Leading, Lauding, and Learning: Leadership in Secondary Schools Serving Diverse Populations

Susan E. Sather, *ARC Associates (Oakland, CA)**

This article examines three sources of leadership—administrator, teacher, and student—in 2 high schools that were part of the Leading for Diversity Research Project, which studied 21 schools. It illustrates how these leaders served as change agents in schools, demonstrating proactive approaches that resulted in more positive human relationships and increased harmony among ethnically diverse student populations. In one school, teacher and student leaders were instrumental in developing a caring environment and building bridges of understanding that addressed race, ethnicity, class, and culture. In the other, the principal was a driving force in restructuring efforts that greatly increased personalization, student attendance, academic achievement and college going rates for a population that was "majority minority."

Commonly held notions of leadership in schools assume that the formal authority vested in school administrators is the primary, if not the sole, source of power capable of effecting positive change in schools. The Leading for Diversity Research Project set out to identify and describe models of proactive leadership and approaches that result in increased harmony among ethnically diverse student populations. Researchers have long realized that many effective sources of leadership are capable of influencing change in ways that led students and staff inside schools to value and celebrate diversity. Indeed, based on their research, Kouzes and Posner (1995) identified five fundamental practices of exemplary leadership that enable leaders to get extraordinary things done. Those practices include the following:
(1) Challenge the process.
(2) Inspire a shared vision.
(3) Enable others to act.
(4) Model the way.
(5) Encourage the heart.
These dictums have stood the test of time, and they are available to anyone, in any type of organization or situation, who is willing to accept what Kouzes and Posner call the "leadership challenge" (p. 9).

The Leading for Diversity Research Project detailed in this article identifies and describes individuals in schools who have accepted this challenge. The present study is a part of ARC Associates' larger, field-based, qualitative research effort examining proactive approaches in 21 K–12 public schools. This study profiles three sources of leadership in two high schools in which positive change was effected. In one of these schools, Sojourner Truth High School, located in a major northeastern urban area, the principal stood out as a dynamic and brilliant change agent and as a central force creating a school climate and conditions that raised the academic achievement of diverse groups of students. In the second school, Maya Lin High School in southern California, the principal played a supporting role in maintaining conditions that enabled the rise of remarkable teacher and student leaders whose efforts were focused on diversity. In both schools, a dynamic interplay was evident between administrators, teachers, and students who accepted the leadership challenge.

This study's focus on school-site personnel is not intended to belittle the importance of the leadership found at the district administration level and among parents and community leaders. In the larger research project, many examples of exemplary leadership were discovered among all those role groups. Nonetheless, site administrators, teachers, and students are the ones on the"front lines" in schools across the nation. It is they who witness and experience the effects of bigotry, racism, and cultural bias on educational efforts. They are in a central position to make the kinds of changes that can result in more harmonious learning and social environments in schools.

LEADERSHIP THEORY

Poplin and Weeres's (1992) report on schooling that represents the voices of diverse students and teachers suggests that previously identified problems of schooling (e.g., lowered achievement, high dropout rates, and problems in the teaching profession) are consequences of much deeper and more fundamental problems in schools. Two of the problems they identify—those related to human relationships and to race, culture, and class—are important to this study. The first is important because, according to Poplin and Weeres, "When relationships in schools are poor, fear, name calling, threats of or incidents of violence, as well as a sense of depression and hopelessness exist" (p. 12). The second is also important, given that "many students of color and some Euro-American students perceive schools to be racist and prejudiced, from the staff to the curriculum" (p. 13).

These two themes, prominently stated by the participants in the Poplin and Weeres study and deeply connected to other themes in their report, are the two most central issues to be considered in solving the crisis inside today's schools. The findings reported here lend a sense of urgency to the task of identifying and describing positive school leadership in the area of interethnic relations, a critical feature in ensuring that more schools begin and continue to address interethnic conflict. They are essential to efforts aimed at addressing the problems associated with improving human relationships and understanding and honoring ethnicity, culture, and class.

Recent definitions pave the way for expanding the notion of leadership to include other role groups and members of the school community in both formal and informal leadership positions. Nahavandi (1997) supports this expansion in defining a leader as "any person who influences individuals and groups within an organization, helps them in the establishment of goals, and guides them toward achievement of those goals, thereby allowing them to be effective" (p. 4). Rallis (1990) defines leadership as "an interactive, dynamic process drawing members of an organization together to build a culture within

which they feel secure enough to articulate and pursue what they want to become" (p. 186). Kouzes and Posner (1995) add the dimension of motivation in referring to leadership as *"the art of mobilizing others to want to struggle for shared aspirations"* (p. 30).

A considerable body of literature exists on leadership in general (see, for example, Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Kouzes & Posner, 1995; Nahavandi, 1997) as well as formal administrative leadership in schools (e.g., Griffiths, Stout, & Forsyth, 1988; Guthrie & Reed, 1986; Lane & Walberg, 1987; Sergiovanni & Carver, 1980). Researchers have underscored the principal's leadership as key to creating and maintaining effective schools (Berry & Ginsberg, 1990; Rallis, 1990); however, many others, whose talent and leadership skills contribute to effective schools in crucial ways, can be found in school communities.

For example, it is becoming increasingly important to promote teachers' leadership in order to improve the performance of schools as well as attract and retain talented teachers (Little, 1988). In laying out the conditions necessary for the creation of a community of leaders, Barth (1990) presents a vision of schools as just such communities—places which ensure that students, parents, teachers, and principals all become school leaders in some ways and at some times. He further maintains that teachers harbor extraordinary leadership capabilities, and that their leadership is a major untapped resource for improving the nation's schools. The larger Leading for Diversity Research Project confirms this conclusion, pointing out that striking examples of leadership were evident among a wide range of school community members in addition to those administrators vested with formal authority. Many of the teachers participating in this research were identified as using their leadership skills and passion for social justice to change conditions in positive ways that provided benefits for the diverse students in their schools.

Notable examples of student leadership were also evident. Project researchers observed a number of students who went beyond the traditional student roles of fundraising for school trips and organizing the senior prom. Students in some participating sites were members of site-based management councils, Healthy Start collaboratives, and important school committees in which they had a voice and contributed their influence to school policy and school improvement efforts. Some also spearheaded efforts to create linkages among various ethnic groups that resulted in more harmonious schools while others were outspoken as well as skilled in working to effect social change in their schools and communities. These findings affirm Barth's (1990) recognition of the potential of students to participate in forums in which they "make what they believe in happen" (p. 125). This notion makes eminent sense. After all, schools are supposed to be about educating youth to live in tomorrow's world. Providing them with leadership training and opportunities to exercise their skills will hold them in good stead. Who knows, some of these youth just might save the world.

