did they become involved?
- When and to what extent were they involved?
- Why do you think they were involved?
- Why do you think it was handled in that manner?

b.) Were there any problems about inclusion at the time it was implemented? What were they (in relation to each one mentioned)

- Who do you think was involved ?
- How did they become involved?
- When and to what extent were they involved?
- Why do you think they were involved?

(If problems are related, then) was it resolved? (and if so, then)....

- How did that happen?
- Who do you think was involved ?
- How did they become involved?
- When and to what extent were they involved?
- Why do you think they were involved?
- Why do you think it was handled in that manner?

c.) Was that "normally what happens at this school when there are problems that need to be solved?

- In what ways were they similar? different?
- Were the same persons involved?
- How did that happen?

d.) How do problems usually get resolved around here? Describe the process.

- Who is involved?
- How do they become involved?
- When and to what extent do they get involved?
- Why do you think they get involved?

-Why do you think it is handled in that manner?

e.)Were there any “ways we do things around here” that were used to resolve the issues related to inclusion’s initial start-up?

-How did that happen?

-Who was involved?

-How did they become involved?

-When and to what what extent were they involved?

-Why do you think they are involved?

Why do you think it is handled in that manner?

f.) Did anything about the “way we do things around here” have to change in order for inclusion to take place?

-Why did that (those) change(s)take place?

-How did that happen?

-Who was involved in the process?

-How did they become involved?

-When and to what extent were they involved?

-Why do you think they were involved?

-Why do you think it was handled in that manner?

2. What changes may have taken place in the way inclusion is dealt with now in comparison to the way it was initially implemented ?

a. Can you tell me a little more about each one of those (as changes are mentioned):

- How did that happen?

-Who was involved?

-How did they become involved?

-When and to what extent were they involved?

-Why do you think they were involved?

-Why do you think it was handled in that manner?

b.) Were “the ways we do things around here” used to make those changes?

-How did that happen?

-Who was involved?

-How did they become involved?

-When and to what extent were they involved?

-Why do you think they were involved?

-Why do you think it was handled in that manner?

3. What particular “ways that we do things around here” do you think have supported inclusion? (Regarding each issue addressed):

- How did that happen?

-Who was involved ?

- How did they become involved?

-When and to what extent were they involved?

-Why do you think they were involved?

-Why do you think it was handled in that manner?

4. What particular “ways we do things around here” do you think have been detrimental to inclusion?

- How did that happen?

-Who was involved ?

- How did they become involved?

-When and to what extent were they involved?

-Why do you think they were involved?

-Why do you think it was handled in that manner?

5. What changes, if any, that have taken place in “the way we do things around here” at _____ high school that you think might be attributed to inclusion?

- How did that happen?

- Who was involved ?

- How did they become involved?

- When and to what extent were they involved?

- Why do you think they were involved?

-Why do you think it was handled in that manner?

6. Is there any thing else that is an important part of the story of inclusion in your school? Future?

Stage Two

Focus Group Interview Questions

Do the cultural descriptors presented to you appear accurate?

If not, which ones would you disagree with?

Why?

Do the overarching themes and subthemes appear to reflect the original interviews of the group as a whole?

If not, what areas were left out?

What areas were included that should not have been?

What other issues or themes do you believe are important to this study of inclusion as a school change initiative and school culture that you perhaps did not talk about earlier?

How do you think these issues or themes are related to one another?

To inclusion as a school change initiative?

To the school's culture as a whole?

How do you think inclusion as a school change initiative might be related to this school's culture?

Stage 3 Focus Group Interview

Questions

1. How would you describe the particular leadership style of this school?
2. How has communication either enabled or restricted changes here?
3. How has inclusion affected the ways you do things around here?
4. Have the rules, roles, and responsibilities of teachers been affected by inclusion? Of counselors? Of assistant principals?
In what ways?
5. How are decisions made at your school regarding issues like inclusion?
6. Was inclusion implemented in ways similar or different to other change initiatives?
~~Tell me about that.~~
7. Has inclusion “fit” within the culture of this school - the way you do things around here? Please explain.

Procedures for Multi-stage Data Collection and Analysis

I. Stages of data collection, analysis, and interpretation

- 1st Site Visit

Stage One-- "Individual teacher and administrator tape-recorded interviews"

Conducted during 3-5 days of on-site visits to each school (12-16 per school).

- 2nd Site Visit

Stage Two-- "Member checks"

Initial participants from each school returned for small group interview sessions; designed to gather additional teacher input, stimulate discussion among teachers, and participate in co-constructing overarching themes and cultural descriptors.

- 3rd Site-Visit

Stage Three-- "Informant checks"

Small group interview sessions of teacher-leaders in each school, nominated by participants in stage two. Answered questions together, more directly related to the research agenda.

II. Preliminary Analysis

- Read, read, and re-read the transcripts from stage one for one school.
- Coded responses according to the focus of the questions that were asked, by highlighting illustrative material which reflected that element.
- Read, read, and re-read all the transcripts from stage one of that school, again; thinking this time about the interviews as a whole and what repeated themes, topics, or categories arose.
- Made a list of these. They were my codes for the second stage of my analysis.
- Assigned a color to each item in the list. Indicated passages that were representative of these codes by marking them with colored tabs.
- Re-examined the list of themes I had created, re-reading the passages I had marked with colored tabs.
- Determined subthemes that had issues in common.

- Shared this list, along with a list of cultural descriptors that had been developed in much the same manner, with stage two small group participants.
- Groups were asked to categorize these subthemes according to relationships they believed existed among them and to tell me how each group was related. These “commonalities” from each group were recorded and reviewed to ensure participant agreement in each group.
- Transcripts from the stage two interviews of one school were read and re-read to better understand relationships among the commonalities that emerged from each group.
- Major themes were decided upon, from among those produced by the groups. Became my overarching themes with relative subthemes that “held-up” during the stage two interviews.
- Repeated all of the above for each school (group) until all transcripts had been analyzed and a list of emergent overarching and subthemes had been created for each school.

III. Case Study Write-up

- Used voices of participants to create descriptions of the first and second stages of analyses.
- Sections of the write-up were determined, based on primary and secondary stages of analysis. Subsections reflected the overarching and subthemes.
- Voices of the participants were used to illustrate the subthemes.

IV. Cross-case Analysis and Interpretation

(Interpretation also took place during all previous stages of the analysis).

- A list of the overarching themes from each school was generated.
- This list was examined for similarities and differences, using subthemes to further inform those decisions.
- Overarching themes that demonstrated repeated similarities were grouped together. These similarities were articulated and assigned a common descriptor, resulting in four areas of commonality identified among all three schools.

V. The Construction of a Conceptual Model

- Used cross-case analysis to illustrate relationships among:
 - issues of power and control,
 - constructs defined in the research agenda, and
 - school culture and the change to inclusion.

Constructing the Overarching Themes & “Common Threads” :
 Participant voices from each case study
 (Stage Two - Small Group Interviews)

Mountainview High School:

Focus Group 1-

“High expectations”

“Professional respect”

“Accessibility”

“Variety of responsibilities”

Focus Group 2-

“Accountability”

“Academic expectations”

“Student support”

“Faculty support”

“Parental involvement”

Focus Group 3-

“Community”

“Student”

“Faculty”

“Restrictions that define our practice”

Focus Group 4-

“Student acceptance”

“High expectations”

“Academic emphasis”

“Interpersonal interactions”

Common Threads:

“Student success” “Cooperative atmosphere”
“Efforts on all levels” “Interaction” “Integrated effort”
“Acceptance” “Communication”

Buena Vista High School:

Focus Group 1-

“Legalities” “State/federal guidelines”
“Lack of communication”
“Problems w/classroom implementation”

Focus Group 2-

“Lack of administrative involvement”
“Top-down roll game”

Focus Group 3-

“IEP committee decisions”
“Communication/resistance”
“Administrative involvement”
“Lack of support (Spec.ed. dept. chair)”

to change /territorialistic”

“Federal/state mandates”

“Role of special ed. teacher”

“Key elements for successful inclusion”

“Role of administration in inclusion”

Focus Group 3-

“Building-level issues of administration, student population, and policy of inclusion”

“Classroom-level issues re: general and special ed.”

