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Dream and Variations: A Case Study of Transformational Leadership and
Organizational Change at a Resilient Community Music School

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. THOMAS
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

by

JON MICHAEL IVERSON

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION IN LEADERSHIP
MUSIC EDUCATION CONCENTRATION

2023

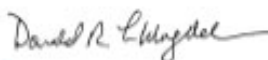
UNIVERSITY OF ST. THOMAS, MINNESOTA

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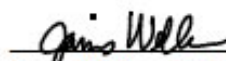
We certify that we have read this dissertation and approved it as adequate in scope and quality.

We have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects, and that any and all revisions required by the final examining committee have been made.

Dissertation Committee



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ABSTRACT

This qualitative case study investigates Paulus Center for Music, a large non-profit community music school, during a unique period of transition in its history. Located in Midwest, USA, Paulus began as a small violin school in the 19-aughts, and quickly grew into the largest community music school in the country. It established a college division and awarded bachelor's and master's degrees for over 25 years. After the death of its founder, the school was gifted to Big 10 University, where it operated for two decades. Big 10 divested from Paulus, soft launching it as an independent music school in the mid-1990s, issuing in a period of renewal and regrowth at Paulus. This dissertation is an investigation of that period, analyzed through the lens of DiMaggio & Powell's institutional isomorphisms and Stevens' organizational lifecycles. Paulus has four clear isomorphic periods in its history, with two distinct organizational lifecycles. Bourdieusian theory is also used to understand the field, habitus, and the different forms of capital at Paulus. This organization generates cultural capital, sustaining the school in good days and bad. Goffmanian theory analyzes key dramaturgical players and factors in the school's transition into an independent 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. Findings suggest that due to its entrepreneurial spirit, Paulus is most successful when it self-governs. The school suffers when it is unable to live up to its mission due to external restrictions and constraints placed on it. Creativity thrives at Paulus, and when creativity thrives, Paulus thrives.

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INTRODUCTION

A REFLEXIVE STATEMENT

“We shall not cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time.”

– T. S. Eliot

Leadership is more than a position – it is a role. As a result, leadership is not simply something one learns, it is something one *becomes*. As a classical pianist, teaching artist and administrator, I have a personal stake in the furtherance of music education. This is not only to ensure my own livelihood, or that of my fellow musicians, but for what I believe is a profoundly important aspect of human culture: *music*. As someone who is deeply passionate about music and the education thereof, my leadership philosophy centers around ensuring that teachers and students – youth and adult alike – can partake in music making at an educational, amateur, semi-professional, or professional level.

I loved playing the piano as a child. I woke at 5 o'clock in the morning in middle school to practice two hours before school started, much to the chagrin of my sleeping brother. At thirteen, my first serious classical piano teacher asked me what I wanted to do with my piano playing. “I want to play piano and get paid for it,” I replied matter-of-factly. He smugly scoffed at my dream. His condescension was in part from being jaded himself and in retrospect I understand his cynicism. A car accident interrupted my undergraduate degree – I was broadsided by a woman running a red light. After two discectomies and subsequent rehabilitation, I

recommitted to my piano studies with full-blown determination. Upon completing my master's degree in piano performance and pedagogy on the East coast, I returned to the Midwest, accepting an interim teaching position at a private university and a part-time faculty position at Paulus Center for Music.

Paulus was about to open its new flagship building while I was preparing for out-state auditions for a Doctor of Musical Arts (DMA) degree. Paulus faculty members were given a construction hardhat tour of the new facility. Even during construction, it was clear the building was stunning, and I thought to myself, "this may be worth sticking around for" I forewent my doctorate at the time and as fate would have it, I made the right decision: I would meet my future wife at the black-tie grand opening gala of the new building. She and I talked late into the night, played piano for each other, and fell in love that evening. I committed to staying in the Midwest and establishing a career both as a performer and teacher.

When I joined the faculty at Paulus in 2006, the student population was some 5,500 students. It was a large community music school even then. The "old building" located on Mary's Place had become a decrepit edifice in dire need of repair, major renovation, and air conditioning. What I found at Paulus, however, was a community of like-minded people. The faculty were well-educated, fiercely committed musicians who thought like me and shared my values. I was awestruck by the talent of the faculty members. I was either too naïve, self-confident, or simply too excited to be among them, but I settled in and made myself at home at Paulus. I worked hard at my teaching and performing to prove my mettle.

After the new building opened, Paulus sought to address faculty wages and formed the Compensation and Benefits Committee. Chairing this committee in its second year would constitute the start of my leadership journey. In my personal life, my wife and I married, bought

a house, and had two sons. Professionally, I took on an administrative position all the while teaching and performing. After a few years, I decided to go back to school to earn the degree of Doctor of Education (EdD) in Leadership, specializing in music education. It was eighteen months into the program that I realized that leadership, like music, has an artistry and pedagogy all its own. I then realized why I was so attracted to the degree program, and it felt like I had come full circle.

In the sixteen years that I have been on faculty at Paulus Center for Music, I have witnessed the school grow from 5,500 to over 16,000 students. This astronomical growth is highlighted by the fact that the administrative structure within the organization has grown only a small amount. It is, and has been, a very lean organization structurally – there is no bloat. Throughout the years, the faculty would receive announcements stating that “this is the *Nth* year with a balanced budget” and that “Paulus is operating debt-free,” an impressive and head-turning feat considering the \$26-million building was just a few years old. The work done at upper levels of administration caught my attention – somebody must be doing something right.

How is it that other community music schools around the country have not experienced the same astronomical growth and radical transformation that Paulus has undergone? When we hear that K-12 public school budgets are cutting music programs, and students do not have time for music lessons because of extracurricular activities, why is it that Paulus not just grows but thrives beyond anyone’s wildest imagination? What is the executive leadership doing correctly? And specifically, what can other community music schools learn from it?

As I researched and wrote this dissertation, it was interesting to chronicle the development and change of Paulus throughout its history. There are countless artifacts that account for Paulus’ vibrant and energetic history both then and now. The research drew me

closer to Paulus, but it also gave me a glimpse into the core DNA of the organization, which is still very much alive and present.

The process of renewal and refreshment only happens when we recreate ourselves from the inside out: we can only move forward once we shed our old selves. This process happens to individuals as well as organizations, and it has occurred at Paulus Center for Music.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

“The great aim of education is not knowledge but action.”

– Herbert Spencer

If we imagine that organizations are biological organisms, it is only logical to assume that those organisms are bound by the same laws of nature as *all* organisms. Naturally, there are constraints and boundaries in which those organisms operate – everything, for example, is affected by the laws of gravity. The same is true of institutions and organizations as well: they too are affected by external laws and principles. At times, those laws put an enormous amount of pressure on an organization. In Darwinian terms, some organizations are more fit for survival than others. When backed into a corner, organizations elicit a flight, fight, or freeze response.

This dissertation studies a resilient organization – a music school, in fact. The history of this organization cannot simply be understood from a single vantage point though. Instead, this school is best understood with a multifaceted analytical approach as to why the school was successful (or not), how the school survived (or nearly didn't), and what we can learn from its successes (and failures). This chapter reviews the literature, establishing a common understanding and foundational theory of how we are to analyze the music school in subsequent chapters.

The Issue's Historical Significance

Music and Music Education

Music is known to exist in every known human civilization past and present (Hodges & Sebald, 2011; McDermott & Hauser, 2005; Nettl, 2000; Patel, 2008; Wallin et al. (2000). While differences between musics show that music itself is *not* a universal language, *music itself is indeed universal*: music is a ubiquitous and ever-present aspect of human life on planet earth (Nettl, 2000). A byproduct of human evolution, it is a primary and foundational component of human culture (Clayton, 2009; Dubos, 1981; Gregory, 1997; Hodges & Sebald, 2011; Merriam, 1964). The archeological record shows that *homo sapiens* were carving prehistoric flutes as early as 53,000 BCE (Gray, Krause, Atema, Payne, Krumhansl, & Baptista, 2001); early human beings were creating music of artistic significance by 30,000 BCE (Wilford, 1986). The emergence and importance of music making in our early ancestors is undeniable.

Logically, this presumes that music education *must* have been present too: cultural demand for music requires music performers, in turn requiring music education in one form or another (Elliot & Silverman, 2015). As a result, music education has embedded itself in one way or another in most, if not all, cultures (Elliot & Silverman, 2015; Mark & Gray, 2007). Time and time again, music education, music philosophy and music pedagogy culminate in culturally formalized educational practices which develop into conglomerations of music teachers and/or institutions and organizations (Elliot, 2005; Jorgenson, 1997).

The Development of Formalized Music Education Organizations in the United States

European-style music instruction began on North America in 1540 by Spanish Catholic priests in what is now known as New Mexico (Cox & Stevens, 2017). The further colonization of the United States introduced religious worship of different Christian sects, all of which were

profoundly important influences on musical practices in America. Pilgrims, Puritans, Mennonites, and Pietists all brought musical traditions with them as did Africans brought to the United States as a part of the slave trade (Crawford, 2001).

Seeking to provide mass music instruction to lay people commoners, *The Bay Psalm Book* was published in 1640 in New England (Cox & Stevens, 2017). Singing schools were established in the early 1800s as a form of religious parochial education aimed at teaching people to sing religious hymns and sacred music (Leglar & Smith, 2010). Since the dawn of America's public education system, music instruction has been taught both in- and outside public schools, including music conservatories, colleges and universities, and settlement houses/community music schools.

A Brief Typology of Music Education Organizations in the United States

Music Conservatories

Conservatories as we know them today were established to provide practical and theoretical training for musicians of all types and grades. Musicians-in-training receive vocational instruction in performance, composition, conducting, music education and pedagogy, musicology, music theory, and liturgical music. Most of the world's most well-known conservatories were founded in the nineteenth century, accepting students as young as 10 years old (Mark & Gary, 2007). The United States is home to numerous European-modeled music conservatories established in the mid-1800s to early 1900s: Peabody Conservatory (Baltimore, 1857), Chicago Musical College of Roosevelt University (1867), New England Conservatory of Music (Boston, 1867), Philadelphia College of the Performing Arts (1870), The Juilliard School of Music (New York, 1905), San Francisco Conservatory (1915), Mannes College of Music (New York, 1916), Manhattan School of Music (1917), Cleveland Institute of Music (1920),

Eastman School of Music (Rochester, 1921), and the Curtis Institute of Music (Philadelphia, 1924) (Randel, 1986).

Colleges and Universities

The colonial settlers of New England included alumni of the royally chartered British universities of Cambridge and Oxford, bringing with them the belief that education was essential (Rudolf, 1990). Between 1800 and 1850, the United States experienced a “college building boom” during which time more than two hundred degree-granting institutions were created (Veysey, 1965). By the turn of the twentieth century, American research universities flourished and widened their scope of operations by adding a multitude of highly specialized departments (Goldin & Katz, 1999). Colleges and universities began offering accredited degrees in a variety of music-related subjects, concurrent with the emergence of conservatories in the United States.

Postsecondary education in music provides training to students who, 1) wish to achieve professional competence as performers and/or composers; 2) will teach music in elementary or secondary school; 3) wish to specialize in the study of music as a humanistic discipline; and 4) will study of music is a part of a general education. Music degrees offered in college and/or university settings include Bachelor of Music, Master of Music, Artist Diplomas, and Doctor of Musical Arts. Concentration on one instrument or performance medium is required in conjunction with a study of pedagogy, music theory, music history, and subjects needed for state K – 12 teacher certification (Randel, 1986).

Public Schools

By the 1820s, the “common school” movement had gained momentum in New England, establishing what would become America’s public education system. By the mid-1800s, public school was compulsory for all American children. Strong advocates of incorporating music into

the curriculum included school reformer William Woodbridge, musician/educator Lowell Mason, and the Boston Academy of Music and its president, Samuel Elliot. Consequently, Massachusetts was the first state to establish music education as a compulsory subject of the curriculum (Mark & Gary, 2007). The series of steps that preceded the addition of music in Boston public schools was faithfully repeated in other cities around the country (Birge, 1966).

Incorporating elements of the Pestalozzian education reform movement his teaching, Mason (1843) modified seven principles for teaching music. Ultimately these principles became the foundation of public school music education curriculum, summarized here:

1. To teach sounds before signs;
2. To lead the child to observe;
3. To teach but one thing at a time;
4. To make children practice each step of each of these divisions until they master it before passing to the next;
5. To give the principles and theory after practice, and as an induction from it;
6. To analyze and practice the elements of articulate sound in order to apply them to music; and
7. To have the names of the notes correspond to those used in instrumental music.

Based on these principles, music education in public schools branched out into different avenues of praxial instruction: general music, choir, band, orchestra, jazz bands, marching bands, and drum lines, many of which have become a vital aspect of elementary, middle, and high school in American public education. It should be noted that academic subjects such as music history, music theory and orchestration are rarely, if ever, taught in public schools.

Settlement Houses/Community Music Schools

The movement to establish Settlement Houses in America came from England at the end of the nineteenth century. Founded in 1889 to address and rectify societal ills in Chicago, Jane Addams' Hull House operated with a clear philanthropic idea. Her vision was to create a place that would nurture universal and democratic fellowship among people from all classes (Knight, 2010). Addams would do this by offering programming that included children's groups, educational meetings, art shows, crafts, and athletic facilities (Kennedy, 1969). It also included music education (Addams, 1910).

Such settlement schools would spring up all around the country. As they grew in numbers, their mission – specifically regarding music education – would be honed and focused, providing students with high quality music education at low cost. “The difference between the fee paid by the pupil and the cost of the lesson is made up by the School” (Schenck, 1926, p. 15-16). As time went along, the terms “settlement school” and “community music school” were used interchangeably, but still referred to a non-profit, non-sectarian organization in the United States or Canada offering instruction at a nominal cost. The emphasis here is not on whether students do or do not have talent; instead, the focus is on the high-quality education being provided to those students (Egan, 1967).

Accreditation and Accreditation Agencies

Accreditation for public and private degree-granting higher education and post-secondary institutions developed a means for quality assurance to protect customers (students). From the very beginning, the accreditation of higher education colleges and universities has been about protecting consumers and preventing fraudulent actors scamming unsuspecting students. Therefore, accreditation developed as higher education grew increasingly important, reflecting the cultural values of the United States. Namely, that an individual can achieve a self-identified

goal, if they aren't being taken advantage of (Brittingham, 2009). The United States government became increasingly more involved with the accreditation process when it began issuing financial aid for students: chiefly, upon passage of the GI Bills in 1944 and 1952. Since the passage of the second GI Bill, the federal government's relationship with accreditors has been to protect student and taxpayer investments. The government has therefore relied on accrediting agencies to monitor and oversee the quality of education being offered by colleges and universities (Flores, 2015).

Accreditation is the process by which an educational organization, be it a degree-granting college, a community college, or a non-degree granting school, is evaluated and certified a functioning organization by meeting criteria standards (Higher Learning Commission; 2022b). Accreditation is bestowed upon an organization through a lengthy review process that occurs periodically such as four or 10 years, for example. There are many sanctioning governing bodies that issue accreditation in the United States: The Higher Learning Commission, for one, is a well-known accrediting body. There are six regional accrediting agencies in the United States (Legacy, History, Pride; n.d.):

- New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC)
- Middle States Commission on Higher Learning (MSCHE)
- Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS)
- North Central Association (NCA)
- Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC)
- Northwest Commission on Colleges and Universities (NWCCU)

Colleges, universities, and schools must submit a full review of the organization, educational offerings, financial aid, facilities, equipment, library and learning resources,

recruitment, and admission, and so on. Nearly every aspect of a higher education organization undergoes a comprehensive evaluation during the accreditation process. Schools then undergo monitoring to make sure that accreditation guidelines continue to be met (Higher Learning Commission; 2022a).

The Higher Education Amendments of 1992 required accrediting agencies to assess a list of quality indicators (Flores, 2015):

- Curricula
- Faculty
- Facilities, equipment, and supplies
- Fiscal and administrative capacity as appropriate to the specified scale of operations
- Student support services
- Recruiting and admissions practices, academic calendars, catalogs, publications, grading, and advertising
- Program length and tuition and fees in relation to the subject matter taught and the objectives of the degrees or credentials offered
- Measures of program length in clock hours or credit hours
- Success with respect to student achievement in relation to its mission, including, as appropriate, consideration of course completion, state licensing examination, and job placement rates
- Default rates in the student loan programs under Title IV of this act, based on the most recent data provided by the secretary of education
- Record of student complaints received by, or available to, the agency or association

Under certain circumstances, however, an institution may fall out of compliance with accreditation guidelines. If educational offerings or quality is lacking, financial troubles affect the school, or if enrollment has dropped significantly, then a school is at risk of losing accreditation. Institutions may be sanctioned by not meeting criteria for accreditation, federal compliance requirements, or assumed practices as outlined by the overseeing agency. If standards are not met – or are unable to be met – by the school, it may be put on probation, and/or the withdrawal or denial of accreditation candidacy may be issued (Legacy, History, Pride; n.d.).

Music schools such as conservatories – as well as universities and colleges with large music departments – can apply for a unique accreditation specifically intended for music schools. The National Association of Schools of Music (NASM) is a nation-wide accrediting agency that for many years was the gold standard in accrediting music programs in higher education. It was only recently that many conservatories started to withdraw from NASM, with Oberlin, Yale School of Music, and New England Conservatory – to name a few – withdrawing in the past decade. Instead, these schools choose to apply for the Higher Learning Commission accreditation process, which has evolved significantly, surpassing even that of NASM (“Oberlin Conservatory,” 2015).

Music Education’s Major Contemporary Themes and Tensions

While there has been significant growth and expansion of music education-related offerings in the United States’ history, recent cultural changes have put music education in a position to reexamine itself, its role in society, and its relevancy in an ever-changing world. These changes include a devaluation of arts, changing demographics, and persistent biases against the teaching profession.

Cultural Devaluation of the Arts in the United States

According to the National Endowment for the Arts, there has been a decline in arts-related events in the United States since 1982 (Rabkin & Hedberg, 2008). Participation in arts education is down; attendance of classical, opera and jazz music concerts has declined; and recreational art making by artists of all ages has diminished. “Omnivores” – the term sociologists have given to people who regularly participate in a wide range of cultural activities – represent only a small percentage of the population but constitute a large portion of the arts audience. Regrettably, this demographic is shrinking and becoming less active, dealing a double blow to the arts (Jacobs, 2011). Unquestionably, there has been a significant shift in cultural attitudes towards the arts and music in the United States over the past few generations. These attitudinal shifts have been a result of changes in demographics, economics, gender roles and cultural values, and reflects a devaluation of the arts in the United States (Blume-Kohout, Leonard & Novak-Leonard, 2015; Shewfelt, Ivanchenko, et. al, 2013).

Neoliberalism. The hegemonic ideology of *neoliberalism* in the United States has shaped the arts and arts education tremendously. Neoliberalism is not the opposite of neoconservatism, but instead is a self-empowering ideology exulting personal liberties, accumulation of personal wealth, and reduced taxes (Harvey, 2005). Spreading around the globe in the late 1970s and early ‘80s, neoliberalism is now the dominant hegemonic structure of the world today – it is the *zeitgeist* that defines our era. As neoliberal principles and philosophies seep into education in the United States, and now globally, we are seeing the deficits of such thinking and practice. There are glaring omissions in the education process regarding naturalistic pragmatism and personhood: “the development of student’s character, flourishing, empathy, happiness, ethical

conduct, and a positive and proactive disposition to work for the benefit of others” have all been forsaken for neoliberal principles (Elliot & Silverman, 2015).

STEM Curriculum. An emergent and increasingly prominent effect of neoliberalism is the current emphasis on STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) education in K – 12 public schools. Proponents have adopted and advocated STEM curriculum as means to refuel the US innovative economy (Atkinson & Mayo, 2010). Implicitly, these subjects advocate professions that offer high-earning salaries, an appealing dimension to parents who may feel uneasy about the future financial security of their child(ren). However, “a broad general education helps foster critical thinking and creativity. Exposure to a variety of fields produces synergy and cross fertilization. Yes, science and technology are crucial components of this education, so are English and philosophy” (Zakaria, 2015).

Perhaps a more balanced education, which includes arts education – in essence, STEAM curriculum – is in order. Arts opportunities “foster creativity, confidence, and communication in our students [that] impact all areas of life” (Bendapudi, 2018). Such pragmatic educational philosophies and practices develop students holistically, exploring and realizing students’ potential in various areas of their life. Psychologist Sandra Carey poignantly reminds us: “Never mistake knowledge for wisdom. One helps you make a living; the other helps you make a life” (Carr, 2000).

Addressing Social Change

In addition to fighting the headwinds of neoliberal cultural assumptions, non-profit organizations in music must also negotiate daunting social change. Creating a full-functioning non-profit organization and its capacity occurs within ever-changing social, political, economic, and demographic environments (Hiatt & Creasey, 2012). Anticipating, adapting, and

maneuvering external challenges then becomes a primary role of executive administration, as is creating and sustaining proper learning environments for teachers and students. To believe that community music schools simply exist in a reactive state to its environment is a misnomer: community music schools actively help to create, sustain, and foster community and meaningful societal change as students' lives are enriched and transformed through music education (Elliot & Silverman, 2013; Reimer, 2003). There is a symbiosis that operates much deeper than what appears on the surface.

Economic issues. Undoubtedly, the most pressing issue facing any non-profit organization is an unpredictable philanthropic and fundraising environment (Williams, 2014). Most community music schools operate based on revenue from lessons and classes, with a significant portion of their income – upwards of 40% of the general operating budget – coming from fundraising. A very small number of schools operate with an endowment fund that creates a third income stream. Changes in demographics, economics, politics, and even federal- and state-issued grants can play an important role in a school's financial security. When there are significant disruptions in those arenas, it can greatly affect fundraising, donations, and grants. A prime example is the economic recession of 2008, which created numerous consecutive years of financial instability for many organizations (Blair, 2008).

Demographic Issues. Another issue facing community music schools is the ever-changing demographic landscape of the United States (Kotkin, 2010). As a result of such changes, music schools continuously need to revisit, update, and reconcile their mission statement and comportment regarding class, gender, race, sexual orientation, gender identity, age, religious or areligious belief, and any future social change(s) that may transpire. This may mean, for example, creating and expanding assistance for students from lower socio-economic

backgrounds to pursue music education through scholarships and/or financial aid (Kolbert, 2018). This may include adopting formal diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) practices by the staff, administrative and faculty as it is imperative that an organization reflects the multi-ethnic and racially diverse community it serves (Boekhorst, 2015; Guillaume, Dawson, et. al, 2015; Walton, Murphy, & Ryan, 2015). Reaction to demographic changes is not an *either/or* proposition but requires an *all of the above* response (Curson, 2015).

Biases Against the Teaching Profession

Every profession has negative stereotypes with which to contend. For those that teach music, one stereotype is that of a failed performer, enshrined in the phrase, “those that can’t do, teach.” There are very few benchmarks of success for professional musicians (e.g., a member of a professional ensemble, a college professor), with the highest of all benchmarks being that of a paid performer – specifically, a concert soloist. Even amongst some musicians, anything less is viewed as a career failure. Thus, it is believed that failed performers become teachers by default. This mindset not only displays contempt for the teaching profession but implies that teachers are inferior to workers, even within the same trade (Hembd, 2008). However, this stereotype is not the only bias with which the teaching profession must contend.

Pay Bias. Teachers earn about 20 percent less than other college-educated workers (Allegretto & Mischel, 2016). Resultantly, there is a vast disparity between their earnings and the meaning they receive from their work: many teachers continue to teach because they are committed, passionate, and feel good about the impact they have on their students’ lives (Luckwaldt, 2018). Attrition and turnover are detrimental consequences of low pay in the teaching profession, however. Facing ever-increasing costs of living and pay stagnation, some teachers are lured to higher-paying professions or are forced out against their will because they

cannot afford to teach any longer (Calfas, 2018). According to the Learning Policy Institute, nearly 20 percent of teachers leave the profession due to low pay (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017). To further compound the issue, young professionals are not enticed to teach as their financial future is brighter in another profession.

Gender Bias. Fields dominated by woman, such as nursing and social work, are known as pink-collar professions (Elkins, 2015). Gender bias against working women is a global phenomenon firmly rooted in issues pertaining to economic development, urbanization, the position of women in society, cultural definitions of masculinity, and the value of children and childcare (Quinlan, 2016). The teaching of young children, too, has historically been dominated by women and by extension, the younger the students being taught, the less value the teacher receives (Quinlan, 2016; Sheelagh, 2008). The older the students become, the more socially acceptable (and likely) it becomes for teachers to be male and better paid. Kindergarten is predominantly regarded as a female profession, while college teaching is not, with salaries and pay being reflected proportionately so.

Pay Gaps in Gender-Defined Professions. A gap between women's and men's earned income has proven both persistent and universal, with a gap in earnings existing in every country (Lips, 2013). It is no coincidence then that teaching – long regarded as a female profession – is perceived as low- to mid-skill work that confers little social status and pays poorly (Quinlan, 2016). Inequities in pay is reflected in the differences between male and female teachers' pay, but also the teaching profession relative to non-teaching professions.

Pay Gaps in Artist-Defined Professions. Income for artists is significantly lower than other professions, a phenomenon that too is persistent and universal in every country (Jones, 2015). A study in the UK (Jones, 2014), showed that most contemporary artists are barely

surviving financially, with no or low pay being the norm. Faced with personal financial insecurity, many working musicians rely on various sources of income, adopting a multifaceted portfolio career. Income may be earned from activities including performing, teaching, composing, recording, a day job, or any combination thereof (Weller, 2013). Typically, because there is no single source of income, musicians pursuing portfolio careers do not receive benefits such as health insurance and retirement plans, thus undermining an already low earned income.

Gender Pay Gaps in Classical Music. There is an undeniable pay gap within the field of classical music. While women make up 40 percent of the nation’s major orchestras, for example, 240 of 305 of principal positions – 79 percent – are filled by men. Just recently the principal flutist of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, a “top five orchestra” in the nation, sued the orchestra because she was paid nearly \$65,000 less annually than her male oboist counterpart. “Money is the one thing that we can look at to measure people’s value in an organization,” the flutist says (Edgars, 2018). More broadly, money is one measurement of peoples’ value within a culture writ large.

It is important to note here that men and women are victims of bias of some form, whether it is in the arena of music performance or music instruction. Men are over-represented in the field of music performance, while women are over-presented in private music instruction. Resultantly, women may have a hard time breaking through into the world of music performance, and men may be deterred from pursuing a career in music instruction.