METHODS

The data used in this study are a subset of the larger database of the Leading for Diversity Project, which employed a qualitative case study design to examine leadership in 21 schools that were successful, to varying degrees, in creating harmonious relations among diverse ethnic groups (Henze, 2001). Because of their interesting and varied sources of leadership, two schools were chosen for this analysis: Sojourner Truth High School in the Northeast and Maya Lin High School in southern California.

Participants

The data for Sojourner Truth High School (STHS) were drawn from interviews with 8 administrators, 9 counselors, 19 teachers, 5 parents, 41 students, 7 noninstructional staff,

and 1 district administrator as well as from observations of 17 classes and 18 other school-related events. The demographic student profile for this school's 4,425 students at the time of the study included 57% Latino, 34% African American, 6% Asian, 2% European American, and 1% "other" groups. Eighty-five percent of STHS students participated in the free or reduced-price lunch program, and 12% were designated as English Language Learning (ELL) students. Like most schools in the U.S., the demographics of the teaching staff did not match those of the students. The school's administration, faculty, and staff were 51% European American (20% Jewish and 31% Anglo-non-Jewish), 34% Latino, 9% African American, 5% "other" groups, and 1% Asian American.

At Maya Lin High School (MLHS), data were drawn from interviews with 4 administrators, 2 counselors, 25 teachers, 2 noninstructional staff, 22 students, 2 parents, 1 consultant, and 1 district administrator; and from observations of 5 classes and 8 other school-related events. The demographics of this school's 1,550 student population included 39% Latino, 35% European American, 13% Asian, 6% African American, 5% Filipino, and 2% other groups. These ratios mirrored the changing population of many schools in southern California. The transience rate at MLHS was 30%. Thirty-nine percent of its students participated in the free or reduced-price lunch program, and 20% were ELL with another 21% designated Fluent-English-Proficient (FLP). Again, the demographics of the teaching staff and the students were contrasting: the majority of the 59-member teaching staff (90%) was European American; 10% was Latino; and less than 1%, respectively, were African American and Asian (only 1 teacher each).

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected during two site visits to Maya Lin, one a five-day visit made by two Leading for Diversity Project researchers, and the second a three-day visit, which I conducted. I also collected data at Sojourner Truth during three site visits. Co-researchers Edmundo Norte and Ernest Walker assisted on two of those weeklong visits while I returned to STHS for a single day to observe parent–teacher conferences.

Interviews used semistructured interview protocols designed specifically for different role groups (e.g., students, teachers, administrators, parents). Observations were conducted of classes, assemblies, student leadership council and club meetings, and student retreat and staff development events. All interviews were taped, and most were transcribed. Interview and narrative observation notes and document reviews also informed this analysis. The data obtained from these sources were coded using an agreed-upon coding scheme from the larger Leading for Diversity Project study. QSR Nud.ist, a software program for qualitative analysis, was used to code and retrieve information electronically. Data were further analyzed using methods described by qualitative researchers such as Goetz and LeCompte (1984) and Miles and Huberman (1994).

FINDINGS

Sojourner Truth High School

A Principal Who Praises. Robert Cohen,[1] the Jewish American principal at STHS, created an initial impression and welcoming atmosphere when he assembled a dozen members of the school community in his office to present an overview and introduce his school to members of the Leading for Diversity Project research team at the beginning of each

---

[1]Pseudonyms have been used to protect the confidentiality of the information shared.

site visit. After stating each person's name and title, he elaborated on the virtues and contributions of that individual to the school and district. This laudatory introduction happened every time we were introduced to a new parent, student, or staff member over the course of our three data collection visits. This quality of positive and personal recognition set the tone and foreshadowed the warm and welcoming climate at STHS. Cohen provided a clear example of a principal whose leadership and vision were key in developing structures and supporting programs that worked for diverse groups of students, staff, and parents.

A Personalized Setting. Formerly an all-boys school, STHS avoided closure in the mid-1980s when it admitted girls and began to turn around academically. From a student body of 1,500 to an enrollment of nearly 4,500 at the time of this study, the school has grown rapidly. Principal Cohen came to this huge high school in the early stages of a restructuring process that focused on developing "houses" or schools-within-schools as a way of "downsizing" and personalizing education. He accelerated this process at STHS, organizing the school into 10 houses.

Most students remained in the same house throughout their years at STHS. The house structure provided an important symbolic and physical place for them to develop identities as members of the school community. Indeed, these houses were identified by many students and staff members as a central feature of the elements that made STHS a caring environment. The family atmosphere of the houses was also viewed by many staff members and students as an important factor in the student achievement gains realized during the past decade. Some teachers, however, particularly those with strong department affiliations, were opposed to houses. Given that the school retained its subject-matter departments, they maintained that houses added another layer of complexity to the school's organization.

Cohen's philosophy emanated from his experiences in the 1960s as an activist working for social justice and open enrollment as well as protesting the draft. His vision was honed by his years as a guidance counselor and supervisor of guidance for high schools in one of the city's sections. He subsequently ran the dropout prevention program for all the city's high schools. In 1990, he created a new dropout prevention program, and STHS was one of the early participants. Upon assuming the principalship there in 1993, Cohen was well positioned to test his design and potentially make a difference at STHS. As he recalled:

> The previous dropout prevention program had been deemed a failure. It was understood from the research and experience that it wasn't about fixing broken students but about transforming schools. The new project was research-based, systemic, and involved school-based, schoolwide improvement. It had important components in breaking schools down into houses to lessen the anonymity and anomie, and to have one-stop shopping, to have students stay with the same team of educators so that students, parents, and faculty could get to know each other very well over the course of years.

> I decided that every single [STHS] student would be housed and I added additional house personnel. Each of the 10 houses has a 60% coordinator, at least one full-time guidance counselor, and at least one full-time family assistant/family outreach worker. Most have a community-based organization staff person. Their job is to continuously monitor and support students in every possible way, to look at the total needs of the total child.

As Table I shows, the dropout rate at STHS has dipped during Cohen's tenure as principal, while the attendance, student performance, and graduation levels have soared.

