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Centralized reform in the Federal Republic of Germany: educational leadership in Berlin since the reunification of 1990

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Centralized reform in the Federal Republic of Germany:

Educational leadership in Berlin since the reunification of 1990

by

Nanci Lynne Shaw

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty

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Major: Education (Educational Leadership)

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Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

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Graduate College
Iowa State University

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Nanci Lynne Shaw

has met the dissertation requirements of Iowa State University

Signature was redacted for privacy.

Major Professor

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For the Major Program

berlin
mitte ost und mitte west

waren nie versprochen zwilling
waren wohl die brüder
deren älter liebt den jungen
der ihn hasst ein wenig auch.

kamen beide spät in diese welt als der zweite ward geboren
kämpft der erste schon zu schaffen sich
mehr platz und raum im hart gerangel
um die süßen güter dieser welt

die sünd der jugend waren
ein paar große tat sehr viel mehr die kleinen auch
ein wenig sprenkel voll von licht
voll von täglich grau der rest
doch tiefes schwarz die brüder nicht getan
in diesen jungen jahren

als sie dann zu sein erwachsen glaubten
als sie mühsam raum geschaffen für die Menschen
raum zu leben auf je eigne art
als sie wirklich wollten gehen in die welt
wurden sie der hort unmenschlich brauner tat

verloren war das lang und hart gesammelt gut
der mühsam aufgestapelt rest von glück
sie waren un getrennte brüder
konnten grüßen sich des morgens
konnten ruhen dann am abend
konnten weinen auch
doch konnten wirklich sich berühren nicht
war für sie ein böses spiel

nicht zu hässlich war die welt dann schließlich
folgt dem riss der endlos mauer
gab den raum zu setzen fort
was mit der braunen wut die brüder selbst zerstört

bleibt die frage nun wie beide lernen
platz zu nehmen in der welt
ihr zu geben mehr als nehmen
und zu tun versprochen einigkeit

Jürgen van Buer
16 / 09 / 04

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Following the 2004 enactment of centralized educational reform in Berlin, Germany,

school leaders were charged with increased responsibilities and autonomy but with minimal

training, decreased funding, and limited authority – all in the not-so-distant aftermath of the

reunification of 1990. The purpose of this study was to gain understanding of the role and

purpose of educational leadership, the implementation of reform, and the influence of

cultural background from East or West Germany on school leaders in Berlin.

Grounded theory methodology was utilized, conducted through a cultural lens as set

within a particular historical context of Berlin. In-depth interviews were conducted with 13

school leaders of secondary vocational schools, as well as with a university professor, a

government education official, and a German labor *attaché*.

Results indicated differing perceptions depending on background from East or West.

Noted were differences in orientations toward the individual and the collective; cultural

positioning in the marginal East or the dominant West; and perceptions concerning risk-

taking, age, teaching and learning, and power and authority. Impacts affecting *Schulleiter* and

their capacity to implement reform were identified in four general contexts: economic,

political, and social context; global and international context; local school context; and the

context of change itself.

Conclusions concur with previous research, indicating that leadership is culturally

determined; that universal attributes are enacted differently in different contexts; and that

perception directly influences preferences and behaviors. Also identified was that change is

difficult and painful; that values, assumptions, and perceptions are embedded and difficult to

change; and that perceptions and ways of thinking of the dominant are more embedded and

difficult to change than the marginal.

The "double-edged sword" positioning of respondents from the East illuminated the existence of cultural myths in organizations. Leaders are challenged to create environments that acknowledge *culture as complementary*, thereby establishing *cultural organizations* that integrate *cultural consciousness* and *cultural communication*. Only in embracing awareness, respect, and value of all cultures can the concept of organizational culture be deemed truly cultural, thus increasing possibilities for addressing cultural inequities and disparities that exist in the classroom.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The procedure of our mind,
particularly in its more mysterious effects,
can be fathomed only by deep reflection and unceasing observation.
Wilhelm von Humboldt (1793)

Educational reform is interwoven into the very fabric of Germany's philosophy and culture, initiated and enacted through time for the explicit purpose of improving the political and social conditions of the country (Richter, 1945; Rust & Rust, 1995). From Wilhelm von Humboldt's revitalization of neo-humanism and establishment of the classical *Gymnasium*, to Prussia's introduction of the first centralized system of education, to the innovative dual system of vocational training, a "wide range of attempts at rethinking education from an equally wide range of disciplines" (Munzel, 1999, p. 247) has made school reform in Germany virtually inescapable (Phillips, 2000; Popkewitz, 2000).

Although Germany's educational system is imbedded in a history of reform and upheaval, from rebuilding after two world wars to restructuring a divided country, it has managed to repeatedly earn back its reputation for high standards and quality schooling. But with the turn of the 21st century came a series of events that threatened the quality of Germany's educational system, thus spurring entrance into a new era of reform; a reality of unprecedented federal involvement; a reality of standards, assessments, mandates, and competition; a reality of change and reform arising in the not-so-distant aftermath of the reunification of 1990.