Relevant Analytic Theory

Social changes and cultural biases notwithstanding, the operation of any organization is a complex and multi-variable process. Successful organizations grow, expand, professionalize, and improve internally and externally. While it is useful to understand an organization’s historical

DNA, three theories provide an understanding of the organization's future: transformational leadership, organizational lifecycle, and institutional isomorphic improvements.

Leadership

Donald LaMagdeleine (2016) posits that leadership is neither an art nor a science. Instead, it is a hybrid skill set: part art *and* part science. Viewing leadership through only one of these lenses is insufficient as "leadership's structure and dynamics are partly captured by both artistic and scientific theory and methods." The skillful leader can understand the simultaneous influences and motivations of a group or organization. By understanding human motivation, structural influence and causal relationships, the effective leader is one who is able manage the social strata within a given scenario. Leadership is independent of context and applicable in a multitude of settings; the malleability and flexibility of which lends itself to an improvisational nature, something akin to leading a jazz ensemble.

Transformational Leadership. The most effective of all forms of leadership is transformational leadership. Going well beyond transactionalism, transformational leadership is a process wherein a leader creates connections that raise the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower. Further, transformational leaders are sensitive and attentive to followers' needs and assists the follower in reaching their fullest potential (Northouse, 2013). Transformational leadership primarily concerns itself with the leader-follower relationship as well as improving the performance of the follower (Avolio, 1999; Bass & Avolio, 1990). "People who exhibit transformational leadership often have a strong set of internal values and ideals, and they are effective at motivating followers to act in ways that support the greater good rather than their own self-interests" (Kuhnert, 1994).

Effective transformational leadership manifests itself in a variety of characteristics: 1) *charisma*, which deals with the emotional component of leadership (Antonakis, 2012); 2) *inspirational motivation*, the communication of high expectations, inspiring followers to become a part of something bigger than themselves; 3) *intellectual stimulation*, nurturing the creativity and innovation of followers; and 4) *individualized consideration*, where leaders respond and react to the needs of followers (Northouse, 2013). “Transformational leadership moves followers to accomplish more than what is usually expected of them. They become motivated to transcend their own self-interests for the good of the group or organization” (Bass & Avolio, 1990, as cited in Northouse, 2013).

Entrepreneurial Leadership. A recent emergence in the field of leadership studies is that of entrepreneurial leadership. When faced with the unknown, the entrepreneurial leader is one who is able to experiment, learn, and iterate. This type of leadership is a mindset that has an optimistic outlook that turns problems into opportunities that create economic and social value (Atwater, 2020). An entrepreneurial leader expertly navigates uncertainty in an increasingly risky, uncertain, and ambiguous world (Roomi & Harrison, 2011).

It should be noted that entrepreneurial leadership is a subset of leadership, and understanding, documentation, and research of it is still in its infancy. However, it’s becoming increasingly clear that entrepreneurial leaders emerge in small to mid-sized organizations. Many times, these organizations or businesses are ones they create. These leaders operate best when they can move freely within a space, solving problems and adjusting to ever-changing social demands. As self-starters, they take initiative without being told what to do, acting on opportunities in front of them. Through problem solving, these individuals can change the dynamic within a market, strategically positioning an organization for dominance (Rao, 2018).

Authentic Leadership. While there may be different types of leadership, one overarching personality trait stands out that distinguishes effective leadership: authenticity. Authentic leaders are guided and led by their principles. They are true to themselves, what they believe, and their decisions. Authentic leaders are passionate about their work, have a commitment to the organization, and they focus on the future ahead. They have the integrity and skills to make the right choices when necessary (Center for Creative Leadership, 2020).

Other skills that define this leadership style include:

- *Self-awareness* – the ability to understand oneself and their relationship to employees, the organization, and the mission and vision of that organization.
- *Genuineness, modesty, and humility* – the ability to share glory with employees and team members.
- *Empathy and ethics* – the ability to make necessary decisions with integrity and support one’s team members while remaining committed to doing what’s right.
- *Results-focus* – The ability to create a future beyond the present reality, enabling the leader to energize followers and see the vision as clearly as the leader does (Center for Creative Leadership, 2020).

Servant Leadership. Servant leadership is an approach to leadership that places followers first. It is a paradoxical approach to leadership if understood through the lens of leader first. As a result, servant leadership “emphasizes that the point that the leaders be attentive to the concerns of their followers, empathize with them, and nurture them” (Northouse, 2013).

Similarly, Greenleaf (2008) asserts that the servant-leader is servant first, leader second.

Further, servant leadership starts with the natural feeling that “one wants to serve, to serve *first*” (Greenleaf, 2015, p. 15). Thus, the conscious decision to choose to lead does not

stem from the leader's needs or desires, but instead is focused on the needs and desires of their *followers*. Research has shown the characteristics of servant-leaders include listening, empathy, healing, awareness, foresight, stewardship and building community. Another important trait of a servant-leader is their commitment to the growth and development of their followers (Northouse, 2013). The "servant-leader" paradigm provides a model for leadership that empowers members through positive influence, goals, and a vision for success (Wis, 2002).

Organizations and Organizational Lifecycles

Organizational lifecycle theory states that organizational development (OD) parallels human development: that organizations are birthed, grow, reach adolescence, and mature in a similar manner to that of human beings. Some theorists posit that OD occurs in four (Williams, 2014), five (Connolly, 2006), or seven stages (Stevens, 2008). Regardless of how – or when – theorists define OD stages, the basic premise is the same: organizations have a lifecycle. The end of the lifecycle is pivotal, however, as organizations either become defunct or reinvent itself in a new incarnation (Connolly, 2006; Norris-Tirrell, 2011; Stevens, 2008; Williams, 2014).

Stages of Organizational Development. Stevens' (2008) lifecycle model proposes seven stages in the OD lifecycle, providing a more nuanced analysis than other models. This model will be used for the purposes of this research. The stages include:

1. *The Idea Stage: The magnificent obsession.* The stage in which there is no formal organization, only an idea and a personal mandate to fill a societal, programmatic, or cultural gap in the community (p. 27).
2. *The Start-up Stage: The labor of love.* The beginning stage of organizational operations in which unbridled mission, energy, and passion reign supreme, but

- generally without corresponding governance, management, resources, or systems (p. 28).
3. *The Growth Stage: Becoming who you are.* The stage in which nonprofit mission and programs have taken hold in the marketplace, but where service demand exceeds current structural and resource capabilities (p. 31).
 4. *The Maturity Stage: Maintaining your edge.* The stage of operation in which the organization is well-established, operating smoothly, and has a community reputation for providing consistently relevant and high-quality services (p. 36).
 5. *The Decline Stage: Someone that you used to be.* The stage in which an organization's services are no longer relevant to the marketplace, self-indulgent and status-quo decisions are made, and declining program census creates insufficient operating income to cover expenses (p. 40).
 6. *The Turnaround Stage: Where the rubber meets the road.* The stage at which an organization, having faced a critical juncture due to lost market share and revenues, takes decisive action to reverse prior actions in a self-aware, determined manner (p. 44).
 7. *The Terminal Stage: In name only.* The stage when an organization has neither the purpose, the will, nor the energy to continue (p. 47).

These stages, however, are not necessarily sequential nor predictive (Connolly, 2006; Stevens, 2008). Organizational lifecycle theory is just that: a theory, and there are always exceptions in the real world. Instead, this model is a framework geared toward giving leaders a sense of what to expect during OD.

Founder's Syndrome. Due to the personal nature of the service work done by many non-profits, many organizations suffer from founder's syndrome. Founders identify a need in the community, work tirelessly to fill that niche and consequently become inextricably linked to the organization they establish. Their identity becomes the organization's identity and vice versa until the founder and organization are inseparable. "Nonprofit founders have a calling, a mission, an internal mandate, fueled by classic entrepreneurial characteristics: energy, drive, intensity, self-determination, and urgency" (Stevens, 2008, p. 79). Due to the founder's direct involvement in the organization, finding a logical successor after their death is difficult, a common and unsurprising characteristic of founder's syndrome. As a result, those organizations are at a loss unless proper succession planning has taken place (Stevens, 2008).

Institutional Isomorphic Improvements. Institutional isomorphism describes the process by which like-organizations gain increasing similarity in structure, function, and operational procedures. Originating from the field of biology, the term *isomorphism* describes the degree to which individuals of different genetic origins look like one another. Institutional isomorphisms are the competitive mechanisms by which organizations adapt and survive. Skillful leaders can redirect their organizations to fit the environment(s) in which it operates, while nonoptimal organizations are naturally selected out of the ecological population (Karlsson, 2008).

DiMaggio & Powell (1983) discuss two primary types of isomorphism: competitive and institutional. Competitive isomorphisms are a result of competition within a free market. These adopted attributes are a necessary result of "survival of the fittest" – a no-holds barred approach to social and political power, economic fitness, and organizational relevancy. DiMaggio &

Powell cite Aldrich (1979): “the major factors that organizations must take into account *are other organizations*” [emphasis added].

The second type of isomorphism – institutional isomorphism – is implemented through three mechanisms. DiMaggio & Powell (1983) acknowledge that these mechanisms are subject to typology in name only – that is, that these mechanisms intermingle and are intertwined. The three types of mechanisms include coercive isomorphisms, mimetic processes and normative pressures.

Coercive Isomorphisms. A result of external pressures exerted upon an organization, *coercive isomorphisms* may originate from a larger organization or structure (government, a parent company, etc.) or from outside sources (cultural pressures, customer expectations, etc.). Government regulations and adherence to nonprofit banking audits are examples of coercive isomorphisms (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Mimetic Processes. Arising from uncertainty, *mimetic processes* result in an organization adopting, implementing, or imitating an attribute from a similar organization. Modeling is an example where a lesser organization may adopt innovative, cutting-edge ideas – either explicitly or implicitly – from a more advanced organization. The modeled organization may or may not know that it is being modeled (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). “In situations in which a clear course of action is unavailable, organizational leaders may decide that the best response is to mimic a peer that they perceive to be successful” (Mizruchi & Fine, 1999).

Normative Pressures. The third mechanism of institutional isomorphism is *normative pressures*. As the need to professionalize an organization increases, there is an urgency to adhere to the collective norms of the field or occupation. As DiMaggio & Powell cite, the interpretation of professionalization is a “collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the

conditions and methods of their work, to control ‘the production of the producers,’ and to establish a cognitive base and legitimation for their occupational autonomy” (Larson, 1977; Collins, 1979). The professionalization of a field is accomplished through two ways: 1) members of professions receive similar training, and 2) members of professions interact through professional and trade associations, which further diffuses ideas among them (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Mizruchi & Fine, 1999). Normative pressures then stress the importance for an organization to assist in the professionalization of its members.

Social Science Analytic Framework Theory: Bourdieu and Goffman

Two important theorists will provide the primary framework for the data analysis for Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation: Pierre Bourdieu and Erving Goffman. An overview of their work and relevant theory is provided here as their work situates and frames a significant amount of the data analysis.

Bourdieu’s Constructivist Structuralism. The work of Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) combines the theory of sociological thought-leaders such as Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx. Bourdieu reflects the view that all life is deeply social (Durkheim), acknowledges status hierarchies and the differentiations of spheres of social life (Weber), and emphasizes power, domination, and inequalities in the material conditions of life (Marx) (Calhoun, 2001). Embedded structures of social order were identified Bourdieu, and included the properties he termed field and *habitus*, as well as differing forms of capital.

According to Bourdieu, any social formation is structured by way of a hierarchically organized series of fields (the economic field, the educational field, the political field, etc.) (Bourdieu, 1980). Thus, a *field* is a set of assumptions, protocols, and roles within a set of collective representations. For example, each profession has its own attitudes, modes of conduct,

etc. which constitute a unique field for each profession. Fields may be thought of as structured spaces organized around specific forms of capital or combination(s) of capital(s). In any given field, agents engage in direct competition for control of the interests and/or resources specific to the field in question. As a result, a field is a dynamic concept and process in that “a change in agents’ positions necessarily entails a change in the field’s structure” (Bourdieu, 1980). Most germane to this research, however, is the understanding that field is the social setting in which habitus operates (Swartz, 1997).

Our accumulated collective representations such as customs, cultural practices, food and aesthetic preferences, social skills, and so on, are known as *habitus*. Bourdieu formally defines habitus as “the system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures – principles which generate and organize practices and representations” (Bourdieu, 1980). Sometimes understood as “a feel for the game,” habitus is a practical sense that inclines an individual to act and react in specific situations in a manner that is not always calculated. Rather, it is a “second sense” or second nature. Bourdieu posits these informed-intuition gut instincts begin forming in childhood into adulthood and that they are durable (they stay with us throughout our lives) and transposable (applicable in a variety of settings) (Bourdieu, 1993).

In addition to *economic capital*, Bourdieu argued that there are non-monetary forms of capital as well. Cultural knowledge, competencies and dispositions constitute *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1984). It is a form of knowledge – an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition – which equips an individual with empathy towards, appreciation for, or competence in deciphering cultural relations or cultural artifacts (Bourdieu, 1993). *Social capital* refers to a network of social connections that elevates an individual’s status within society or a field. This

may include mingling in high-profile social circles, important genealogical relationships, a high-positioned rank within an organization, or some other designation that places an individual in an elevated position within a social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1980). *Symbolic capital* refers to a degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, or honor. Symbolic capital is know-how in a professional setting that others do not – or have not – yet acquired. Academic degrees are a form of this type of capital, as is expertise. However, symbolic capital may be best understood in relation to economic capital. That is, symbolic capital is a diverse set of capitals which are not reducible to economic capital. Prestige, for instance, is symbolic in that it may not directly translate into increased economic capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Finally, *economic capital* refers to and includes any type of resource – monetary or otherwise – that is used towards a project or an end.

Bourdieu and Symbolic Violence. Bourdieu defines *symbolic violence* as a form of non-physical harm done from one entity to another and is a result of the power differential between the two entities. Bourdieu's concern for symbolic violence runs throughout his body of work. However, it is most prevalent in his discussions about education. Ostensibly, schools are meant to teach and socialize students. Bourdieu points out, however, that schools teach students particular things and socialize them in particular ways. To that end, there is a certain type of language, demeanor, and discourse used in education. School days, weeks, and years are structured in certain ways. Children are academically grouped together – and perhaps disciplined together – in pre-defined manners (Grenfell, 2012).

To Bourdieu, education exemplifies symbolic violence. Schooling secures the continued active pursuit of credentials – which notably entails the learning of the “legitimate” culture – by both teachers and students. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970). Thus, the act of schooling or education perpetuates and reinforces the unconscious distinction between those who dominate, and those

who are dominated. Inculcated by the dominant classes, the primary habitus of education bestows cultural advantages on their children. Schooling transmits linguistic and cultural dispositions that take advantage of the symbolic mastery taught at school. And while it appears neutral, schooling presupposes the cultural capital of the dominant class and disparages the culture of the dominated. At the heart of symbolic violence, then, is the combination of enthusiastic participation in the act of becoming educated and the misrecognition of explicit social structures (Grenfell, 2012).

Symbolic violence is a particularly insidious type of violence that only gets worse the further in academia one is involved. Bourdieu believes that the university is unlike any other field, where there is a constant struggle to determine the conditions of legitimate membership and legitimate hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1988). Ultimately, Bourdieu argues that the entire system of educational and cognitive classifications used in academia are merely “euphemized versions of social classification” and one that “has become natural and absolute” (Bourdieu, 1993; Swartz, 1997). Symbolic domination therefore is most clearly punctuated in the worlds of education and academia. The process of classifying and categorizing imposes hierarchies that persist and are on-going (Grenfell, 2012).

Bourdieu on Music

Bourdieu’s work is directly applicable to the field of music instruction, and to music organizations by and large. Music is a cultural marker and can be used as a yardstick by which a person’s status is measured. By understanding the intersection of art, money, and class, Bourdieu (1993) highlighted the sociological boundaries music can create: “Nothing more clearly affirms one’s ‘class,’ [and] nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 18). There is no doubt that music powerfully impacts how we construct and negotiate our social

identities by our conscious (and/or unconscious) adoption of cultural perspectives regarding power and hierarchy. “Music is shown to be both a game of social elevation and a powerful means of distinction but also a potent expression of omnivorousness, a means of both creating social distance but also of crossing boundaries, and reducing difference” (Burnard, Trulsson & Söderman, 2015, p. xvii). Bourdieusian theory and analysis are indeed applicable to and reflective of music production and cultural consumption, but perhaps first and foremost, to that of music learning and instruction.

Goffmanian Dramaturgical Social Analysis.

Sociologist Erving Goffman (1922-1982) argued that human beings behave as if they were actors in a theatrical drama. Thus, we are performers performing on stage for others to see (Goffman, 1959). To present ourselves to others in the most favorable light, people engage in *dramaturgy*. Such presentations are micro-rituals that include all the properties of a theatrical drama: a script, choreography, actors, etc. that situate us in the most positive manner possible. Goffman argues that such performances convey “the requisite message of acknowledged worth” and consequently attempt to structure and/or restructure the totemic order within a group or organization. Further, Goffman suggests that we may even give up our personal selves for the sake of what others believe about us, whether their presence is real or not: “An individual may be his own audience or may imagine an audience to be present. ... [A] team itself may stage a performance for an audience that is not present in the flesh to witness the show” (Goffman, 1959, p. 82).

Goffman argued that the roles we play take on a life of their own. Not only do these roles become infused with the actor’s sense of identity, but they become metrics by which we understand each actor. Thus, every actor develops a *moral career* within a group as well as a

reputation by which those assigned roles are evaluated (Goffman, 1961). For example, in *Asylums* (1961), Goffman distinguishes the roles of a mental patient as that of pre-patient, in-patient, and ex-patient. These distinct phases provide the “actor” with a different sense of self, by which he or she evaluated and judged him- or herself and others.

One of Goffman’s most important concepts for this study is that of *total institution* – “a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life” (Goffman, 1961, p. xiii). That is, total institutions combine work, play, and sleep into one space in an almost formulaic and ritualistic behavior, all of which occurs under a single authority (Goffman, 1961).

* * *

A Darwinian approach to leadership requires that a leader understands the context in which an organization exists and operates. Effective leadership therefore demands knowledge of an organization’s history, as well as the internal and external pressures and biases placed on it. By having that understanding, leaders help optimize the organization, making it more fit for adaptation and survival.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

“Truth has nothing to do with the conclusion, and everything to do with the methodology.”

– Stefan Molyneux

An exploratory case study of Paulus Center for Music is well-suited for qualitative research. Indeed, a researcher could examine enrollment growth, hiring trends, and student satisfaction rates. However, these quantitative measurements help us only identify the consequences (*that* a school has grown), not the root cause (*why* it has grown so). In qualitative research within the social sciences, the object being studied is the subject (Flyvbjerg, 2001); in this research, the subject is Paulus Center for Music.

In this chapter, the methodological approach to this research will be detailed including the data collection and its analysis. As data was being collected, it became apparent that the work of two prominent theorists – Bourdieu and Goffman (discussed in Chapter 1) – emerged to analyze the data. The natural emergence of such inclinations is perfectly acceptable within the framework of grounded theory. An overview of case studies, grounded theory, data collection, and design aspects will be covered before going into analytical frameworks. A roadmap of my moral career at Paulus concludes this chapter.

Qualitative Research: Case Studies

A case study is a detailed examination of one setting, one group of people, or a single event (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Case studies state a general research question about a pre-

selected population or subject and thus such “purposeful selection” justifies the goals of study, existing theory, and prior research. Internal generalizability will emerge by conducting an in-depth study of Paulus. External generalizability may also emerge, which may be applicable to similar community music schools, and perhaps to non-profit organizations at large (Maxwell, 2013; Becker, 1998). Because case studies involve in-depth research about a specific topic, person or group, profound and meaningful knowledge about the subject can be discovered (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

Strengths and Weaknesses of Cases Studies

A major criticism of case studies is that they are not reflective of the entire field – that is, one specific case study does not provide enough information to draw broader generalizations about a topic, group, or organization. Socrates and Plato, for example, were against citing case studies as they believed they were not sufficiently representative of the big picture. In his book, Flyvbjerg (2001) offers a counter-point argument to five criticisms of case studies. In short, his argument is that case studies offer profound and meaningful knowledge about a topic.

Flyvbjerg states that case studies produce “precisely the type of context-dependent knowledge which makes it possible to move from the lower to the higher levels in the learning process.” In social sciences, only context-dependent knowledge exists, “which thus rules out the possibility of epistemic theoretical construction” (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 71). In short, case studies are very important to the social sciences.

Prior Research

Additional research about music education organizations such as Paulus is needed. There are, however, notable dissertations and theses that are similar – in one manner or another – to this research. Egan’s (1967) *The History of the Music School of the Henry Street Settlement*

Music School, Powell's (2014) *Organizational Identity in the History of the Longy School of Music*, and Quan's (2001) *A Documentary History of the Saturday Conservatory of Music at California State University, Los Angeles, 1967-1981* provide historical reconstructions of their respective music schools. All are highly detailed and well-researched. (Egan's dissertation was the basis for his book, *Music and the Arts in the Community* [1989].) Finally, Fischler's (2007) dissertation *Actual and Ideal Role of Music Teachers in Community Schools of the Arts Pertaining to Community, School, and the Profession* addresses the role of the faculty within such schools.

Further, there are outstanding resources that provide relevant information on a variety of topics pertinent to non-profit music education organizations. They include the National Association of Schools of Music (NASM; nasm.arts-accredit.org), the National Guild for Community Arts Education (www.nationalguild.org), and The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA; www.arts.gov). These online resources provide copious arts and music education-specific information important for the successful operation of an education organization. These resources also overlap with the topic of this dissertation but do not address it directly.

Data Collection Strategies

Qualitative research collects data from a variety of sources: interviews, observations, and artifacts. The quality of the research and analysis is only as good as the data collected, meaning the aim of any researcher should be to collect "rich data." That is, data that is substantive, relatable to the topic, broadens and deepens understanding, and is ripe with possibility to be analyzed. The research topic will direct the form of data collection needed, be it interviews, records, field notes, and/or reports. It is possible to analyze data while other data is being

gathered in qualitative research – “we can add new pieces to the research puzzle or conjure entire new puzzles ... and that can even occur late in the analysis” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 25).

Artifacts provide a form of accessibility, visibility, and legitimacy that a researcher may not otherwise have available (Charmaz, 2014). Elicited documents are those provided to the researcher by those being researched – asking participants to keep a diary or track work habits, for example, are forms of elicited documents. Extant documents are those documents that have already been produced, such as public records, organizational documents, mass media, etc. Artifacts, both past and present, provide researchers with a richer, deeper understanding of the subject. Historical photographs and hand-written letters, for example, document bygone eras for which words are insufficient (Charmaz, 2014).

Congruently, intensive interviews are a directed conversation that creates an open and interactional environment where the interviewee feels comfortable enough to share their experience. Interviews are contextual, providing insight into a person’s lived experience by allowing a person to reflect and respond mid-interview upon their recollections (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Prior to an interview, the researcher should be knowledgeable and well-prepared to conduct the interview. This may include a list of pre-written questions, use of terminology or jargon, and knowledge of the ins and outs of the subject matter. While each question may not be asked verbatim, having a roadmap for the conversation topics is useful for data collection (Charmaz, 2014). Interviews should be conducted from a list of pre-written questions, understanding the conversation may meander through off-script topics. This is perfectly acceptable (within reason of course), as the data may lead to previously unknown areas of inquiry (Charmaz, 2014).

Further, observations collect data that are natural, ecological, and emergent in the environ(s) being studied. For example, discussing pedagogy with a teacher is a rich type of data; observing their teaching in practice is entirely a different type of rich data, which is far more nuanced and idiomatic. Field notes document a researcher's qualitative observations, data which may not otherwise be collected through interviews alone.

I have collected numerous data about Paulus Center for Music through artifacts (documents, photographs, letters, etc.), personal interviews, and observations. All interviews were transcribed, and observation field notes were all kept for reference.

Artifacts. As a century-old organization, Paulus has a vast history with countless sources of artifacts. The Paulus institutional archives include a century's worth of photographs, student records, newspapers, memorabilia, video and audio recordings, yearbooks, catalogues, letters, promotional materials, blueprints and much, much more. Paulus has been the topic of at least one master's thesis (VanValkenburg, 1982), as well as the subject of two books (Avery, 1966; Lauritzen & Loven, 1997) chronicling Paulus until 1966 and 1997, respectively. A well-vetted designation study (Zellie, 2000) also provides a brief historical account of Paulus. While a draft manuscript of an unpublished book from the mid-2000s exists, no research or book of note has been published since 1997.

Due to the longstanding and ongoing relationship between Paulus and the city of St. Anthony, there are troves of documents throughout city agencies and departments: the County Library Special Collections, the Heritage Preservation Agency, and the department of Community Planning and Economic Development. Further, the state Historical Society has artifacts and documents, as does the Big 10 University library system. There is no shortage of artifacts pertaining to Paulus.

Interviews. The Paulus community consists of dozens upon dozens of individuals who are good data sources. The living descendants of its founder, Liam Paulus, are in fact still alive and conducted interviews for this research. Current and former administrators were willing to share their experiences at Paulus. These interviews not only provided insights from executive leadership but also included any number of matters germane to operating the organization: fundraising, capital campaigns, marketing, and facilities management, to name a few topics. For those people who were not able to conduct interviews either in-person or by telephone, written correspondence by e-mail, for example, was exchanged.

Interviewees were made aware that their participation was voluntary, and they were able to withdraw from the process at any time without repercussion or retaliation. No one was paid for their participation. Interviewees were notified that the interview would be audio recorded for transcription purposes, and that I – as researcher – would be the only person listen to the recording or read the transcription. Interviewees were told that they could speak freely, and that no damaging information, gossip, or inter-office politics would be used in the dissertation. Furthermore, interviewees were informed that they could ask to have the audio recording stopped at any time during the interview for as long as they would like. That is, participants were free to speak off the record if they preferred to do so.

Observations. In addition to personal interviews, data collection for this study included numerous observations. The data contained in field notes collected during these observations is as invaluable as those collected during interviews. During observations, I sat as unobtrusively and as quietly as possible. I had my laptop open, and I typed discreetly during the class, lesson and/or activity. I tried to go unnoticed as well as I could. Like the personal interviews, I was overwhelmed by the openness and willingness of all the faculty members to share their craft.

They opened their classrooms and studios to me, allowing me to get a glimpse into their teaching, their worldview, and their passion for teaching.