A Site of High Expectations. Principal Cohen's tenure at STHS has also been marked by his central focus on high expectations. This emphasis is reflected in the school's mission statement:

> We, the parents, students, staff and neighbors of Sojourner Truth High School believe that high expectations and high standards yield high achievement in both the academic and personal elements of life. All members

TABLE I

Improvement in Performance Outcomes at Sojourner Truth High School[a]

OUTCOME MEASURE	YEAR(S)	PERCENT OR NUMBER	YEAR(S)	PERCENT OR NUMBER	% CHANGE
Attendance (Average Daily, excluding Long-Term Absentees [LTAs])	1988–89	74.7%	1997–98	91.4%	+22%
Long-Term Absentees (LTAs)	1992–93	10.0%	1996–97	3.9%	−61%
Dropout Rate, Annual	1989–90	11.4%	1996–97	2.9%	−75%
Dropout Rate, Four-Year Cohort	1989–90	23.0%	1996–97	9.1%	−60%
Graduation Rate, Four-Year Cohort	1986	11.8%	1997	59.6%	+405%
Regents Diplomas	1993	31	1998	113	+265%
Regents Examinations Passed	1993	1,311	1998	3,228	+146%
Tested Out of Bilingual Classes	1992	14	1998	86	+514%
Advanced Placement Enrollments (AP/College Board)	Fall 1993	131	Fall 1998	553	+322%
College Admissions Rate	June 1994	81.0%	June 1997	95%	+17%
College Scholarships/Financial Aid Received	June 1995	$898,761	June 1998	$7,902,568	+779%
Met or Exceeded Chancellor's Standards	1991–92	6 out of 12 (50%)	1995–96	11 out of 11 (100%)	+100%

[a]These data were provided by the school.

of the Sojourner Truth community join in the covenant of scholarship and honor that will ensure that all students master the world-class standards of knowledge and personal integrity that will be needed in the twenty-first century.

Cohen elaborated further on his vision and described his approach:

I feel very, very strongly about the pursuit of excellence and pushing everyone beyond their comfort zone, beyond what they think they are capable of. I hold myself first and foremost to that standard, along with my cabinet, the faculty, staff and students. . . . Since I came in talking about holding students to dramatically higher standards, it was necessary to get everybody to focus on becoming a school of excellence. It was in this conversation, and in continuation of the restructuring committee that I inherited, that I think people started very, very much more to start to see a common vision and a common mission. We put these things together with research on dropouts, on school improvement and restructuring, and this pursuit of excellence emerged.

Cohen also recalled that, in his early years at STHS, he took advantage of every effort to publicize and celebrate even the smallest incremental gains in his students' achievement. These small but visible gains soon began to inspire confidence among his staff, and the success of this strategy became tangible as student achievement continued to increase each year. As he noted:

You need to really target things that can be done. You need to achieve them, publicize them, and share credit. The momentum then becomes inevitable. It's unstoppable! I think that we started to get a sense of excitement that things could really move. . . . Then everybody said, "See, what he's saying and what we're saying is true. You really *can* do this."

One aspect of Cohen's approach to the leadership challenge was witnessed by a member of the research team, who observed Cohen addressing a roomful of ninth graders. Cohen shared with them stories of his own beginnings: growing up in a poor family, sharing the only bedroom with his brother while his parents slept on a couch in the living room. He then told them, "The amazing thing here [in the United States] is that a poor kid can grow up, go off to college. I got my college degree, a master's, have been working for many years in the school district. I'm now a doctoral student at Columbia. Just like you, I am a student." He continued:

It is your responsibility to do what is expected of you in class. You are expected to spend three to five hours a night on homework. . . . I'm talking to doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, etc. If you realize that each of you is a potential superstar, then we're here to help you, support you, guide you, love you. We'll do everything we can to help you. We can get you to the promised land, but we can't do it alone. Do you have the motivation and determination that it takes? I know some of you are dealing with heavy things in your life. If you allow stuff to mess up your high school record, that's not good. We hold you to tremendously high expectations because we know you can do it.

This was a scene that was repeated over and over until Cohen spoke with every incoming student at the beginning of each school year. With an inner-city principal's busy schedule, addressing each class of incoming freshmen, or approximately 40 to 50 groups of students each year, is decidedly time consuming. However, this principal's actions clearly communicated to students the school's expectations for their academic achievement and a "can-do" attitude.

Other STHS administrators and teachers confirmed that Cohen held himself, as well as them, to high professional standards. As Assistant Principal Gloria Fisher confided, "He does not expect us to do anything that he himself will not do." Project researchers observed him arriving early, leaving late, and, in order to stay in touch with the demands facing teachers, teaching a daily 7:15 a.m. class using the *New York Times* to stimulate student discussion. Ed Sanchez, STHS's Coordinator of Student Affairs, described Cohen's leadership in the following manner:

Historically, I like to say I've broken in three principals. It's always been a pro-kid type of principal the 16 years I've been here, but Robert, his door is always open. He walks around the school, he talks with kids, he visits classrooms. He's visible at activities, at dances, at the games—that's important in the school. A principal *has* to be visible. A principal can't always have his door closed. And that's never been the case, especially with Mr. Cohen.

Indeed, members of the research team witnessed students, staff, and an occasional parent dropping into Cohen's office at all times of the day. These interactions reflected a mutual respect and camaraderie, often exhibited as bantering among participants. This kind of visibility had an definite impact on the school climate.

Complaints about administrators are frequently heard in schools, particularly large urban schools. Notably, not one of the 74 interviews we conducted with 90 people yielded any negative comments about the principal.[2] This absence of criticism attested to the respect, affection, and admiration that Cohen's leadership had engendered at this diversely populated urban high school.

An Emphasis on Human Relationships. Cohen's counseling background influenced his leadership in several ways. For example, the changes he made in the staffing patterns at the school resulted in a specific focus on developing positive human relationships. Along with a full-time social worker and 10 family assistants who each spoke Spanish and made regular home visits, Cohen increased the number of counselors to 13. Thus, counselors were able to conduct individual and group counseling with students and families—an important service in an urban area with a high rate of poverty. One counselor held weekly group sessions, attended by 30 to 50 students, which focused on helping students develop constructive communication and interpersonal skills and healthier relationships. Cohen's background also influenced his support of the school's health center as a place where students' medical needs could be addressed more holistically, and of its daycare center and classes on parenting for young parents who wanted to continue their education.

This focus on human relationships decreased student anonymity and increased school personalization. It also contributed in important ways to creating and maintaining a climate of harmony that supported an environment where diverse students achieved

---

[2]Although most of these were individual interviews, some were conducted in small groups.

academically as a matter of course. Its influence was reflected in the comments of the 41 students interviewed for this study, who each spoke openly of the value they placed on this school, the staff, and administration, and who often referred to the school as "family." As one student leader stated, "I'm here 12 hours a day because this is my family. I want to be here. I don't want to be at home." During a group interview, another student referred to "love" as the force that made STHS work.