In comparison with reform movements sweeping the globe since the 1980's, Germany has lagged behind. Changes in education have remained relatively stagnant, perhaps due to repercussions of the reunification (Braakma, June, 1994), perhaps due to

Germany's strong tradition of state centralization, or perhaps due to its highly regarded reputation of schooling (Winter, 2000). Regardless, educational reform was not to become a priority until the turn of the 21st century, when the 16 federal *Länder* states of Germany were influenced by the federal government to decentralize authority over education, thereby increasing the autonomy, accountability, and standards of local schools (Botanni, 2000; McInerney, 2003).

As a result of lingering effects of reuniting a divided city, namely escalating debt and skyrocketing unemployment, Berlin was the last of the *Länder* states to enact revised school legislation in response to the federal call for reform. But early in 2004, as the new Berlin school law was enacted, schools were thrust into a new era of educational reform, bringing unprecedented responsibilities to school leaders and creating yet another delicate balance in the shadows of the reunification, with the dilemma between the centralization and decentralization of education, between the control of the state and the autonomy of schools (Weiler, 1990; Braakama, June, 1994).

Statement of Problem

With enactment of the new school law in 2004, educational leaders in Berlin were charged with the implementation of unprecedented and unfunded reforms, faced with demands for ensuring that "reform not only reaches more widely, but also more deeply into schools to effect and sustain consequential change" (Coburn, 2003, p. 8). The struggles of school leaders have not been so unlike educators involved in reform elsewhere across the globe, but given their experiences and their location, there was something different. These school leaders had experienced the reunification firsthand, experienced the merging of two

cultures and societies, joined one with the other in common language and heritage but seemingly little else – at least in the beginning.

The new law charged Berlin school leaders with unprecedented responsibilities in newly autonomous schools, with bureaucratic directives handed down from the *Senat für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport* (State Department of Education, Youth, and Sports). The "power gap" situation between state and schools had not appreciatively improved since reunification when schools in the East were restructured to join those of the West. The situation 14 years later indicated continuation of insufficient funding and resources, overloaded classes, and teacher shortages. The new law directed school leaders to carry out increased responsibilities for tasks previously held under state control, with minimal support and guidance, inadequate funding, and insufficient staff development and training, serving as an illustration that "educational reforms do not develop in periods of abundance, but in periods of scarcity" (Weiss & Weisshaupt, 1999, p. 117).

Leadership plays an important role in moving reform efforts forward, particularly regarding the implementation of centralized reform in decentralized schools (Fullan, 2001; Füssel, 2002; Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999). The school leaders involved in this study struggled to assume new responsibilities alongside existing teaching and management tasks, struggling to implement new reforms the cultural context of Berlin – a microcosm of the greater reunited Germany, a city in the midst of economic austerity resulting from the reunification.

<center>Statement of Purpose</center>

Weiler (1990) distinguished three reasons for decentralizing education: the redistribution and sharing of power; the enhancement of efficiency, management, and cost-

effectiveness; and the localization of cultural content and learning. For three interrelated reasons, the relationship between decentralization and centralization could prove problematic:

1. The lack of consensus concerning purpose and objectives

2. The fine line existing between evaluation and control

3. The tendency for evaluation to be used more for legitimacy than for information.

Questions concerning the impacts of reform on school leaders in Berlin came to the forefront, as "both decentralisation and evaluation have to do with the exercise of power and there is always the possibility that the power that decentralisation gives away with one hand, evaluation may take back with the other" (Weiler, 1990, p. 446). The Berlin *Schulgesetz* (school law) enacted in 2004 has afforded increased autonomy to local schools, thus handing over responsibilities for functions previously held under centralized state control. School leaders have been charged with responsibility for personnel and financial management, evaluation and supervision of staff, accountability and school quality. Questions arose concerning the influences impacting school leaders in Berlin charged with implementing centralized reform in a city burdened with economic austerity, high unemployment, and social concerns.

The purpose of this study was to gain understanding of educational leadership and the implementation of reform through the perceptions of school leaders in Berlin in light of their experiences of the reunification of 1990. With regard to this purpose, three research questions surfaced concerning the role of educational leadership and the process of change:

1. What factors do school leaders in Berlin identify as impacting their capacities to implement centralized reform in schools with increased local autonomy?

2. How do school leaders in Berlin perceive the role and purpose of their positions in implementing reform?

3. What influence does cultural background, whether from East or West, have on school leaders in Berlin and on the implementation of educational reform?

The research questions, while focused on educational leadership and reform in the 21st century, were situated in retrospection of the reunification of Germany and were addressed through the experiences of respondents, in light of their retrospections and recollections of a world-changing historical event serving as the inevitable backdrop for this study.

Background Information

It was as if we were in a foreign country,
although we all spoke German, so we cling to old habits.
If one does not always adapt immediately to social circumstances,
then 'good things take time' as the saying goes.
Excerpts from a letter, Berlin 1994
Pritchard, 1999, p. 20

1990: After the Fall

On November 9, 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall prompted outcries of joy and relief from around the globe. But as reverberations quieted down and everyday life emerged, East Germans were left with feelings of loss and bereavement as the very ideals, principles, and rules guiding their lives disappeared and dissolved. In his book on the East German psyche, Helmut Maaz (1992) realized the "painful absurdity of waiting half a lifetime for a Trabant car only to see this aspiration rendered ridiculous by the introduction of the Mercedes economy" (p. 181). The two Germanys had indeed been reunited in a common language, heritage, and history, but not without mixed feelings and uncertain expectations (Weiss & Weisshaupt, 1999).