Focus Group 4-

“School, division, and federal policy”

“Lack of communication” “Demographics”

“Issues related to- student, faculty, and ego (i.e., autonomous practice, interpersonal/change”

Common Threads-

“Communication- needs action” “Acceptance”

“Demand of large #'s of special ed. students impacts many staff and administrative issues” “Uninformed faculty re: inclusion issues” “List of ‘lack-of’s’: administrative

Common Threads:

- “Questions about teaching competency”
- “Lack of/limited communication”
- “Resistance to change” “Reactive decision-making”
- “Consultation/Instructional supports/multiple roles of staff”
- “One-on-one communication w/teachers”

Old Dominion High School:

Focus Group 1-

- “Administrative- change issues, resistance, seem far away from classroom”
- “Student- large #'s, extra academic focus on at-risk”
- “Teacher- personalities, additional responsibilities/ time, voluntary aspect of inclusion”

Focus Group 2-

- “Increasing special ed. demands”
- “Administrative decisions and changes that need to occur re: inclusion”
- “Personality traits of high school teachers- resistance

support, inclusion policy, and faculty & parent involvement” “Control & change” “Problematic problem-solving” “Attitudes of the old-guard” “Issues of competency in special ed. staff” “Authority issues between staff and new principal”

Comparison of this Research Study's Conceptual Model* of School Culture and Change
with Previous Research** on High School Cultures/Change

PREVIOUS CASE STUDIES**	CULTURAL ARENAS*			
	<u>Contextual</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Traditional</u>	<u>Political</u>
Cohen, 1995 (single case study - one school)				
Importance of Critical Funding	x			x
Balance of Centralized & Decentralized Power		x		x
Working w/ Current Faculty	x	x		
Using Broad & Patient Assessments		x		x
Limits of Collaboration		x	x	
Failure of Theory	x	x	x	x
Lightfoot, 1983 (multi-site case study - six schools)				
Imperfections of Goodness	x		x	
Permeable Boundaries & Institutional Control		x		x
Feminine & Masculine Qualities of Leadership		x		x
Teacher Autonomy & Adulthood		x		
Fearless & Empathic Regard of Students	x		x	
Student Values & Views	x		x	
Louis & Miles, 1990*** (multi-site case study - five schools)				
External & Internal Contexts	x	x	x	x
Planning Improvement Efforts	x	x		x
Vision Building in School Reform	x	x	x	x
Getting & Managing Resources for Change	x	x		x
Problems & Coping w/ Change	x	x	x	x
Leading & Managing Change		x	x	x

Muncey & McQuillan, 1996 (multi-site case study - five schools)				
Consensus about Need for Change	x	x		x
Political Issues				x
Time Constraints		x		
Depth vs. Breadth				
Tittle, 1995 (single case study - one school)				
Culture of Inertia	x	x	x	x
Tye, 1985 (multiple case study -13 schools)				
Deep Structure		x		x
Unique Personality	x		x	
Wagner, 1994*** (multi-site case study - three schools)				
Academic goals		x	x	x
Core values	x	x	x	x
Collaboration	x	x	x	

*** Conclusions of these studies were integrated into pre-identified issues from the literature base. All other studies derived their conclusions from the data collected, analyzed, and interpreted within the scope of the individual schools' cases/cross-cases.

A Reflective Self-Assessment Tool for School Cultures Undergoing A Change to Inclusion

I. Contextual Arena

To what degree are your school's goals aligned with the demographic make-up of the student/community population?

To what degree are organizational structures of administration and instruction accessible to all students and all teachers?

To what degree are personnel and processes in place that facilitate open lines of communication and teacher-led decision-making?

II. Traditional Arena

What kinds of expectations does your faculty share regarding student success?

What supports are in place for student and teacher success in the general education classroom?

What physical and philosophical constructs are specifically targeted at increasing depth and breadth of lines of communication among the entire faculty?

What traditions in practice, attitudes, and beliefs influence the implementation of inclusion at your school?

Is your school's faculty culture stable or in flux? To what degree?

III. Professional Arena

Describe the level of mutual respect among special and general education teachers at your school.

Do teachers effectively share ideas about practice and communicate regularly about modifications and accommodations? In what ways?

To what degree does your faculty have the appropriate aptitude/skills for supporting academic content at the high school level?

Describe the climate of professional support among teachers at your school.

What do you know about how teachers feel about the practice of inclusion?

IV. Political Arena

Describe the prevalent leadership style at your school.

How have new laws/mandates from state and federal agencies impacted practice?

What kind of authority does inclusion wield at your school?

To what degree is inclusion viewed as a mandate, a choice, or just good practice for all students? How has that view impacted teacher and student attitudes?

To what degree is your building and district-level administrative personnel involved in inclusion's implementation? List their roles and responsibilities. How effective are they?

A Quick Check of Problem Areas Common to School Cultures Undergoing Change

[or “Is Your School a Vehicle for Change?” If so,
“Does it need a “tune-up” or a major “over-haul”?”]

Check these four major critical functions to see if your school is in shape for a journey toward change:

Gas - [Decision-Making]:

Is it dispersed to all the necessary parts or is there a hole in your fuel line?

(Warning: You won't get very far)

Oil - [Communication]:

Is it evenly distributed, slow to flow, or clogged, full of sludge, and time for a change?

(Warning: Can cause engine damage)

Tires - [Rules, Roles, Responsibilities, and Respect]:

Are they well and evenly inflated? Inspect for road damage.

(Warning: Potential for blow-outs)

Driver - [Leadership]:

Has the driver's seat been taken? “Take turns” to combat fatigue?

(Warning: Accidents due to poor judgment can be fatal)

Appendix B

List of Additional Documents and Artifacts Relevant to the Study

1. School Mission Statement
2. School Profile Brochure
3. Principal's letter to parents to accompany School Report Card (translated into Spanish on back side).
4. Section on Supportive Peer Relationships Program from the Inclusive Education Program manual
5. Additional forms used in the determination of grades for inclusive education
6. IEP Goals and Objectives Form
7. Staff Phone Directory and Master Teachers' Schedule
8. Daily Flash-- "A week at a glance" events calendar
9. Bell Schedule
10. Policies and phone numbers for substitute teachers
11. Sample letters to parents regarding excessive absences and loss of credit
12. Student Code of Conduct Violation Report form
13. Parent Newsletter from principal
14. PTA Newsletter/Booklet
15. School student newspapers
16. Student Code of Conduct booklet
17. Counselor forms for course selections in various classes-- including vocational and AP
18. Mediation Referral Form
19. Secondary Program of Studies and Course Descriptions Book
20. Staff Development Calendar for November-December
21. Booklet on Illicit Drug Information

Cultural Descriptors

Strong Traditions

- dedicated to student success
- active parent involvement
- self-directed faculty
- high expectations
- accepting of diversity

Highly Collegial Faculty

- mutual support
- free-flowing communication
- seasoned faculty
- low turn over

Facilitative Administrators and Counselors

- allow scheduling flexibility
- assist in identifying teachers
- support inclusive philosophy
- respond to teacher needs

Impact on Students

- peer tutoring program
- respect for individual achievement
- atmosphere of acceptance