Cohen's efforts in this regard were aligned with Kouzes and Posner's (1999) description of how leaders create relationships. One essential aspect of this process—encouraging the heart—includes personalizing recognition, something that Cohen did with skill. As he claimed, "I'm a real cheerleader. I try to spend as much time as I can thanking people, sharing the glory, sharing our pride." This was evident as he introduced staff and students alike by genuinely extolling the accomplishments of each individual. Correspondingly, he was candid about the limits of his recognition. Although students were only rarely expelled or counseled to attend another school under his principalship, he established finite guidelines for doing so, stating: "When a student violates the rules, they give up their enfranchisement. If what they do is so socially deviant in terms of the community or family, I have no problems telling them they have to leave."

An Emphasis on Creating Avenues for Equity and Access. Cohen's interview comments passionately revealed his underlying belief in the values of diversity, a belief that was played out the operations of the school and in the way it maximized success for a diverse student body:

> If you don't value diversity, if you're not about mutual respect and appreciation, if you don't believe that multiculturalism and multilingualism is a wonderful asset and that it bridges our lives—if you don't believe that and you think that there are the good groups and the bad groups, it is pretty hard to move beyond that one. You need to be committed to moving people to that kind of vision. . . . There are a lot of xenophobic guys out there, a lot of racist stuff going on that concerns me tremendously. When I went through my counseling program we spent a lot of time looking at our values, attitudes and beliefs, at cognitive dissonance and what we were saying and doing. I don't think you can just teach diversity, I think you have to *live* diversity.

In addition to the value he placed on diversity, Cohen was deeply committed to equity and access to the curriculum for all students. This was apparent as he shared his views about administrator training and transforming schools:

> People who are preparing to be school leaders have to really care deeply about the well being of kids and have a philosophy of education that very sincerely commits them not just to the cliché that "all students can learn," but absolutely believing that we make an enormous difference in the lives of kids. It's not sufficient to say that the conversation ends when we talk about the correlation to the family's SES and the highest level of education of the mother and all that kind of stuff. We really need talk about how we transform what we're doing to maximize the ability of students to move forward.

Cohen's leadership corroborated this view. He came to the school with what turned out to be a workable vision of transformation that included academic success for all STHS students. His ability to turn that vision into one that was shared by his staff resulted in success for a student body that was 98% students of color. Indeed, the college-going rate of STHS graduates in 1997 was unusually high: 95%. Moreover, the graduates of the class of 1999 received a total of $7,902,568 in scholarship and grant offers. A large part of this success began with his efforts to break down the size issue by implementing the house structure and personalizing education as much as possible. As evidenced by the high levels of academic and social success achieved by the school's students of color, Cohen was a principal who paid more than lip service to principles of equity and access for diverse populations. He was instrumental in creating a context, an environment, where students, regardless of their ethnicity, had access to rigorous curriculum, met high standards, and went on to higher education.

Although Cohen's leadership appeared to be central to the diversity efforts in this school, he was supported in this area by a multitude of competent, committed, and caring staff members, including three assistant principals for administration and eight additional assistant principals who supervised teachers and took primary responsibility for staff development. In turn, these administrators were assisted by the school's house coordinators, family assistants, house counselors, department chairs, and 250 teachers. Interviews and observations confirmed that this staff shared Cohen's vision of students' abilities and potential for academic success along with concerns for their health, well being, and interpersonal relationships. Additionally important were the many dynamic student leaders at the school, who organized and ran school activities and worked for social change in their communities. One African American STHS student ran for the student representative spot on the city's board of education, a position representing 1.1 million students. She was elected as an alternate. Many other students of diverse backgrounds, as a result of their years at STHS, are similarly well positioned to become tomorrow's leaders. Indeed, leadership was in abundance at Sojourner Truth High School, yet it must be noted that it was under Cohen's careful watch that achievement scores began their rise, opening doors and providing opportunities for a multiethnic student population.

Maya Lin High School

A Place Where Teachers Spearhead Change. The first site visit to Maya Lin High School (MLHS) began at 6:30 A.M. as two members of the research team met the entire staff—administrators, teachers, and classified staff including custodians—and loaded into charter buses for a visit to the Simon Wiesenthal Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles. This event symbolized the deep concern for social justice held by an important cadre of teachers at the school, who took a year to plan this event. The high level of participation was reflective of the support and buy-in of the entire staff for this event and the entire diversity initiative, as well as an awareness that all staff members were important players in the pursuit of equity. Based on the observations of Project researchers, this trip was only one of many teacher-led efforts that focused on creating respect and harmonious relations among diverse groups at MLHS.

Where Sojourner Truth High School provided a strong example of principal leadership, our visits to Maya Lin provided a closer look at teacher and student leadership. Indeed, the findings reveal (a) the role of strong teacher leadership in initiating proactive programs that promote the inclusion and celebration of all students; and (b) the role of student leadership that works to build positive interethnic relationships.

Teacher Leadership for Social Justice: The Building Bridges of Understanding Program. Miranda Chase, chair of the English Department at MLHS and one of the main organizers of the above-noted staff development field trip, reflected on the trip's success and its effects on the staff:

I have *never* had so many people say to me, "Miranda, you guys did a good job." From all kinds of people, even those who normally sit in the back on staff development days and complain. . . People have been very open the last couple of days. . . . The one thing I've probably heard from a dozen people is that everyone in the world, not just school people, should get together. Even those who have forgotten what that's like start to remember. I think it changes your attitudes. This will be a continuing theme for us. As long as any of 20 or so of us who work in this area are here, every staff development plan will continue to have this human relations component, something about how we treat each other.

Chase, a European American teacher, stood out among the MLHS faculty for her high level of energy and commitment to social change. For her, social activism was a way of life. As she noted, "At my age, I *have* to do this!" Chase also stated that she was alarmed by the increasing numbers of racist youth in the Los Angeles area, particularly as the

demographics of public schools in the state continued to shift toward greater representation by students of color. As White students were becoming a minority in many schools, she saw the need for educators to begin thinking about the implications of this shift. Not only did she demonstrate her leadership in organizing staff development opportunities around this issue, she also served as the school improvement site coordinator, sponsor of the MLHS Key Club (a community service organization), and the driving force behind a program for students called Building Bridges of Understanding, or Bridges, for short.