In October of 1990, nearly a year after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the German

Democratic Republic (GDR East Germany) was legally reunited with the Federal Republic of

Germany (FRG West Germany), with 5 new eastern *Länder* states established to join the 11

existing western *Länder*. The reunification was swift and expedient, with education erupting

as a passionate issue in both East and West. The urgency over what kind of schooling would

characterize the newly formed country took center stage, acting as a microcosm of the

broader social, political, and economic struggles facing the new Germany (Rust & Rust,

1995).

The fall of the Berlin Wall induced an immediate "brain drain" of eastern students

and skilled workers, as more than 2000 people per day abandoned their homeland and its

educational system to migrate West. For those who remained, schools "were a shambles of

disorganization and confusion – and excitement" (Rodden, 2002, p. 178). School leaders tied

to socialist GDR hierarchies were immediately removed from their positions, leaving no

structures of authority in schools. Yet, of great significance was the fact that order and

consistency prevailed, with classes operating as usual and "almost every teacher in East

Germany… at his or her appointed place, ready to conduct school" (Rust & Rust, 1995, p.

120). To the credit of the teachers, schools remained remarkably constant during this time of

upheaval, therefore, acting as a reminder that education stands as one of the most stable

institutions in society (Rust & Rust, 1995).

The joining of the capitalistic, democratic ideology of the West and the Marxist-

Leninist worldview of the East could have offered a very real opportunity for reflective and

historical focus on educational reform (Rust & Rust, 1995). But once the initial period of

reorganization and restructuring had passed, and the urgency to establish a common and

comparable school structure was over, mounting fiscal austerity, as well as escalating social and political pressures, served to hinder further reform efforts for nearly a decade (Pritchard, 2002; Weiss & Weishaupt, 1999).

The reunification of East and West had occurred much as the reunion of two "estranged twins" (Fisherman & Martin, 1987), serving only as a precursor of the decade to come. The realization was apparent that the situation would get worse before it got better, as "high aspirations gave way to dashed expectations," particularly among those in the East (Rodden, 2002, p. 191). Nowhere was this more poignant and prevalent than in the splintered city of Berlin, where remnants of the Wall served as a blatant symbol of the struggle ahead, described by Martin Buber as:

> not between East and West, or communism or capitalism, but between education and propaganda. Education means teaching people to see the reality around them, to understand it for themselves. Propaganda is exactly the opposite. It tells people, "You will think like this, as we want you to think. (cited in Rodden, 2002, pp. 17-18)

1990-2000: Restructuring the Schoolhouse

The fall of the Berlin Wall prompted the final crumbling of the GDR regime in East Germany. The socialist administration disappeared nearly overnight, and the educational administrative structure was no exception. School directors were at the top of the list for termination due to party associations; however, actual dismissals were relatively few with most principals demoted back to the classroom (Pritchard, 2002). Teachers were reassigned and retrained, as well as subjected to "an evaluation process to determine professional and ideological suitability" (Rust & Rust, 1995, p. 178).

Educational infrastructures were reorganized, and new administrative officials and principals were hired, all with remarkable speed and success. Uniform secondary schools in the former East were restructured and differentiated to simulate those in the West, but not without resistance and debate, for "most eastern Germans, both teachers and parents, clearly hoped to maintain a school structure similar to the one with which they were familiar, the polytechnic school model" (Dumas, Dumas, & Lee, 1996, p. 101).

Different decisions emerged across the new eastern *Länder* with regard to varied configurations and names of schools, but all were uniquely representative of the three-tiered differentiated structure of the West (Führ, 1997; Rodden, 2002). As restructured secondary systems began to take shape in the eastern *Länder,* parents more accustomed to uniform schooling and non-selectivity were initially disgruntled by the ability grouping and seeming inflexibility of the three-tiered system of the West (Pritchard, 2002). But soon the realization became clear that options for secondary schooling had drastically increased for students from the former GDR. Access to university increased threefold in the former GDR, as well as the range of vocational school options for students (Rust & Rust, 1995).

The merging of the two educational systems transpired smoothly and swiftly; however, it was not long before disparities in philosophical and pedagogical ideologies began to surface. Differences in thinking between the individual and the collective became increasingly noticeable, and feelings of doubt and ambiguity emerged concerning the economic uncertainties of Westerners and the identity crisis of Easterners (Böttcher & Weishaupt, 1998; Rodden, 2002). The economy in the former East shriveled by more than a third between June and December 1990, with a loss of 1.1 million jobs and 30-60% unemployment. On the other side, though the West German economy was booming,

resentments escalated as realizations grew concerning increased tax burdens and the looming reality of economic obligations to the East (Rodden, 2002).

Those in the new eastern *Länder* were faced with similar realizations, but from a different perspective. Having experienced "the purging of the East German past, the purging of East German identity," people were left feeling more like second-class citizens in the midst of an identity crisis, than free and liberated individuals in a democracy (Rodden, 2002, p. 191). In schools, feelings among eastern teachers were mixed, fluctuating between gratitude for the welcomed freedom and flexibility in curriculum and teaching, to resentment over expectations that assumed and demanded a "high willingness...to change" and become westernized (Weiss & Weishaupt, 1999, p. 114).