List of Subthemes Submitted to Stage Two Participants

academic emphasis	administrative/faculty relationship
course requirements	faculty change
high expectations	cultural change
modifications/ accommodations	traditions/history
individually considered	changing demographics
flexibility	parental involvement
both a service and a place	classroom impact
student involvement	in-school supports
accommodating teaching styles	guidance/counseling
individual disability characteristics	assistant principal
self-esteem	faculty meetings
faculty acceptance	local programs
student acceptance	central programs
administrative acceptance	state/federal mandates
	district guidelines

community associations

building level principal

interpersonal interactions

collaboration

networking/communication

professional respect

variety of responsibilities

teacher selection

personal relationships

clear boundaries

accessibility

scheduling

CAMPUS DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

ALL GRADES SELECTED

TOTAL # STUDENTS: 1830

SPECIAL PROGRAMS:	# Students	% of Students
Special Education A	138	8%
Special Education B	27	1%
Special Education Central	33	2%
Bilingual	0	0%
English Second Lang	10	1%
Free/Reduced Lunch	226	12%
Learner Support	0	0%
Gifted & Talented	26	1%
Title I	0	0%
Retained	41	2%

SEX:	Male:	Female:
	882	948
	48%	52%

RESIDENCE:	Apt:	Home:
	631	1199
	34%	66%

ETHNICITY:	1:	2:	3:	4:	5:
	4	75	483	119	1129
	0%	4%	26%	8%	62%

RELATIONSHIP:	FM:	FSM:	F:	MSF:	M:	GP:	GF:
	689	6	253	47	586	2	2
	38%	0%	14%	3%	32%	0%	0%

ETHNICITY:	<1> = Amer. Indian	<2> = Asian	<3> = Black	<4> = Hispanic	<5> = White
RELATIONSHIP:	<FM> = Both Parents	<FSM> = Father & Step Mother	<F> = F	<GP> = G	<O> = O
	<MSF> = Mother & Step Father	<M> = Mother	<GM> = Grandmother		
	<GF> = Grandfather				

1996-97 SCHOOL REPORT CARD

SCHOOL NAME:

DISTRICT NAME

SCHOOL NUMBER

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT: 1728

SCHOOL ACCOUNTABILITY RATING: ACCEPTABLE

DISTRICT ACCREDITATION STATUS: ACADEMICALLY ACCEPTABLE

GRADE SPAN: 09 - 12

LEGEND			State Average	District Average	School Group (Median)	School (All Students)	African American	Hispanic	White	Asian/Pacific Islander	Native American	Economically Disadvantaged
■	Fewer than 5 students											
-	No students											
?	Outside reasonable range											
n/a	Not available or not applicable											
Percent Passing (For all grades tested at this school)												
Reading	Spring 1997		84.0%	89.4%	90.4%	91.3%	80.2%	68.7%	98.4%	94.1%	-	68.2%
	Spring 1998		80.4%	89.0%	85.4%	90.8%	77.2%	72.4%	97.8%	88.4%	•	64.4%
Writing	Spring 1997		85.3%	89.1%	93.9%	91.8%	80.4%	70.6%	98.7%	88.2%	-	82.5%
	Spring 1998		82.9%	87.9%	90.9%	88.9%	74.7%	63.3%	98.9%	85.7%	•	82.2%
Mathematics	Spring 1997		80.1%	88.2%	79.8%	82.0%	54.9%	65.7%	93.4%	94.1%	-	50.8%
	Spring 1998		74.2%	84.1%	72.2%	80.3%	51.0%	63.3%	91.9%	81.8%	•	53.2%
All Tests Taken	Spring 1997		73.2%	81.3%	75.7%	79.2%	49.6%	55.8%	92.6%	88.2%	-	40.9%
	Spring 1998		67.1%	79.2%	68.5%	74.1%	37.0%	50.0%	89.8%	68.2%	•	34.0%
Percent Passing (By Grade Only)												
Science	Spring 1997		84.6%	90.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spring 1998		78.0%	87.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Studies	Spring 1997		87.4%	81.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Spring 1998		70.2%	84.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Equivalency												
Class of 1996			40.0%	60.7%	43.3%	61.9%	32.5%	37.5%	71.0%	64.3%	•	32.3%
Class of 1995			39.9%	60.8%	43.8%	60.8%	31.9%	32.1%	70.3%	50.0%	•	38.5%
End-of-Course Exam (% Taking)												
Biology I Grds 8-12	1997		19.7%	20.8%	25.4%	15.0%	24.0%	28.1%	10.4%	9.0%	0.0%	32.2%
	1996		19.9%	24.6%	25.6%	23.2%	31.8%	20.0%	20.4%	24.1%	80.0%	29.3%
Algebra I Grds 7-12	1997		18.3%	15.8%	21.5%	8.0%	16.1%	16.5%	3.8%	7.7%	0.0%	20.2%
	1996		17.8%	18.5%	21.9%	9.8%	21.4%	15.2%	5.8%	4.8%	0.0%	19.5%
Attendance Rate												
1995-96			95.1%	95.6%	94.1%	95.0%	93.9%	92.8%	95.5%	98.3%	94.4%	93.9%
1994-95			95.1%	95.8%	93.8%	93.8%	92.9%	91.2%	94.2%	95.8%	•	92.2%
Dropout Rate												
1995-96			1.8%	1.0%	1.7%	2.2%	2.9%	5.8%	1.5%	2.1%	0.0%	3.4%
1994-95			1.8%	1.3%	2.1%	2.1%	2.4%	5.3%	1.6%	1.3%	0.0%	2.3%
% Recommended HS Program												
Class of 1996			0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Class of 1995			0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

SCHOOL NAME:

1996-97 SCHOOL REPORT CARD

DISTRICT NAME:
 SCHOOL NUMBER:
 SCHOOL ENROLLMENT: 1726

SCHOOL ACCOUNTABILITY RATING: ACCEPTABLE
 DISTRICT ACCREDITATION STATUS: ACADEMICALLY ACCEPTABLE
 GRADE SPAN: 09 - 12

LEGEND			State Average	District Average	School Group (Median)	School (All Students)	African American	Hispanic	White	Asian/Pacific Islander	Native American	Economically Disadvantaged
•	.	/										
<u>College Admissions Tests</u>												
Percent At or Above Criterion												
Class of 1996			28.3%	45.0%	28.7%	38.3%	10.3%	25.0%	44.6%	31.8%	•	n/a
Percent Tested												
Class of 1996			84.7%	88.1%	87.8%	80.8%	71.6%	59.3%	94.7%	?	•	n/a
Class of 1995			84.8%	88.3%	85.8%	85.9%	75.0%	60.7%	90.3%	77.8%	•	n/a
Average SAT I Score												
Class of 1996			983	1081	980	1052	908	1019	1083	1057	•	n/a
Average ACT Score												
Class of 1996			20.1	22.3	20.7	21.8	18.9	20.8	22.5	23.0	•	n/a
Class of 1995			20.0	22.1	20.4	22.1	19.0	20.7	22.8	22.8	•	n/a
<u>Percent Exempted (for all grades tested at this school)</u>												
Reading (Spring 1997)												
Percent LEP exemptions			2.7%	5.0%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Percent Special Ed. exemptions			8.2%	1.7%	4.1%	0.7%	0.7%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	-	0.0%
Writing (Spring 1997)												
Percent LEP exemptions			2.8%	4.8%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Percent Special Ed. exemptions			8.2%	2.0%	4.1%	0.9%	0.7%	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	-	0.0%
Mathematics (Spring 1997)												
Percent LEP exemptions			2.6%	4.9%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Percent Special Ed. exemptions			5.7%	1.8%	4.0%	1.1%	1.5%	0.0%	1.2%	0.0%	-	1.3%
<u>Average Cost per School</u>					Expenditures are dollar amounts budgeted to be spent during the 1996-97 school year. Total dollar amounts have been divided by the number of students in the school. The district amounts are the average of the school amounts in the district. District central office amounts are not included in the district averages.							
<u>Expenditures per Student</u>	<u>w/in State</u>	<u>w/in District</u>	<u>School</u>				<u>Number of Students per Teacher</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>School</u>		
Instruction	\$2,783	\$3,029	\$2,459				15.5	15.6	17.9			
School Leadership	\$273	\$373	\$329									
Other School Costs	\$744	\$829	\$819									
Total School Budget	\$3,801	\$4,031	\$3,407									

INSTRUCTIONAL ACCOMMODATIONS/SUPPORTS

Student: _____

The ARD committee has determined that the following accommodations are necessary for the student