The Bridges Program developed leadership by training a core of students in human relations—particularly issues of race, ethnicity, and diversity—and working with those students to conduct retreats and organize activities. The idea behind the Bridges program was not to simply teach tolerance to youth. According to Chase, "Tolerance is not enough. The aim is to develop activities where students work together so that they interact and learn from each other." At the time of the study, the program was in its fourth year at the school. It began as a response to an incident that occurred between African American and European American students at neighboring Evergreen High School, which resulted in some negative feelings on the MLHS campus. A young Vietnamese American teacher, Thomas Nguyen, who is no longer with the school, observed that students were complaining of slights and intimidation, some of which he perceived as cultural and racial or ethnic in nature. With the help of Jim Gilbert, the European American principal at Maya Lin, Nguyen sought assistance from the county's Human Relations Commission to help MLHS join with Evergreen High in adopting the Building Bridges of Understanding program on both campuses. The Commission sent adult trainers to the schools to work with a core group of teachers and students. Chase praised her former colleague as she described the proactive beginnings of the Bridges program:

> Thomas Nguyen gets all the credit, the accolades for what we've done. People began to come to him with little slights, little feelings of intimidation. Some of these were cultural and racial issues. . . . So he started talking with the Human Relations Council about how they work in the schools to lessen tensions. What you need to understand is, unlike schools [that] have this kind of response to a problem, we never had this kind of problem. We had this young man who was very sensitive and kind and close to some students and decided maybe it was time for us to look at some stuff, a little bit ahead of most people.

Nguyen elicited faculty support and participation by developing a faculty cultural committee to design an interethnic program. Simultaneously, Principal Gilbert developed a student multicultural committee and supported teachers' efforts by seeking funding and contacting the Human Relations Commission. All of these moves focused on developing ways to increase understanding and harmony among the diverse student populations at the school.

Teachers' Work to Engage Others in the Effort. Just as Nguyen involved other MLHS faculty in the effort to promote better interethnic relations, a critical aspect of Chase's leadership was her ability to engage others in the process of going beyond tolerance to building bridges of understanding. First and foremost, she treated students with respect, recognized their leadership potential, and involved them as co-participants in the Bridges program. Equally important, she engaged other adults on the school's campus in the process. During the first year of Bridges, three in-service sessions were conducted for all staff, an initial engagement that was continuously nurtured by Chase. As she asserted, "It is critical to share the project with others, to make sure the decisions and the work are shared. People need to be willing to collaborate and that may mean giving up some of their pet ideas. In this way, it doesn't become just one person's show."

Perhaps central to Chase's quest to involve other adults in Bridges work was her conscious desire to share ownership of the program with others and assure that Bridges had the staff support and resources needed to continue without her presence. This fit

520   *The Journal of Negro Education*

well with the views of district superintendent Rose Walker, who, realizing that programs such as Bridges need time to embed themselves into the culture of schools, did not want the MLHS effort to become "person-dependent." Chase worked to assure that Bridges did not depend solely on her leadership, a mistake sometimes made by leaders of important school projects.

Walker was supportive of the Bridges program and of the emergence of strong teacher leadership like that of Miranda Chase. She was also well aware of the strong collegial climate that contributed to the success of the program at MLHS. As she maintained:

> One of the newer teachers, Miranda, fits into the school as if she's been there forever. Some teachers are believers in this kind of project, just as a human being. The fates have been kind to Maya Lin High School by placing enough of these leaders together to initiate and sustain a project like this that focuses on multicultural issues.

Teachers, too, were aware of and appreciated Chase's leadership and that of the students involved with Bridges. They also noted positive changes in the school climate that they attributed to the program. As teacher Marta Perez recalled:

> Miranda has done a good job getting some teachers involved who were possible fringe people. . . . She's just awesome. She's asked them if they wanted to participate and they've been willing to give up a day to do it. But you know, talking about the climate, I would say three years ago, you would go in at lunch, you had that little fringe group who would sit together in an area and put down a certain ethnic group. I haven't seen that for a long time. That's been nice.

Indeed, the school staff valued the positive climate and collegial atmosphere that the Bridges program brought about at Maya Lin. According to one counselor, "Teachers here have not become burned out or negative. Miranda and others project a sense of this school as a place where we *can do* this." This engagement in change seemed to keep these teachers vital and engrossed in the process of teaching. Rather than complain, they instead expressed commitment to their students and to the school. As a result, teacher turnover at MLHS was very low, with the exception of several retirements and the subsequent hiring of several new teachers, including some as a result of ninth-grade English class size reduction.

A Place Where Leadership is Shared. Although other teachers led a variety of efforts at Maya Lin, Chase and Maria Gonzalez stood out for their work to create harmony among ethnic groups. Gonzalez, one of the few Hispanic American teachers at the school and the chair of the World Languages Department, initiated the school's annual International Week, although she no longer supervised the event at the time this study was conducted. This five-day event included a fashion show with costumes from different cultures; a professional performance for Chinese New Year; a day devoted to dance and music performances by students, who auditioned and rehearsed for several weeks; a Diversity Day, with workshops and speakers who talked about different religions and women's issues as well as cultural diversity; and an International Food Day. Students reviewed films with a diversity focus and critiqued several speakers on the topic. Some students also went to local elementary schools to conduct Green Circle training, a program of the National Council of Christians and Jews that teaches children how to include others in their own groups.

When International Week was being planned, the principal received a threatening, anonymous letter claiming that the activity would not help groups come together and would instead be divisive. Gonzalez recalled her commitment to unifying diverse groups and her unwillingness to succumb to such threats:

> I [saw] the letter and I got this strength. . . . I sent a letter back to the principal saying, "Given my observations on what different groups are getting from each other, I doubt very much that these fears are founded on anything. We have to overcome this rather than succumb to fear. We're not going to back down." I told the principal, "I will really appreciate it if you will show your faith and support us. I've worked with these

kids all these months. I know what I'm talking about, and we shouldn't make this an issue." And he did support us! There was a little inside tension, not verbal, not shared with the world, but individually. We are talking about almost 200 kids who participated in all the different aspects. So we went ahead. That was the first year, and now it's a tradition!

Gonzalez also offered a good argument for involving students in activities like international performances that engage different ethnic groups in working together toward a common goal:

I remember the first assembly. The kids were on cloud nine when kids from the other ethnicities came and said, "I love your costume!" This is what I see that other people don't see. Some people say, "Oh, well, they're just dancing," or "It's only food." Give me a break! This is the inner, underlying occurrence that I personally experience with my own eyes. The reality is this: You're putting them in a situation where they all experience nervousness. There's a commonality to that nervousness and they cannot help but to admire each other, respect each other, acknowledge each other, applaud each other, and all of a sudden, they feel accepted, they feel wanted, they feel, *"I'm somebody important!"*

Administrative Support for Interethnic Cooperation. What accounts for the passion and commitment of these teacher leaders? Perhaps one contributing factor was the district policy of rotating administrators among schools every five to six years. As MLHS social science teacher Sam Drucker noted, "Administrators come and go here. A constant is the faculty, the real strength of the school." Drucker's comments were echoed by many teachers at this school, who concurred, "We [the teachers] run the school, and that is a good thing." According to teacher Jean Bartlett:

The changes in administrative leadership create conditions for teacher empowerment and the emergence of teacher leadership. With our staff stability, people have learned to cooperate. There is an ongoing commitment to racial harmony and to eliminating violence on campus. The assertive discipline policy, a teacher initiative, is a major source of strength and assistance in reducing violence. Graffiti removal is immediate, and students who fight are removed from the school.