To some, reuniting the two Germanys had afforded "an unparalleled view of how the imposition of a comprehensive educational system with new guiding philosophies, goals, curricula, methods, organizational structures, and behavior codes" (Mintrop, 2002, p. 256) served to shape the beliefs, attitudes, and practices – namely, the very culture of a new system. To others, there was no existence of genuine reform at all, but only a repositioning and readjustment of the traditional model, as schools in the East were reshaped and restructured to match those of the West (Wilde, 2002).

But regardless, the urgency to reform the East was accompanied by economic and social issues previously unknown in Germany, issues that continue to affect current social, economic, and education reform initiatives. However, the impetus has changed. Today is less chaotic and more unified than a decade ago, thus affording the possibility of addressing deeper pedagogical and philosophical issues neither feasible nor attainable during the

reunification era. Yet, the reforms of today offer the same real opportunities as those of the past, opportunities for reflection with a historical and philosophical focus.

The 21ˢᵗ Century: A New Era of Reform

The turn of the 21ˢᵗ century brought a new era of educational reform to Germany; an era marked by national attention to school quality, student performance, and accountability; an era accompanied by unprecedented involvement of the federal government (*Die Bundesregierung,* June 13, 2002). Results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2000 acted as both evidence and catalyst for propelling education to the national forefront with regard to policy, pedagogy, and practice.

In 2002, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder declared education the "central social question of the century," thus marking the first time in history for a German head of state to specify education as an issue to the *Bundestag* German Parliament. Schröder's statement reflected the increasing momentum of reform building in Germany since release of the PISA 2000 results comparing academic literacy of students across the globe. Of the 32 nations participating in PISA 2000, German students ranked a below average 21ˢᵗ in reading, 20ᵗʰ in mathematics, and 20ᵗʰ in science, hence indicating serious shortcomings in the educational system and prompting the largest national educational reform movement in German history (Goethe Institute, 2004).

Following the ramifications of PISA 2000, PISA 2003 brought to light deeper social and cultural issues of a more qualitative nature, illuminating wide variances in scores across *Länder* and pointing to inadequacies in the educational system, with failures to accommodate children of socially disadvantaged and ethnic minority backgrounds (OECD, 2004). As a result, new school laws and policies have shifted the focus in education from input control to

output control, thus charging school leaders with increased responsibility for quality and accountability (*Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, 2003).

The reform movement initiated at the turn of the 21st century, however, was much different than the efforts of reorganization and restructuring following the reunification. The primary purpose of structural reforms after the reuniting of East and West was to establish a standardized system with regard to school configuration, curriculum, and teacher qualification requirements. Due to the coordination and cooperation among the *Länder* and the *Kultusministerkonferenz* (*KMK* - Conference of Ministers of Education) federal advisory board, relatively common educational systems were ultimately established across Germany, at least with regard to structure and qualifications, if nothing else (Schratz, 1998).

During the reforms that followed reunification, deeper pedagogical changes in the German educational system had been difficult to enact, despite influences of international reform movements on Germany to move beyond the status quo (Wilde, 2002). For more than a century, the extent of educational reform in Germany had been directly influenced by its historical and cultural context, molded by event after event of upheaval and chaos that forced the locus of reform primarily on rebuilding and restructuring, as was once again the case through the 1990s.

From an international perspective, change in education was slow in coming to Germany, delayed by the urgency to establish a common and comparable school system in the East and the reality of fiscal austerity (Weiss & Weishaupt, 1999). But ultimately, Germany's low ranking on PISA 2000 rekindled a deeper focus on philosophical reform, creating a momentum that impacted the federal government, the *KMK*, the 16 *Länder*, and every school at every level in the Federal Republic of Germany (Goethe Institute, 2004) – in

the shadow of reforms that followed reunification (Ashwill, 2003; *Die Bundesregierung,* June 26, 2002). But this era of reform emerged much differently than in 1990 – particularly in the once divided city of Berlin.

Significance of Study

From a universal and *etic* perspective, this study speaks to the relevance and necessity of increased cultural research in educational administration, as well as to the question of appropriateness in utilizing conceptual and/or theoretical frameworks and practices across cultures. In addition, this study speaks to national educational systems involved in centralized reform, to the borrowing of policy and practice between nations and systems.

From the *emic* and culturally contingent perspective of the local, this study speaks to school leaders involved in reform in increasingly diverse and multicultural schools, addressing the interplay between leadership, organizational culture, and organizational structure in schools, as set within larger societal, national, and global contexts. From a cultural perspective, in consideration of current reform driven by globalization, competition, and centralized evaluation; this study substantively adds to the knowledge base concerning the role and purpose of educational leadership in the implementation of change, the differences in leadership theories and practices across cultures, and the cultural subgroups within organizations.

At the practical level, this study speaks to administrators and teachers, professors and researchers, government administrators and policy makers, and other stakeholders concerned with educational leadership and the process of change concerning the development of educational policies and processes, the effects of globalization and competition, and international and comparative educational research in general. But most importantly, this

study speaks to the relevance of culture and to the cultural context of leadership, not only as related to the greater political, social, and economic forces impacting school leaders, but to the crucial role of school leaders in assuring cultural environments that are inclusive and conducive for all students, for all teachers, for all stakeholders – for all cultures within the school (Hallinger, Walker, & Bajunid, 2005; Hallinger & Leithwood, 2002).