Mode of Data Analysis: Grounded Theory in Institutional Ethnographic Research

Human beings are complicated, highly nuanced, and environmentally dependent creatures. Quantitative research, while great for explaining the physical world, does little to explain the complicated internal world of humans. By utilizing grounded theory, qualitative researchers seek to explain human experience by framing it in a meaningful way. A grounded theory approach to qualitative research dictates that a researcher goes where the data leads. A challenge of this type of research is to abandon one's expectations of *where* exactly the data should lead.

“Grounded theory methods provide a frame for qualitative inquiry and guidelines for conducting it” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 14). While grounded theory is a fixed form of research, it provides a seemingly endless variety of paths to follow as the role of the researcher is to follow the data where it takes them. Data, in this form of research, comes from observation, interviews, and collecting artifacts such as photos, articles, etc. Researchers in grounded theory should follow their hunches and pursue their interests as it pertains to their topic. Unlike quantitative research, there is no null or alternate hypothesis, meaning the research can be augmentable, adaptable, and able to incorporate new incoming data. Similarly, previously collected data can be analyzed and compared while new data is being gathered.

The aim of qualitative research then is to formulate substantive formal theories based on researching and understanding the problem at hand. Quoting Jane Hood, Charmaz states that qualitative research is an “analytical product rather than a purely descriptive account (Charmaz,

2014 p. 15). Because it encompasses several different types of data collection and analytical tools, qualitative research offers a unique interpretation of the world around us and within us.

Grounded theory will guide this research as it “serves as a way to learn about the worlds we study” and offers a method for developing theory through which those worlds can be understood (Charmaz, 2014, p. 17). By providing a framework for qualitative inquiry and the guidelines by which it is conducted, grounded theory allows for real-time analysis as data is being collected. During the real-time analysis, new themes emerge from the data. As qualitative research design does not follow a fixed, predetermined course or sequence of steps, the researcher is permitted to adjust and adapt to incoming data (Maxwell, 2013). That is all to say, the researcher follows the data wherever it may lead (Charmaz, 2014).

More specifically, this research is ethnographic in nature. Ethnography is the study of a group of individuals in their natural setting. Sustained research within that environment is needed to properly observe and understand that environment. As a result, an ethnographic study covers aspects of daily life occurring within that setting but is also supplemented by supporting data such as documents, photographs, maps, diagrams, and perhaps even formal interviews and/or questionnaires (Charmaz, 2014).

When ethnographic research is conducted regarding organizations, it thus becomes institutional ethnography, when addressing power relations within an organization. The approach to research aims to connect people’s everyday lives with “ruling relations” such bureaucracies, media, institutions, and the hierarchical connection that have within a society (Smith, 2005). The approach institutional ethnographers take enables researchers to “map” social relations (Campbell & Gregor, 2004; Bogdan & Biklen, 2016)

Methodological Assumptions

Qualitative research takes into account multi-faceted characteristics and considerations. The methodology of qualitative researchers must therefore understand the framework in which they are working, as well as the potential pitfalls of the mode of research. There are several key assumptions that a researcher must acknowledge and consider.

Inductive reasoning. Researchers seek understanding from collected data; they do not start a project with the results perceived or preordained. That is, conclusions should not be self-fulfilling prophecies, but a result of authentic and genuine research. Inductive reasoning draws meaning from within the subject itself. The researcher must be empathetic and reflective in purposefully drawing meaningful conclusions from the data. As a result, the researcher must learn how their subjects think (Biklen & Bogdan, 2016).

Maxwell (1996) highlights two major threats when examining the validity of the inductive reasoning model. First, researcher bias exists and is very real. Bias involves the researcher either consciously or unconsciously focusing on data that supports or confirms the researchers preexisting conclusions. To counteract bias, researchers should report any potential biases and then relate how any personal views may factor into the data analysis. Secondly, a threat to validity is the influence of the researcher on the setting or environment they are studying. This problem – known as “reactivity” – should be used in research to understand in which ways the environment was disrupted, and the data changed. That is, reactivity should not be eliminated, but understood in a greater context (Walters, 2001).

Phronesis. Since social sciences study human society and relationships, theory is difficult to identify because of the dominating importance of *context*. Situationally defined behavior is not predictable, and consequently, not able to fit into a neatly describable theory. As

a result, Flyvbjerg (2001) argues that the Aristotelian principle of *phronesis* – a “practical wisdom” – should be applied to the social sciences.

There are two important distinctions to be made here. The researcher should use *phronesis* when conducting research. This may include knowing what data to collect, and where that data is found, but also in reading the tea leaves within the data analysis. One interviewee may give some information that leads to another, to another and so on. The researcher must trust their own informed intuition to follow where the data may lead. Yet further, the subjects being studied may also be using *phronesis* in their own everyday dealings. Decisions, actions, and motivations may all stem from a deeper well of *phronesis* within the leader, for example, and the researcher must be aware and sensitive to a subject’s own sense of *phronesis*, and where from whence that intuition was derived (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

Data Processing and Coding

Once a researcher collects data – either in the form of interviews, fieldnotes or artifacts – the data must be coded. Coding is a process by which data is labeled, categorized, summarized, and accounted for. In short, “grounded theory coding is the process of defining what data are about” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 111). Through coding, a researcher defines what is happening within the data, and starts to apply a preliminary layer of analysis as they attempt to categorize the data. The language used in coding plays a crucial role in how data is eventually grouped and coalesced. As data is coded, it is important that researchers study emerging data (Charmaz, 2014).

After conducting an interview, I transcribed the conversation with the assistance of an online transcription tool. Transcripts were also formatted and time stamped. Once the interviews were completed, I coded topics of conversation in various highlighted colors. Examples of

grouped topics included improvements to Paulus as an organization; how the change in leadership manifested change in the organization; the atmosphere and “vibe” at Paulus as it underwent significant change; etc. Once coding was finished, it was clear that there were emergent theories that best analyzed the data: that of Bourdieu and Goffmann (discussed in Chapter 1).

Other Design Aspects

Validity and Generalizability. Regardless of the topic, all researchers aim to produce sound, credible results. Due to the subjective, contextual, and interpretive nature of qualitative research, findings are prone to scrutiny and questioning. Therefore, researchers must ensure the reliability and validity of their research findings, which must be believable, consistent, and credible (Center for Innovation in Research and Teaching [CIRT], n.d.). Those findings may be transferrable to other scenarios as well.

As stated earlier, case studies are detailed examinations of a setting, group of people, or a single event (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). They state a general research question about a pre-selected population or subject and thus such “purposeful selection” justifies the goals of study, existing theory, and prior research. As a result, internal generalizability will emerge by conducting an in-depth study of Paulus. External generalizability may also emerge, which may be applicable to similar community music schools, and perhaps to non-profit organizations at large (Maxwell, 2013; Becker, 1998).

Institutional Review Board. To uphold the highest ethical and moral practices in this qualitative research, approval has been applied for and granted from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for this dissertation. Established to protect the rights and welfare of human subjects participating in research activities, the IRB reviews research proposals ensuring that adequate

protective and ethical guidelines are maintained. While this dissertation research is not likely to affect the well-being of its interviewees, application to the IRB is a necessary component of research, and justifiably so. To that end, I have secured the proper paperwork from key administrative officials at Paulus to submit for IRB approval.

Ethics and Confidentiality. Leadership dissertations seek to provide insight into a central problem from which theory can be deduced and extrapolated. It is the conflict within the organization that is the issue to be studied, not the people per se. Protecting the identity of people associated with the organization is of paramount importance. To guarantee that end, the highest of ethical standards have been adhered to and maintained throughout this entire research process, from data collection to the final published dissertation. Permission and access to interview Paulus employees has been acquired from the current executive administration as a part of the IRB process.

Many qualitative research dissertations in the field of leadership studies, and otherwise, are anonymous. All information identifying the organization, its employees, locations, or services and programs must be kept confidential. Thus, all names in this dissertation have been replaced with non-identifiable pseudonyms, and some specific years will be replaced with decades. Further, gender pronouns will be swapped or simply removed to further mask identity. Hardcopies of all unmasked interview transcripts, hand jotted notes and typed observation fieldnotes will be kept secure and private; digital copies of all Paulus-related documents and photographs will be stored on a portable hard drive and kept secure. Interpersonal disputes and inter-office politics have no place in this research and will not be considered or included. Sensitive and delicate topics of all variety have been handled judiciously and with the utmost discretion. This broad approach to the organization's descriptors, historical chronology, curricula

and/or identifiable aspects of the organization will prevent unfamiliar readers from knowing which organization is being studied. Again, no sensitive information about the organization will be divulged in this dissertation. Only publicly available information will be used or republished in this research.

There are, however, a few photographs included in this research. There are no photographs of living people who would be identifiable today. Further, the historical photographs of buildings do not identify the organization outright. The inclusion of all photographs is to help situate the research for the reader. Photographs indeed give us a depth of understanding and realism that no words could. As a result, for the sake of illumination, understanding, and abiding appreciation, some photographs have been included.

Use of Technology. Technology was a major factor in the research used in this study. From the interview process to notetaking to accessing digital databases, this research would not have been possible without a trusty laptop computer. Interviews were audio recorded and transferred to a laptop for cataloguing and transcription. Audio recordings, transcriptions, and fieldnotes from observations are catalogued and stored on my laptop, as well as digital artifacts including files, photographs, and newspaper articles. All these files were regularly backed up on a portable hard drive on a regular basis. All digital data that identifies individuals will be destroyed upon publication of this dissertation.

A Multi-Dimensional Moral Career at Paulus Center for Music

This dissertation is the product of grounded theory in ethnographic research, conducted by me, a member of the Paulus community. In my time at Paulus, I have served as a faculty member, performer, and as an administrator. I have developed a multi-dimensional moral career at Paulus, which is important to understand as it provides context for the research conducted.

Sociologist Erving Goffman (1922-1982) argued that human beings behave as if they were actors in a theatrical drama. Thus, we are performers performing on stage for others to see (Goffman, 1959), and the roles we play take on a life of their own. Not only do we infuse these roles with a sense of identity, but they become metrics by which we understand those around us. Thus, everyone develops a *moral career* within a group as well as a reputation by which those assigned roles are evaluated (Goffman, 1961). In *Asylums* (1961), for example, Goffman distinguishes the different roles a person would play, each providing the “actor” with a different sense of self. As a result, the actor would be evaluated and judged based on those roles. Importantly, this is especially true of our workplace: that one’s place of work helps define one’s sense of self. At Paulus Center for Music, I have developed several different roles, all of which define in me a different sense of self.

On Becoming a Classical Musician. In many ways, becoming a classical musician is not something you choose; instead, music chooses *you*. Many people – along with their parents – wrestle with the idea of becoming a professional musician. There is cost-benefit analysis in weighing a musician’s gig pay versus the regular paycheck of a steady 9 to 5 job. For some, the risk and financial instability is understandably too much. So, when at the age of thirteen, my first serious classical piano teacher asked me what I wanted to do with my piano playing, I replied matter-of-factly, “I want to play piano and get paid for it.” There was no question for me: I was a musician, and as a result, I had to figure out how to get my livelihood to make me a living.

In the careers of many aspiring professional musicians, they pick up work here and there to make ends meet. This is now referred to as a *portfolio career* (Weller, 2013), a very polished term for what can be a stressful and anxiety-inducing time in one’s career. After graduate school, I focused all my time, energy, and money on my career and professional reputation. I picked up

gigs here and there to bring some extra money. Teaching supplied most of my income, but I also learned to play background music for exclusive high-profile dinner parties, for example. As a composition student, I learned how to use digital engraving software for music type setting and was subsequently hired to create a full score and orchestra parts for a newly composed opera. As a teacher, I put together numerous presentations that I gave all throughout the area. The years after my graduate work consisted of this portfolio career, of which there were many aspects.

However, while I was piecing together an income, I wanted one thing: a place where I could have one singular source of income and a place to work that was all my own. Taking gigs to play for holiday church services and judging competitions are sources of supplemental income. However, trying to make a living exclusively from this work can be exhausting and downright stressful. In the years following my graduate work, I found an organization I believed I would be able to call home: Paulus Center for Music.

My Career as a Paulus Faculty Member. “Growing a studio” is an oft-used expression amongst music teachers. It is the act of starting rank beginners and leading them through the music learning process to advanced-level music making. The same is true of building a reputation as well: no one simply gives you respect, credit or praise – you must earn it. So, when I arrived at Paulus Center for Music, I worked exceedingly hard to prove my mettle to the professional musicians on faculty. In retrospect, did what I could to make myself known and to be visible. It was puffery, in short – a grandiose and highly-choreographed display of plumage.

I began my teaching career at Paulus in 2006 after completing my Master of Music degree in piano performance and pedagogy. I returned to my home state in the Midwest USA and upon arrival I taught in an interim faculty position at a private university. I also took on a teaching position at Paulus and picked up freelance gigs here and there. Outside of my teaching,

I spent most of my time advancing my career. I gave countless presentations to local area music teacher associations; I built and maintained a website, frequently uploading audio recordings, performance videos and teaching materials; I traveled to national and local conferences and conventions as presenter and attendee. All this work was done in the name of establishing myself as a fixture of the teaching community in the Midwest.

Once the interim position at the private university was completed, I began talks with Paulus about taking on a full-time teaching position with benefits. While the hourly teaching rate at Paulus was lower than I could make as an independent teacher, financial considerations such as health insurance and retirement contributions made the prospect of teaching full-time at Paulus a plausible reality. Teaching privately has its own considerations too, such as home liability insurance, establishing a home office, and regular billing, recruiting, and scheduling students, all unpaid activities that can take a considerable amount of time.

At the time of my hiring, Paulus had opened a second access site. Separate from the flagship building in downtown St. Anthony, these satellite sites provided convenient access to music instruction to the surrounding suburbs. I opened three days of teaching at this access site and soon filled them full. A full daily teaching schedule was preferable as my commute was 40 minutes each way – it made sense to teach a full day to make the best use of my time. Similarly, I added two days at the other access site. I jokingly referred to myself as “Captain Paulus” because I felt like a champion of the access sites.

It was around this time that I started teaching on Fridays at the “old building” on Mary’s Place. The old building was the original building located in downtown St. Anthony. The overall quality of the students in St. Anthony was typically a little higher than at the access sites. Families committed to hauling their kids downtown every week for lessons are much more likely

to enforce practicing at home. And sure enough, a handful of intermediate and early advanced-level students were placed with me; I worked very hard to prepare those students for competitions and contests. I also held regular recitals for my studio, preparing nice receptions afterward. I remember being very committed to my students and improving my teaching.

However, I was still the new kid on faculty. I was in my late 20s and I must have had a target on my back. My supervisor called me on the phone one day (which should have been my first red flag as he always e-mailed) and asked if I would be willing to take on a pair of young siblings. They were fraternal twin brothers who had some issues with their previous teacher. I needed the money, so I agreed to teach them. It was immediately clear why their previous teacher dismissed them: in a word, they were *unruly*. One was a pill, the other a pistol. Their previous teacher later admitted that she would drink heavily after their lessons, which was something I came to fully understand. I would go on to teach these kids for years though as I was able to connect with them and saw through their misbehavior. Beneath it all, these boys were very teachable. They just needed guidance, a firm-handed teacher, and a bad lesson from time to time. Even now, when I look back, I realize I learned to love and teach them on their own terms. They probably taught me more than I taught them.

Pianists are fortunate as their instrument is the most in-demand for beginning music students. With that though, many piano students are rank beginners. Unlike woodwind, brass, and percussion students – who typically start in fifth-grade public school band programs – beginning piano students typically start when they are between five to eight years old. Advanced-level transfer students from another teacher, for example, are rare and highly desirable. In the first few years at Paulus, a large majority of my piano students were young

beginners. Like many others before me, I cut my teeth with rank beginners at Paulus. After all, it takes a while to grow a studio.

Construction of a new flagship building had already begun when I started teaching in the old building. During that year's beginning-of-the-year kick-off event, a hardhat tour was given of the near-completed building. Despite the unfinished floors, unpainted drywall, and incomplete performance hall, I was very impressed. I decided to forego my desires of pursuing a Doctor of Musical Arts (DMA) degree and committed to staying at Paulus. I doubled down on my career and poured my heart and soul into my teaching and performing. More audio recordings were made for my website, more presentations were given, and additional teaching material was posted online.

I had one goal at the time: to teach from one studio and one studio only. I felt like a vagabond traveling from studio-to-studio day after day. It was frustrating and I did not feel valued as a teacher: I felt disposable, and I did not like that feeling. Once the new building opened, teaching space immediately became prized real estate. There was little turnover in the faculty positions as no one left and few retired. Serendipitously, I happened to see my supervisor moments after he learned of a resigning faculty member, freeing up three days in the downtown location. I immediately jumped at the opportunity knowing that relinquishing teaching days at the access sites would mean a loss of income until I could rebuild my teaching schedule downtown. It was a tradeoff I was willing to make. Eventually, I would be able to whittle down my teaching schedule at the access sites and move entirely into one studio at the downtown location.

It was about three or four years into my teaching at Paulus that I felt like I really got my bearing as a teacher. My beginning students had become intermediate students; similarly, the

intermediate students I taught grew into advanced players. I grew increasingly comfortable preparing students for prestigious student performance events at Paulus. Despite a few initial failures, my students were routinely selected for notable events, including honors recitals, the concerto competition, and performance scholarships. I also helped prepare high school students for college auditions – some of them would become music majors (piano or otherwise) in college, or simply enroll in elective lessons.

There is a bittersweet sting watching a high school senior graduate. It is deeply rewarding to spend 10 years, for example, teaching someone to learn to play the piano well, knowing they will have this skill with them for the rest of their lives. The bitterness is knowing that you will never have that connection with that student again, but it is compounded by knowing that their lesson time will more than likely be filled with a student with far less musical ability. It is rewarding to discuss Beethoven, Brahms, and Debussy at very deep levels with a student and it strengthens the bond between student and teacher. As a result, to this day, I remember all the high school seniors I have taught.

Experience is truly the best teacher, and there is no substitute for it. It takes experience to see patterns in students, their talent, and their ability to learn. Teaching piano fundamentally comes down to understanding the trajectory of a student's musical, physical, and intellectual potential, and then working to realize that talent. There are times, though, when I have been utterly surprised by a student. In one case, I was preparing a student in springtime for a prestigious set of performance exams and my goal was to have this student take the exams in December of that year. I soon learned that his mother mistakenly registered the student for exams in May, seven months earlier than I was planning. I have never seen a student work so hard as

this student did, and despite the compressed timetable, he was awarded the highest honors available in those exams.

Soon after my first son was born, it was clear that a change was needed in my teaching schedule. My wife, who is also a piano faculty member at Paulus, and I could not have the same teaching schedule as we once did when it was just the two of us. As a result, I opened my weekday mornings and began requesting adult students. Building upon my knowledge of teaching advanced high school pianists, I was able to take on advanced adult students with few problems. I then made a point to learn the teaching repertoire for adult beginners as well.

Adult piano students are a unique demographic with their own idiosyncrasies, but they are enjoyable to teach because they *want* to be in lessons. They come to lessons with a deeper understanding of life and the world at large. Sometimes they are very knowledgeable about music; other times, they are in lessons to expand their own horizons, wanting to be introduced to new things. Some adult students played piano in high school or college and as life would have it, their family and career got in the way, so they have not played in decades.

At the time of writing, I have taught at Paulus for sixteen years now. While I do not know where the time has gone, or how time has gone by so quickly, it has been a wonderful place to settle down. I understand why there are so many Paulus faculty members who have been there for 30, 40 or 50 years – an unheard-of feat in most any other profession or workplace. As I researched Paulus for this dissertation, I see one important strand throughout its history: that Paulus serves the community, but it also provides a place where music teaching artists can practice their craft.

My Career as a Performer. As the child of a piano teacher, I performed in countless recitals as a child. My mother signed me up to perform in recitals and for years I gave at least

one performance per month. She was my first teacher, and it did not work out well. I studied piano with my mother for a short time before she made the wise decision to send me to a neighborhood teacher, who was a man to boot. When I look back over my studies, this first teacher was perhaps the most influential. Richard taught me classical music, as well as a wide variety of musical styles too: jazz, ragtime, and other contemporary styles. He was enormously influential on me, and someone I would go on to emulate in my own teaching. Richard was a wonderful musician – a pianist and trumpeter – who in addition to his teaching, was a stage performer in a musical comedy band. My parents took me to several of their late-night comedy shows, and the humor bordered on the risqué and at times inappropriate. Goodness they were funny though.

After elementary and middle school, I began studying with an advanced-level teacher. Of course, the repertoire became more difficult and took longer to learn, so my performances became less frequent. My high school senior recital consisted of Beethoven's Waldstein piano sonata, Op. 53, and the Liszt E-flat piano concerto, S. 124. I would go on to perform the Liszt concerto with a local orchestra the following year. Admittedly, I probably was not the best student during high school, despite my accomplishments and a modicum of success. I didn't practice enough and there was little spark between my teacher and me. Looking back, I realize the importance of having a "click" with a teacher.

My undergraduate degree was completed at a small, private liberal arts university, and was a Bachelor of Arts with a major in piano performance. Unlike studying at a conservatory, my time was spent between piano and liberal arts courses. It was a well-balanced education, but my time, passion and heart were at the piano. There were three solo recitals required for graduation, but I spent a lot of time accompanying singers and instrumentalists as well. Working

as a collaborative pianist served me well in graduate school and beyond. In addition to recitals and performances given as a part of my degree, I performed in numerous performance classes, studio classes and master classes.

Of all my teachers, it is undoubtedly my undergraduate piano teacher who had the greatest impact on my life, both musically and personally. She was a wonderful musician, and an outstanding teacher in nearly every regard. Kathryn helped me understand the importance of guidance inside and outside of the teaching studio: lessons aren't always just about playing the piano. To teach music, you must teach the person – and the *whole* person at that. I certainly had a lot to figure out in college, and she was the right teacher at the right time for me. Unquestionably, she has been the most influential person in my life, and I will always look back on those years fondly.

Prior to graduate school, I gave a lot of thought to my future as a pianist. Knowing that earning a steady stream of income is difficult for many performing musicians, I took a practical approach to my career. As a result, I decided that I would need a way to earn money so that I could continue to play the piano. My plans turned to going to a graduate school that offered a piano pedagogy degree (as opposed to program that offered only a performance degree). I had seen firsthand from my time in the music world that there were not many male piano teachers. Private music instruction predominantly consists of women who teach from their home. I knew that there was a place for me, but that I would have to carve out a niche for myself.

My graduate work afforded me the time to really focus my attention on my music studies and hone my skills. My teachers in graduate school were also stellar. They were highly regarded individuals in the field of piano pedagogy. In addition to being published editors and authors and nationally recognized teachers, they were down to earth people – real *mensch*. In addition to my

music courses and teaching assistantship, I practiced at least six hours a day – many days it was more. The repertoire I was learning was bigger, more ambitious than it was prior to graduate school, and it was more technically demanding than I had played. During this period, I again accompanied countless singers in a variety of repertoire that was all new to me. It was an exciting time and I continued to regularly perform in a variety of settings. My master's recital included Bach's A minor English Suite, BWV 807, Beethoven's Op. 101 piano sonata, Fantasia on an Ostinato by John Corigliano and Brahms' Paganini Variations, Book 1. It was a big recital, and I would use this repertoire for auditions for Doctor of Musical Arts (DMA) degree programs.

I was selective about the DMA programs to which I applied, applying for two programs that offered a combined piano performance and pedagogy doctorate. As fate would have it, I dropped the idea of going on for a DMA program. I never considered applying again in the future either.

It was during this period that Paulus was about to open its new flagship building. I took a hardhat construction tour of the building, and I was so impressed: the studios were spacious, well-lit, and comfortable; the performance hall was spectacular; and the building had a modern flair to it in the style of American architect Frank Gehry. I remember thinking that I could build a life and be comfortable at Paulus. St. Anthony, while not a large city, is home to a rich arts scene, great theater, and a trove of outstanding museums. As a city, it offered me everything I needed, so I decided to stay.

In my first years at Paulus, I worked to prove myself. I may have worked harder than I did during graduate school, because now instead of just grades on the line, it was my professional reputation. I knew that a good reputation is very hard to earn, and if soiled, nearly impossible to regain. I performed in nearly every faculty performance I could. The performance

stage in the old building was on the fourth floor and the space was not air conditioned. If it were too stuffy in there, the windows along the perimeter of its large room would be open, and the traffic and city noise would pour into the room. Performing classical music to the accompaniment of police sirens was all part of the charm. Similarly, if the radiators turned on during the winter it would get so hot in there that the windows would have to be opened to cool the room off. I remember seeing the breath of an audience member as she stood along the wall as the bitterly cold winter air came in through the window.

Faculty recitals in the old building were magical though. Held on Friday nights, the auditorium was usually full for these concerts which were free to the public. Faculty members would attend after teaching, and students would come to hear their teacher. Everyone in the audience was supportive and wanted the performers to play well. In all my time, I have never felt negativity from the audiences at Paulus. They are warm audiences who enthusiastically applaud to welcome the performers onstage, and they hoot and holler after spectacular performances. “*Bravo!*” you hear, after a particularly dynamite performance.

The performance hall in the new building had outstanding acoustics. The wood paneling, glass-window backdrop, and the hanging acoustical “clouds” in the hall provide for a wonderful setting in which to perform. It also had a green room, which may seem like an insignificant addition, but entering the stage from the green room gave performances a professionalism that the old building could ever have. Making a grand entrance from offstage was far better than just emerging from behind a torn and faded curtain stage left.

In my first years at Paulus, I performed a lot of solo piano repertoire. Free from the restrictions of graduate school recitals, I learned music that I wanted to learn. I performed pieces by composers that I wanted to play. I indulged my passions with new repertoire, and it was

wonderful. I also branched out into working with a wide variety of other musicians playing instruments such as flute, cello, trombone, violin, and French horn, as well as singers. I also dabbled into chamber music (piano trios, mainly), but I never felt as comfortable in that genre than I did as soloist.

Perhaps the most important aspect of my performance career was when I met my wife, who happened to be a piano faculty member at Paulus. She is a gifted, conservatory-trained classical pianist. Together we performed all varieties of music written for piano duet or for two pianos. Music for piano duet is more versatile and is easier for a travelling performance, for example, as not all venues have two grand pianos. Music for two pianos is typically more technically difficult for each pianist, creating a richer compositional texture. As a piano duo, my wife and I have a sense of ensemble and togetherness that I have not had with another musician. Perhaps it is because we are married ... or perhaps we got married *because* of this connection. In any case, it is always a special treat to give a concert performance with her.