- Requires special language program: Bilingual ESL
- Requires Behavior Management Plan
or
- Regular discipline without accommodations
or
- Regular discipline with the accommodations indicated

SUBJECT/CURRICULUM

ALTER ASSIGNMENTS BY PROVIDING:

Reduced assignments									
Taped assignments									
Extra time for completing assignments									
Opportunity to respond orally									
Emphasis on major points									
Task analysis of assignments									
Special projects in lieu of regular assignments									
Other:									
Other:									

ADAPT INSTRUCTION BY PROVIDING:

Opportunity to leave class for assistance									
Short instructions (1 or 2 steps)									
Opportunity to repeat and explain instructions									
Verbal steps needed to complete assignment/task									
Opportunity to repeat instructions for assignment/task									
Opportunity to write instructions									
Assignment notebooks									
Visual aids (pictures, flash cards, etc.)									
Auditory aids (cues, tapes, etc.)									
Extra time for oral response									
Extra time for written response									
Exams of reduced length									
Oral exams									
Open book exams									
Study carrel for independent work									
Frequent feedback									
Immediate feedback									
Minimal auditory distractions									
Encouragement for classroom participation									
Peer tutoring/paired working arrangement									
Opportunity for student to dictate information/answers									
Opportunity to answers on tape or to others									
Instructional aid (Specify):									
Other:									

SUBJECT/CURRICULUM AREA

ADAPT MATERIALS BY PROVIDING:									
Peer to read materials									
Tape recording of required readings									
Highlighted materials for emphasis									
Altered format of materials									
Study aids/manipulatives									
ESL materials									
Large print materials									
Braille material									
Color transparencies									
Other:									
Other:									

MANAGE BEHAVIOR BY PROVIDING:									
Clearly defined limits									
Frequent reminders of rules									
Positive reinforcement									
Frequent eye contact/proximity control									
Frequent breaks									
Private discussion about behavior									
In-class timeout									
Opportunity to help teacher									
Seat near the teacher									
Supervision during transition activities									
Implementation of behavior contract									
Other:									
Other:									

ACCESS TO REQUIRED EQUIPMENT/ASSISTIVE TECHNOLOGY DEVICES:									
Calculators									
Word processor									
Electronic spelling device									
Augmentative communication device (Specify):									
Other equipment/assistive technology (Specify):									

Criterion referenced assessment :

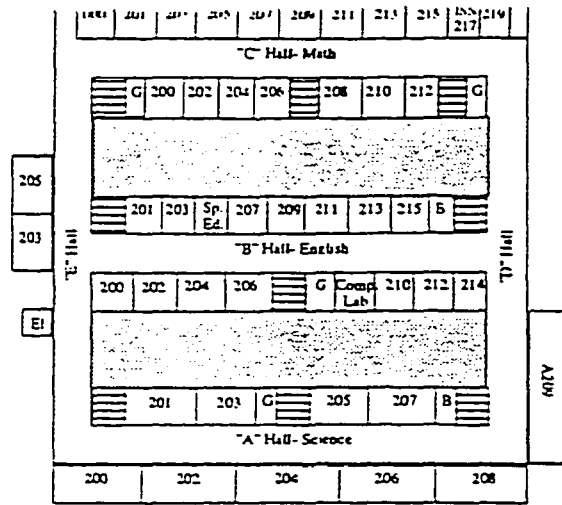
- will take reading
- will take mathematics
- will take writing
- will take social studies
- will take science
- exempt in all areas
- not offered for this student's grade placement

Accommodations as defined in test administration materials:

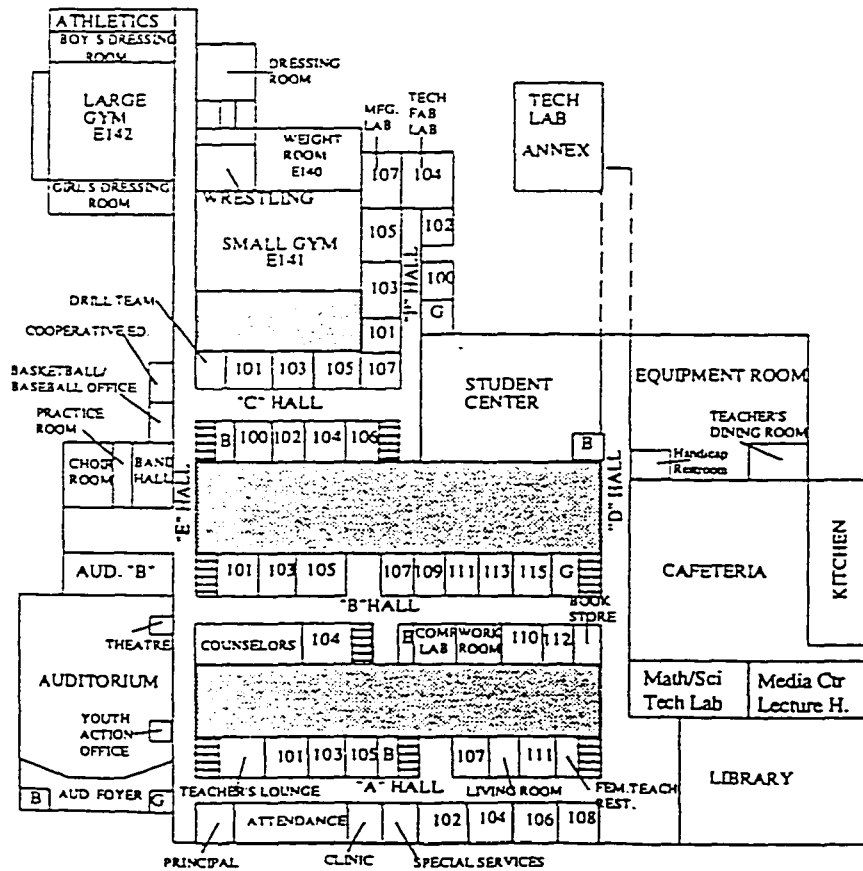
End-of-Course Examinations:

- not enrolled in Algebra I or Biology I
- will take Algebra I
- will not take Algebra I
- will take Biology I
- will not take Biology I

Accommodations as defined in test administration



SECOND FLOOR



FIRST FLOOR

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION PROGRAM

At the beginning of the 1992-93 school year, High School in the Independent School District implemented the Inclusive Education Program. The purpose of this program was to include students with severe mental disabilities in general education classes. Prior to implementation of this program, some students with severe mental disabilities were mainstreamed into some general education classes. The difference between mainstreaming and inclusion is that with mainstreaming, only students who can do the class work are enrolled in general education classes. With inclusion, all students, regardless of their disability, are enrolled in general education classes. It is the responsibility of the Inclusion Facilitators and the inclusive education staff to provide the modifications, accommodations, and supports necessary to enable all students to be included and successful in general education classes. Students supported through the inclusion program attend classes, lunch, pep rallies, and other school activities with their peers. One student was named "Student of the Week" and another "Most Improved Student" for the great effort demonstrated in classes. Students have also participated on the varsity football team, in Student Council, the Theater Department's musical, Girl's Service League, and SADD.

This program replaces the need for a Vocational Skills (Life Skills) classroom and serves students aged 15-21. Students 19-21 years of age often choose to attend the district's Transition Program based at College. With inclusion, special education becomes a service, not a place. The Individual Education Plans and long-range goals for students are better able to be individually managed and students are provided with more educational opportunities in the least restrictive environment. At peer supports are utilized through the Supportive Peer Relationships course. It is also recognized that participation in the general education setting of the high school does not exclude appropriate career preparation.

Currently, there are 13-14 students with mental disabilities 351 who are included in general education classes with support from the Inclusive Education Program (Appendix A). Support is provided by two Inclusion Facilitators, three instructional assistants, and as many as eight supportive peers per class period (Appendix B). It may be necessary for the staff or supportive peers to remain in the general education classes to help support students. The students are enrolled in an average of five general education classes daily (based on a seven period day). Most students receive assistance in the Study Skills Center one hour daily (Appendix C). Like most of the students at High School, most of the students who receive support through the Inclusive Education Program attend only six hours of school daily.