Limitations of Study

A limitation of this study includes philosophical, structural, and pedagogical differences in tradition and culture between the German system of education and those of other countries. Although similarities exist between the current reform movement in Germany and reforms elsewhere, the development of educational structures, processes, and policies cannot be assumed transferable, for cultural differences exist between nations, and cultural context impacts both theory and practice (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Heck, 2002; Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999).

In addition, a limitation of this study was the inclusion of only the perspectives of school leaders, to the exclusion of teachers, students, parents, and other stakeholders. Another limitation concerned the ambiguous nature of the concept of leadership and the difficulty of crossing borders in theory and practice, evidenced by the connotation of *Schulleiter* in Germany that is different from conceptual understandings of school leadership elsewhere in the world. The study of leadership in this study was focused primarily on the perceived, rather than enacted, leadership of respondents, also deemed a limitation of this endeavor.

My background and knowledge in German culture and language, gained from having resided in Germany for 10 years, was deemed an advantage as well as a limitation in this

study. For, although a flexible positionality with a wide cultural lens was afforded, being situated exactly as a national was not possible (Trompenaars & Hamden-Turner, 1998).

Synopsis of Study

The purpose of this study was to gain understanding through the perceptions of school leaders of their experiences in implementing centralized reform, particularly within the cultural context of Berlin and in light of the reunification of 1990. To gain such understanding, this study was set within a conceptual framework of cultural, social, political, economic, and structural influences that shape and impact lived experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In particular, the study focused on how meaning was constructed and how school leaders in Berlin made sense of their worlds, with the primary goal being to uncover and interpret meaning within their cultural contexts (Merriam, 2002).

Situated in the cultural context of Berlin, this study was qualitative in nature and framed within a cultural perspective that afforded broadened understanding and acknowledgment of likenesses and differences within a specific cultural context. The epistemology was constructionist and constructivist in nature, with meaning identified as both individually constructed and socially constructed within the historical and cultural context of either East or West Germany (Vgotsky, 1993). Grounded theory methodology was utilized, with interpretation gained from the data collected and understanding grounded in the perceptions of school leaders in Berlin, in light of their experiences of the reunification of 1990.

Conducted through the auspices of Humboldt University in Berlin, the methods of data collection included in-depth interviews, observations, and the collection of documents, with respondents including 13 school leaders of secondary vocational schools, a university

professor, a government education official, and a German labor *attaché*. In keeping with

grounded theory, data were collected and analyzed through theoretical sampling and constant

comparisons of data; with analysis conducted through processes of open coding, axial

coding, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data were continuously collected and

analyzed according to emerging categories, themes, and multiple relationships among them

(Patton, 2002); with trustworthiness gained through peer debriefing, member checks, and

triangulation of data.

Confidentiality

The respondents in the study were ensured confidentiality in accordance with the

Informed Consent Letter indicated in Appendix B, with anonymity guaranteed. Names and

identities were not utilized or revealed, and audiotapes and electronic mail correspondence

were destroyed after analysis was completed.

Definition of Terms

1. *Abitur* – The rigorous examination required for university admission, offered in

   Gymnasien academic secondary schools, *Gesamtschule* integrated secondary schools, and

   Gymnasiale Oberstufen vocational secondary schools.

2. *Beruf* – Profession, vocation, occupation, or career; one's calling.

3. *Bildung* – The holistic educational, emotional, relational, and cultural development of the

   individual; the essence of schooling in Germany.

4. Centralization – A trend emerging in the 1990s in developed countries around the world,

   driven by public concern over long-term debt and deficit spending in education. Political

   reform initiatives enacted to reduce spending have creating increased pressure on schools

to centralize forces at the local level. The "end of the 'borrow now, pay later' school of public financing" (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999, p. 205).

5. Collectivism - Interdependence with others; the sharing of resources; unconditional emphasis on relatedness and relationships; and in-group goals and behavior based on norms, duties, and obligations.

6. Culture – Shared motives, values, assumptions, beliefs, identities, symbols, interpretations, and perceptions of meanings that result from common experiences of members of collectives transmitted across generations (House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002). "A culture is a changing construction as well as a heritage and an acquisition" (Weiss, 1992, p. 2).

7. Cultural Values – Shared values of individual members in a given culture or collective (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Hofstede, 1980a, 2001). Cultural values "determine what it means to be a person in a particular society" (Erez, 1997, p. 210).

8. Decentralization – Widespread reform initiatives of governments around the world to award parents more direct control over schools, establishing advisory boards and decision-making councils that decentralize education from the hands of the experts. The "end of society's willingness to assign major decision-making authority to professional expertise" (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999, p. 208)

9. Dimensions of Culture – Cultural attributes that distinguish one culture from another, including shared values, assumptions, beliefs, perceptions, and practices.

    Values - aspirations about how things should be done

    Assumptions - truth statements based on values

    Beliefs - perceptions of the way things should be done

Perceptions – lens of the world based on values, assumptions, and beliefs

Practices - the way things are done based on one's perception

10. *Emic* – Attributes or characteristics determined as culturally contingent.

11. *Etic* – Attributes or characteristics determined as universally endorsed

12. Globalization – The acceleration and intensification of interaction and integration among the people, companies, organizations, and governments of different nations (Rothenberg, 2003, p. 3).