Once the new building opened, Paulus started a spotlight concert series. This was a curated ticketed series – performers were hand-selected by an artistic director, and it was a notable distinction to be selected. In the first years of this series, my wife and/or I performed annually. The first year she played solo; and second year, I played solo. By the third year, we were married, and submitted our own curated concert, which featured us performing with our colleagues. In the following years, we would prepare a set of music for two pianos, eight hands – this is repertoire for four pianists playing two pianos.

After our children were born, and the constraints of time and energy became apparent, my wife and I would perform together less. We would continue learning and performing piano duets as well as music for two pianos. As I entered my doctorate, I attempted to maintain my

performing, but truth be told, learning, preparing, and maintaining repertoire at a performance-ready level is difficult, time consuming, and requires a lot of energy. As my performing has slowed down, my wife has continued to perform – and record – with a pianist friend and colleague.

My Career as an Administrator

Shortly after Paulus opened its multi-million-dollar flagship building, the faculty became frustrated with the hourly wages. The growing consensus was if Paulus had raised enough money for a new building, why couldn't they pay their faculty more per hour? As a result, a committee was formed to address hourly compensation and benefits for faculty members. It was a large committee with members from all areas of Paulus including HR, finance, faculty members, as well as the CEO, CFO and COO. I was a member of that committee for the first year; I chaired the committee for the second and third years. The committee reviewed all aspects of compensation at Paulus: hourly wages for all departments, benefit packages for employees, and intangible factors such as workplace environment, etc. The committee was looking for a way to adjust the hourly wage proportionally, fairly, and transparently for each individual and then apply this model to the entire faculty. It was a big project. The committee would eventually propose a new points-based compensation model that was tailored specifically for Paulus. My membership on this committee constituted my first leadership role and piqued my interest in pursuing administrative work.

Concurrent with the committee's work, my wife and I were planning our wedding. We decided to hold a small wedding in a beautiful lakeside setting outside the city, and hold a wedding concert for our friends, colleagues, and students. Our wedding concert took place in Paulus' new performance hall and featured 32 of our Paulus colleagues as well as a small choir.

As the concert planning grew in scope, the upper levels of Paulus administration became involved, and I had the opportunity to work directly with them.

Later that summer a new position opened, the responsibility of which was to coordinate student performances at Paulus. I applied and took on the small administrative position. In the beginning, the job was to organize and coordinate a small number of student performances, which were primarily student recitals. I would coordinate some 20 events in the first year.

As I tell my students, the reward for *doing well* ... is *doing more*. Sure enough, I was given an increasing number of events to coordinate, including the prestigious concerto competition and honors recitals. I administered scholarships and helped select performers for the annual fundraising events and board of directors' meetings. Additionally, I was tasked with scheduling staff accompanists for all events. I would also start new ongoing events, the most popular of these events was created with adult music students in mind – these evening soirees were intended to be low-pressure performance opportunities for adult students. To this day, they have been enormously popular and almost always full.

Another aspect of my position was to coordinate master classes, which are public lessons where a student performs for, and is then taught by, a master teacher. Master classes are prestigious events, and many master teachers brought to Paulus included Renée Fleming (soprano), Leon Fleischer (piano), Anthony Megill (clarinet), and Seymour Bernstein (piano). Coordinating these master classes, and their auditions, is always a treat as both the performers and the master teachers are at the top of their games.

In addition to regularly scheduled events at Paulus, there are unique events that need special coordination and organization. There are two memorable events that stick out most. The first event was co-coordinated with a well-known art museum in St. Anthony. The event was to

feature multiple performances throughout the galleries on a Sunday afternoon. I was tasked with soliciting, booking, and placing performances throughout the galleries: Impressionistic music in the French art gallery; a brass ensemble in the rotunda; a small choir singing chansons in the Renaissance gallery; gayageum instrumental music in the Korean art exhibit; and so on. All counted, there were over 150 performers featured in multiple galleries. To make sure I was using the gallery's spaces efficiently, I printed out the floor plans on oversized paper and placed transparencies on top of them. By placing colored dots on the transparencies, I was able to see what areas of the museum were being occupied at what hour. Nearly 6,000 visitors attended, who were instructed to "let their ear be their guide" as they wandered the galleries. As the museum curator said, it was "orchestrated serendipity" and it turned out to be a splendid afternoon.

The second prominent event of note was the national college basketball championship that was hosted in the city of St. Anthony. As with any nationally televised sporting event, planning committees convened to schedule events around the area. A Paulus board member was on that committee, and so Paulus became involved with several different musical aspects of the events. There was a total of four events that I would help coordinate: the singing of the national anthem; an on-court musical performance during the weekend championship; a "dribble-fest" event (complete with marching bands); and finally, a master class with the composer of the theme song for the championship. These series of events took a considerable amount of planning and organizing.

The centrality of student performances in music instruction put me in a unique place at Paulus. I frequently worked with multiple departments on a variety of tasks: marketing, IT, program services, student services, and the development department. As student performances overlap a little bit with each of these departments, I worked closely with administration from

each department, giving me a glimpse into the larger inner workings of a large community music school.

Since I began this research, I have taken on a role as program director at Paulus. Currently I oversee numerous group instruction activities, including the chamber music program, a semi-professional adult choral, a string orchestra, a singer-actor lab for high school students, as well as classes, courses, and summer camps. It is a big expansion of responsibilities and requires a lot of juggling of tasks. There is a wide variety of teachers, students, and groups that I work with now. It is both very exciting, and a lot of details to keep straight.

* * *

At the time of writing this dissertation, I have taught, performed, and worked at Paulus for sixteen years. I have experienced the organization from multiple different vantage points, primary of which is as a faculty member. Throughout its history, Paulus has afforded its faculty members a place to teach, perform and practice the craft of music making and teaching. It has been a comfortable place to call home. My positionality at Paulus also gives me a unique perspective on writing a dissertation about the organization and its history.

Indeed, this qualitative research is conducted in a hybrid style. The narrative tone for quantitative historical periods and documentation (Chapters 3 & 4) is different than the qualitative discussion about the transformation of the school (Chapter 5). As a result, the tone for Chapter 5 is remarkably and drastically different. The transformations the school underwent are best understood from the perspective of those who experienced them. This period is best told through novelization. It is intended to be personal and personable, with the narrative consciously reframed in tone and style.

CHAPTER 3

A HISTORY OF PAULUS CENTER FOR MUSIC

“It’s not the strongest of the species that survive, nor the most intelligent,
but the one most responsive to change.”

– Charles Darwin

In its current form, Paulus Center for Music is a 501(c)(3) non-profit community music school residing in the city of St. Anthony in Midwest, USA. This unique school has a storied history spanning more than a century. The defining leitmotifs of the organization are metamorphosis and adaptation. Core to Paulus’ organizational DNA is an ability to react, adjust and adapt in real-time to the ever-changing world in which it resides. Due to the improvisational nature of adaptation though, there was no long-term roadmap laid out at the school’s inception. How could there be? Who could have predicted the school would be such a success? Who could have expected it to grow so large? The result is an organization perfectly suited for environmental transformation – an institution that can shapeshift within a relatively short amount of time. The school’s greatest strength, though, would also prove to be its greatest shortcoming.

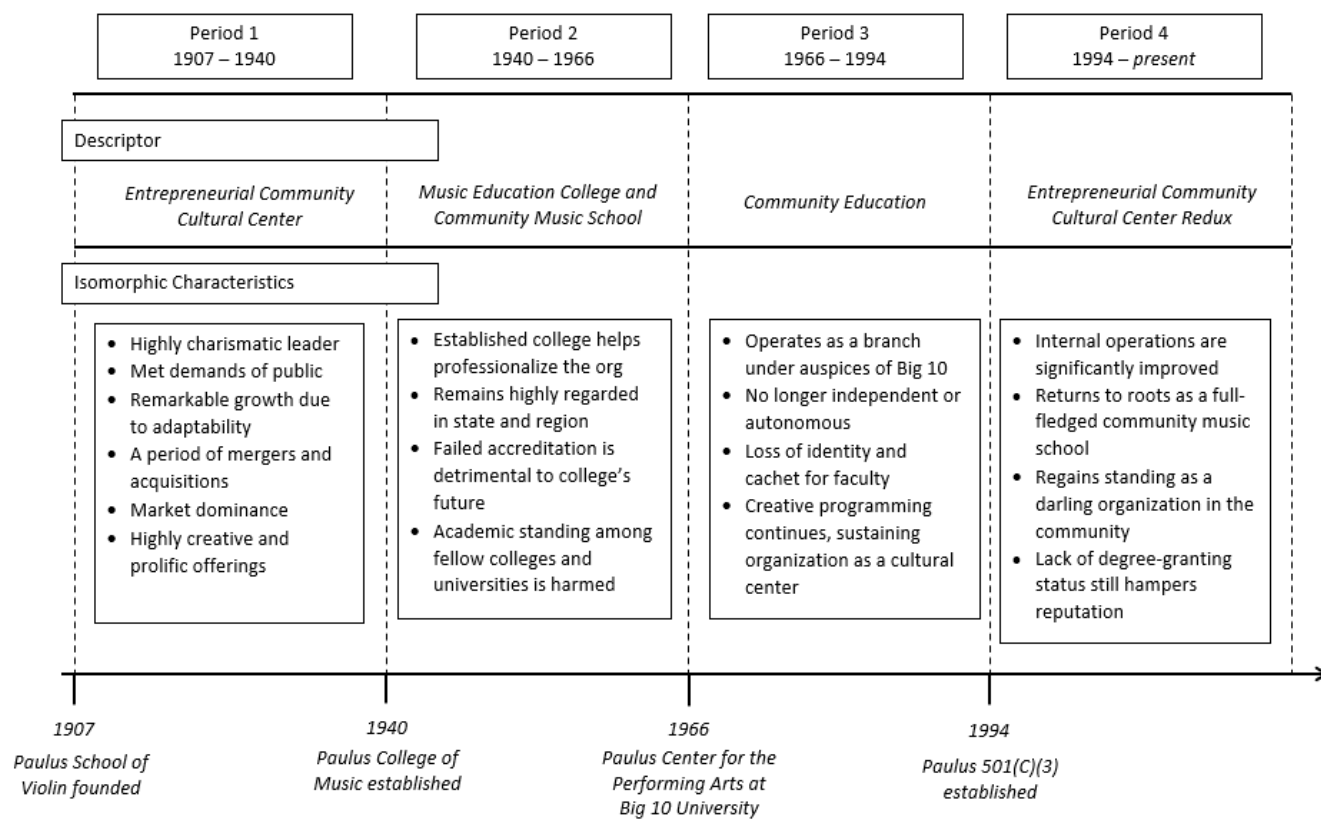
Framing Paulus’ Isomorphic History

The history of Paulus is less about a naturally emergent organizational development, and more about the school overcoming continuous series of challenges. Importantly, the school has endured because of its ability to adopt and implement institutional isomorphic improvements. The term *isomorphism* comes from the field of biology and describes the way species of different genetic origins begin to look like one another (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Institutional

isomorphisms are improvements made within an organization that mimic other organizations; they are the competitive mechanisms by which organizations adapt and survive. As an organization becomes increasingly fit, other organizations must follow suit to maintain its competitive edge. As a result, organizations begin to function, operate, and look like one another. In addition to competitive isomorphisms, there are coercive isomorphisms, mimetic processes, and normative pressures placed on organizations, which all shape, guide, and drive an organization forward. Paulus has undergone all these improvements at one point or another in its history.

This chapter will discuss the history of Paulus Center for Music through two theoretical lenses. Firstly, institutional isomorphic improvements will be addressed. There are clear isomorphic periods that have emerged in Paulus' history (see figure 1). Note the chart is divided into four periods: Paulus began as an independent entrepreneurial cultural center (Period 1), operated as a college (Period 2), and then provided community education under Big 10 University (Period 3). Paulus then returns to an independent cultural center in Period 4. It is important to note that Paulus thrives when it operates as a self-governing, autonomous organization and when its entrepreneurial spirit is allowed to flourish. Thus, Periods 1 and 4 are where Paulus operated at its best.

Secondly, Paulus' organizational lifecycles will be examined. There have been two clear lifecycles in its history, with isomorphic Periods 1 and 2 encompassing the first organizational lifecycle; Period 4 is the start of the second and current ongoing lifecycle. This chapter will focus on the founder, the school's first three isomorphic periods, and its first organizational lifecycle. Analytic theory will be interweaved with historical narrative. Chapters 4 and 5 address the beginning of the fourth isomorphic period, and the beginning of the second lifecycle.

Figure 1**Key Isomorphic Periods in the History of Paulus Center for Music**

Liam Paulus, Founder

Liam Paulus was the child of European immigrants who sought a better life for themselves and their children. It was in St. Anthony that they found like-minded immigrants, many of whom sought arts and music education-related activities for their children. And this is where the story of Paulus Center for Music begins.

Europeans immigrated to the city of St. Anthony in the mid-1800s, causing the city's growth to be abnormally swift (Hudson, 1908). Amongst other things, these immigrants brought with them "singing schools" – local groups of individuals seeking to learn music through communal singing. Numerous singing schools, glee clubs and choirs were established in the second half of the 1800s, and a thriving music community was becoming well established. Subsequently, other large music and arts organizations were founded as well, including large public concert and opera halls, orchestras, and chamber ensembles. It was a blossoming time for music in St. Anthony (Northwestern, 1949; Hudson 1908; Zellie, 2000).

In addition to the rapid growth of music organizations and ensembles, there was an increasing demand for high quality arts instruction. Multiple speech, dramatic arts, and oratory schools were created by supportive immigrant communities who wanted their children to learn the speech arts (Hudson, 1908; Avery, 1966; Zellie, 2000; Laudon, 2001). There were dozens of schools in St. Anthony, and one of those early schools was Paulus School of Violin.

Liam's parents arrived in the United States in the late 1800s. After settling in St. Anthony, the Paulus family acquired a violin for the young Liam, and he immediately espoused great talent. He would attend his neighborhood elementary and high schools, only to leave school to work to help with family finances, a common practice of the time. Music continued to be an important part of Liam's life as he worked, continuing his music studies, and joining a newly

formed local orchestra. It was in this orchestra that he played beside mature musicians and soon thereafter Liam (Figure 2), in his early 20s, would embark to Europe to begin formal training (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997).

Figure 2

Liam Paulus, 22 years old (photo 1903; Paulus Institutional Archives)



Liam's playing flourished while in Europe, gaining high praise and garnering prestigious performances. It was also in Europe that he purchased his violin, a prized and well-crafted instrument. He would return to St. Anthony after three years abroad and rejoin the symphony in which he once played. He gave concerts and performances and quickly established a stellar reputation as a gifted violinist (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997).

Liam would meet his future wife while concertizing in St. Anthony. A pianist and collaborator, she had made a name for herself as a talented artist as well. They would marry some years later and have three children. Socially, Liam was extremely busy. In addition to being an active member in his church community, he co-founded a national music school association, presided over local groups, and so on. He was a well-respected pillar of the community (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997). Upon his death in the 1960s, multiple public statements were made about his magnanimous personality. All spoke of his thrilling performances, his civic functions, and roles, but perhaps most importantly, of his fiery enthusiasm for music and teaching. Liam was described as "dynamic, fearless, cautious in judgment with a winning and persuasive personality" (VanValkenburg, 1982). Everyone associated with Liam Paulus also acknowledged his business acumen, an important skill he would bring with him into the world of music instruction.

Liam Paulus was undoubtedly a visionary, and the very definition of an entrepreneurial leader. He lived for the school: it was his dream, his life, his everything. Liam wanted his legacy to be that of a living community centered on music instruction. The school drove him forward constantly, and vice versa. In fact, it impacted on his health in detrimental ways as evidenced by periods of severe illness due to the stress of managing a large school. These periods of illness

were an indicator of how invested he was in the school – that school was *him* to a large degree (Figure 3).

As a teacher and performer, Liam understood the needs of his faculty. As a businessman, Liam knew and understood the needs of the community. So, when the driving force behind a school passes away, it is only natural that the school's momentum wanes. It is apparent that Paulus School of Violin (and all its subsequent names) suffered from Founders Syndrome. After the death of Liam Paulus, it was decades before the school would retake its mantle as the preeminent community music school in the country.

Figure 3

Liam Paulus, age unknown (photo date unknown; St. Anthony Special Collections Digital Archives)



Isomorphic Period 1: Paulus School of Violin

St. Anthony – with its Central Mall – was a thriving city in the early 1900s. Many of the buildings in the downtown area leased space to professional musicians for the purpose of teaching private music lessons (Hudson, 1908). Numerous well-known musicians rented space in Music Building, and it was in this building that Liam Paulus would establish the Paulus School of Violin in 1907.

From the very beginning, the school's reputation attracted high quality teachers. Advanced students would also become apprentices to their teacher and would take on students of their own. Like most schools at the time, the school's focus was on performance – there were no degrees or certificates offered as certification from a master teacher was the professional standard (Avery, 1966; Zellie, 2000).

The nascent Paulus School of Violin flourished immediately, with accounts crediting Liam's success to being both well-grounded musically as an excellent teacher, but also having deft business acumen. His understanding of what the community desired, as well as his innovative approach to marketing and program offerings, would eventually thrust the school into national prominence. A few short years later, the number of faculty members grew, the curriculum broadened, and the first catalogue was published. The school expanded its footprint in the Music Building and soon thereafter the Paulus School of Violin grew to be the largest violin school in the nation (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997). Immediately, the stage was set for isomorphic adaptation and metamorphosis. Unquestionably, the willingness to embrace expansive growth can be traced to the founder, Liam Paulus, who ambitiously added faculty, curricula, and program offerings within a few short years.

The school, however, was still in its infancy, evidenced by the fact that it operated under three names within three years: the Paulus School of Violin, the Paulus School of Music, and the Paulus School of Music and Dramatic Art. These names reflect the emerging identity of the school, but also advertised the expanded offerings as the school offered a broadened array of musical instruments beyond violin (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997). Additional courses of study included public school music, harmony, music history, ear training, and form and analysis (Van Valkenburg, 1982).

Concurrent with the growth of the school, records show that for many faculty members, Paulus was beginning to be their primary source of income. In the common courses of study (piano, violin, etc.), teachers sought to devote more and more of their time teaching at the Paulus School. Unless an instrument could not demand a full studio, it was never encouraged for a teacher to have just a few students. This increased commitment on behalf of the faculty led to stronger loyalty and identification with the school (VanValkenburg, 1982).

Articles of incorporation were filed in 1920, and soon after Liam Paulus approached the School of Expression and Dramatic Art. These two organizations would merge and move into a new location in the Bailey Building, with Liam running the entire operation. It was abundantly clear that Liam's business sense made him a leader in the community. He demonstrated a natural ability to lead, adjust and adapt – skills that drew people to him. He quickly became prominent in the community, the very definition of a entrepreneurial leader in his profession. Liam was a visionary, and well ahead of his time.

The next catalogue would dedicate 12 pages to the newly acquired faculty and departments, which now included dramatic art, public speaking, oral expression, English and modern languages, physical training, and pageantry (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997). The following

year would be a landmark year in Paulus' early history as the school announced the issuance of degrees, certificates, and diplomas (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997).

The first decade of the Paulus School saw extraordinary growth. The school's early organizational typography was that of a collection of independent music studios, which navigated the first two stages of its lifecycle: the Idea Stage, and the Start-up Stage. Liam Paulus' goal then turned to creating a full-fledged music school that provided high quality music instruction to the community. The organizational typography then started to shift into that of a settlement school, which were springing up across the country during this era. As his labor of love took shape, the Articles of Incorporation became evidence of the emerging management of the school. However, even more ambitious dreams were on the horizon as Paulus entered the third stage of its lifecycle: The Growth Stage, culminating in acquisitions and mergers of other schools.

The First Acquisitions: Midwest Conservatory, Fine Arts Studios and The American School of Opera

In 1920, Paulus School of Music and Dramatic Arts made its first significant acquisition: The Midwest Conservatory, which forced the school to move to a larger location (Avery, 1966). Space was leased in the nearby Bailey Building, where Paulus would occupy the entire third, fourth and fifth floors. Paulus would soon thereafter acquire The Fine Arts studios. Located in an adjacent building, Paulus absorbed the school and assumed control thereof, announcing itself a school of over 80 faculty members, 3,000 students and 54 studios. In less than 15 years, Paulus had become one of the three largest music schools in the country.

It was also around this time that Paulus began offering state-accredited degrees in Public School Music. The program was quickly recognized as an integral part of Paulus' offerings and

the first director was none other than the assistant supervisor of music for the St. Anthony Public Schools (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997). Thus, a long-standing relationship with the city's school district and music instructors was formed. Over the course of several decades, Paulus awarded degrees to hundreds upon hundreds of music instructors that would fill music classrooms all throughout the Midwest.

Yet another acquisition was announced in the early 1920s: The American School of Opera. Paulus took ownership of the equipment, studios full of students, and the teachers, all of whom would teach for Paulus in the Bailey Building. The School of Opera would continue its stage productions, which were mounted and performed throughout St. Anthony and its famous lakes (St. Anthony Tribune, 1922). It was quickly becoming clear that the time for additional space was becoming a necessity. The radical idea of building a stand-alone building dedicated to music education and instruction had already been conceived.

Building the Dream: The Largest Building Dedicated to Music Education in the Country

Consideration for real estate lots in downtown St. Anthony began in the early 1920s. Despite Paulus' esteemed reputation, local bankers would not finance the construction of a new building. Instead, it was a banker from the East Coast that would bankroll the project. There were conditions placed on the loan, however, to protect his investment: the building was designed in such a way that the ground floor was built as store-front units. In case of the school's demise, the building would quickly be converted into commercial real estate, and the studios above into office space (Avery, 1966).

With financing in place, Liam Paulus turned to a local architecture firm to draft plans for the new building. The new Paulus building would be the first large project from the young

architects. Consequently, it was this project that would launch their careers and they would go on to design several of St. Anthony's most recognizable buildings (Lileks, 2017).

The new building would consist of 75 teaching studios, a fourth-floor 250-seat auditorium, large rehearsal spaces and several large classrooms (the ground-floor store-front units) (Zellie, 2000). The building's design was utilitarian – other than crown molding and decorative masonry on the outside, there was little pizzazz beyond its functionality. However, upon opening the doors of its new building in 1923, Paulus was heralded as the most complete facility and the largest enrollment of any music school in the United States (St. Anthony Journal, August 28, 1927; Figure 4).

Ironically, Liam Paulus almost never saw his dream realized. Prior to the building's opening, Liam suffered a severe bout of typhoid. The doctors attributed the disease's onset to serious stress and too much work, most likely the result of the time and effort put into opening the new building (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997).

Figure 4

The Paulus School of Music and Dramatic Arts at Mary's Place (Photo: 1923; Paulus Institutional Archives)



As Paulus expanded its offerings to include arts-related programming, the school's operations resembled that of a music conservatory. The aim of conservatories is to groom and polish instrumental and vocal musicians for a professional career in performing, whether as soloist or an ensemble player. Typical conservatory training is rigorous and highly competitive. However, Paulus had a unique angle, as the school produced so many music *teachers*, not just performers. Founder Liam Paulus was both a wonderful performer, but a notable teacher as well, and the school's mission reflected the same sensibility. There is no doubt that Paulus saw itself as the "Julliard of the Midwest" and its expanded arts offering reflected just that.

However, the organizational typography Paulus resembled most was still that of a settlement school, offering music instruction to non-degree seeking students. Jane Addams' Hull House, notably, offered programming that included children's groups, educational meetings, art shows, crafts as well as music instruction (Addams, 1910). Settlement schools are non-profit and non-sectarian, providing music instruction at a nominal cost. The emphasis is not necessarily on the talent of the student, but instead on the high-quality education being provided to those students (Egan, 1967). Operating as a settlement school, commonly referred to as a community music school, Paulus became a prominent cultural center for the community and operated as such for several decades (Period 1).

It is around this period that Paulus' lifecycle begins to transition from The Growth Stage into The Maturity Stage. As the school continued its expansion, it began to open its wings for full flight. The dream of a new building was already complete, cementing its legacy as a leading national music school. Paulus had a large faculty and student population but would soon start offering degrees and certificates. By this point in its history, Paulus' administrative structures of the school were firmly in place, with further expansion and growth to take place.

Paulus School of Music: 1920s-‘40s

By the time the new building opened in St. Anthony, Paulus School of Music had reached a faculty body of 100, and a student population of 4,000 students. The school was operating at capacity upon opening the new building in the mid-1920s (St. Anthony Journal, August 28, 1927). In addition to a full course of music instruction, Paulus also offered public speaking, dramatic arts, and literature as well as Repertoire Players, Choral Art, and Orchestral Art societies and a school band (Zellie, 2000). Paulus had also absorbed yet another consortium of teachers, greatly expanding the piano faculty to over 20 teachers, making it the largest department in the school – a notable shift considering the school began as a violin school.

Paulus functioned as a degree-granting institution before the word “college” was officially used in its name (VanValkenburg, 1982). The number of state-accredited degrees, diplomas, and certificates granted increased throughout the 1920s. Its first Bachelors of Music (B.M.) was offered, as well as diplomas and certificates, primarily in Public School Music (Nryop, 1995). Participating in the training of disabled soldiers through the U.S. Veteran’s Bureau, Paulus expanded its public school curriculum.

Paulus’ growth continued. By the late-1920s, its faculty totaled 125, and students numbered 5,000. The catalogue described a diverse curriculum including keyboard harmony, counterpoint, canon and fugue, composition, and several courses in piano. Over the next decade, Paulus would add academic courses such as French and Italian, radio broadcasting, psychology and dance (Zellie, 2000). Paulus hosted professors from several nearby colleges and universities in its classroom, indicating their desire to move into formal academic offerings.

While the Great Depression affected enrollment in the 1930s, the number of faculty members remained unchanged. Not a lot of information from this decade is known, suggesting

the school hunkered down and weathered the effects of the depression with little growth or expansion taking place (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997). The catalogues of the 1930s demonstrate that Paulus kept up with the latest technological trends, forming a new Radio Department. Paulus purchased “the finest RCA sound equipment” and Radio for Singers and Radio Course in Announcing and Acting were offered. Courses in “popular music” [jazz] were also offered at this time.

The Maturity Stage of Paulus’ lifecycle would be extended by establishing a new Paulus *College of Music*. The expansion of Paulus to offer degrees and certificates would boost the school, allowing for an extended period of organizational maturity. The overall trajectory of the school would again be turned upwards as it sought higher aspirations. At this period in its history, Paulus’ star was still ascending.