Students select courses based on their credit needs for graduation. Courses may be repeated or credit may be earned from different classes if it is written in the student's IEP. For example, if a student needs to repeat Algebra in order to fully understand the concepts, he/she may receive two math credits toward graduation for the same math class. Also, a student may receive English credit for a Word Processing class if the IEP objectives for English can be met in the Word Processing class and if this is written in the IEP.

General education teachers receive information from individual student's IEPs that might help them include the student in their class (Appendix E1, E2, E3, and E4). The forms we currently utilize were provided by Dr. _____ and tend to simplify IEPs that may be too lengthy or difficult to interpret for general educators. Input from the general education teachers is also requested in order to develop students' IEPs. In addition, general education teachers are asked to fill out an information sheet on the students included in their classes every six weeks (Appendix F). This assists the Inclusion Facilitators in determining IEP grades. General education teachers are also asked to fill out a weekly assignment form and return it to the Inclusion Facilitators (Appendix F1). This enables the Inclusive Education staff to be better prepared when included students come to the Study Skills Center for assistance.

Class grades are determined by a percentage of class work, or by modification of the essential elements, and by the IEP objectives.

The percentages of the grade determined by the IEP and the actual

The percentages of the grade determined by the IEP and the actual course work are decided by the ARD committee (Appendix G). Modifications and accommodations are determined by a team, including the Inclusion Facilitators, student, parents, and general education teachers (Appendix H). Students are on the general education roll and follow the same absent/tardy/behavior procedures as the general education students, unless the need for a different behavior plan is indicated on the student's IEP. Grades are usually kept by the general education teacher. Grades may be kept by the Inclusion Facilitator; this is determined by the teachers. General education teachers report the grades each six weeks. At the end of each six weeks, the Inclusion Facilitators give each general education teacher an IEP/Course Percentages sheet and the IEP grade (Appendix I). IEP grades are based on data kept on the IEP objectives. General education teachers are given a grade percentages conversion chart (Appendix I1) and are asked to use the converted grades on papers and in grade books. Teachers may indicate these grades are modified by placing a check or a plus next to the grade, or by any other means.

This program is a continuous process and changes are ongoing. Although program revisions are made as necessary, the general education staff and the Inclusive Education staff work together to help make High School an inclusive school and community.

Facilitating Supports in Your Building

In the Classroom Setting:

- >Partner/Buddy up a student with another
- >Seating arrangements
- >Provide one-on-one instruction only if needed
Don't be a body guard!
- >Classroom teacher should initiate all class activities
- >Appropriate modifications
- >Classroom teacher is the primary instructor
- >Students should be on general education rolls and the classroom teacher should be in charge of the grades
- >Facilitate friendships
- >Back off
- >NO pull outs

In Other School Settings:

- >An included student's day should look like any other student's day - increases opportunities for creating natural supports
- >Create a circle of friends by helping students to get involved in school clubs/organizations
- >Have students use other support staff as other students would
- >Include ALL school staff on your support team
- >Follow discipline procedures that the school outlines
- >Use Supportive Peers
- >Ask for help
- >Back off

ACCOMMODATIONS/MODIFICATIONS

I. General rule for grading: If accommodations are made with essential elements left intact, the “S” code is not required. If the course content is altered, the “S” code must be used.

II. Examples

A. Accommodation (No “S” code needed)

- *Allowing extra time
- *Reformatting tests to shorten segments
- *Allowing a calculator for functional math when higher concepts are the objective
- *Using oral testing
- *Explaining directions
- *Restating questions
- *Using peer tutoring
- *Providing individual tutoring or instruction
- *Using preferential seating
- *Narrowing choices
- *Providing summaries/reviews
- *Using multisensory instruction
- *Accepting alternatives to composition when indicated
- *Highlighting important information
- *Using assignment contracts
- *Allowing students to retake tests
- *Giving one direction at a time
- *Using shortened assignments/tests
- *Providing outlines/synopses
- *Using vocabulary in meaningful context
- *Using taped assignments
- *Using discipline management contracts
- *Using specialized equipment
- *Using small group instruction

B. Modifications (“S” code required)

- *Deleting essential elements
- *Modifying mastery level (below 70%)
- *Altering course content
- *Grading on the basis of individual improvement or according to the IEP

Study Skills Center

A study center is a location in the school where any student can go at any time. The function of the Study Center is to provide ALL students with a location in the school building where they can go to work on school related work. All student's who are in the Study Skills Center are working on educational and social goals and objectives under the supervision of a faculty member, who may or may not provide direct support.

The Study Skills Center:

- >is NOT a classroom
- >has various teachers/assistants assigned (general and special education)
- >is age-appropriate
- >is inviting
- >is accessible to ALL students
- >is a tutoring area
- >must be fully equipped with materials for ALL students

Use the Study Skills Center:

- >by providing tutoring for students (through peers/teachers/assistants)
- >by providing individual studies
- >by only using the Study Skills Center as a last resort students should receive their primary instruction in settings outside of the Study Skills Center
- >by having any student utilize it who needs a location to do school related work, and who may or may not need support
- >as a meeting place for student organizations before or after school
- >for unlimited used - depending on the needs of the school

INCLUSION FACILITATOR ³⁵⁶

An Inclusion Facilitator is a person who helps a group free itself from inner obstructions or differences so that it may more efficiently pursue its goals.

A good facilitator:

- >established and maintains rapport and credibility
- >demonstrates neutrality toward both sides
- >manages effective communication and contact between parties
- >helps parties determine, analyze and understand all facts
- >keeps channels of communication open

Skills for facilitation include:

- >identifying and modeling norms for interactions
- >maintaining neutrality
- >being empathic; listening, paraphrasing, clarifying and reflecting
- >intervening appropriately
- >encouraging interaction
- >providing a safe environment
- >confronting and challenging

Strategies for Teacher Inclusion

Be Visible

- planning groups/departmental meetings/staff meetings
- go to lounge(s)
- nutrition/lunch
- use offices
- assemblies
- participate in duties (detention, sports supervision, dances)
- participate in staff social events
- work hard
- sponsor clubs/activities

Get to know a large group of students

- teach another class; team teach
- be a period sub
- sponsor a club
- attend activities
- eat in "Quad" or "Student Center"
- open door policy
- be "cool"
- touch kids, show you care, notice behavior

Demonstrate good social skills

- dress appropriately
- give credit to others
- praise others
- minimize difficulties of job
- remember bosses day or secretaries day
- help others
- loan materials/equipment
- don't talk "shop"
- remember names
- smile

TEACHER _____ ROOM _____

CONFERENCE _____ WEEK OF _____

MONDAY:

TUESDAY:

WEDNESDAY:

THURSDAY:

FRIDAY:

UPCOMING EVENTS:

COMMENTS:

Request for Teacher Information

Student: _____ Date: _____
 Teacher: _____ Grade: _____
 Subject: _____

**Please check appropriate areas and return to

1. BEHAVIOR: Excellent _____ Good _____ Fair _____
 Poor _____ Great Difficulties _____

Comments: _____

2. SOCIALIZATION: Does student interact with other students
 in the class?
 All of the time _____ Most of the time _____
 Sometimes _____ Not at all _____
 Great Difficulties _____

Comments: _____

3. ACADEMICS:
 Daily Class work (modified): Passing _____ Failing _____
 Tests and Quizzes (modified): Passing _____ Failing _____
 Special Assignments (modified): Passing _____ Failing _____

Comments: _____

4. ATTENDANCE:
 Excellent _____ Good _____ Fair _____ Poor _____

Comments: _____

5. COMMUNICATION: Is the student able to express him/herself
 in the classroom:
 Yes _____ No _____

Comments: _____

GENERAL EDUCATION INCLUSION COURSES CONTENT/IEP PERCENTAGES

Jamie

English 40/60
Pre-Algebra 50/50
U.S. History 50/50
Reading Imp. 40/60
Biology 50/50