13. International mindset - A complex, multidimensional learning process" of integrative, intercultural, interdisciplinary, contextual, and global dimensions of knowledge construction (Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999, p. 504).

14. Individualism – Autonomous and independent behavior apart from the group; relationships based on the rational determination of benefits; goals correlated independently; and behavior based on attitudes, needs, and rights.

15. Leadership - The ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of organizations of which they are members (House, Wright, & Aditya, 1997, p. 548).

16. *Oberstufenzentren* – Large upper secondary (grades 11-13+) vocational centers that house various vocational programs in particular career areas. Programs range from the *Berufschule* dual system with academic schooling and apprenticeship training in companies, to the *Gymnasiale Oberstufe* rigorous academic and vocational program leading to the *Abitur* examination and university admission.

17. Perception – The way one sees the world and draws on intuition and sensing in order to make sense of reality (Bolman & Deal, 2003).

18. Personal vision – The individual perceptual lens through which individuals view their situations within an organization.

19. Positional authority – Legal, structural, and/or perceived power afforded a position to carry out assigned responsibilities, effectively or ineffectively.

20. Power gap or power distance – The extent to which the less powerful members of institutions or organizations expect and accept that power is distributed unequally (Hofstede, 2001, p. 98).

21. *Schulleiter* – School leader in charge of the management and organization of the school. Literally translated as "school manager," the responsibilities and functions of the position are prescribed in detail by law, to include teaching a minimum of six hours per week.

22. Transformational leadership – Leadership that includes the dimensions of vision building, developing consensus toward group goals, providing intellectual stimulation and individual support, culture building, and contingent reward (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999).

23. Vision – A "realistic, credible, attractive future for an organization" (Nanus, 1992, p. 8)

<div align="center">Summary of Study</div>

In Chapter 1, the purpose of this study was introduced, namely to gain understanding of educational leadership and the implementation of reform through the perceptions of school leaders in light of their experiences of the reunification in 1990. In particular, the areas of inquiry included the historical and cultural context of Berlin, the impacts affecting school leaders charged with the implementation of reform, and the role and purpose of school leadership in the process of change.

Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature pertaining to cultural research in

relation to leadership and educational administration; and concerning aspects of educational leadership deemed relevant to reform across cultures, namely those of vision, culture, capacity for change, and sustainability of reform. In addition, a discussion of the historical and cultural context of Germany is included, providing relevant information that informs this study: the philosophy and history of the German educational system, the role and tradition of school leadership in Germany, and the cultural context of Berlin.

In Chapter 3, the theoretical framework, methodology, and methods of data collection and analysis for this qualitative study are explained. The methodology was grounded theory, with the intent to get "out into the field and [find] out what people are doing and thinking" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 11). Chapter 4 includes the presentation, interpretation, and analysis of results, with discussion of relevant themes and issues that emerged from the findings. In particular, the results emerging in this study address the three research questions of this study, namely the historical and cultural context of Berlin in light of the reunification, the impacts identified by school leaders as influencing their capacities to implement reform, and the role and purpose of educational leadership in the process of change. In Chapter 5, the conclusions, implications, and recommendations of this study are offered.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The review of literature in this chapter summarizes the knowledge base and previous

research related to culture, educational leadership, the process of change and reform, and the

cultural context of Berlin. The areas reviewed pertain to the role and purpose of educational

leadership in Germany, the effects of change impacting school leaders charged with

implementing reform, and the historical and cultural context of Berlin since the reunification

of 1990. In particular, due to the cultural context of this study and the focus on educational

leadership in retrospection of a particular era in history, the review of literature deemed

relevant for this study was conducted in three areas:

1. Dimensions of culture

2. Educational leadership and the process of change

3. Education in the Federal Republic of Germany

Dimensions of Culture

To be human here is thus not to be Everyman;
it is to be a particular kind of man, and of course men differ:
"Other fields," the Javanese say, "other grasshoppers."
Clifford Geertz, 1973, p. 53

The first area reviewed for this study included a perusal of cultural research. Because

the study was set in the particular cultural context of Berlin, of relevance was gaining

understanding of the nature of research conducted in a culture other than one's own, as well

as previous leadership studies across cultures. Due to the multidisciplinary approach to this

study, and because minimal research exists in educational leadership, the review of

leadership literature was broad in nature, conducted to gain understanding of the manner in

which culture has been addressed in previous research. The area of culture is divided into four sections: A cultural perspective, cultural research, cultural leadership research, and cultural research in educational leadership.

A Cultural Perspective

Approaches to leadership change and differ depending on cultural context, and considering today's era of globalization, differences within and between countries and cultures cannot be ignored (Hofstede, 1997; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). A cultural perspective offers a broad and inclusive approach that not only lessens ethnocentricity, but also acknowledges cultural specificity and difference (Dimmock & Walker, 2000; Szabo, Reber, Weibler, Brodbeck, & Wunderer, 2001). However, in the area of educational leadership, few researchers have explored the concept from the context of culture for understanding theory and practice (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Hallinger, Walker, & Bajunid, 2005; Hofstede, 2001; Schein, 2004).