Isomorphic Period 2: Paulus College of Music: 1940s-‘60s

Period 2 in Paulus’ history was seeded in the late 1930s, when a committee was tasked with a feasibility study of creating a separate state-accredited college within Paulus School of Music. And so, the transition from music school to music school *and* college began, each operating as their own separate entity within the same building. In the early 1940s, for example, the Paulus School of Drama became the Paulus College of Drama. The College of Speech made its debut, offering preparation for platform entertaining, acting radio, television, and screen pursuits (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997; Zellie, 2000).

During this period, Paulus underwent a re-examination by a music school national association. (It is important to note that this association accredited music schools only, not liberal arts colleges or universities. This delineation becomes crucial later in Paulus’ history.) In 1940, the graduate program of Paulus College of Music was accredited, and four degrees were

subsequently offered, including the coveted Master of Music Education (M.M.E.) (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997). Paulus would graduate hundreds of students with music education degrees, who would populate public school classrooms all throughout the Midwest. Paulus' legacy was solidified during this period, all the while operating two different types of music instruction: Paulus College (offering degree programs) and Paulus School (offering music instruction for pre- and post-college age students). Paulus was again metamorphosing, adopting isomorphic characteristics from other organizations – namely, from the burgeoning colleges and universities of its time. This period was the Golden Years for organization and continued strong for nearly two decades.

During the years after World War II, however, graduating classes began growing slim. Once the war ended, enrollment in the college ballooned with returning veterans earning degrees by way of the GI Bill. While some studied music, others enrolled in courses such as “Salesmanship Training: The Art of Selling,” offered in the College of Dramatic Arts (VanValkenburg, 1982). The 1950s saw the establishment of multiple student groups within Paulus' Student Association Senate and its committees: Scholastic and Citizenship, College Relations and Projects, Club Officers Council, Programs and Recreation, Organization and Working Policies, and so forth. By the end of the 1950s, the student body was shrinking, with only a handful of degrees being granted in those late years (VanValkenburg, 1982).

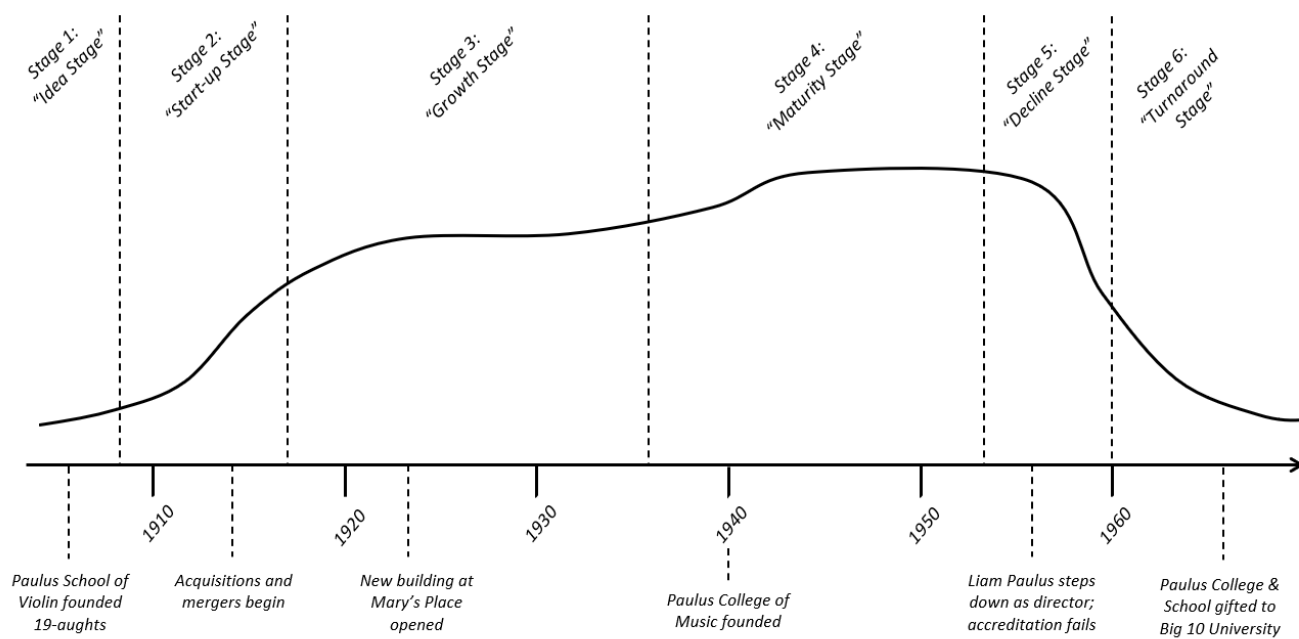
Most importantly from this period, however, is that Liam Paulus entered semi-retirement in 1955, with his son Liam, Jr. becoming acting director. A direct consequence of Liam's withdrawal from the day-to-day operations was that Paulus' momentum as an organization began to slow. The verve and drive of the school was becoming inert, and Paulus College and School saw its competitiveness diminish, and Paulus enters The Decline Stage of its lifecycle. This is the

stage where an organization's services begin to lose their relevance to the marketplace, and declining enrollment creates insufficient income to cover expenses.

Paulus' Organizational Lifecycle 1 followed the trajectory of the life of Liam Paulus to a T. The school suffered from Founders Syndrome, wherein an organization's life parallels that of its founder. Liam's goals and ambitions were realized and brought into existence by *his* drive and *his* motivation because Liam and the school were one in the same. From the Idea Stage, through to the Maturity Stage, Paulus School follows closely the life cycle of its founder regarding his own age, development, and maturity. Notably, the school begins to lose steam when Liam begins aging, and the Decline Stage begins. By all accounts, Paulus attempted to course correct, and entered what would be its Turnaround Stage (Figure 5).

Figure 5

Paulus Center for Music – Lifecycle 1: Founding through Big 10 University



One such account of course correction was documented in a handwritten letter from an aging Liam to his son, Liam, Jr. The letter reads like a college business textbook, proposing Paulus jump at the hot new commodity of the day: color TVs. Liam proposed that his son set up a showroom in the building, investigate TV manufacturers and distributors, map floor space for sales, and consider how many parking spaces are available to customers. Liam's keen business sense was evident even in his advancing age, but selling TVs was a far departure from offering music lessons. The reduced demand for Paulus' offerings meant that something had to be done to keep the school relevant and viable. Liam was clearly improvising – riffing and vamping, even – to keep the school going and there was no forethought about these isomorphic additions and how they would affect the future of the school. The letter itself signifies the canary in the coal mine: the school was in deep trouble, and its founder was looking for ways to keep it afloat.

Failed Accreditation

Amidst ever-increasing national standards for degree-granting colleges and universities, Paulus College of Music sought further academic credence and legitimacy to put it on competitive footing with institutions such as Big 10 University. In the late 1950s, Paulus made its first attempt at national accreditation through the National Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This national accreditation would have been a notable increase in prestige, status, and legitimacy from Paulus' previous accreditation by a music school association.

Several steps were taken were taken in advance of the accreditation review. First, Paulus acquired St. Anthony College of Music, a sizable college. Upon purchase, Paulus absorbed its faculty and students, and then razed the building (Zellie, 2000). Second, a new music library was installed at Paulus, and it was massive. Located in one of the building's store-front classrooms and in two basement classrooms, a large library was acquired through considerable donations of

money and bulk purchase of publications. A large collection of recordings, books on all subjects, and musical scores of all kinds were acquired (Avery, 1966). Additional measures were considered for a strengthened accreditation bid, including the addition of extra floors to the building. Designed as such, the Paulus building could bear additional floors atop the four previously constructed floors (Figure 6).

At times, universities and colleges are actually ahead of the accreditation process. It was clear from the application, and the requisite completed self-study, that Paulus was attempting to expand the possibilities for a specialty college to become accredited. At the time of application, Paulus College was awarding bachelor's and master's degrees in music education, theory, and pedagogy. As a result, Paulus and the National Association were attempting something new: to accredit a music college that had little to no liberal arts curriculum. Paulus prepared its application, completed a self-study, and hosted a site visit for John Rose, a college professor who would draft a report of his findings for the National Association. According to the Report of Consulting Visit to Paulus Center for Music, Rose (1962) makes it explicitly clear in the preface that both Paulus and National Association were to be praised:

The application for regional accreditation by Paulus College is significant on the part of Paulus. It signifies that the college's educational role and function, focused through the time-honored academic discipline of music, has developed into a community-wide function, serving a social purpose. This has derived from a natural and organic process of growth.

On the part of the National Association, the acceptance of Paulus' application plus encouragement of its promulgation is equally significant. It signifies those specialized categories of schools (in this case a school with an independent conservatory heritage) have a rightful place in the larger pattern of American education. Recognition in the form of regional accreditation is a natural outgrowth.

Because precedents are being established during this period of Paulus' self-study and evaluation by the National Association, considerable outside interest is evident. New concepts are being developed which will, in the future, inevitably be applied to other schools possessed of a special and professional heritage. Both Paulus and the National Association deserve a salute for blazing this trail. (Rose, 1962)

The author also clearly acknowledges that Paulus College existed to train musicians of various vocations to which musicians are called. Rose recognized that Paulus was not a liberal arts school, and that it did not aspire to be one – after all, professionally trained musicians, almost without exception, receive considerable musical training outside of accredited schools. However, this is not why Paulus was denied accreditation: it was denied because it failed to offer key aspects of non-academic student life.

As Rose states, “it is clear, that Paulus needs to look carefully, and to appraise its non-academic responsibilities to students.” Paulus College had not evolved yet to include a dormitory system or a network of student affairs. The author argued that Paulus needed to review and restructure its total collegiate functions, including the following areas: living accommodations for students (as well as standards for cleanliness, rule enforcement, etc.); physical health (availability of doctors/nurses to students); mental health (counseling services); and general non-academic counseling (such as job placement, professional development opportunities for students, etc.).

There were additional reasons Paulus may not have met the requirements for accreditation through the National Association as well. For a long time, Paulus partnered with local colleges and universities to have its teachers instruct Paulus students. As a result, basic academic departments such as mathematics, literature, and other liberal arts were not developed nor strong enough to meet strict requirements. The lack of square footage was another potential reason for the failed accreditation bid, as was the limited number of faculty members holding Ph.Ds.

Figure 6

A schematic of proposed construction of four additional floors above the preexisting Paulus building on Mary's Place.



" . . . the projected expansion of the [redacted] building to include one, perhaps even three, additional floors will no doubt solve this problem [of physical plant needs]. Whether that expansion takes place or not, the administration is aware of the need, and it is confident that some solution can be arrived at which will not present any dangers for an expanded instructional program." [redacted]

Paulus took great strides to achieve accreditation. As a result of its attempt to grow, the organization underwent symbolic violence. Bourdieu defined symbolic violence as harm done from one organization to another. In this case, Paulus went through its own set of growing pains, tried to shed its skin, remaking itself as a full-fledged accredited institution. It made attempts to act and feel and behave like a legitimate college, but try as it might, it was unable to do so.

Ultimately, the bid for accreditation through the National Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools failed, dealing a major blow academically, financially, and psychologically to the college and all associated with it (Avery, 1966). It is around this point where Paulus College of music enters the last and final stage of its lifecycle: The Terminal Stage. The school was fraught with financial stresses and was operating on smaller and smaller operating budgets. Paulus' glory years were now in the past.

A second wave of devastation would befall Paulus School of Music when Liam Paulus, the namesake founder and driving force behind the school, passed away in 1962. Lauded as the finest of citizens and a true friend to the advancement of music, Liam Paulus' contributions to the heart and soul of city of St. Anthony left an indelible mark on the city's history. For over five decades, Liam Paulus' influence spread far and wide, bringing happiness and inspiration to grateful multitudes. His legacy continues today as the school that bears his name would undergo several more transformations (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997).

The Gifting of Paulus College of Music to Big 10 University

Dwindling enrollment numbers and the ever-increasing competition of nationally accredited colleges and universities caused Paulus College of Music to become less and less attractive to students. It's at this period in Paulus' history that the isomorphic attributes of the organization begin to diminish significantly. Facing crippling financial pressures, the children of

Liam Paulus – in consultation with an estate lawyer – decided to gift Paulus College of Music to Big 10 University. The Paulus family and the university came to an agreement: Big 10 University would accept Paulus college of Music and Paulus School of Music, and all property associated therewith as a gift (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997). This provided a tax-free solution to the financial crisis of school for the Paulus family and would bolster the department of music at Big 10 University.

The administration, faculty and student body at Paulus College were unaware of the two-year negotiation between the Paulus family and Big 10 University. Nor was there any knowledge as to why the school was gifted to Big 10. As a result, the announcement of the gift came as a shock to the entire school. There was bewilderment, disbelief, and a real feeling of betrayal on behalf of everyone at the school. Everyone at Paulus was heartbroken (Avery, 1966).

Acceptance of the gift was unanimously voted upon by Big 10 University's Board of Regents, which enumerated plans for the school: 1) Big 10 would incorporate the functions of Paulus College of Music within the department of music, with the functions of Paulus School of Music operating under the Community Education Division; 2) students enrolled at Paulus College would be given the opportunity to transfer to a degree program at Big 10 University; and 3) Big 10 would propose to establish a Paulus Center for Performing Arts, to be housed at the present building location.

Questions Arise about Operating Paulus

While Big 10 University's Board of Regents voted unanimously to accept Paulus, not everyone at Big 10 was so welcoming. The University wanted its music department to be nationally regarded, with the gift and merger to strengthen the field of music in the state by joining the Paulus and Big 10's music department. Almost immediately, however, questions

arose about the workability of accepting Paulus into Big 10. The Dean acknowledged that the music faculty viewed Paulus strictly as a “commercial operation” with a relatively low reputation among the most competent musicians in the area. Sensing there would be resistance from within the music department, Big 10 Dean of the Liberal Arts College proposed a reorganization of the music department. There is no evidence that a reorganization of the music department that included Paulus ever happened other than to create a chair. As a result, the Paulus Chair of Music was established and filled with a distinguished performing artist and teacher. Other than this chair, and one or two other positions, there is no evidence of any other Paulus administrator or faculty member joining Big 10 University.

Internal discussions also included a situation that mirrored Big 10 and Paulus when the University of Missouri took over the Kansas City Conservatory. The response from the University of Missouri was that the music staff was concerned with the arrangement: they felt the Conservatory was a training and not an educational institution; that the faculty was not distinguished; and that the University has done little to change a situation which they regard to be undesirable. While never outright declared, it was clear that the same sentiments were felt at Big 10 about Paulus.

Big 10 University’s Vice President voiced significant concerns about the financial considerations of operating Paulus. That is, almost immediately, it was difficult to see Paulus as a self-sustaining financial operation on the University’s balance sheets. The operating costs would not be covered by Paulus’ revenue, which would fall short by about one-fourth (Miller, 1985).

The transition to living under Big 10 University saw immediate changes at Paulus. The music department at Big 10 University understandably did not want Paulus College, its faculty,

or its students in its department. While the aim of absorbing Paulus into the music department was a noble one, there's no evidence that any of the Paulus faculty (other than Paulus' Dean of Academics) joined Big 10's faculty. The failure of Paulus would have been known to the Big 10 music faculty; they certainly would not have wanted that failure to reflect negatively on their reputation. Paulus would have been viewed as a failed institutional college. To add insult to injury, Big 10 pilfered Paulus' building: the good pianos, equipment and music stands were all removed and used in Big 10's music department (Lauritzen & Loven, 1997) as was the entire music library. To this day, numerous books in Big 10's music library bear the insignia "Paulus College of Music."

A solution to the situation was to situate Paulus in the Community Education Extension, using the building to create a downtown location for the program. Big 10 remodeled and rehabilitated the property. The offerings were expanded at Paulus to include more than just music. The idea was to include far more classes in the catalogue, which would generate more revenue than individual instruction music lessons. The cost per square foot per hour for lessons is far higher than that of offering classes. To help offset costs, a slew of evening classes was added to the offerings. That is, new isomorphisms were imposed on Paulus as Big 10 attempted to make the school financially viable by serving a different role in the community than what it once served. Paulus was consequently misplaced within Big 10's larger framework out of necessity, as no one really knew what else to do with the organization. Consequently, Paulus underwent changes that were misaligned with the organization's mission.

Further complications included Paulus College students. Big 10's music department faculty did not want Paulus students. Seen as a lesser organization, Paulus students would have understandably been viewed as pariahs academically. As a result, admittance of Paulus students

into Big 10 University's music department was dubious at best, and not as easy as it appeared on paper. Because Paulus lacked the same accreditation as Big 10, credits earned for a Paulus degree were not accepted; instead, they were considered elective credits. Students who had completed a significant number of music courses were left in a lurch as their credits did not transfer into a Big 10 music degree. As a result, many students transferred to other schools that accepted those credits. Based on the written and oral accounts, it's not clear what exactly happened to Paulus College of Music. It very well may have been a victim of the gifting process and shuttered once the transaction was completed.

Isomorphic Period 3: Paulus Center for the Performing Arts: 1966-'94

Paulus School of Music operated in the Community Education Extension at Big 10 University, now with the name Paulus Center for Performing Arts (St. Anthony Daily, 1966, March 29). This constitutes the start of Period 3 in Paulus' history. In essence, Paulus College was stripped of the isomorphic attributes that made it a towering organization in St. Anthony. Instead, Paulus would now serve only as a community education center for students of all ages and abilities in music, dramatic arts, dance, and the like, thus removing any direct competition from Big 10's music department. While still a noble mission, the school no longer offered degrees, predominantly teaching pre-college age students in individual and group settings (St. Anthony Daily, 1966, October 4). This is a notable departure from the glory years of Paulus College that graduated hundreds of masters and undergraduate degree students. The institutional identity had changed, and the diminished status of the organization clashed with the collective memory of what Paulus once was.

Within the framework of a community education center, though, Paulus was presented with a unique opportunity to expand its programming to focus and cater to pre-college age

students, presumably the largest demographic for which music education is sought. Again, the organization metamorphosized, adopting isomorphisms found within community education institutions.

Immediately after the gifting, numerous pre-college offerings were initiated, including the Paulus Center Orchestra, comprised of high school upper class students; a Concerto and Operatic Aria Workshop series for advanced pre-college performers; and the Instrumental Institute Program for students and teachers of all ages. It was a fertile time in Paulus' history for program development, especially for pre-college age students – programs that would fall outside of the domain of higher education (e.g., colleges and universities). Two of the most significant additions to the school were the Suzuki Talent Education department and the Early Childhood Arts program in the late 1960s. Both departments would grow from saplings into key organizational pillars within Paulus. Program offerings in Orff Schulwerk would later be added (which, incidentally, were spun off into a leading college teacher program at a nearby university).

Additionally, the Paulus building would undergo remodeling and construction, adding several large classrooms to accommodate nearly 30 evening classes ranging from accounting to psychology. These classrooms also allowed Big 10 University to offer graduate-level courses to students and working professionals – musical and otherwise – during the school year as well in the summer (St. Anthony Daily, 1966, October 4).

By and large, though, the years under the wing of Big 10 University were relatively stagnant for Paulus. In comparison to the previous six decades, Paulus was a husk of its former self. While still a beloved institution by the community writ large, it had moderate oversight

from Big 10, who had little to say regarding Paulus' programming, faculty, or general operations. The organization entered a period of dormancy – it was an untended garden (Figure 7).

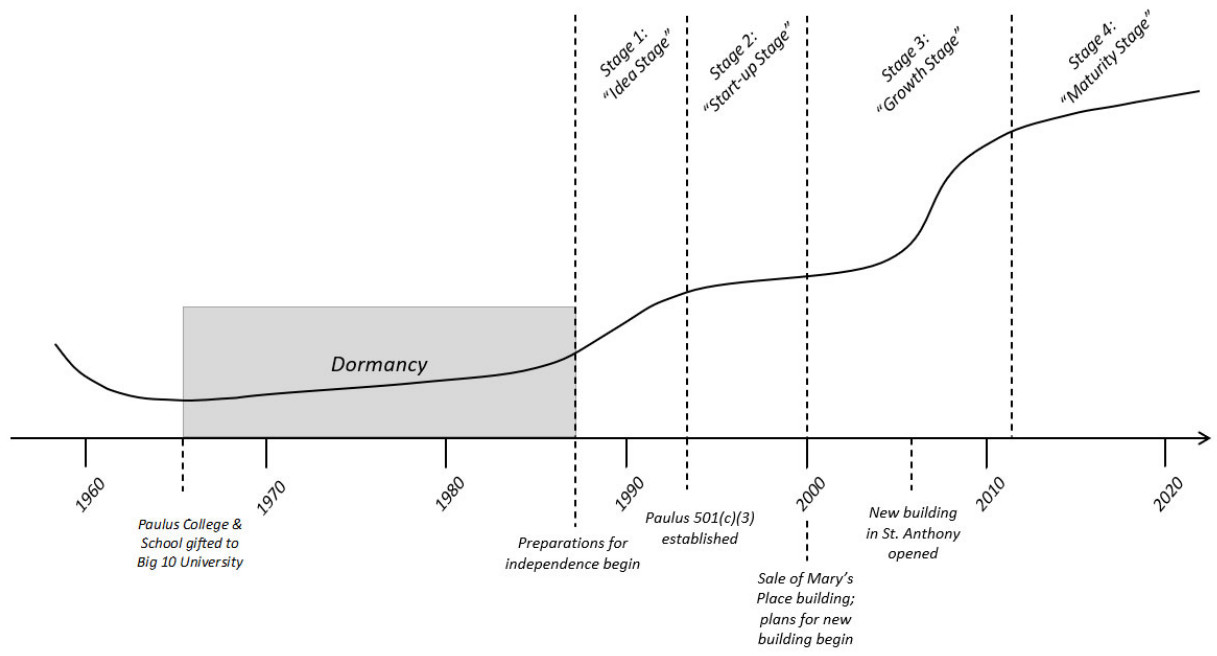
However, in the late 1970s, the faculty started to self-organize. Departments sought clearer focus and leadership, and there began a push from the faculty for Big 10 to hire an Artistic Director for Paulus, whose role would be to oversee the day-to-day operations of the school. The first Artistic Director was hired in the early 1980s and began implementing new programs at Paulus. Several new initiatives were started at this time, including new faculty ensembles, and partnerships with local arts organizations.

All the while, Big 10 University was covering for Paulus' deficits. Of its 2-million-dollar operating budget, nearly \$800,000 came from Big 10 University. It was clear that new arrangements were needed, and plans were made to move Paulus into an independent 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. For many years after gifting to Big 10 University, Paulus lived on life support. It wasn't until the mid-'90s that the organization's heart would fully beat again.

Chapter Synopsis

Throughout its history, Paulus has been adept at swiftly implementing institutional isomorphisms. The school can shape shift, adapting to new challenges that spring up. This metamorphosis is a key part of the organizational DNA of Paulus. Those adaptive isomorphisms are vital to its success and separate Paulus from other music schools – clearly, other music schools were not as skilled as Paulus at adapting to challenges, otherwise they would still be operating today. They were, in a word, nonoptimal.

Figure 7
Paulus Center for Music – Lifecycle 2: 1960s to Present



However, all good qualities have a downside: Paulus' ability to adapt to immediate changes resulted in a shortsightedness of long-range planning. There are clear periods in the organization's history and each period served the school well *at the time*. However, the successful transition from one period to another was inconsistent as proper groundwork was not planned for or laid out from one period to another. The school's creativity and entrepreneurial spirit far outpaced its ability to plan beyond the next period, and this resulted in some rocky and tumultuous transition periods.

Different eras bring different challenges, thus necessitating different isomorphisms. In the 1900s – Period 1 of its first lifecycle – Paulus acquired and merged with other schools, causing an issue with growth. Ironically, Paulus didn't face problems caused by a lack of students, but instead, it dealt with unprecedented growth. Paulus grew from a collection of teachers into an enormous music school in just twenty years. With that growth came the challenges of how to accommodate a significant increase in students. The school would quickly move from the Idea and Start-up Stages to the Growth Stage in this lifecycle very quickly, and clearly further isomorphic improvements were needed.

In a large step forward for the organization, a new building was constructed. The building operated at capacity when it opened in 1923, with over 100 teachers and some 3000 students. The success of the school launched it into national prominence as it sought to be the "Julliard of the Midwest." A college branch was established in 1940, delineating Period 2, where students could earn college degrees, strengthening the backbone of the organization. Paulus mirrored other music conservatories around the country, leaving the school with little to no competition in the Midwest. The school operated in the Maturity Stage of the first lifecycle for nearly two full decades.

As Paulus' profile rose, so did competition from across the nation to attract college students. To bolster its standing, Paulus College attempted national accreditation. The bid failed, delivering a major setback to the school. No longer able to compete with universities and conservatories, the prestige of the once-great Paulus diminished immediately. Enrollment dwindled, and the school faced financial dire straits as the organization entered the Decline Stage.

Instead of shuttering the school entirely, a solution to the school's existential problem was to gift Paulus to Big 10 University. Under the auspices of Big 10, Paulus was on life support in Period 3, operating in a period of relative dormancy. No longer a self-governing organization, Paulus was adrift from its history, mission, and organizational DNA. An adaptive institution, though, Paulus continued to add isomorphisms, such as pre-college education offerings. Tailoring now to the needs of pre- and post-college age music students, Paulus catered to new demographics, and carved a niche for itself within the community. Clearly, it was in the cold shadow of its glory years.

CHAPTER 4
THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST ELEMENTS OF PAULUS’
TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE

“In the end, it is important to remember that we cannot become what we need to be,
by remaining what we are.”

– Max Depree

Introduction

This chapter examines the years leading up to Big 10 University’s divestiture of Paulus. This period is approximately from the mid-1980s to mid-‘90s and includes the years preparing for the organization’s independent status. This era is important in the organization’s history as it returns to its roots as an entrepreneurial community cultural center. Paulus would come full circle from Period 1 to Period 4, as it operates most efficiently and smoothly as a self-governing organization. This chapter includes a historical account of the events leading to Paulus’ independence, the social constructivism at Paulus during that time, as well as a Bourdieusian analysis of the differing forms of capital at Paulus. The way was being paved for the introduction of a new transformational leader that allowed Paulus to reinvent itself. It was a learning experience for all involved.

Paulus’ Financial Standing

After the gifting of Paulus to Big 10 University in the 1960s (Period 3), Paulus was situated in the Community Education Extension at Big 10 University and treated like every other

program at the university. This misaligned with Paulus' mission, as the school was wrangled into Big 10's precast organizational structure. This was no one's fault as the gifting of any school is a highly unusual and uncommon occurrence. Paulus was regrettably a victim of its own circumstance.