Many interviewees reported that Principal Gilbert's leadership style worked well in this school, noting that he supported rather than controlled teachers, and claiming that this team approach helped build programs at Maya Lin. Staff members spoke repeatedly of feeling empowered. As one stated: "We have a sense that we have the ability to make change, our colleagues support us and listen."

In describing the ideal attributes and leadership skills of teacher leaders of programs like Bridges, Gilbert clearly indicated that he valued teachers who created conditions that empowered students in much the same way that he himself empowered teachers:

OK, first of all, the teacher must be very much student-centered. They need to be willing to let kids make some decisions. That's not always possible for a lot of people, to be willing to empower students. They must plan with the students. Once the plans are made and the teacher has agreed that this is the direction in which we're going, then the teacher needs to be able to sit in the back of the room and let things happen.

Gilbert viewed teachers as central to the school's diversity efforts and perceived his role as one of support for these "front-line" workers:

It is important for an administrator to have the vision. Someone has to explain the vision to the teaching staff. The staff then identifies staff leaders who share the vision. The administrator can't run this. It needs to be the classroom teachers who run the program. We have to empower teachers; it cannot be a top-down situation.

This kind of support and vision was one of the important enabling factors for the high levels of teacher leadership at MLHS. Perhaps as a result of their own sense of empowerment, the teachers at this multiethnic high school developed a strong collegial spirit that was corroborated by many others interviewed for this study. This was a faculty that got along. They participated together in several social activities each year and cared about their colleagues as human beings. Thus, they modeled respect and interpersonal involvement for their students. More than half the staff sponsored extracurricular clubs and student activities, and students reported that teachers were available for help before

and after school as well as during lunchtime. One student even remarked on the care that teachers expressed for one another, saying, "I even see teachers taking each other coffee in the morning. When I came here, I said, 'Whoa, what is *this*?'" Administrative changes did not tell the whole tale of the positive climate that encouraged teacher leadership on this campus, however. Some of those conditions were in place among veteran staff members who had learned to work together before Principal Gilbert came to the school. Further, some of the credit for the development and success of the Bridges program was due to his subtle leadership and ability to identify, encourage, and support teacher leaders like Chase and Gonzalez.

Student Leaders for Diversity. The rise of student leadership in diversity efforts at MLHS was an unforeseen and fortuitous outcome of the Bridges program. According to Chase, the program's initial idea was to "set up activities that would bring different groups of kids together, kids who wouldn't normally associate with each other." However, as the program developed, the following became apparent to her:

> [The students are] truly learning leadership skills that will serve them throughout their lives. They learn to respect themselves and other people. [In these activities] they ask tough questions and when they speak about family histories, they talk openly about race, ethnicity, culture.

Whereas many adults participating in the larger Leading for Diversity Research Project found it difficult to speak with their peers about race and ethnicity, these youth appeared to be more readily able to engage in this conversation.

Efforts to Empower Students. Chase described the process of student involvement in Bridges program as an evolving one:

> One of the things that came out of this whole thing surprised us: the kids wanted their own interethnic group. They wanted to take ownership of something. It's always better when students start it themselves. They started their own club, which didn't work very well. We did little activities and people said, "This is nice," and that was it. The students didn't feel like they were saving the world quickly enough, so we changed it to a task force and students began running various activities, which works very well. We trained students to run their own retreats. That's the big difference with our retreats: the students run them. . . . Bridges students trained about 20 faculty members in the principles of communication and running a retreat over a couple of afternoons last year. Now we have a core of teachers who are trained in the process, and they usually volunteer to be the teachers in charge for the retreats because we need a credentialed person in the room. We have this luxury with such good students and such good training from the Human Relations Commission that we can actually bring in teachers who don't know anything about the retreats or about Bridges and ask them to be chaperones. Everyone on campus has been a volunteer at some time.

Principal Gilbert supported the development of student leadership in this regard. At the same time, he was well aware of the value of Chase's leadership and her ability to work with students to create a balance between student and teacher leadership:

> [The Bridges program] is very much student-centered, student-driven. That's in large part due to the leadership of Miranda Chase, who works real well with the students. The students are *involved*. They take ownership, plan, and implement the activities. I think the concept where students are the trainers at retreats is a big part of it. The adults remain in the background. We have teachers in there supervising, but they are not on center stage. [When you observe] you'll see the students are the ones who really guide the process.

This experiential engagement of students in planning and running retreats was an important aspect of the Bridges program. As students planned for and conducted retreats and other activities within the school, they made a commitment to the goal of creating unity among diverse ethnic groups. The learning and growth that occurs in this way undoubtedly surpasses that of youth involved in a few scattered diversity activities run by teachers or consultants. At Maya Lin, student ownership in the Bridges program helped to infuse the ethic of valuing and honoring all individuals and groups into the school culture.

Efforts to Expand Bridges. During the second year of the program, almost all of the school's ninth-grade students participated in a retreat that yielded noticeable improve-

ments in their youthful behavior. One teacher reported that his freshmen gave the retreat "rave reviews." Apparently, participating in activities led by fellow students modeling appropriate and mature behavior as well as respect had powerful effects on the entire ninth-grade class. Chase attested to the efficacy of this model:

> Last year, we put most of our ninth graders through retreats because we had a very disruptive ninth-grade class. Teachers didn't know what to do with them! Seniors were coming in every day, complaining about the freshmen who were [getting] in their face, fighting, causing trouble for everybody. We even had a brainstorming meeting of teachers to see what we could do with these kids. Then, we put them all through retreats, and our assistant principals got busy making sure that the discipline plan was followed. They're not even a blip on the screen this year.

During the fourth year, Bridges activities were incorporated into a class called "Freshman Focus." This class, a requirement for all incoming ninth graders, aims to prepare students academically and socially for high school. Its curriculum centered on human relations, contained a multicultural unit, and segued into oral communication, note taking, study skills, library and Internet research, career information, and college search information. One student leader shared plans to conduct the Bridges retreat in segments over the course of a week in all Focus classes, thus allowing all ninth-grade students to experience Bridges activities within their first semester. The sense of empowerment experienced by MLHS students resulted in a group of young people confident enough to act independently and develop another unifying program: the Senior/Freshman Mentoring Project. Now a formal program, this effort began informally as a student-run initiative.