National culture came to the forefront in the 1930s with publication of *Patterns of Culture*, as Ruth Benedict (1934) and fellow anthropologist Margaret Mead promoted the message that all societies – modern, ancient, and traditional – face the same basic problems (1966). Likewise, Clifford Geertz (1973), in his analysis and interpretation of the Balinese cockfight, identified the guiding principle of research as the same for all people no matter what the quest, claiming humanity deals with the same universal problems, namely that "societies, like lives, contain their own interpretations. One has only to learn how to gain access to them" (p. 453).

From the anthropological perspective, culture is defined as "patterned ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the

distinctive achievements of human groups, including their body of artifacts...ideas and especially their attached values" (Kluckhorn, 1951, p. 86). As the means by which people "communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life...an ensemble of texts with webs of significance," culture is the interpretive search for "thick descriptions of meaning" (Geertz, 1973, p. 5).

Geertz (1973) viewed cultural context as existence in the same social world where everything else occurs, "in the experiences of individuals and groups of individuals as...they perceive, feel, reason, judge, and act" (p. 405). Analysis from this perspective was not an attempt to configure or define basic structures or differences between cultures, but rather was considered "a searching out of significant symbols, clusters of significant symbols, and clusters of clusters of significant symbols" (p. 408) in the hope of gaining understanding of the human experience.

Psychologist Edward Sapir (2002) considered the meaning of culture to transcend traditional definitions of social refinement, surpassing German *Kultur* and being elevated to *Geist*, the spirit and soul of a culture. Satir claimed that:

> any form of behavior...which cannot be explained as physiologically necessary but can be interpreted in terms of the totality of meanings of a specific group, and which can be shown to be the result of a strictly historical process, is likely to be cultural in essence. (p. 37)

The difficulty arising then in cultural research is not so much the understanding of culture as a distinct problem, but rather "convincing ourselves that it is a real one" (p. 246).

Others more interested in organizations and nations than in anthropological study also affirmed the importance, relevance, and effects of culture. In *Riding the Waves of Culture*,

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) challenged researchers to develop "intercultural competence" that fostered awareness of and respect for cultural differences and systematic understanding of "states of mind," to include one's own as well as others (p. 20). Claiming an intercultural approach requires a continuous process of assigning meaning to actions and objects observed, Trompenaars Hamden-Turner poignantly illustrated the relevance of culture, stating:

> A fish discovers its need for water only when it no longer has it. Our own culture is like water to a fish. It sustains us. We live and breathe through it. What one culture may regard as essential, a certain level of material wealth, for example, may not be so vital to other cultures. (p. 20)

Defining culture as the way groups of people solve problems and reconcile conflict, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) declared that, while the same distinct problems related to time, the environment, and other human beings are shared across cultures, it is the actual solution to those problems that distinguishes one culture from another.

In his book *Cultures Consequences*, Dutch organizational psychologist Geert Hofstede (1980a; 2001) identified culture in terms of specific dimensions manifested as differences in values, defined as the "collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 1), with values determined as "broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (p. 9). Pointing out that societies, organizations, and groups have different ways of preserving and passing on mental programs of values from generation to generation, Hofstede (1980a, 1997, 2001) concurred with other studies that people of different cultures think, feel, and act differently in confronting the same problems. Thus, an awareness of cultural differences in

research lessens ethnocentricity and establishes a "basis for mutual understanding" (1997, p. 4).

Traditions of cultural study and research span disciplines and time, with perspectives ranging from the particular to the universal, with all in search of the effects that culture has on individuals, groups, and nations. Some gain understanding from the anthropological effects on some other construct; while others seek the difference that makes the difference, the dimensions that distinguish one culture from another. All inform theory and practice; all seek understanding of the human experience.

Culture has been defined and labeled by many constructs and processes, from patterned ways of thinking and symbolic artifacts and rituals; to embedded values, behaviors, and heroes; to national characteristics and universal dimensions. For the purposes of this study, culture is considered to include them all: artifacts and rituals, values and behaviors, heroes, orientations, traditions, communication – with political, economic, social, and ideological forces added as well. The focus of this study is sociocultural in nature, with human activities taking place in cultural contexts that include all the constructs defining culture.

A sociocultural perspective includes all that defines culture, including language and values, symbols and rituals, behavior and communication, and more. But cultural constructs, namely enveloped within cultural context, are understood through historical development (Vgotsky, 1993). First applied by Vgotsky in Russia in the 1920s, a sociocultural approach provides a framework for identifying the nature of interdependence between the individual and social processes, for situating the origin of individual development in social sources that are within a specific historical context.

Given the changing course of history that has impacted the cultural and societal

context of Berlin since the reunification, a sociocultural approach was deemed relevant and

appropriate for this study. With the reuniting of Berlin, individuals, particularly in the East,

were situated between two cultural and societal contexts, placed in the position of mediating

between the two contexts as new realities and knowledge bases were constructed. Wertsch

(1994) explained it this way in addressing Vgotsky's contributions to education and

psychology:

> Mediation is the key in his approach to understanding how human mental functioning
>
> is tied to cultural, institutional, and historical settings, since these settings shape and
>
> provide the cultural tools that are mastered by individuals to form this functioning. In
>
> this approach, the mediated means are what might be termed the "carriers" of
>
> sociocultural patterns and knowledge. (p. 204).