While a valued community treasure, it was immediately clear that Paulus was not able to generate the economic capital to cover its overhead costs, so Big 10 paid to keep the lights on. The issue wasn't that Paulus was overspending its budget, but instead it underdelivered revenue. Administrators at Paulus were encouraged to spend all the money in their budget, or risk losing the right to ask for more money in the next fiscal year. While there were no directives or expectations that Paulus should make money for the university, they weren't really trying to reach a balanced budget either. Sustainability was not on anyone's mind.

In a mid-1980s newspaper article prognostically titled, "Paulus Center Hears an Ominous Tone," a warning flair was sent to the community: "[Paulus'] future as part of Big 10 University is uncertain." Paulus faced a financial crisis in the early 1980s which included drastic expenditure cuts, tuition increases for students, and pay cuts for already modest faculty salaries. Paulus' first Artistic Director was quoted, "If the system had not been changed, I think there's no doubt we would be bankrupt" (Miller, 1985).

Paulus' financial difficulties were caused in part by a commission-based teacher salary program implemented in the 1980s. The pay system was designed to encourage more teachers to commit more teaching hours to Paulus. The more tuition money teachers brought in – and the greater their seniority – the more they earned. Shortsightedly, this also meant that less and less money was left for Paulus. It reached a point under the model that only seven percent of

incoming tuition went to Paulus' operating budget, forcing the Community Education Extension to cover the deficit.

During this period, the Big 10 University was paying for the use of Paulus' buildings and utilities, as well as instrument maintenance and repair, new instruments, tape recorders, supplies and the salaries for seven part-time office works. Paulus' director and assistant director were university employees, and the increasing cost of health insurance for that many teachers became a concern as well. Of its \$1.9 million-dollar operating budget, \$780,000 came from the Big 10 University. At the time, the Acting Director said, "Paulus will survive, but we will have to go through some significant changes if forced to leave Big 10 University" (Miller, 1985).

An Amicable Separation

In the mid-1980s, Big 10 University, under its president Kenneth Mueller and the Board of Regents, self-examined its programming and offerings in a plan called, "Focused on Commitment." Mueller had previously stated publicly that the university had not contemplated closing Paulus, but that it considered "reasonable" ways for the organization to become independent. "Paulus is an operation that doesn't particularly fit in the university's focus plan," Mueller said in an interview. "It's something the university has run as a useful outreach program for the community. It does a good job at what it does. But it's not at all clear that it's a service that has to be performed by the university" (Fischenich, 1987). In more ways than one, Paulus never comported with the habitus at Big 10.

In the late 1980s, Big 10 University issued an action plan detailing, amongst others, the future of Paulus Center for the Arts, a radio station, and a hostel program. Big 10 University was to amicably release educational offerings and programming that did not contribute to four-year

degree programs. The Art Museum and two-year degree programs were also subsequently eliminated. The action plan outlined a five-year budgetary phase-out and release of Paulus:

Recommendations for program reduction

Note: The following reallocations are what the administration now proposes should be undertaken over the next five years. Sums are recommended here to indicate the order of magnitude of the recommended reduction, and to provide planning targets for the affected colleges. As the financial situation changes and as the needs of these units change up or down, we will revisit these recommendations annually.

Recommendation to regents: The administration recommends that the Regents endorse the following reallocations for planning purposes (to be confirmed or modified in annual budgets before implementation):

Community Education Extension: Reduction of \$550 thousand as the Paulus Center is made independent of continued Big 10 University funding, with the funds freed retained by the Office of the Provost for reassignment to high campus priorities.

Rationale:

Community Education Extension: The Paulus Center is an important resource to the community, but its program of community education in music is peripheral to the mission of Big 10 University. Funding should not come from the University's Operations and Maintenance budget. (Board of Regents Notes, 1988)

In the early 1990s, now under a new president, a Big 10 University issued second recommendation that was presented to and voted upon by the Board of Regents. The action steps for Paulus to assume independent status were detailed, including specific amounts in decreasing annual budget allocations from the Big 10 University. It is clear from this document that Paulus' financial health – or lack thereof – was a serious concern for the university. In a section titled, "Recommendations to the Regents of the Big 10 University," a case statement outlined the context Paulus' independence:

The Paulus Center for the Arts was founded as an independent music school in the 1900s, and became a part of the Big 10 University, administered by Community Education Extension, in the mid-1960s, when financial difficulties threatened its survival. It provides instruction in voice and instrumental performance and music theory, to children

and adults, primarily at now aging facilities especially designed for that purpose at Mary's Place in St. Anthony. The University agreed to assume responsibility for the program in the expectation that there would be a mutually beneficial relationship between the Paulus program of childhood and adult music education and the Big 10 University's Music Education program. That relationship did not develop as expected, and in the late 1980s the Regents approved a program to return Paulus to independent status with a phased reduction of support. The phased program will lower Big 10 University's direct support from its current level of \$402,000 by one-third [annually for three consecutive fiscal years], at which time approximately \$135,000 of support from physical plant will also be withdrawn as the Center resumes responsibility for its own building maintenance.

The document goes on to further outline the rationale:

Big 10 University's decision to return Paulus Center to independent status was based on two criteria:

Centrality

- *The primary instruction of the Paulus Center is in musical performance, addressed to age groups ranging from young children to adults. This provides an important cultural contribution to the community but is not closely linked to the University's mission.*
- *The fact that the program has not been self-sustaining financially means that funds have been diverted from more central priorities to this program.*

Comparative advantage

- *Big 10 University has no particular expertise in providing this instruction; most of the instruction is provided individually by part-time instructors who also have other part time jobs as free-lance musicians or teachers in the community, not by regular University faculty.*

In a meeting of the Physical Planning and Operations Committee, the university's Regents voted unanimously to transfer Paulus to independent status, including a full authorization to return all property to Paulus and a direction to commence preparation of all legal documents to be signed and ensure a smooth transition.

The return of the building on Mary's Place, the building's annex, and parking lot was an important point. At the time of acquisition by Big 10 University in the mid-1960s, the Paulus building was estimated at approximately \$450,000. In the mid-1990s, Big 10 University

estimated the value of the property at about \$1 million, with the land being more valuable than the building itself.

A major figure in the transition was an executive administrator at Big 10 University, Gerald Fischbach. This executive was committed to Paulus' survival and was the primary actor behind the scenes funneling a significant amount of money towards the transition effort. Big 10 University is documented to have given Paulus upwards of \$2.8 million dollars through the transition, in addition to the diminishing annual budget allocations. These funds are believed to have gone towards fixing up the building, new awnings for the outside windows and general preparations for the move towards independence.

By all accounts, Big 10 University was amicable through the transition process. It displayed concern for the health and well-being of Paulus as it became an independent organization. It is assumed that Big 10 University did not want to be blamed for the demise of Paulus, a long-standing and well-established part of the St. Anthony arts community. Documentation by Big 10 University clearly indicates that there was a problem with Paulus' financial health and solvency. However, Big 10 also clearly denotes the value of the organization to the community at large: instead of closing Paulus, they softly launched it into independent status. Capital – in order form or another – *was* on everyone's mind.

Bridging Capital Divides: Establishing a New Board of Directors

Big 10 University planned for a gradual phase out of annual budget allocations over five years, providing enough runway for Paulus to take flight. During that time, Paulus was to prepare itself for a new life as a non-profit organization. Big 10 University cautiously handled the separation process, the first major step of which was to establish a governing Board of Directors.

It was extremely important to assemble a strong board, yet large and influential enough, to immediately get to work raising money. The newly established Board of Directors was comprised of businesspeople, lawyers, successful entrepreneurs, and supporters of arts-related organizations from around the area with illustrious careers. They were hand-selected and contacted personally, and they all had strong connections to Paulus in one way or another. These individuals understood the importance of cultural capital as well as economic capital – they knew art and they knew money. And they came with their own social capital as well, including their professional networks, political connections, influential circles, and access to other moneyed individuals.

The board's primary functions were fundraising and governance of the organization. Many of the board members had various degrees of experience in running organizations and had astute business and legal instincts. During the transition, for example, fundraised money was set aside for the following fiscal year – not the current year – meaning the board knew exactly how much money they had to work within the next year.

While they did not always agree on everything, Paulus was expertly counseled, and any differences were negotiated with the intent of Paulus' due governance in mind. Jerry Carlsson, a former student of Paulus College of Music and a member of the Board of Directors at the time, commented about the first board members: "People on the board during that time worked on the mission, refining the mission with utter selflessness. There were very, very few pride issues that I ever experienced." Carlsson articulated the board's cautious optimism.

It was a remarkable time: the exuberance, the challenge, the extraordinary assistance that we got from [people at Big 10 University]. And we all had strong connections to Paulus and we really, really thought it was a great opportunity to have Paulus come back. And we knew that we were no longer going to be a college. So, the mission had to really be thought about and addressed, but Paulus had been serving the community to varying degrees, and there were so many opportunities to really involve the community. I think

that the timing was excellent. The right people were there at the right time. (Jerry Carlsson, Personal Interview, 2018)

Despite the uncertainty, there was opportunity and potential in the prospects of Paulus, and the first board pressed forward with returning Paulus back to its roots as a standalone, independent organization.

Raising Capital: Development and Fundraising

In the late 1980s, a new Artistic Director, Leonard Grovesnor, was brought in to guide Paulus' transition to independent status. Grovesnor and the board of directors understood the fundraising challenges facing Paulus. Grovesnor commented on the situation: "As a mature organization with no real experience in fundraising, I think that more time will be needed to achieve such a high level of annual support from the community." Indeed, the need for Paulus to stand on its own two feet had come. Big 10 University and the Paulus Board of Directors were cognizant of the fact that fundraising takes time. Sustained efforts are needed to cultivate and build meaningful relationships within the community that will eventually support the organization. With the five-year phase-out period, Paulus had something of a head start in building a donor base. While they had a head start, however, it was not easy.

With limited resources – financial, personnel and otherwise – the first Director of Development was tasked with establishing a proper fundraising operation. New hires were made, a newsletter was created, and press releases written. To reignite interest in Paulus, historical photographs and stories were published in the quarterly newsletter.

Initial fundraising efforts included finding alumni of Paulus College of Music. As Paulus graduated most of the public school music teachers in the Midwest, there was a long registry of former students. However, there was no computer database established to record and document students – all student contact information was found in the paperwork, transcripts, and files from

the 1940s, '50s, and '60s. Documenting and finding these graduates was a tedious and difficult process: the records kept had not been thoroughly updated, nor did the university ever stay in contact with them. Further, many of these public school teachers would have retired, and some had passed away. These early fundraising efforts proved difficult as alumni from a music school are not the strongest donor base.

Fundraising turned then to strong supporters in the community: wealthy individuals with connections to the business and financial sectors. The importance of individual donors during this period cannot be understated. As a darling organization in the St. Anthony arts community, Paulus attracted individuals who were passionate about arts advocacy and education. Ongoing relationships were cultivated with many prominent individuals in the arts circles, many of whom continued their relationship with Paulus for many years, if not decades.

Another vital aspect of the early development department was applying for grants. The McWilliams Foundation is a foundation with familial relationships to a large corporation in the St. Anthony area. McWilliams was – and continues to be – instrumental in Paulus' success as a non-profit organization. The McWilliams grants have helped establish new programs, new staffing and new provided new avenues of growth and expansion for Paulus. The importance of the ongoing relationship between McWilliams and Paulus cannot be overstated, and this is equally true in the early days of Paulus as a non-profit organization.

The Faculty Fight for Severance Pay

One significant marker of many teachers' time in the early 1990s was their fight for severance pay from Big 10 University. In conjunction with their loss of identity, many faculty were affected by the change in pay structure at Paulus. Because many of the faculty members were hired while a part of the university, they were eligible for many of the same benefits as

university employees. Namely, a pension fund through the state retirement system. A lawyer was retained to represent some of the faculty members, and they entered settlement negotiations with Big 10 University.

Approximately 30 employees who challenged Big 10 University reached a sliding settlement of \$9,000 – a week’s pay for each of 13 years with Paulus, for example – and 18 months of medical and dental coverage. The other faculty members, many of whom were represented by the lawyer, would go on to settle their negotiations as well. This fight for severance pay speaks to the habitus of the Paulus faculty: they are, by and large, morally and ethically upstanding people, and they will speak out if something is not right. If they see something incorrect, they take it upon themselves to correct it.

Now, this is not to say that everyone was moral and ethical all the time. With no Student Services department to track students, and registration system that was done on pencil and paper, many students who signed up at Paulus were lured away by teachers offering a cheaper teaching rate at their home studio. As a result, registration and retention rates in the mid-1990s were critically low, and a source of serious concern for administration (Vincent & Bromley, 1994).

Paulus’ Capital: Economic, Cultural, Social and Symbolic

One of the recurring themes throughout Paulus’ history is that the school has wrestled with economic capital. According to Bourdieu, economic capital is the dominant form of capital; all other forms are subordinate to economic capital as it can create social, cultural, and symbolic capital. Another way to state it, all other forms of capital are simply transformed or disguised forms of economic capital. After all, it is economic capital that makes investment in cultural capital possible (Bourdieu, 1986). A difficult lesson to learn for any organization is that symbolic capital does not evolve the same way – or at the same speed – that economic capital does, and

vice versa. However, the ‘product’ produced by Paulus is cultural capital, which has sustained the organization even during the most difficult times.

Cultural capital – best understood as a “product of education” – are non-economic goods and services (Grennell et al., 1998). Bourdieu posits that cultural capital exists in three forms: first is the embodied state of knowledge. This refers to an individual’s cultivated disposition that is internalized through socialization and education which manifest appreciation and understanding. Bourdieu argues that cultural goods differ from material goods in that they are consumable only through apprehending their meaning. This is true of music, works of art, scientific formulas, and theories, and works of popular culture (Swartz, 1997).

Clearly, Paulus’ strength as an organization – and what sustained the organization in its post-Big 10 second life – is that it is a production center for cultural capital. Paulus manufactures cultural capital through music instruction. The hundreds of highly skilled, well-trained teaching artists were direct conduits of cultural capital to thousands of music students at Paulus. Lest we forget: cultural capital is a product of education. Stated another way, cultural capital is an *educational product*. In this case, it is the act of learning, knowing, appreciating, and understanding music, a prized commodity by those who value art, education, and all the benefits that education entails.

The second form of cultural capital exists in the objectified form, referring to objects such as books, works of art, and scientific equipment, that require specialized cultural abilities to use (Swartz, 1997). This would also include musical instruments and specialized teaching equipment and/or technology. Here again, Paulus is a manufacturer of objectified cultural capital through music instruction. That is, that Paulus was a place where students could learn works of art, about composers and performers, and about the craft of playing a musical instrument.

Notably, Paulus filled a niche created by the limited musical offerings in public schools. Sure, a student could learn trumpet in public school ... but only up to a certain skill level. Paulus was able to provide a teacher to help that student achieve their full potential, consequently obtaining more objectified cultural capital.

Thirdly, cultural capital exists in an institutionalized form, by which Bourdieu means the educational credential system. As educational credentials increasingly play a larger role in students securing a desirable professional position, it becomes increasingly essential that parents invest in a good education. Secondarily, invested economic capital into an education transforms it into cultural capital (Swartz, 1997). Another way to think of this, is that cultural capital is “legitimized knowledge ... which allows parents and children to secure advantages from the educational process” (Vryonides, 2007, p. 868).

In a music school setting such as Paulus, the objectified form of cultural capital includes knowledge of musical styles, genre, composers, and instruments. The embodied state of cultural capital is knowing how to act and behave at a concert, for example. The institutionalized state of cultural capital would be attending a prestigious school like Paulus or graduating from a certain program. The product that Paulus offered its students and families was indeed music instruction. More broadly though – and perhaps most importantly to its survival – Paulus has been an engine for generating cultural capital. This has always been its saving grace, and why it’s been a prized asset in the community for over a century. While economic capital poor, Paulus is cultural capital rich.

It’s important to note here the radiating effect of cultural capital to the community at large. Cultural capital plays a large role in helping create well-rounded individuals who are artistically minded and appreciate art. These students gain invaluable “life lessons” from their

studies, including abstract reasoning, problem solving, delayed gratification, dedication, and commitment to see work through to completion, just to name a few traits. Thus, cultural capital helps broaden and deepen society at large by eliciting creativity and innovation thought, producing highly desirable employees and strong workforce, and supports additional arts programs and/or organization. Whether or not these students become professional musicians, they will be supporters and patrons of the arts in the future, perpetuating a well-balanced society.

Cultural, social, and symbolic capital are closely aligned, although not interchangeable. Social capital refers to a social network and connections that elevates an individual's status within a society of field. This may include high-profile social circles, important familial relationships, a high-rank position in an organization, or simply hobnobbing with people in high places. The new Board of Directors brought with them their own social capital. Most of the board members had distinguished professional careers in business, law, marketing, and the like, and they associated themselves in elite circles with high social status. Many board members had prior musical training of their own, and most of them were supporters of arts organizations. They were a dynamic group of individuals with clout, influence, and social standing.

Symbolic capital takes the form of prestige, distinction, or fame. For example, being a well-known expert in a profession, or graduating from a prestigious university are types of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Many well-known faculty members at Paulus bring their own symbolic capital, as does hosting famous musicians either in performance or master class. As an organization, Paulus embodied symbolic capital as a trailblazing school: it was entrepreneurial, creative, adaptive, and a leader among other music schools. It would undergo a loss of symbolic capital when its accreditation bid failed, but then lose more when it operated under Big 10 University.

It is important to note the importance of Paulus College's failed accreditation attempt in the early 1960s in relation to its cultural capital. Paulus underwent significant symbolic violence to receive accreditation, but the failed bid dealt a significant blow to the school, its reputation, and the perception of Paulus as a center for cultural capital. Paulus tried to remake itself into a full-fledged college by adding more square footage to the building, amassing an enormous library, and adding additional degree offerings. Paulus, however, was not able to rise to the bar of an accredited college: the school's entrepreneurial mission far outpaced its ability to conform to the norms of a typical degree-granting college, much to the detriment of Paulus' future. It wasn't until Period 4 that the school begins to regain its symbolic capital. All the while, though, Paulus continued to supply its students with cultural, social, and symbolic capital.

Field and Habitus at Paulus

The field at Paulus also went through change as well. Bourdieu's concept of field is best conceptualized as any social space that someone could occupy (Thomson, 2008). On their own, fields have an internal logic – a mode of doing, thinking, and acting – that implies a shared commitment to the value of the field (Warde, 2004). Thus, a field is a set of assumptions, protocols, and roles within a set of collective representations. Professions have their own attitudes, modes of conduct, etc. which constitute a unique field for each profession (Bourdieu, 1980). There is a hierarchy of competing positions within a field, as fields are defined by the multiple people and positions occupying that space. This was true too of Paulus Center for the Performing Arts at Big 10 University.

Importantly, a field is the space in which *habitus* takes place. Habitus is the disposition and character of the people occupying a field. Habitus is shaped by the field occupied, translating a person's role or position in that space into lifestyle choices, practices, and decisions (Burnard,

et. al, 2015). Another way to think of habitus is the way in which our surrounding environment – at work, for example – markedly changes our behaviors, decisions, and practices.

The field at Paulus was negatively affected by the separation from Big 10 University. There was pride in working for an organization associated with a large university. As musicians, there are very few benchmarks of success, which are typically exclusive to touring concert careers, playing for a major ensemble (orchestra, opera, or chamber group) or teaching at the college/university level. Upon becoming an independent organization, Paulus faculty felt they lost the cachet of teaching for an organization associated with Big 10 University. There was a loss of identity, status, and profile for the Paulus faculty members. Instead of saying, “I teach for Paulus, a part of the university,” they were now simply teaching for a community music school. The long-time faculty had a strong connection to the university and were very invested in the identity of being connected to the university – that relationship was comfortable, secure, and validating as most of the faculty had only known Paulus as a part of the university. This loss of identity and security was a contributing factor to the anxiety and unease.

If there was any positive aspect of the transition, it is that the faculty’s work with students went unchanged; the tumultuousness throughout the organization did not directly affect faculty as they taught lessons, classes, and ensembles. That is, the interpersonal interactions went largely unaffected, unless a faculty member was particularly riled up. One former faculty member believed that students may not have even noticed the disruption – the content of lessons would continue unchanged if their teacher was there teaching. This speaks highly of the dedication and commitment of the faculty, and the habitus, at the time.

Faculty Feedback Reflects Field and Habitus at Paulus

In preparation for the separation from Big 10 University, a letter was issued by the Artistic Director to the faculty announcing a plan to guide Paulus through the divestiture. The Board of Counsellors convened a Long Range Planning Committee, which formulated a strategic plan. The executive leadership also sought faculty input regarding the major themes confronting the organization. The following themes to be assessed included:

1. strengths and weaknesses of Paulus Center as presently constituted;
2. specific areas of arts education in general (and music training specifically) which are currently lacking or poorly accomplished in this community where Paulus Center for might fill a void;
3. ways in which [the faculty] feel Paulus Center might interact with other arts and educational institutions to mutual advantage; and
4. a vision of where [the faculty] would see Paulus Center in [10 years].

Additionally, the penultimate paragraph directs faculty to offer “one direct, declarative sentence, a statement of purpose which ... must serve as a rallying cry for faculty, board and administration.”

The faculty responded in open, honest terms. The responses represented a range of thoughts and ideas, providing a glimpse into their priorities for the organization. The weaknesses of the organization garnered the most responses, with the most common responses provided here (Archival Survey Summary, 1992):

1. Current strengths of Paulus

- Quality of instruction, faculty (17 responses)
- 80 years of good reputation in community (13)
- Suzuki Talent Education Department (6)
- Location (6)

2. Current weaknesses

- Need for building improvements, especially air conditioning (9 responses)
- Low community profile, publicity (6)

- Need for funding (6)
- Parking (6)
- Heavy dependence on Big 10 University (4)
- Not enough scholarship money (4)
- Instruction focuses too narrow on classical (2)

3. Arts and music lacking in community:

- Chamber music and small ensemble opportunities (5)
- Public schools not able to provide musical education (2)
- Elementary students need arts program to precede study on specific instruments
- Aging adults wanting “music” as new or renewed interest

4. Ways to interact with other arts organizations

- Neighborhood teachers, e.g., send reps to work with teachers, teacher seminars and performance (6)
- Big 10 University music school, e.g., pedagogical laboratory (6)
- Opportunities for students to attend rehearsals and work with local professional orchestras (4)
- Public schools (3)
- Small colleges
- Share artists and faculty for master classes

5. 10 Years from Now

- More community recognition (3)
- More community financial support (3)
- Better facilities and equipment (2)
- Quality, not quantity (2)
- Two branches – St. Paul, south, or west

Statements [randomly selected]

- Training in the art of music with private and class instruction available to complement all ages and all levels of advancement.
- To be a regional resource for musical education responsive to the needs of children and adults seeking music as a primary interest with a special ability to provide advanced training for gifted students.
- Don't be all things to all people. Carefully evaluate and select the appropriate programs.
- Paulus is a vital community resource providing opportunity for people of all ages and backgrounds for education and training from the novice to the artist in music, the universal language, and its related arts.
- Paulus: offer the best and attract the best.

Many of the responses and themes suggested by the faculty were probably no surprise to the administration. As Paulus transitioned into independent status, it was faced with rebuilding itself organizationally, but also remaking its identity as an organization no longer associated with Big 10 University. While the underlying philosophy of the faculty appears to be largely unchanged, the public image and personae of the organization underwent radical transformation. However, many of the same principles and characteristics of both the field and habitus at Paulus have remained largely intact. For example, the faculty believed that Paulus was a center within the community that offered high quality music instruction. By extension, those who were employed to teach at Paulus were high quality musician-teachers themselves, and with that comes confidence and stature.

Historically, the faculty at Paulus have been passionate about music performance and teaching. That passion burns bright within the faculty as making good music is apothecic. As a result of their playing and teaching, they are conduits of cultural capital. Despite the number of changes the organization has gone through, if the faculty have a place to practice their craft, the field and habitus of the organization remains largely unchanged.

Chapter Synopsis

In the 1980s, Big 10 University completed a self-examination study called, “Focused on Commitment,” wherein the university outlined its efforts to focus on degree-granting programs. Paulus Center for the Performing Arts was trimmed from the budget and softly launched into an independent non-profit organization. Over five years, Paulus was phased-out of Big 10’s budget with diminishing annual allocations. Paulus was now on the hook to generate its own economic capital. Big 10 University was amicable through the divestiture, and key figures at Big 10 helped funnel additional money to Paulus. A Board of Directors was assembled from the

philanthropically inclined St. Anthony area; the board included well-known and well-connected individuals in business, marketing, and law, as well as patrons of the arts. These individuals brought with them their own social and cultural capital.

Capital of all forms, including economic, social, symbolic, and cultural, are vitally important to Paulus. Importantly, what sustained Paulus was its “product”: music instruction, which is a form of cultural capital. In the bigger picture, Paulus is a production center for cultural capital, and its faculty are direct conduits of cultural, social, and symbolic capital to their students. Students learn to play an instrument; they attend and behave correctly at concerts; they can speak intelligently about repertoire, composers, and genre; and they attend a prestigious pre-college community music school. The transmission of cultural capital is highly valued, with the generational of cultural capital even more so. Paulus, as an organization, is an institution that produces cultural capital, and that is why the organization survives and persists to this day.

Big 10 University worked in a different field and habitus than Paulus did, and so did the faculty members in Big 10s music department. It was understandable that Big 10 music faculty did not want Paulus teachers or students in their music department. The field and habitus at Paulus were harmed by the transition away from Big 10 University as Paulus lost the cachet of even being associated with a degree-granting university. A lot of faculty members lost professional esteem and identity as a result. If there was any positive aspect of the transition, it was that the relationships between the faculty and students remained unchanged. In fact, many students may not have even noticed the transition going on.

The period leading up to the separation from Big 10 University was a learning experience for all involved. It was a unique period of social constructivism in the organization’s storied history: the school would return to its roots as an independent community cultural center, thus

starting Period 4 and a new lifecycle. The sustaining factor throughout the entire transition was the fact that Paulus continued to be a production center for cultural capital, elevating it to a place of community importance. As a result, the community rallied around to support the organization, and the employees fought to keep the organization moving forward.

CHAPTER 5

**THE DRAMATURGY OF PAULUS' RETURN TO AN
ENTREPRENEURIAL COMMUNITY CULTURAL CENTER**

“Choose your self-presentations carefully,
for what starts out as a mask may become your face.”

– Erving Goffman

Introduction

Paulus was afforded a five-year transition period as it prepared to become an independent organization. With a broad cast of characters, the school would begin reinventing itself with everyone playing a role. According to Erving Goffman, people engage in *dramaturgy* in various aspects of their lives. It is the notion that we all play a character in the drama that is our daily lives. More specifically, that we play a role within the different areas of our lives – at work or home, or out in public, for example. This is all to say, that we present ourselves to the world in a way that we think we believe comports with the situation in which we find ourselves (Goffman, 1961).