Impact. What impact has all of the above made at Maya Lin High School? Teachers and students alike reported that Bridges had made a tremendous difference in the school. Although socializing with one's own ethnic group was not necessarily perceived as negative by students or teachers at this school, both students and teachers claimed that they no longer saw students associating exclusively by ethnicity during breaks. As one teacher noted: "Now there are no set ethnic groups out there. [At lunchtime], everybody eats together." Indeed, Project researchers did not observe any exclusive ethnic groupings on this campus. One African American senior we interviewed recalled that when she transferred into the school as a junior, students from every group came up and introduced themselves to her. Even though the African American population was small, she was not made to feel like an outsider. Rigid grouping patterns make it impossible for students to get to know one another across racial and ethnic lines. To the credit of the Bridges program, students easily crossed those borders at Maya Lin.

Perhaps the greatest impact of the Bridges program was evident among the students who led its retreats. For example, according to Jenny Johnson—a European American student, senior mentor, cheerleader, and member of the African American and Vietnamese clubs—these activities helped MLHS students learn to realize and accept differences as well as interact with students that they would never have talked to before:

> I have learned how to get along with people better, not to judge them. . . . In the beginning, this girl came in with an attitude, but she changed during the retreat. We talked, and she became more open. We meet a lot of people during retreats. Now we know and get along with more people. Even those who don't do a Bridges retreat are affected because their friends begin to change.

Mexican American student Anita Lopez summed up the MLHS student experience as one that acknowledged and valued all types of differences:

> We don't see each other for our differences. No one criticizes you for your differences. At my cousin's school, they are all separated into groups. . . . We need to learn that we're all human, learn to accept each other. Being gay is a big problem also, everywhere. People need to learn that whatever your preferences, you should accept each other.

DISCUSSION

Based on their research, Kouzes and Posner (1995) and Kanter (1983) both arrive at the same conclusion: Leadership is inextricably connected with the process of innovation, of bringing new ideas, methods, or solutions to use. In Kanter's view, innovation means change, and "change requires leadership... a 'prime mover' to push for implementation of strategic decisions" (p. 125). In underscoring the central leadership role of the school principal specifically, Rallis (1990) maintains the following:

> In every instance where some innovative program is reaping positive results, a principal is, in some way, supporting the change. The principal may not always be an active participant in the innovation, but is always willing to put voice as well as resources behind the endeavor. (p. 200)

The present study confirmed both the need for leadership and support from the principal for initiatives aimed at improving interethnic relations within schools serving diverse populations. It also demonstrated the capacity of teachers and students to exert leadership that extends beyond notions of authority formerly vested in administrators alone. Leaders in both the participating public high schools were change agents and innovators. They each also demonstrated the five fundamental practices of exemplary leadership described by Kouzes and Posner (1995). Specific aspects of their approaches are detailed below.

Challenging the Process

According to Kouzes and Posner, "All leaders challenge the process... [They are] willing to step out into the unknown, to take risks, to innovate and experiment in order to find new and better ways of doing things" (pp. 9–10). At Sojourner Truth, Principal Cohen began his tenure by challenging the school to raise its expectations for both students and staff, in effect, to become a school of excellence. His strategy was carefully crafted—a well-thought-out plan aimed at transforming STHS into a place where powerful teaching and learning for ethnically diverse students happened by design rather than by chance. The challenge at Maya Lin came from both teachers and the principal when they refused to accept the status quo and ignore diversity issues because there was no overt interethnic conflict at their school. Teacher Thomas Nguyen listened to and validated the perceptions of students who experienced cultural and ethnic slights and intimidation, tensions that so often precede more violent conflict in schools. Several students at the school took the challenge a step farther. Yet, despite the interethnic relations gains achieved by the early Bridges program, they concluded that a few retreats were not sufficient. Working with teacher leaders, they altered the program so that their role in this effort became one of deeper involvement and commitment to the concept of building bridges of understanding. In recognizing and supporting students' views about diversity and interethnic relations, teachers and administrators demonstrated their leadership skills as well.

Inspiring a Shared Vision

Kouzes and Posner maintain that vision is "an ideal and unique image of the future" (p. 95). Principal Cohen began his tenure at Sojourner Truth communicating his vision that "high expectations plus high standards yields high achievement." Given the evidence of yearly increases in academic achievement during his tenure and the confirming voices of staff and students, this vision has apparently become a shared school vision. The school takes pride in its students' achievement and subsequent college attendance. By contrast, the shared vision at Maya Lin appeared to be a co-creation from the outset—a response by the principal and a group of key teachers to create and sustain a more harmonious

environment for students, one that prevented the interethnic hostility and conflict present in some other schools. This vision was not only shared but also expanded when students asked for and were given more active leadership roles in the school's diversity efforts. Students became perhaps the most powerful transmitters of the school's vision through their involvement in the Bridges retreats, their mentoring activities, and their work with other students and with the school staff.

Enabling Others to Act

"Leadership is a team effort. . . Teamwork, trust and empowerment are essential elements in the leadership efforts" (Kouzes & Posner, 1995, pp. 11–12). In a school the size of STHS, building a strong team of leaders was essential. Principal Cohen enabled and was subsequently supported by a team of talented administrators, teachers, and other support personnel. In interview after interview with key people in the school, it became clear that Cohen was viewed as a central force in this school. His personality, philosophy, intelligence, wit, ethos of care, and drive were widely valued. Notably, no complaints or negative comments about Cohen were offered by anyone we interviewed. This is even more noteworthy given his forceful personality and the high professional expectations he held for those who worked for him. Equally notable, however, was the level of commitment to the school expressed by staff and students. This commitment was accompanied by high levels of involvement in the curriculum, instruction, and extracurricular activities—all of which reflected aspects of personal and professional leadership. Evidently, one of the hallmarks of Cohen's leadership was his ability to create conditions that enabled others to act and to experience success.

Principal Gilbert at Maya Lin kept a much lower profile. He was seen as one who supported and empowered teachers. The school's diversity efforts did not depend on him. Instead, responsibilities and credit for these efforts were shared among many and continued without skipping a beat when he was transferred to another school. At MLHS, teacher leaders engaged their colleagues in supporting and contributing to the school's diversity efforts. These teachers who led for diversity, like many others in this study, used their leadership skills in ways that Barth (1990) envisioned in his appeal to the field of education to tap into the vast resources of teacher leadership in the quest to improve schools. In turn, these teachers empowered students, enabling them to develop their own leadership skills and providing them with a forum in which they could transform their ideals into reality. In essence, they gave their students a productive way to use their energy, idealism, and moral outrage to evoke social change in their own school. The MLHS students who were practicing the leadership skills they learned in the Bridges project actually enabled other students to become more successful. The result of these combined leadership efforts was a series of programs that together created a harmonious working and learning environment for both students and teachers.