Cindy

Pre-Algebra 50/50
U.S. History 50/50
Spanish I 30/70
English 30/70
Biology 30/70

Spider

English 50/50
World Geog 60/40
Biology 60/40
Keyboarding 50/50
Algebra 1A 70/30

Norma

U.S. History 40/60
Pre-Algebra 60/40
Single Survival 50/50
English 40/60
Biology 40/60

Jana

English 50/50
Pre-Algebra 50/50
Dance 50/50
Art I 70/30
Biology 50/50

Tara

Algebra 1A 50/50
U.S. History 50/50
Choir 50/50
Dance 50/50
English 40/60

Ryan

English 50/50
Single Survival 60/40
U.S. Govt. 50/50
Photography 70/30
Track 70/30

Christie

Biology 50/50
English 50/50
Phys. Found. 40/60
U.S. Govt. 50/50
Child Dev. 70/30

SUPPORTIVE PEER RELATIONSHIPS

Supportive Peer Relationships (SPR) is a course that was designed to provide on-going training to prepare students to work with individuals with disabilities. Students can receive 1/2 or 1 elective health credit for the course. Students are required to fill out an application form, interview with the Inclusion Facilitators, and be recommended by a teacher or counselor before enrolling in the course. Students must sign a statement of confidentiality which is kept in their files. Students are also required to attend peer orientations at the beginning of each six weeks grading periods. These orientations are designed to provide additional training to better prepare and support supportive peers to assist students with disabilities in the classroom.

The SPR class is offered first through seventh periods. Students are assigned to assist students with special needs one hour daily in general education classes or in the Study Skills Center. They are monitored by the Inclusion Facilitators. Students are given weekly assignments which they complete independently and turn into the Inclusion Facilitators. Generally, enrollment for the SPR class is limited to three to eight students per class period.

Assignments for supportive peers are taken from the SPR course handbook. This book contains readings and assignments that are meant to enhance the participation of high school students as peer tutors, friends, and good citizens. First semester students are required to take a final exam; students receiving one credit turn in a written report as their final for the second semester.

The handbook covers twelve topic areas. Some areas are divided into further sections. These topic areas and subsections are included at the end of this section.

The assignments can be completed in one or two semesters. Supportive Peers at High School complete the assignments in one semester. Students who enroll in SPR for a second semester complete assignments by turning in written reports about newspaper/magazine articles, books, and television shows or movies.

SUPPORTIVE PEER RELATIONSHIPS

Assumptions of the Supportive Peer Relationship Course

1. The presence of a disability does not mean that a person cannot learn. All people with disabilities can benefit from school and from participating in community activities.
2. The more severe a person's disability, the better his or her teachers have to be and the more important friends and advocates become.
3. The role of peer tutors, advocates, and general student body members is critical to the success of students with disabilities. Peers can be friends, help students with disabilities learn important new skills, and be role models so that students with disabilities can learn how to act in new situations.
4. The basic rule in tutoring (just as in scouting) is to be prepared. Good preparation is essential to effective teaching and personal interactions.
5. While it is important to be prepared, it is also important to be flexible. Many things happen that are unavoidable and it is necessary to be able to "go with the flow".

Appendix C

List of Additional Documents and Artifacts Relevant to the Study

1. Student Agenda Notebook-- included
 - a. bell schedule and tardy policy
 - b. map of the school building
 - c. calendar of events for the school year
 - d. tips for successful study habits
 - e. letter from superintendent
 - f. listing of all names, addresses, and phone numbers of central office administrators and public schools in the district
 - g. discipline, management plan, and dress code
 - h. policies and procedures for grading, graduation, absences, school records, etc.
2. Student Course Guide 1998-99
3. Student Handbook 1997-98-- included all of the same materials listed above in 'e' - 'h' of the Student Agenda Notebook
4. Two Student Newspapers-- for the 4th and 5th six weeks
5. Master teachers' schedule
6. Revised special education teacher schedule for inclusion
7. Letter to faculty from the principal
8. List of classroom telephone numbers for all faculty members
9. Course offerings for cooperative training programs
10. IEP form for goals and objectives
11. IEP form for instructional modifications/supports
12. Contact Sheet-- for recording special education teachers' contact with students, parents, and/or teachers

Cultural Descriptors

Indirect/Subtle Communication

among teachers regarding attitudes and beliefs
between administration and faculty
within administration

Somewhat Resistant to Change

demographics of student population
implementation of inclusion

Reactive Approach to Problem solving

putting out fires
top/down

Inconsistent Practices

high faculty/student turnover
school/special education leadership
implementation of inclusion

Individual Teachers' Commitment to Student Learning

modify readily
welcome inclusion students
support diverse classrooms
at-risk student population

List of Subthemes Submitted to Stage Two Participants

content mastery	case management
co-teaching	teaching competency
multiple roles and responsibilities of special education staff	consultation with departments and individual teachers
assistant principal's role in supporting inclusion	changes in implementation of inclusion
ARD committee decisions	conflicts between special and general education staff
modifications	lack of communication
grading issues of special education students	resistance to change
funding for inclusion	faculty meetings
central office mandates	departmental meetings
state/federal guidelines	one-on-one teacher communication
changing personnel in administration	

-

paperwork in tracking
special education
student needs

~~limited communication~~

“don’t ask, don’t tell”

instructional supports
from special education
teachers

district-level influences

administrative
involvement

inconsistency in leadership

resistance to change

support of special
education department
chair

current inclusion plan

reactive decision-making

mandates from central
office

frequent program changes

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION

STU98

JANUARY 13, 1998

GRADE LEVEL	SEX	CODE:	?	B	H	W	ALL
GRADE 09	GIRLS		0	22	187	36	245
	BOYS		0	34	263	46	343
	TOTAL		0	56	450	82	588
GRADE 10	GIRLS		0	15	173	32	220
	BOYS		0	25	161	30	216
	TOTAL		0	40	334	62	436
GRADE 11	GIRLS		0	26	135	30	191
	BOYS		0	21	113	25	159
	TOTAL		0	47	248	55	350
GRADE 12	GIRLS		0	10	129	36	175
	BOYS		0	21	81	31	133
	TOTAL		0	31	210	67	308
TOTAL	GIRLS		0	73	624	134	831
	BOYS		0	101	618	132	851
	TOTAL		0	174	1242	266	1682

Test Scores

Improvement Initiative

"A significant jump in School District's 1997 scores indicates that the district is moving toward a 90 percent passing rate by 1999."

This quote was the opening paragraph of a story in the Chronicle on

Improvement Initiative. The plan requires that the district's overall passing rate on the achievement tests meets or beats 90 percent within three years.

"This is a much more ambitious rate of improvement than the state's objective, which only requires half of the students to pass the test within five years," the article stated.

initiative includes a 10-step process for improvement, including:

- Minimum of 90 minutes each day dedicated to reading instruction and 90 minutes to math instruction;
- remedial classes for all students, grades 6-12, who have not passed one or more portions of the test; and
- Advanced training for teachers in teaching strategies.

Scores

Results of Initiative's First Year

	<u>1996</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>Diff</u>
Grade 3	64	68	+4
Grade 4	61	62	+1
Grade 5	67	75	+8
Grade 6	63	69	+6
Grade 7	60	76	+16
Grade 8	53	63	+10
<u>Exit Level</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>+15</u>

INCLUSION PLAN

(To be completed in collaboration with _____ following approval.)