Goffman argued every actor develops a moral career within a group as well as a reputation by which those assigned roles are evaluated (Goffman, 1961). In different scenarios an “actor” is provided the opportunity to present a different sense of self, by which he or she is

evaluated and judged by his or her peers. This is certainly true of the workplace, as well as our personal lives. To that end, there are organizations that blur the lines between our work and private lives, which Goffman defines as a ‘total institution’ (Goffman, 1961).

Goffman states that one of the basic social arrangements in modern society is that a person tends to sleep, play, and work in different places with different people. A primary feature of the total institution is best understood as the breakdown of such barriers that typically separate these three spheres of our lives. Acknowledging that every institution captures some of the time and interest of its members, Goffman asserts that some institutions go further, encompassing the entirety of its members’ lives. (Goffman, 1961).

The tone of this chapter is remarkably different than previous chapters, as the application of Goffman’s theory to Paulus Center for Music is most effective through novelization. As member of the Paulus community researching the organization, my positionality gives me a unique view on the historical and human elements of the school. Admittedly, there is difficulty in relaying the human experience within the context of organizational change and development. As a result, a conscious choice was made to depict this period by way of novelizing important moments. This shift in narrative humanizes the situation, reflecting the transformation the school was undergoing.

This chapter presents scenes featuring characters as if they were from a novel or movie script. The writing style will be relayed from a personal viewpoint and will feature more direct quotes from interviewees. The next two sections of the chapter will set the stage first with a cast of characters, followed by a description of the setting.

Cast of Characters

Lead Protagonist Howard Calmly. The newly hired Artistic Director brought in to

start on Day 1 of the separation from Big 10 University. Howard came to Paulus from the East Coast with a background in executive leadership and a history of fundraising.

- Supporting Cast Maris, Sharon, Jim, Ginger, Thomas, April, Betsy, and Enrico, et al. These characters work closely with Howard as the organization ventures forth as an independent organization needing to be rebuilt from the inside out. These characters work in departments such as fundraising, marketing, and teaching departments like individual instruction and group instruction.
- The Running Crew Technical workers seen and unseen: the facilities crew, student services staff, as well as the HR, finance, and IT departments. These are the backstage individuals who help stage the scenes, set the props, and prepare the costumes. Basically, they make the show work and keep it running smoothly.
- The Chorus The newly formed Board of Directors. This group comments and guides the organization and by extension, assists the lead protagonist. Prognostically, the chorus outlines and foreshadows the overall arch of the story. (The day-to-day minutia would be filled in offscreen.)
- The Ensemble This set of actors includes the faculty members, the students, and the parents sitting in the hallways during lessons.

Setting: Paulus Center for Music, 501(c)(3)

On a fine summer day in 1994, with anxiousness, fear, trepidation, and a glimmer of hope, Paulus Center for the Performing Arts became an independent 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. The following years would be a period of restructuring and rebranding for Paulus as it reinvented itself, redefined its mission, and explained its relevancy to the community. It was an exciting time even though tumult persisted. Paulus was not yet on solid financial footing and basic survival questions such as, “are we going to be able to make payroll?” were prescient early on. The organization faced severe financial hurdles and it was understood that Paulus stood in the face of closure. The fear of change in general also caused unease. Administration, staff, and faculty alike were uncertain of the future of the organization, worried about their livelihoods, and by extension, were concerned about what this meant for their students and the community at large. Make no mistake: Paulus was sizable with some 140 faculty members and over 3,000 students. What it lacked though, was the inner workings of a functional, self-reliant organization.

For two decades, Paulus operated under the umbrella of Big 10 University in the Community Education Extension. Big 10 provided Paulus nominal management and oversight, covered operating costs, and performed vital operations like payroll, facilities, and marketing. It was understood that Paulus was not operating to make money for Big 10. On the flip side, though, it wasn't supposed to lose as much money as it did either. Chances are that Paulus' future would look very different if had made money for Big 10 University. But destiny would play out differently.

Upon separation, Paulus was no longer tied to Big 10 University and the top-down organizational management so often found in academia. Paulus was now in a place to recreate itself. The self-renewal process started almost immediately after the split from the university.

Nearly everyone talks about the worry and anxiety during this period. However, the separation from Big 10 University created an open system that allowed for the process of self-renewal to start, permitting the organization to grow and develop on its own terms.

An exit strategy was developed. It was time for Paulus to move out of its parents' house and start life of its own. For decades, Paulus lived off the honeypot of Big 10, and administrators, staff, and faculty had good pay and handsome benefits through the university. Once an independent organization, though, the Big 10 University money spigot was shut off and the allowance dried up. Paulus scrambled to cobble together a benefits package for its employees. Various key systems of the organization were simply missing such as a finance department, Human Resources, or building operations. The university used to send over a security guard to sit at a folding table in the lobby in the evening. But now, even that guy wasn't there.

The school had some 3,000 music students and around 140 faculty members teaching lessons, classes, and ensembles. A few left-over community education classes were still running as well. Big 10 University returned the property to Paulus, but there was no staff to maintain the aging building. The registration system once operated by Big 10 was also gone. Despite the large student body and numerous teachers, the school was on unstable financial footing. It was a fly-by-the-seat-of-your-pants time, and some unpopular and difficult decisions had to be made. In every sense of the term, the organization had become a fixer upper.

Paulus felt like a mom n' pop shop. For many, it was a homey, cozy place to work and teach. Success was never guaranteed, but despite the tumultuousness, everyone knew that failure was not an option either. The staff and administration were primarily young, ambitious people full of passion, energy, and ideas. There was room to experiment within their jobs, and they had

some free rein to do so. They could take risks after all: what do you have to lose when you have nothing to be lost? And everyone knew that no one's job was restricted to just one thing: everyone had lots of hats to wear throughout the day. It was commonplace for anyone to take up whatever role was needed.

If chairs were needed for a student rehearsal, Jim from Student Services would grab several, so the cellist in the group could have the better pick. If the toilet paper was running low in the second-floor ladies' washroom, Betsy from marketing would run go get some. If the early childhood music class needed an extra hand, April from development would go sit on the floor and hold a baby. It was beneath no one to make coffee in the faculty lounge, or to cover the registration desk so someone could go have lunch. There was no division of labor: everybody did everything, and that was the beauty of it all. It was also the cause of an eyeroll or two.

For teachers, it was a community of musicians and players who shared their interests and values. They taught there not to make a paycheck, but to make a difference. Teachers would talk shop and performers would promote upcoming concerts and gigs. It was a great place to make new colleagues and perform with different players and singers. The faculty had a place to hang out and just be musicians together – quite the departure from practicing alone in a studio for hours on end. For those recently out of school, it was a place where they were now teaching, instead of now being taught. The village elders had been around a while and knew the ropes. The teachers had a chance to interact socially musically in different ways on a regular basis. It was a community of musicians, and a place to build and live out a moral career.

For both staff and faculty, work life was memorable for the friendships and colleagues made along the way. There were progressive dinners and potlucks – activities rarely had in today's modern business workplace. Some folks would sneak up to the rooftop after hours for

drinks and conversation. Lots of stories were told up there. Staff could take lessons at a discounted price, and conveniently would have their lessons over the lunch hour. The administration and faculty got to know each other well. People would attend the weddings of other people's children, and it was like a family. To a certain degree, Paulus served as a total institution to the staff and faculty, blurring the lines between their work and personal lives.

In the building, it was magical to hear music pouring into the hallways. Awe-inspiring were the sounds of piano and violin and trumpet flooding the hall from different studios while a soprano practiced her vocalese. It was, in a word, *enchanting*. Waiting parents would stand with their mouth agape listening to a virtuoso violinist through the door ... only to watch a nine-year-old student leave the lesson. It gave parents a reason to tap their child on the shoulder, reminding them that they need to practice extra hard when they got home. This was usually accompanied by a stern look and slow nod of the head. It was humbling for everyone.

Each of the instrument families had their own peccadillos. Piano students would forget to bring their books. Violin students would have a string break in the middle of a lesson. Singers almost always seemed frenzied and overdramatic about something (the sopranos, especially), and some adult students used their lesson time just to talk (they hadn't practiced). Parents of woodwind students, for example, would grab the flute case in a rush leaving the house, only to realize the case was empty when they arrived. Sure enough, the flute was at home on the sofa. The parents of harp students drove minivans. Same with tuba and upright bass students. There's even lore of a very large family who all piled into the van, only to realize they left one of the kids at home.

The teaching studios were something else, too, as they very much reflected a teacher's personality. Some were neat and organized; others had scores strewn about. The furniture was

old and worn down. Paint on the doorways was chipped, and the wooden doors worn from the countless number of hands that pushed them open. If there was a rug on a studio floor, it was probably all worn out, faded, and frayed along the edges. After complaints of smoking during lessons, one teacher would sneak out on the fire escape to smoke his cigarettes. The teachers would come and go through the faculty lounge. It was a fun place to hang out as you'd never know who you'd run into. Reputable faculty members would stop by, chit chat, and then go on their merry way. Local celebrities brought their kids in for lessons or classes, and it was always fun to see a famous person in the building. There was a vending machine with snacks in the basement, a necessity for grumpy students suffering from low blood sugar levels.

And, oh, that old building. At one point, it stood as a great edifice – a monolithic structure built solely for music instruction. *The largest in the land!* hailed newspapers. And indeed, that was true: it was the largest building west of the Mississippi River built specifically for music. Paulus was thought of as the Julliard of the Midwest for decades. The school's legacy was palpable, and decades of lessons, performances, and music making dripped from the walls.

As time wore on, though, it was clear the great building had become a great burden. It was a concrete building with wide, cavernous hallways and a grid-like layout. Built in the 1920s, the building had radiator heat – no central air and definitely no air conditioning. The failing electrical system in the building couldn't keep up with modern advancements. The facilities crew would help install window air conditioners for teachers in their studios in the spring and remove them in the fall. There were small 'phonebooths' on each floor, with only one telephone per floor. When the internet was installed, contractors had to drill through the 12-inch-thick interior concrete walls to run the cables. Clearly, the building had become an albatross.

Stories about that old building abound though. The staircases were far too narrow for any more than two people to use them at a time. Bass players would take their large instruments with them on the elevators, but there was no guarantee those old elevators would work on any given day. The air was often stuffy in the building as the air circulation was not great. Use of the window air conditioners had to be rationed – the east and west sides of the building would alternate on the half hour so the fuses in the building didn't blow. The radiators weren't consistent either – staffers in the main floor corner cubicles often wore tank tops in the middle of winter because the radiators were so hot. So hot, in fact, parents in the early childhood music classes would shoo their toddlers away from the radiators. The crown molding around the lobby ceiling signaled its age and décor was dated. There wasn't a matching set of chairs anywhere in the building. A volunteer painting party was convened of teachers, students, and families to paint the studios and staircases. A little something to freshen and spruce up the place.

Paulus hired an outside company for janitorial and cleaning services as well as security services for years. The parking lot was contracted out to a local company who handled parking permits for administrators and senior faculty and valet parked students' cars like sardines. That company eventually built a booth out there that looked like an ice-fishing shack. The Annex was a dimly lit structure just off the main building where some classes and ensembles would take place.

Several key aspects of the organization were missing. There was no registration system – it was done on pencil and paper. Upon registering, students would be given a receipt to be taken to their teacher. The teacher, in turn, would submit the receipt at the front desk for payment. There was someone there to pay the faculty every two weeks, but there wasn't much other administrative support for the faculty. Prospective students would call the main desk to leave a

message on an answering machine. Someone would return their call and jot it down on paper. *Paper*. Everything was done on paper. It was all part of the folksy charm if they lost your registration. “Oh, well: they’re just a ragtag artsy-fartsy crew who lost my registration. I’d better call them back *again* ...”

At the time, Paulus offered a wide variety of courses, classes and instruction that weren’t just limited to music. The amateur photography program at Big 10 University was quite successful. Even after the separation, Big 10 continued to use the photography dark rooms in the basement for developing film. The dance classes used a corner classroom for years as well. The non-musical offerings were eventually whittled down to nothing, when the organization would once again change its name again, now to Paulus Center for Music.

Despite the challenges and obstacles though, most everyone talks about how great those years were. It was warm, collegial, and communal: you became a part of the Paulus family. They were on the same team, and everyone worked together to make a go of it. It was a David and Goliath story of whether this survivor organization was going to survive once more. The grit would bond, and the organization began to secure its place in the community once again.

Scene 1: New Leadership Allowing Change to Happen

The Paulus board of directors sought a new Executive Director starting Day 1 of Paulus’ independence. Howard Calmly was brought in to lead the organization anew. Everything about Howard was a stark contrast to his predecessor, both in style and substance. Howard was approachable, personable, and sought out people’s opinions about matters – not dictatorial. He dressed comfortably in jeans and a blazer – not buttoned down. Meetings with him were congenial, agreeable, and had a positive vibe about them – staff weren’t just waiting to receive

their orders. Howard helped create an inviting work environment where people were free to be themselves, and to make their own decisions.

However, the Executive Director does not operate in isolation. Instead, it operates with the support and guidance of a board of directors. The long-range plan set forth by the Board of Chancellors in the early 1990s was a detailed roadmap for Howard and the organization. The plan included three important goals: 1) Reassessing the role of Paulus in the community today and in the future, 2) the creation of a functioning Paulus Board of Directors, and 3) financial sustainability. This roadmap would be important as Paulus began to stand on its own two feet.

Howard thought very highly of Paulus' new board. The chair of the board, Lyle, was instrumental, guiding almost 40 people on the board of directors. They were a very strong board with backgrounds in business, finance, marketing, and arts patronage. With its penchant for philanthropy, the city of St. Anthony is known for its community of strong board leadership. Specifically, for what a board's role is, and how to do it effectively.

The new board of directors was forward thinking. They knew that fundraising was a vitally important aspect of Paulus' independence, and knowing they had five years to plan an exit strategy, they were wise with money. The public, donors, foundations, and corporations stepped up and donated. The board proactively fundraised not for the current fiscal year, but instead, for a year in advance. Strategically, they knew how much money they had to work with in terms of planning, growth, and marketing. At the time, this was a novel approach to non-profit financial management.

Howard would also remake the administrative structure of the school as well. He created what he called the Program Management Team, which consisted of six or seven people. The restructured and leaner administrative staff allowed for more direct contact between him and his

administrative staff. It was no longer top-down, but more of a bottom-up structure, as he describes it. This had an immediate effect on the community, and helped change the culture of the organization, both for administration, for the faculty as well. Howard reflects:

My greatest contribution there, I think, was creating a different environment. We managed to turn the morale of the school around entirely quickly. ... In my judgment, morale was in the toilet. ... It is changing the culture of this organization and [investing] in people that are the most important people at the school: the faculty. ... Building consensus is important. It's not the end goal, but giving people a sense of ownership, of serious level of participation is beneficial. For me as a leader, if I can create an environment where people really understand that I want to know what they have to say. ... So it was a time when it was time to really establish the identity and give the place a personality. I honestly feel like I was the right person in the right place at the right time because it really, really worked. (Howard Calmly, Personal Interview, 2018)

Howard scaled back the management team, and the small group of administrators would meet in his office. Instead of holding meetings of 20-some people in the large auditorium, these smaller meetings provided closer planning and strategizing. He heard proposals, suggestions, and ideas and have a dialogue about them. His team felt valued and appreciated as a result. These personal touches helped create the open system at Paulus, which allowed change to happen.

Scene 2: Operational Challenges in the Organization

Hardy people worked at Paulus, and they weren't afraid to get work done. Saul, a newly hired young percussion teacher, shoveled snow from the sidewalks around the building. Staff inside the building could see Saul through the large glass windows. He'd shovel first, and then go teach his students. He took real ownership of his responsibilities there, even as limited as his role was at the time. No task was above anyone, and there was a can-do attitude as everyone played multiple roles in the fledgling organization.

Every department at Paulus faced challenges all their own. Chief among them was a lack of basic internal functions. Ginger, the first Director of Development recalls her first week on the

job when she discovered there was no system for depositing donors' checks. Upon her arrival at Paulus, there was a file folder full of checks that had been sitting in a drawer for months. There was no system in place: those checks were given to Paulus, but no *thank you* notes were written, nor was it recorded. So, systems had to be built right away to manage the most basic operational functions.

Customer service was another immediate area of improvement. It was Betsy in the Development Department that observed that Paulus needed help in that area. Customer service was not at all how Paulus thought about serving students (that is what teaching was for, after all). As a result, Student Services was created, hiring Jim and other new employees to staff the front desk. The office was equipped with computers and adopted a registration system called ProArt. The system was functional and served its purpose, but by today's standards it lacked in many areas. Paulus was able to eventually move away from paper registration, although teachers still had to submit timecards with their teaching hours to get paid.

As for the teachers, Paulus was very much studio driven. It was like Italy: a lot of independent fiefdoms and cultures of personality. Teachers had studio space and pianos (that someone else tuned), and they had someone to handle their billing. The faculty were perhaps too autonomous, though, perhaps even to ethically questionable degrees. With an outdated billing system, who would notice if students paid cash directly to their teacher? Or what consequences were there if a teacher offered to teach a student from home, thus bypassing a studio fee altogether?

Scene 3: Early Fundraising Efforts

The old Paulus building was constructed with street-level retail storefronts. The building was designed with a backup plan in mind – if Paulus School of Music ever folded, the building

could quickly be turned into commercial real estate. The school never went bankrupt, though, and the building was always used for music. The building was not designed for workspace, which became abundantly clear when it came time to hire a new workforce. Executive administration worked around the complications of that old building, and people worked wherever they could be placed. The program directors worked from their teaching studios; the finance department, facilities and other administrators worked in the basement; marketing and fundraising worked from a main floor storefront.

The southeast corner storefront was retrofitted into office space – cubicles, desks, computers, and CRT monitors were cramped together. This left little space for much else. Staff would politely step aside as someone passed to leave the room. The radiators along the perimeter were not controlled from within that room; staff would dress accordingly, wearing multiple layers to come to work during the cold St. Anthony winters, only to remove layers indoors to survive the piping hot radiators. It was from this modest space that the fundraising operations took root.

As a non-profit organization, Paulus adopted a fundraising model that looks like that of private elementary and secondary schools. Private schools are structured in such a way that approximately 70-80 percent of its operating budget comes from tuition; the remainder of its revenue is generated through donations. Thus, the primary contributors already benefit from programming. Paulus adopted a similar model, which it mirrors closely even to this day. Due to the educational nature of the organization, private schools (Paulus, too) hold a specific 501(c)(3) status specific to education.

The first years of fundraising were successful. They raised a lot of money, and did well, especially on the corporate giving front. The success, in part, was due to recasting the

fundraising approach to focus on how music helps in brain development. This evidence-based approach to fundraising really struck gold. It showed that music education really benefitted young children as it helped them become better people, better adults, and better citizens. And what's more: they cited research.

Another successful approach to fundraising was to raise money for students in need. Raising money to provide educational programming for youth programs reaped yields. A broader point was made that music makes a big difference to the lives of students in need. So, there was an effort to raise money for those types of programs.

However, fundraising for a school like Paulus encounters some unique challenges. Namely, that the organization's primary donors are those who are already giving money to the school in the form of tuition. Fundraising from students can unnerve faculty as the student's happiness is directly correlated with a teacher's paycheck. As a result, teachers do not want anything to disturb that relationship. Another challenge is that alumni of a music college – in this case, Paulus College of Music – are music teachers and not a very deep well of finances. Instead, great efforts were made to reach outside of the organization for individual and corporate giving.

Scene 4: The Faculty Lounge

Administration did what they could with the space in the building, but the faculty lounge was in the dark, dingy basement. There were a couple of vending machines down there, with the elevators positioned nearby. But really, no one really wanted to go there. Howard gave some thought as to how to create not just a teaching community, but also an artistic community at large. One significant development in creating a strong sense of community, as attested to by several people, was the creation of a new faculty lounge. The Director of Individual Instruction, Sharon described the situation:

The building ... was designed in a way that you could go in and do your teaching and never see anybody. With these really wide hallways, cavernous hallway that were not inviting for conversations ... there was no good place for faculty to hang out together on the premises. There was a faculty lounge, and the faculty lounge was in the basement. It was in a place you never wanted to go to. There was no window. There was a table and a couple of chairs in there, but it was a place you couldn't wait to escape from. ... I'm going into detail because I think it was a real turning point. (Sharon Z., Personal Interview, 2018)

The question was posed: "could we figure out a way that we could move the lounge?"

Howard commissioned an architect and spent some \$28,000 to remodel the administrative space behind the customer service front desk. A bank of faculty mailboxes was moved, expanding the floorplan allowing for tables and chairs. There was a glass door and a big glass window that overlooked the parking lot. Later a refrigerator, toaster oven and coffeepot were added. Now the faculty would have to stop by the lounge to get their mail, but they were also able to leave their lunch in the refrigerator, cook a personal pizza over lunch and stop by to grab a cup of coffee between lessons. Maris, Director of Group Instruction at the time, explained it, "there wasn't much space, but Howard said teachers need a place to go. ... It was [a form of] respect. And what that tiny little space did was to bring people together."

Sharon believed that the lounge was instrumental in sharing and generating ideas. Because of the windows overlooking the parking lot, you could say to someone, "hey, come in here – we're having a really interesting conversation." Teachers talked shop, exchanged teaching tips, griped about students who didn't practice and so on. The faculty lounge also brought administrators closer to the teachers they supervised. "We had this feeling that if the faculty would hang out more in the same room, that things would happen from that," said Sharon. And sure enough, people started bringing their lunches and staying on the premises over the lunch hour. The lounge became enormously important in understanding what was going on amongst

the faculty – administrators would overhear conversations, hearing about things to be changed to make faculty lives easier.

But to many, the lounge was more than just a place to eat lunch. Again, Sharon:

The lounge represented a sense of belonging and it represented engaging with your colleagues outside of your studio. ... It was creating *place*, which we now know is so important in organizational development. Whether it's the feeling of belonging or the actual [place] where people are allowed to gather. So, you could reverse engineer that after the lounge we got a lot of curriculum revision and creation of new programs. A lot of things came from that [lounge]. (Sharon Z., Personal Interview, 2018)

The new lounge was more spacious, well-lit, and inviting. Carving out this space helped create community, which went a long ways in making the faculty feel ownership and a true sense of belonging in the organization.

Scene 5: The Faculty Artist Recital Series

Another element of creating community for Howard was the addition of a new faculty recital series. Interested in the fact that Paulus's faculty were teaching artists as well as performing musicians, he wanted to build up a strong community of performers. While there had been Paulus performance series hosted by arts organizations and museums around the city, prior to the late 1990s there were no Paulus-run performances onsite. As described by Howard, "there were some astonishingly good performers. ... Students need opportunities to hear their teachers play and [teachers] needed some camaraderie." In addition to sharing their music, faculty members started socializing after the concerts, many times well after midnight. This was, in part, thanks to personal touches by Howard himself. Maris explains:

He set up a concert series and the first thing he did was go out and buy three cases of glass wine glasses. ... It set the tone of specialness: "we're having a concert. We're going to have wine afterwards. It's going to be a blast. And we're not going to use little plastic cups." Now, you can say that's silly, but it actually had an impact. (Maris W., Personal Interview, 2018)

Howard carried in the boxes of wine glasses, and the food and drinks he purchased. He would set up the reception himself after the recitals, often with the help of Maris and Sharon, who helped prepare the wine and cheese. As Sharon noted, “we didn’t have any of that kind of thing going on. It was good wine – not Two Buck Chuck – but decent wine and really decent cheese. It was a small nicety. ... Then people started to hang out together.” Maris confirms: “People appreciated that. Classy doesn’t have to be expensive. Really, it’s much more about ... feeling valued.” Others commented on the community building that took place surrounding these concerts as well. Maris goes on: “And Howard would personally take [those wine glasses] home and wash them afterwards. [He was] setting a tone.”

There are important aspects of Howard’s transformational leadership during this period. Firstly, Howard creates an environment where individuals are comfortable to be themselves and to make their own decisions. He coalesced and rallied people to the cause of Paulus, but not by force. There is an intimation here that people willingly bought into the cause. That is, individuals made the decision for themselves that they would like to work to advance Paulus’ future. Secondly, it’s worth noting Howard’s authentic leadership here. A simple act of taking home stemware to wash them, modeled the type of behavior that any leader would like to see in a follower. By rolling up his sleeves to create a nice event for the faculty members, Howard signaled his own willingness and desire to make the organization a place for everyone. He showed heart, and this in turn elicited the same wherewithal from those around him.

Scene 6: Professional Development and the Faculty Review Process

In terms of administrative procedures, there was room for improvement. Faculty members, for example, were confused as administrative policies, procedures, and guidelines were hazy. The faculty didn’t know what to do, whom to ask, or where to go for answers to

questions. As a result, administrators turned their efforts to clarifying administrative policies at Paulus.

Two significant administrative improvements at Paulus included the professional development funds allocation process and the faculty review process. Prior to this period, professional development funds were available to faculty members, but the process of receiving those funds was something of a mystery. It was a system waiting for clarification, transparency, and widespread adoption. Clear and easily understood forms and procedural steps were put in place so that teachers could receive reimbursement for professional development activities. These activities may include attending conferences, continuing lessons with a master teacher, or simply purchasing books to expand a teaching library. Sharon discussed the effects of these professional development funds on the faculty:

And we would ask those faculty to report back to their departments. At the department meetings, they would talk a bit about what [the professional development opportunity] did for them. ... I think the biggest benefit was morale. Because even at a place like Paulus, you can feel lonely. ... And so I do think a lot of money went into [going to conferences] and allowed people to travel and that they felt really valued. And that's where the morale comes in – we're actually putting some money in you. It's not like when you teach lessons, which can be very transactional. But the fact that we were giving them the money to do the things they wanted to do to feel more like professionals in the world. (Sharon Z., Personal Interview, 2018)

Sharon supervised the individual instruction teachers, and Maris supervised the group instruction faculty. Neither of them had difficulty in getting Howard to hand over money for professional development because it was a huge return on the money: “he absolutely got it and was all for it. The board really supported it – they really understood the assets that the faculty are. Without the faculty, the place doesn't exist,” Sharon said.

The leadership at Paulus – as well as the board of directors – understood that the investment of economic capital into the faculty paid off in a variety of ways. Notably, there was

improved morale, strengthening the field and habitus amongst teachers. This morale boost galvanized these professional teachers, regaining a sense of the lost identity felt upon separating from Big 10 University.