Modeling the Way

"Leaders model the way through personal example and dedicated execution" (Kouzes & Posner, 1995, p. 13). In holding himself, first and foremost, to high standards, STHS Principal Cohen modeled the way for others at his school to achieve excellence. By all reports, he worked "insanely hard," and held his cabinet, faculty, staff and students to "extremely high" standards. Cohen further succeeded in transforming STHS into a model school against great—some might say insurmountable—odds. His inner-city students came by and large from poor and minority families, and many had neither appropriate role models, parental support, nor home environments that were conducive to scholarly

pursuits. Yet they succeeded, and their successes were continuing to spiral upward. Like their principal, the students at Sojourner Truth modeled the way to success for successive generations.

At Maya Lin, the notion of creating conditions that empower others to act started with the principal, was enacted by teachers, and resulted in students who felt enough confidence in their own abilities to run retreats for other students and staff members as well as begin a mentoring program on their own. Individuals at all levels within the school modeled the way. Teachers and students modeled an ethos of care for each other as human beings. Their actions and beliefs resulted in a school that went beyond mere tolerance of differences to outward expressions of appreciation and value for ethnic differences.

Encouraging the Heart

Leaders encourage the heart of their constituents to carry on. . . . It's how leaders visibly and behaviorally link rewards with performance. . . . Love—of their products, their services, their constituents, their clients and customers, and their work—may be the best kept leadership secret of all. (Kouzes & Posner, 1995, pp. 13–14)

Principal Cohen genuinely cared about his administrators, staff, teachers, and students. He was frequently seen hugging students and colleagues, and his conversations were sprinkled with terms of endearment and ample praise for members of both groups. Teachers, staff members, and students in turn praised and placed him at the center of the forces that made their school work. They took genuine pride in being either a teacher or student at STHS, a vast inner-city high school that many called a "family." A student's comment, "It is love that makes this place work," was confirmation that the kind of leadership that prevailed at STHS encouraged the heart. The staff and students at Maya Lin exhibited a similar ethic of care and a collegial climate. Teachers at this school confirmed that they truly liked each other as well as their students and noted that they made themselves available to students outside of class time—all activities and beliefs that encourage the heart. Students' reports of feeling welcome and accepted by all, regardless of ethnicity, were similarly the result of leadership that did the same.

CONCLUSION: ADDRESSING RACE/ETHNICITY, CLASS, AND CULTURE IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

Leadership efforts on both these public high school campuses focused on developing structures and programs that enhanced human relationships among ethnically diverse groups. At Sojourner Truth, the emphasis on building relationships through the house structure broke down the huge size of the school into units that created opportunities for personalizing education and empowering diverse student groups. This emphasis also focused attention on expectations and standards that yielded high academic achievement. Other efforts that addressed human relationships involved using staff and support personnel who cared deeply about promoting success for all students in multiple academic and extracurricular activities. At Maya Lin, the student-led retreats of the Building Bridges of Understanding program provided the structure for enhancing human relationships among diverse groups of students. Preparations for International Week events, the Senior/Freshman Mentoring Program, the Freshman Focus class, and Green Circle activities all worked in concert with the Bridges program to develop positive interethnic relationships at the school.

In many ways, the focus on race/ethnicity, class, and culture was less overt at STHS than at MLHS. It was embedded in the very culture of the school, a culture that took pride in successfully sending 95% of its graduates, 98% of whom were students of color, on to college with high levels of financial support. The students at Maya Lin, on the other

hand, did not demonstrate the high academic achievement shown by STHS students; however, this study did not delve into the conditions that resulted in high levels of achievement. This element within schools that lead for diversity merits further inquiry. Notwithstanding, efforts at MLHS were more overtly directed toward creating a climate of understanding among students, parents, and teachers of different ethnicities and cultures through specific programs. Despite their differences, both schools succeeded in creating harmonious multiethnic environments by addressing the two sets of fundamental issues identified by Poplin and Weeres (1992): (a) those related to problems of human relationships and (b) those related to problems of race/ethnicity, class, and culture that students and teachers bring with them to school. In both schools, strategies to address these issues were interconnected in important ways, and both revealed exemplary models of leadership among principals, teachers, and students who led for diversity.

REFERENCES

Barth, R. S. (1990). *Improving schools from within: Teachers, parents, and principals can make a difference.* San Francisco: Jossey–Bass.

Bennis, W., & Nanus, B. (1985). *Leaders: The strategies for taking charge.* New York: Harper & Row.

Berry, B., & Ginsberg, R. (1990). Effective schools, teachers and principals: Today's evidence, tomorrow's prospects. In B. Mitchell & L. L. Cunningham (Eds.), *Educational leadership and changing contexts of families, communities, and schools* (89th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education; pp. 155–183). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Goetz, J., & LeCompte, M. (1984). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research.* Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Griffiths, D. E., Stout, R. T., & Forsyth, P. B. (Eds.). (1988). *Leaders for America's schools: The report and papers of the national commission on excellence in educational administration.* Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Guthrie, J. W. & Reed, R. J. (1986). *Educational administration and policy: Effective leadership for American education.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice–Hall.

Henze, R. (2001). About the Leading for Diversity Research Project. *Journal of Negro Education, 68*(4), 461–465.

Kanter, R. M. (1983). *The change masters: Innovation and entrepreneurship in the American corporation.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Kouzes, J. M., & Posner, B. Z. (1995). *The leadership challenge: How to keep getting extraordinary things done in organizations.* San Francisco: Jossey–Bass.

Kouzes, J. M., & Posner, B. Z. (1999). *Encouraging the heart: A leader's guide to rewarding and recognizing others.* San Francisco: Jossey–Bass.

Lane, J. J., & Walberg, H. (Eds.). (1987). *Effective school leadership: Policy and process.* Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Little, J. W. (1988). Assessing the prospects for teacher leadership. In A. Lieberman (Ed.), *Building a professional culture in schools* (pp. 78–106). New York: Teachers College Press.

Miles, M., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Nahavandi, A. (1997). *The art and science of leadership.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Poplin, M., & Weeres, J. (1992). *Voices from the inside—A report on schooling from inside the classroom: Part one, Naming the problem.* Claremont, CA: Institute for Education in Transformation at The Claremont Graduate School.

Rallis, S. F. (1990). Professional teachers and restructured schools: Leadership challenges. In B. Mitchell & L. L. Cunningham (Eds.), *Educational leadership and changing contexts of families, communities, and schools* (89th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education; pp. 184–209). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Sergiovanni, T. J., & Carver, F. D. (1980). *The new school executive: A theory of administration* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper & Row.