Contact: _____

Campus: _____

Professional Development Needs	Staff Involved	Application (Evidence of Implementation, including timeline)	Evaluation (Evidence of Impact, including timeline)
1 # 1108 Co- Teaching: Collaborative Structures in Education (Oct. 23, 24) Placed on waiting list New Dates: Dec. 10 & 11	(2) Special Ed. Regular Ed.	Presentation to 9th grade teams through immediate dissemination of resources.	Collaboration team presentation once, week in Oct 1997. Increase in referral of Sp. Ed. students.
2. #1042 Assessment, Curriculum, & Instruction: Meeting the Needs of Students with Severe Disabilities - Secondary Strand (Sept. 25, Oct. 24, Nov. 7, Dec. 5) Didn't attend Sept. 25	(2) Assistant Principal Special Ed Chair	Curriculum and alternative assessment alignment.	Decrease in referral of Sp. Ed. teachers, Dec. 1997. A. Implementation of IEP goals and objects through accurate written documents of IEP plans. Jan. 1998 B. Increase the number of Sp. Ed. taking Survey of training provided from Aug.- Dec. 1997.
3. 4 Mat Training Completed in Austin - Summer of 1997 (Documentation Only)	(2) Trained Facilitators	Inservice October 1997	

Phase	Roles and Responsibilities	
	General Education Teacher	Sp. Education Teacher
Phase I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Writes lesson plans - conducts instruction - informs special ed. of upcoming lessons - meets with special education teacher - provides tutorial opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - modifies classroom materials (content mastery is still intact but used less frequently) - monitors instruction and may need to reteach - implements behavioral interventions - shares grading responsibilities for sp. ed. students only - interacts primarily with sp. ed. students - meets with general ed.
Phase II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -writes lesson plans and shares with special ed. - shares formal instruction with sp. ed. a minimum of once a week 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - plans with general ed. on scheduled basis - reviews and designs modifications of tests and classroom materials which allows the sp. ed. student to remain in the gen. ed. classroom

- shares informal instruction for all students on a daily basis
- constructs classroom visual (guided notes, trans. outlines, study guides)
- develops and implements supplementary and supportive learning activities
- assist with classroom management
- conducts formal instruction a minimum of once a week
- shares informal instruction for all students on a daily basis

Phase III

- general education and special education teachers jointly plan and deliver instruction with responsibilities shifting between the teachers (co-teach instructional arrangement)
- both teachers monitor and assess all students in the class
- shared ownership of classroom duties
- planning on a daily basis to ensure classroom coordination
- develop joint lesson plans
- no need for content mastery

Student's Name: _____ I.D.#: _____

Instructional Modifications determined necessary by A.R.D. Committee.

Annual A.R.D.: _____

Special Language Programs: Bilingual ESL

Behavior Management Plan: Yes No

Regular Discipline Plan: Yes No

Assistive Technology: Yes No

Criterion referenced assessment (): _____

_____ Will take mathematics

_____ Will take writing

_____ Will take social studies

_____ Will take reading

_____ Will take science

_____ Not offered for this student's grade placement

_____ Exempt in all areas

Modifications as defined in test administration materials:

INSTRUCTIONAL MODIFICATIONS/SUPPORTS DETERMINED BY ARD COMMITTEE

Student's Name: _____
 Campus: _____

The ARD committee has determined that the following modifications are necessary for the student to succeed.

A student's IEP must be reviewed if he/she has not received passing grades in the same content area for two consecutive six-week reporting periods. (Students with speech impairments only may be excluded from this requirement except when the failure is in language arts instruction.)

Special Language Programs

- Bilingual
- ESL

Behavior Management Plan

- Yes
- No

Regular Discipline Plan

- Yes
- No

Assistive Technology

- Yes
- No

Goal & Objective/Subject

Alter Assignments by Providing:								
Reduced assignments								
Taped assignments								
Extra time for completing assignments								
Opportunity to respond orally								
Emphasis on major points								
Task analysis of assignments								
Special projects in lieu of assignments								
Other:								
Other:								

Adapt Instruction by Providing:

Short instructions (1 or 2 steps)								
Opportunity to repeat and explain instructions								
Encouragement to verbalize steps needed to complete assignment/task								
Opportunity to write instructions								
Assignment notebooks								
Visual aids (pictures, flash cards, etc.)								
Auditory aids (cues, tapes, etc.)								
Instructional aids								
Extra time for oral response								
Extra time for written response								
Exams of reduced length								
Oral exams								
Open book exams								
Study carrel for independent work								
Frequent feedback								
Immediate feedback								
Minimal auditory distractions								
Encouragement for classroom participation								
Peer tutoring/paired working arrangement								
Opportunity for student to dictate themes, information, answers on tape or to others								
Other:								
Other:								

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 CANARY COPY: Campus/Teacher Folder
 PINK COPY: Parent

3714-95

4/95
 ARD-4

INSTRUCTIONAL MODIFICATIONS/SUPPORTS DETERMINED BY ARD COMMITTEE, continued

Goal & Objective/Subject

Adapt Materials by Providing:									
Peer to read materials									
Tape recording of required readings									
Highlighted materials for emphasis									
Altered format of materials									
Study aids/manipulatives									
ESL materials									
Large print materials									
Braille materials									
Color transparencies									
Other									
Other									
Other									

Manage Behavior by Providing:									
Clearly defined limits									
Frequent reminders of rules									
Positive reinforcement									
Frequent eye contact/proximity control									
Frequent breaks									
Private discussion regarding behavior									
In-class timeout									
Opportunity to help teacher									
Seat near the teacher									
Supervision during transition activities									
Implementation of behavior contract									
Other									
Other									
Other									

Required Equipment/Assistive Technology:									
Calculators									
Word processors									
Augmentative communication device									
Note taker/note taking paper									
Interpreter									
Decoders for TV and films									
Access to equipment:									
Other									
Other									

- Criterion referenced assessment:**
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Will take mathematics | <input type="checkbox"/> Will take reading | <input type="checkbox"/> Exempt in all areas |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Will take writing | <input type="checkbox"/> Not offered for this student's grade placement | <input type="checkbox"/> Will take science |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Will take social studies | | |

Modifications as defined in test administration materials:

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 PINK COPY: Parent

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 ARD-5

Appendix D

List of Additional Documents and Artifacts Relevant to the Study

1. Selected sections of the school's 1987-88 Self Study
2. 1997-1998 Student Handbook
3. School's bell schedule
4. Master teachers' schedule
5. Faculty Bulletin-- for March 27, 1998
6. Student newspaper-- for Spring, 1998
7. School News Bulletin for parents, students and faculty-- for Winter, 1998
8. Secondary Student Catalog: Student handbook and course of study guide

Cultural Descriptors

Slow to Change

- issues are “committed to death”
- “old guard” resistant to change
- colliding cultures (both among faculty and students)
- grass-roots initiatives v. top-down mandates

Uneven Communication

- between special and general education teachers
- loosely aligned faculty and administration
- maintained through individual teacher interactions
- role of department teams varies

Diverse Staff and Student Body

- caring student-involved faculty
- autonomous teacher practice
- history of educating at-risk students
- unresolved issues of teacher competency

Unresolved Leadership Issues/Roles

- administration’s response to faculty requests/decision-making
- inconsistent implementation of procedures
- lack of clearly defined policies
- role of faculty in decision-making process
- differing perceptions by faculty