Another improvement was the development of a more transparent faculty evaluation system. Embedded in the process was the administration's belief that faculty reviews should be used as a professional development opportunity, not a punitive ferreting out of underperforming teachers. Well-researched and thought out, a new faculty review process called P4P was created as Paulus's new faculty review process. At the core of the evaluation process was goal setting, to be stated in writing by a faculty member. The second component was professional development, which P4P defined as "learning and growing opportunities and activities for faculty." The penultimate component was external feedback, received in two of the following three ways: supervisor observation, conference and observation form, and student feedback forms. The last component of the review process included a written personal reflection.

P4P's goal statement summarized the philosophy of Paulus's new evaluation process: "To develop a meaningful and manageable performance review process for the Paulus teaching artist that recognizes excellence in teaching and work performance as well as supports the teacher's growth through professional development." Sharon recalls the professional development aspect of the process, but also the community building:

The thing I found in the research is that when people feel they have a choice and are being evaluated, they're much more likely to buy into the end result. ... And the second thing was that the [peer observation of teachers] turned into a real positive. Really positive. People could go outside their departments ... to observe. It was kind of scary at first and then people got more comfortable with their colleagues being in their studios with them, which was just such a healthy positive thing. ... People got to know each other and there was new respect. People were called upon to give meaningful feedback. (Sharon Z., Personal Interview, 2018)

Administratively, building a new Paulus required tidying up existing policies and procedures, but also creating new ones as well. Howard allowed his team autonomy to shape their respective departments and policies as they saw fit.

Scene 7: Rebranding Paulus

Enrico was a young, energetic, and motivated staffer in the marketing department. Newly hired, he had ideas as to how to shape the new image of Paulus. Howard, being open to ideas and suggestions, let out Enrico's leash, and he ran with those ideas. Coming out of Big 10 University, Paulus faced an identity crisis. What was the role of this organization in the community? Who would it serve? And what image did it want to project? At the time, Paulus had a public image that of a stuffy organization stuck in the past. Enrico wanted to shed the fuddy-duddy image and rebrand it with pizzazz and modernity. The marketing team went to work and rebranded Paulus' public image into one of a forward-facing organization with its eyes on the future.

The rebranding exercise included reworking everything: a new logo was created (complete with a 'swish'); new graphic designs and fonts were used; a new color scheme with bright, vivid eye-catching colors was featured; and new colorful awnings for the large outdoor windows were custom ordered. Even a new, easy to remember phone number was created, as was the website – a novel idea at the time. The photos used in marketing would focus on a more diverse student population who were playing various non-classical instruments.

Many of the isomorphic improvements made in the marketing and communications department were mimetic in nature. That is, to be viewed as a modern organization, Paulus made improvements that put it on par with other arts organizations at the time. Trendy marketing campaigns with humor and wit indicated to the community that Paulus was a likable and friendly organization – not an elitist conservatory-type place where only the ultra-talented take lessons.

New colors schemes and a website showed the organization was vibrant and with the times, and not stuck in the past, as its public image may have once suggested.

Additional isomorphic improvements were made too. Staff to maintain, clean and fix up the building were hired. The perpetual problems with the elevators and heating and cooling were addressed. Enhancements on the technology front would also follow soon after. Paulus would get a new telecommunications partner. The Internet would be installed, and computers would be placed in the phone booths on each floor. Computer servers were replaced, and equipment upgraded here and there. New departments would soon be added such as an HR department, and a dedicated IT department.

Additionally, the Paulus umbrella opened, and new program offerings were started, including world music, Chinese pipa, and the Baroque recorder. New partnerships were initiated with local arts organizations, a state-of-the-art MIDI lab was built, and the jazz program and the Overture Program began to take off. The school was once again making itself relevant again. Whether through contemplation or gut instinct, everyone at Paulus knew that the organization would have to change if it was going to survive. Step by step, decision by decision, and brick by brick, the organization was rebuilt from the inside out.

Epilogue

Paulus' transition into independent status was initially rocky, and there were concerns about whether the school would survive. Paulus, however, persisted. Internal operations were coming online, processes and policies were created and implemented, and the airplane was being rebuilt mid-flight. It was becoming increasingly clear, though, that a new building was needed for the school to continue its trajectory.

In the early 20-aughts, the Paulus building at Mary's Place, parking lot and annex were sold to the University of St. Cecilia for \$4 million. St. Cecilia was acquiring land to expand its campus. A provision of the sale mandated that Paulus could stay in the building for another four years, in which time it would relocate in or around downtown St. Anthony. Paulus was in the beginning stages of a long-awaited capital campaign to finance a new building. The sale of the building though was premature: no one knew exactly when the campaign would start or exactly how much money would need to be raised. The goal of selling the building was to use the \$4 million as seed money for the new capital campaign.

Ironically, the Paulus building was barely used by St. Cecilia after the sale. The city of St. Anthony designated the old Paulus building as a 'historical building' immediately after the contractual agreement had been signed. As a result, St. Cecilia was unable to raze the building as originally planned. To this day, the landscaping and poured concrete indicate that St. Cecilia had plans for the lot. Because the building could not be torn down – and the expense to gut and remodel the interior was far too great – the building sits vacant and dark. From time to time, St. Cecilia has used it to store excess equipment like riser for graduation ceremonies, for example. On a handful of occasions, the building was rented to the St. Anthony Police Department to conduct mock SWAT team exercises in the empty building.

At the time of the sale, Paulus had just begun identifying relocation sites. The city of St. Anthony was in the midst of planning a redevelopment of the run-down Mills District on the city's east side. The train tracks running from the old flour mills were removed from the neighborhood, as were the syringes and an untoward trash strewn around the area. An architectural firm from a large Midwest city was secured to design Paulus' new building. The hope was for a better classroom-to-studio mix, the addition of a small concert hall, and of course,

ample parking (Lonetree, 2000). The story of the new building is outside the scope of this research, however, and a story waiting for another researcher.

Chapter Synopsis

Paulus' transition into independence included a broad cast of characters in this unique period in its history. It was a cozy and homey community of music lovers who just so happened to serve as its faculty, administrators, staff, students, and parents. Everyone engaged in dramaturgy and people often had more than one role at a time. It was an assorted cast of characters, some of which launched their careers during this period, but all of whom played a role in developing Paulus into a legitimate free-standing organization.

The building itself was also a major player in the cast. Not only was it the setting in which scenes were set, but the building had a personality all its own, complete with quirks and qualms. The building had become a significant burden – it was difficult to maintain and became a real drag on the day-to-day operations. The staff and administration worked around the complications of that old building though, doing what they could to move the organization forward.

Despite the challenges, though, an open system was created, allowing for self-renewal and change at Paulus. This was an organic bottom-up process, and the missing elements of the organization made themselves known. This only occurs when employees are allowed the autonomy to implement changes, improvements, and operations in their roles. Improvements made at the organization organically emerged out of necessity, initiated by a desire to keep the school alive. There was also a strong desire to create a feeling of belonging, space and personal ownership and investment in the organization's future.

Fundraising, customer service, registration, and building maintenance became some of the first areas of isomorphic improvements made. Additional improvements included a new lounge, a faculty recital series, professional development, and a practical job performance review for faculty. The marketing department would go on to rebrand Paulus, updating the public image with an alluring new color scheme, enticing photographs and quippy marketing campaigns. The ever-increasing professionalization of the organization would have been immediately apparent to those outside the organization.

Notably, the new Artistic Director, Howard, exhibited transformational leadership, displaying the qualities of an authentic leader, and his followers possessed the same qualities too: passion, dedication, commitment, and a desire to see things through to completion. Howard invested in the staff and faculty, creating a genuine and personable sense of community. This brought people together, incentivizing them to be further invested in Paulus' future. Indeed, it was a broad cast of characters, and each had a role to play. Their contributions may have varied greatly, but everyone had a hand at the helm to help drive Paulus forward.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION, LESSONS LEARNED,
AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

“There is no real ending. It’s just the place where you stop the story.”

– Frank Herbert

The storied history of Paulus Center of Music is filled with twists and turns. Throughout its century-long history, there are points at which Paulus could have failed as an organization. The school is filled with people – administration, staff, and faculty alike – who are passionate, dedicated, and fiercely committed to its mission: to provide high quality music instruction. Paulus has always been entrepreneurial, and most successful when self-governing. The school suffers when restrictions or boundaries are placed on it – by a higher education university, for example – preventing it from living up to its mission. Creativity thrives at Paulus, and when the creativity thrives, Paulus thrives. The organization’s DNA is just as present now as it was 100 years ago.

There are several important contextual variables that have contributed to Paulus’ ongoing success. First, the city of St. Anthony continues to value arts, culture, and education. It is a medium-sized city – any larger, more donors and resources would be spread out to more schools; any smaller, there may be too few resources. There are enough families and students to allow Paulus to operate; there are enough well-trained and qualified musicians to teach; and there is a community there to hold up the school financially, spiritually, and philosophically. Without that

support, Paulus could have very easily shuttered its doors at any time. The organization is highly esteemed by the community leaders in St. Anthony, so it's fair to say that Paulus may very well not survive in another city.

A second contributing factor to the success of the school was the founder, Liam Paulus. The school is infused with his entrepreneurial vision, attracting like-minded individuals who are similarly passionate and dedicated. The school consists of and fosters well-educated people who are creative and innovative, who have an *esprit de corps* all their own. An estimated 400,000 students, and hundreds (if not thousands) of teachers have been through Paulus all these years. Memories were made, relationships forged, and countless notes have been played and sung at Paulus.

The school has the ability to be flexible and adaptable in the face of change. Paulus implemented isomorphisms very quickly at key moments in its history. As a result, the school has functioned and served the community in several different capacities, whether it was a violin school, a college, or as community education programming. In each of its iterations, Paulus morphed itself into a different organization. Fortunately, each of those iterations filled a niche and were beloved and cherished by the community. Let's not kid ourselves though: the school was ruthlessly competitive in its early days, acquiring and merging with several other organizations, only to raze the building in which they resided. Paulus would absorb faculty and departments from other schools and relentlessly advertised in daily newspapers. The school was a force.

There have been four distinct isomorphic periods in Paulus' history, which coincide with two distinct organizational lifecycles (Figure 8). Period 1 and Lifecycle 1 begin at the school's

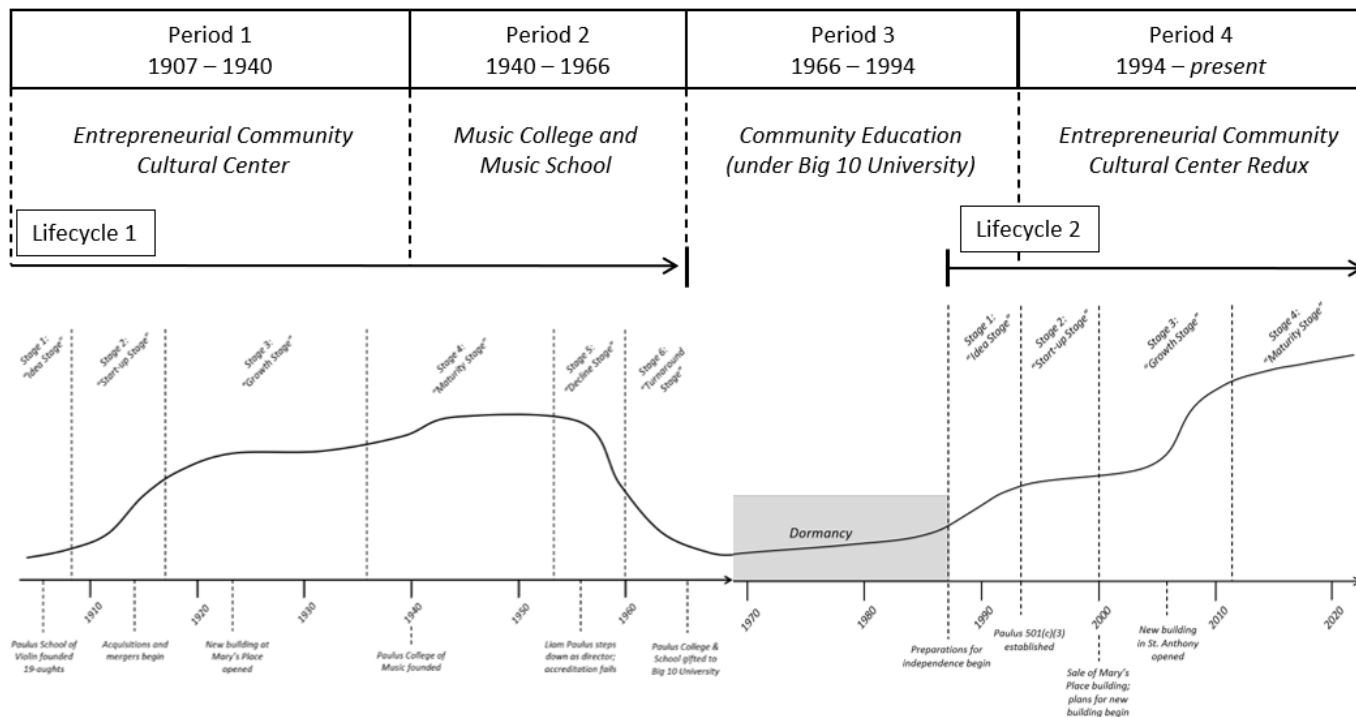
founding. During this period, the school grew enormously, a building was constructed, and Paulus established itself as a nation leading music school.

Period 2 is when Paulus College of Music is established and offers degrees, which lasted for two decades. Notably, the school suffered from founder's syndrome – it was the ambition and drive of Liam Paulus that drove the school. Paulus College did not properly do any succession planning, and no one was adequately prepared to lead the school after Liam Paulus passed away. Paulus College became inert and ran into financial dire straits. The school enters the Decline Stage of Lifecycle 1 after the WWII GI Bill enrollment balloon deflates in the late 1950s and early '60s. The gifting of Paulus College of Music to Big 10 University was a tax-free solution to the financial crisis in which Paulus found itself, ending the first organizational lifecycle.

Paulus begins isomorphic Period 3 as a community education extension through Big 10 University. The organization operated in a state of relative dormancy under Big 10, and it wasn't until Paulus was soft launched into an independent organization in the mid-'90s that school began to come back online. A second lifecycle began, issuing in isomorphic Period 4, which continues to this day. The beginning of Period 4 was an exciting time in the school's history as the school was returning to its roots as a community music school. It was also a time of anxiety as the school lacked the inner workings of a functional organization and financial stability.

Figure 8

Key Isomorphic Periods and Lifecycles in Paulus' History Combined



After the separation from Big 10, it was evident that isomorphic improvements would need to be made. Some of these improvements were competitive, but the vast majority were institutional: Paulus needed them simply to survive. The normative pressures to professionalize the organization were immense. As an organization, Paulus was not yet fully self-sufficient, and for such a long time reliant on Big 10 University, so internal improvements were needed for Paulus to operate independently.

Fundraising was of immediate concern for the organization. A new Development Director was hired, who began implementing new fundraising operations. In addition to raising money from alumni, fundraising efforts turned to wealthy individuals who were passionate about arts advocacy and arts education. Paulus regained its standing within the community as a darling organization and repositioned itself as a community asset worthy of financial support. Additional improvements would be made as well, including adding Student Services, IT, facilities management, marketing, and a new registration system, to name a few. For many of the employees, there was autonomy in their jobs to contribute to the refashioned organization.

Despite the challenges, the sustaining factor of Paulus' success is that it is a production center for cultural, social, and symbolic capital. The faculty members are direct conduits to their students: cultural capital is acquired through learning about composers, genre, instruments, etc.; social capital is gained by learning how to behave at concerts and speaking intelligently about music; symbolic capital is obtained by attending a prestigious school such as Paulus. The product of Paulus is educational in nature to be sure, but more broadly, the school produces coveted forms of capital. This makes Paulus highly regarded and attracts donors and patrons to support it financially. However, one thing is clear: economic capital evolves and develops at a far different

rate than other forms of capital. The necessity to fundraise economic capital has been – and will continue to be – crucial for the sustainability of the organization.

Everyone who has ever worked or taught at Paulus has played a role in its development. There has been a large cast of characters throughout the decades – some of whom are there for only a short time, and others who live out their moral career exclusively at Paulus. For others, Paulus is a total institution, encompassing many aspects of both their work and personal lives. Regardless, everyone engages in dramaturgy in one form or another. The employees at Paulus at the start of Period 4 consisted of individuals who were passionate about music – or at least the arts – in general. Many had a background in music, who chose to become administrators. Others were teachers who discovered their own penchant for administrative work. The executive leadership of Paulus has seemingly served its purpose while there. The Artistic Directors at Paulus have had their strengths in their leadership style. The Board of Directors has sought something different in each director, meaning a pendulum swings between directors with artistic backgrounds, and those with business backgrounds.

It is noteworthy that the most successful leaders in the school's history have displayed transformational leadership that was authentic. Those transformational leaders empowered staff and administration in their positions to implement change and improvements; they allowed the faculty to be autonomous and to operate freely within their pedagogy. People drawn to work or teach at Paulus are typically passionate about music and/or music instruction. The passion fuels them and their desire to work towards the greater good, whether its fundraising for a new program, or conducting an orchestra in an economically challenged part of the city. In any case, effective leaders at Paulus have understood and harnessed the good intentions of its employees, allowing them to attempt new endeavors.

Paulus faculty members are genuine, driven, and compassionate individuals. Managing the faculty is a unique process in and of itself, akin to herding cats. Each teacher has their own ideas, opinions, and thoughts about matters, all of whom need to be heard and considered. Each faculty member needs to have just enough leash to let their creative and artistic spirit run free, but not too much leash to let their spirits run *too* free. It was free-range management that allowed the teachers to flourish as Paulus' entrepreneurial spirit persists even amongst the faculty. They are a group whose livelihood depends on making music to financially support themselves. Faculty members are a creative and innovative bunch who need space and autonomy to create programs and offerings. This spirit epitomizes the habitus and field at Paulus. If the idea for a viable program is had, time and space should be made for that idea. Once a program flourishes, it attracts new students, thus perpetuating the program.

There is little risk of offering a new class that may not meet enrollment standards. But, if the topic is popular, the class fills, the teacher gets to indulge their interest and passion, and the community will in turn pay for the opportunity to learn. The programming at Paulus has been adaptive and flexible by providing offerings that the community would pay for. As teachers bring new ideas to Paulus, they get folded into the mix of offerings.

Paulus has had an impact on the community. Young students learn to play their instruments but are also left with fond memories of childhood and the connection with their teacher. Adult students find another adult to connect with on a personal level. Parents of young students are appreciative of the teachers, and their contribution to the growth and development of their child. Many parents speak so highly of Paulus as a result. The product – education – is non-tangible, and different say than going to a concert, but that product bears enormous cultural,

social, and symbolic capital. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the families value the different forms of capital being obtained by students at Paulus.

One important and constant theme throughout all of Paulus' history is money. Time and again, money is a recurring concern, as the school is caught between the cultural devaluation of arts and education in general, and the need for economic capital. Paulus is no doubt an unwilling victim of cultural bias against the teaching profession compared to performance organizations (like a professional orchestra, for example), which have fared better.

As a result, no one works at Paulus for the money. Motivation instead comes from a very deep well of personal mission and virtue, shaping the habitus at Paulus. Teachers are deeply passionate and engaged: it's not the quality of the instruments, the studio space, or the equipment that makes Paulus meaningful – no, it's the connection between teacher and student. It's the connection between people and music. That is at the core of Paulus, and that is what's most important.

Lessons Learned

Running a music school is part art and part science. There is an informed intuition needed to keep things running smoothly. One must always work from a roadmap – there must be some plan in place. An organization may not always adhere to the growth and development laid out, but the forethought and preplanning must be there. Paulus was a unique situation where there was no planning beyond the next stage of development. The school's ability to muscle through tough times speaks to the scrappiness and durability of the in-the-moment decision making happening within the organization. But as a result, the school came up short when it came to long term planning. Again, who could have imagined the school was going to be so successful?

The lesson to be learned here is any leader must have a vision and a dream – regardless of how lofty and ambitious – and then set forth a pragmatic approach to realizing that dream. You need to know where you’re going. And importantly, once you reach your destination, you must work to continuously improve yourself, your employees, and the organization at large. Even if you’re on the right track, you’ll get run over if you’re just sitting there. The organization must stave off atrophy and apathy – continuous improvement should be a *modus operandi*. You’re never so good that you can’t get any better.

To that end, the monitoring of the health and well-being of an organization cannot be an afterthought. Financial wellness, psychological wholeness, and morale are areas that need constant and ongoing monitoring. Sustainability – in all forms – must be built into the model of the organization and a key part of the planning. Never take your eye off the ball, because when you do, that’s when the strike out occurs.

Self-reflection and introspection are a part of leadership, not a character flaw. Learning from mistakes forges strong leaders and fosters a desire to continue improving ourselves. Reflecting on what worked well, and what didn’t, helps us identify our own biases and blind spots. Similarly, it encourages others to do the same. Strong leaders aren’t much without strong followers, and the qualities that make for a good leader are the same qualities that make for a good follower. Leadership, in the abstract, is not a process of doing, per se. Instead, leadership consists of a skill set. Those skills – vision, charisma, introspection, commitment – are found in others. As a result, one of the roles of a leader is to elicit, illuminate and cultivate those skills in their followers. A true leader develops leadership in others. This is where leadership and teachership intersect, and there is a pedagogy to leadership that leaders need to explore and define for themselves.

While leadership is exalted by a community, followership inversely has a negative connotation – those that follow are simple minded people blindly following, doing what they are told. Sheeple, as they're known. However, the choice to be a follower is a conscious choice, and profoundly deep personal choice at that. A leader must respect and live up to their end of the agreement with their followers. Analogously, if leadership is one's artistry, then management is one's technique. If a musician is expressive, but does not possess the technique to express, how effective is that musician's performance? Similarly, if a leader doesn't have the management skills needed to realize a dream, how effective is their performance? Professional development in both leadership and management is needed. They are not unrelated binary skill sets, and effective leadership is able to blend them when needed.

The benefit of research such as this is not only historical, but practical as well. As a young administrator, I would have appreciated some documented account of the personal anecdotes, lessons learned, and teachable moments from those administrators with far more experience than I. The quantitative data of an organization's history is of important value. But so is the qualitative data of the lived experience of those administrators. Qualitative studies such as this one can help shed light on the day-to-day operations of running a music school.

For example, it is useful to know registration numbers. Knowing exactly how many teachers are teaching X number of students is important to know and monitor. What that quantitative data doesn't tell you, though, is the *qualitative* value of the teaching being done. Do teachers feel purpose and fulfillment in their teaching? Do they feel valued and appreciated by their students? Are teachers bored with teaching the same repertoire over and over again? Monitoring the mental and physical health of teachers is necessary. Teachers teaching too many students is demanding psychologically and emotionally, causing drain and emotional fatigue.

Too few students can cause financial stress and anxiety, perhaps even causing a faculty member to quit.

Similarly, teachers need space – a studio, for example – in which to work and practice their craft. Some studios need to be equipped with instruments such as a piano, drum set, or an electronic workstation. Or, if it's an instrumental or voice studio, they will need an upright piano and enough room to play and rehearse. Singers, by and large, prefer a more resonant, reverb-filled room; percussionists may need sound dampening material on the walls. All studios need proper humidity control, and the pianos need to be regularly tuned. These all need to be budgeted and accounted for in monthly and year budget reports.

Retention is another area of importance as well. Teachers communicating clear feedback about progress is vitally important to help the student (and families!) feel that students are moving ahead in their studies. The satisfaction of continuous improvement helps bolster retention rates, keeping studios full and students learning.

In so many ways, income is a barometer by which people measure their self-worth. Too little money leaves people with low esteem, feeling diminished as people and contributors to society. Too much money, and the focus shifts from the work being done to the money being made. Any organization must balance paying employees a proper wage that is commiserate with the value generated within the community.

Lastly, a lesson directly learned from studying Paulus is the need for succession planning. The school undoubtedly suffered from Founder's Syndrome, and there was no true successor to the founder, Liam Paulus. Further, based on this research, it's clear that familial lineage should not be the determining factor in succession. With all respect to Liam, Jr., he clearly did not possess the same skill set or ambition as his father to continue leading the school. No clear

successor was in place, and the organization suffered as a result. Again, organizations – and their leaders – must work from a strategic plan.

Implications for Further Study

There were pivotal moments in Paulus' history that shaped its future. Consequently, a series of *what if* ... questions arise:

- What if Liam Paulus chose to found a performance ensemble instead of a music school?
- What if Paulus School was unable to get financing to build the building in the 1920s?
- What if there was a logical successor to Liam Paulus?
- What if Paulus College received accreditation in the 1960s?
- What if Paulus College was accepted into the music department at Big 10 University?
- What if Big 10 decided to keep Paulus School in the Community Education Extension?

There are many key events that shaped the history of Paulus Center for Music. There is no question that the school is a survivor organization. It is a school of passionate people whose love of music drives them and motivates them. The essence and heart of its founder is very much alive today – and it's no stretch to imagine the same heart being present 100 years ago.

Organizations like Paulus must have similar stories. Other phoenixes rising from the ashes must be out there. It is important for us to understand why some organizations survive while others do not. In the case of Paulus, it was the passion for music that drove the organization forward. Certainly, other non-profit organizations must have missions that drive its organization forward as well. Understanding what drives organizations to thrive helps advance

humanity on a variety of fronts. Vital community resources, for example, can be created and offered to a larger number of individuals.

Case studies are the best approach to studying an organization like Paulus. While qualitative research can indeed elicit helpful data (understanding *that* enrollment has increased), that data is insufficient when it comes to researching what drives people (understanding *why* it has increased). Qualitative research is the best and most appropriate way to research organizations like Paulus.

Further research can also help shed light creating operational procedures, internal processes, and program and department building for nascent non-profit organizations. That is, organizations have a lot to be shared and learned from one another. Similarly, knowledge of Founder's Syndrome may help other organizations avoid the pitfall of having no logical successor in place.

Another area of possible research is how organizations remain true to their DNA in the midst of ever-increasing professionalization. Is it possible to retain the folksy, homey charm of a mom 'n' pop shop while the organization grows more professional? How can organizations capture that atmosphere and feel as it continuously improves itself?

Lastly, there needs to be further differentiation in the literature between arts administration, education administration and music instruction administration. These are very different types of administration, with highly specialized skill sets. Running an art gallery is very different than running a music school. With degrees offered in arts administration, for example, it's clear that further research is needed regarding music instruction administration.

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