List of Subthemes Submitted to Stage Two Participants

varying levels of success of inclusion partnerships	large # of special ed staff
competency of special education teachers in general education content areas	scheduling of students and/or teachers in inclusion classes
administrative response to teacher input	voluntary participation of inclusion teachers
inertia	varying roles of special ed teachers in inclusion classes
limited impact of inclusion on school as a whole	increased responsibilities for general ed teachers in inclusion
teachers committed to students-at-risk	varying levels of communication between special ed and general ed teachers
use of departmental team meetings	large #'s of students with disabilities on this campus
difficulties in finding a good "match" between general and special ed teacher in inclusion program	large at-risk student population
AP led special ed department	large #'s of special ed students in general ed classrooms
involvement of faculty in school governance issues	administrative decision-making style
rapid increase in student and faculty population	federal/state/local guidelines
cultural differences among faculty and students	differences in teacher/student expectations between special and general ed
continued use of LD resource/academic support classes	changes in teaching practices due to inclusion
support in general ed classrooms determined through IEP	varying levels of support for special ed students in general ed
	accommodations/modifications for special ed students in general

ed classes
ongoing management/changes to
inclusion program

administrative support of
inclusion

impact of inclusion on general ed
students

meetings to support inclusion
program

information dissemination among
faculty

high turn-over of general ed
teachers in inclusion program

impact of SOLs and new
graduation requirements on
future of inclusion

question of inclusion as "grass
roots" initiative or mandated
change by outside influences

territorialism in the classroom

resistance to change

inclusion policy/procedures

coteaching as the major support
for special ed students in general
ed classes

role of special ed teacher as case
manager

overall teacher acceptance of all
at-risk students

May. 28, 1998 8:56 am

S T A R _ B A S E
Ethnic Code Summary

Ethnic Code / Description	Grade	Sex	Number of		
			Students	Percent	

- AFRICAN AMERICAN	09	Female	146	8.78%	
		Male	127	7.64%	
		Total	273	16.43%	
	10	Female	154	9.27%	
		Male	132	7.94%	
		Total	286	17.21%	
	11	Female	108	6.50%	
		Male	80	4.81%	
		Total	188	11.31%	
	12	Female	118	7.10%	
		Male	81	4.87%	
		Total	199	11.97%	
		Total	946	56.92%	

	- WHITE	09	Female	91	5.48%
			Male	105	6.32%
		Total	196	11.79%	
10		Female	83	4.99%	
		Male	89	5.35%	
		Total	172	10.35%	
11		Female	67	4.03%	
		Male	80	4.81%	
		Total	147	8.84%	
12		Female	77	4.63%	
		Male	71	4.27%	
		Total	148	8.90%	
		Total	663	39.89%	

May. 28, 1998 8:56 am

S T A R _ B A S E
Ethnic Code Summary

Ethnic Code / Description	Grade	Sex	Number of Students	Percent	
5 - HISPANIC	09	Female	1	0.06%	
		Male	2	0.12%	
		Total	3	0.18%	
	10	Female	3	0.18%	
		Total	3	0.18%	
	11	Female	2	0.12%	
		Male	3	0.18%	
		Total	5	0.30%	
	12	Female	1	0.06%	
		Male	1	0.06%	
		Total	2	0.12%	
	Total			13	0.78%

1987-1988
PHILOSOPHY AND OBJECTIVES

The faculty and staff of High School recognize the importance of educating students to face the challenges of a modern society. To meet this goal, the faculty and staff believe their primary purpose is to educate all students to develop their potential academically, socially, emotionally, morally, and physically. The fulfillment of this goal enables the students to become effective, productive citizens in a free, democratic society.

The faculty and staff recognize that all students are individuals with their own particular abilities, needs, interests, and heritage; and that it is the staff's responsibility to provide an atmosphere in which optimum growth will occur. To meet these needs, the students will be provided with experiences, opportunities, and activities that will enhance their self-image, their sense of responsibility to others, and their desire and respect for learning. In addition, the faculty and staff will provide opportunities for cultural experiences which will instill an appreciation of the aesthetic values so that leisure time may be richer and more rewarding.

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Vita

Phoebe Ann Gillespie

Birthdate: January 19, 1949

Birthplace: Hutchinson, Kansas

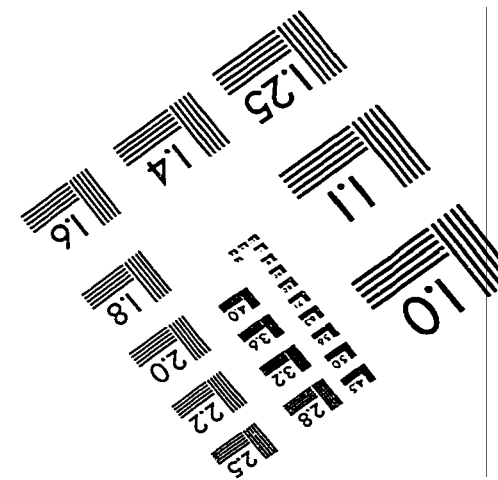
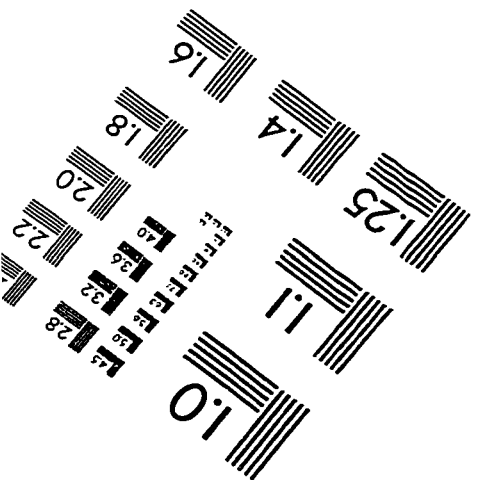
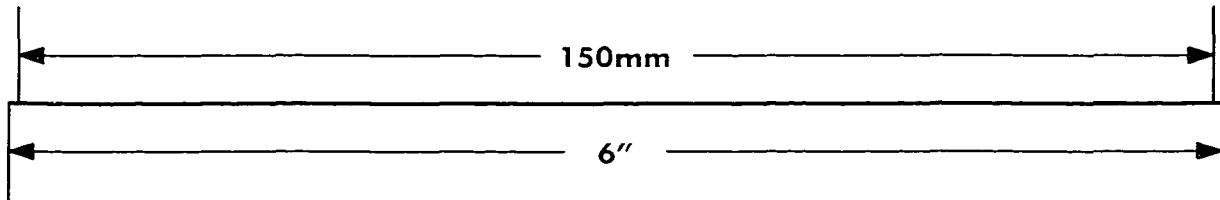
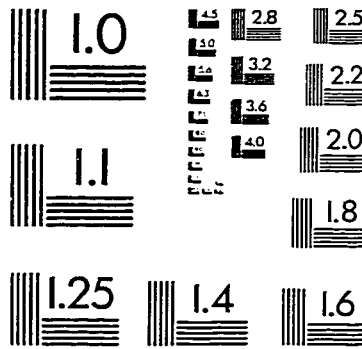
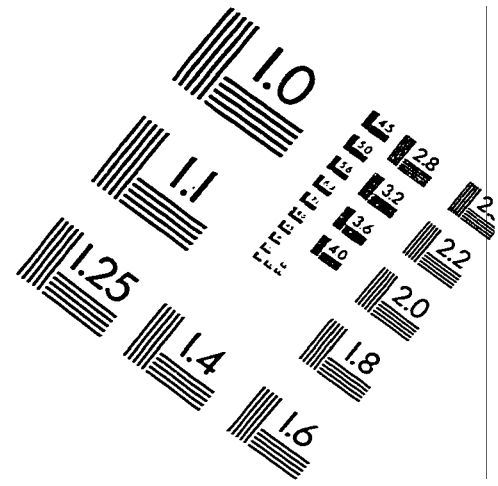
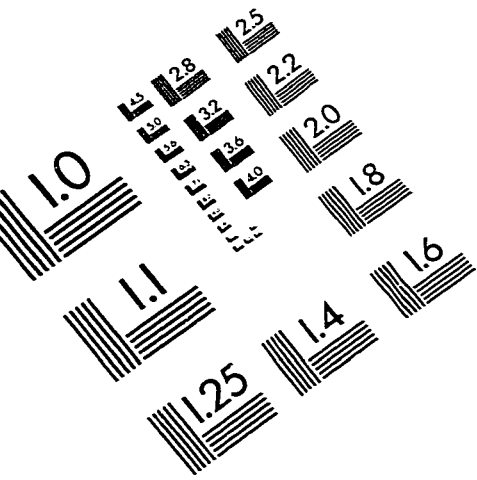
Education:

1995-1999 The College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia
Doctor of Philosophy

1984-1987 Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, Texas
Master of Education

1966-1977 Baylor University
Waco, Texas
Bachelor of Science in Education

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