For the purposes of this study, therefore, in consideration of the multidisciplinary and

broad nature of the research questions, and with acknowledgement that differences exist

amongst cultures, utilizing a cultural approach with an historical focus afforded opportunity

to seek understanding and meaning within the particular historical and cultural context of

Berlin.

Cultural Research

Culture as a whole is a complex and vast phenomena, approached through varied

theoretical perspectives across vast disciplines. However, minimal research exists in

educational leadership with culture situated as a construct, and the majority of studies that do

exist have focused on universal leadership attributes and values rather than differences of

culture (Hallinger & Leithwood, 2002). In the literature review for this study, therefore,

cultural research was addressed broadly in order to gain a multidisciplinary perspective of cultural research in general, as well as to gain understanding of leadership research in the social sciences and other areas, and to gain understanding of studies that have been conducted in educational administration.

Approaching cultural research from the perspective of cultural dimensions is one commonly-held perspective, as researchers have identified discerning dimensions forming unique social identities of groups and nations (Lytle, Barsness, Tinsley, & Janssens, 1995). From the scientific point of view, Triandis (1993) found that, "all these variations are of little difference. Just as in the physical sciences, we…can concentrate on a few dimensions that are especially important, and ignore the rest" (p. 169). But just what those important dimensions are, and which are most important has not been universally established. Instead, a large variety of culture dimensions have been identified.

Hall (1977, 1989) and Hall and Hall (1990) argued that culture is distinguished by how communication and information is shared and utilized. According to their claim, individuals in high-context cultures such as Japan and the Middle Eastern, Arab, and Mediterranean countries, communicate in messages ridden with deep meaning; while those in low-context countries, such as the United States and the Germanic and Scandinavian countries, exhibit fragmented and alienated exchanges with relatively little involvement with one another.

The framework of Trompenaars (1994) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) are among the more complex and widely known works in human resource development. Based on findings from 15,000 employees across 50 cultures, they reaffirmed the claim of anthropologists, namely defining national culture as the way groups of people

solve problems, with differences between groups lying in solutions to problems, with the way of coming to terms and solving problems deemed to become automatic over time, thus disappearing from consciousness and developing into basic assumptions and values that form the central core of culture.

In their broad survey of national culture, Inkeles and Levinson (1969) identified three basic problems common to all societies, namely those concerning the individual's relation to authority, the conception of self, and ways of dealing with conflict. Building on their work, Hofstede (1980a) was the first to coin "dimensions of culture" as universal components present and interpreted across all cultures. Following the premise that cultural differences lie in values, Hofstede (1980b) claimed the skill needed for gaining a cultural perspective and awareness is to first understand one's own cultural values and then to seek understanding of the values of those with whom one works.

By far, Hofstede's work is the most expansive and recognized research identifying common problems across nations, with large numbers of replications and extensions conducted across varied disciplines in management, business, education, and the social sciences (Søndergaard, 1994). In spite of criticisms pointing to data collected during a particular period in time (1968 and 1972), with a single method and participants from a single organization (IBM), hundreds of replications have confirmed Hofstede's dimensions either fully or partially (House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002; Javidan & House, 2001; Søndergaard, 1994).

Hofstede's (1980a, 2001) five dimensions are manifested as differences in values across cultures, with differences oriented toward one end of a continuum or the other. Combinations of values indicated differences between nations in addressing common

dimensions, for "the culture of a country – or other category of people – is not a combination of properties of the average citizen, nor a modal personality. It is, among other things, a set of likely reactions of citizens with a common mental programming" (1997, p. 112), to include the following dimensions:

1. Power distance – The way people cope with inequalities and inequities in power distribution. In high power distance cultures, people readily accept disparities and hierarchical structures, with power typically centralized in the hands of a few. In contrast, nations with low power distance have more equal distributions of power, with inequalities minimized in decentralized organizations.

2. Individualism versus collectivism – The degree to which people view individual initiative and autonomy or loyalty, tradition, and the collective group as more important.

3. Masculinity versus femininity – How a society handles gender issues, to include the predominance of roles separated by gender, such as "masculine" roles of assertiveness or "feminine" roles regarding societal welfare, relationships, or blended gender roles.

4. Uncertainty avoidance – The extent to which people are threatened by risk and by uncertain or unknown situations.

5. Long-term versus short-term orientation – The extent to which a society approaches goals with a future short-term orientation toward modernity and change, or a past/present orientation based on tradition and sense of purpose (Hofstede 1997, 2001).

With regard to the dimension of individualism versus collectivism, Smith, Dugan, and Trompenaars (1996) found differences in the way individuals work in several East European countries, thus concurring with previous cultural studies indicating replicability in individualism versus collectivism orientation. The major contributions of this study included an enhanced understanding of collectivist orientation indicating specific differences in comparison with individualist orientations.

Triandis and Bhawuk (1997) identified differences between individualism versus collectivism according to four defining dimensions considered universal: the definition of self, the structuring of goals, an emphasis on norms versus attitudes, and a focus on relatedness versus rationality. Collectivist orientations were viewed as more toward interdependence; in-group goals; norms, duties, and obligations; and the unconditional priority of relationships. On the other hand, individualist orientations were viewed as more autonomous and independent; not correlated at all to in-group goals; based on rights, needs, and attitudes; and relationships based on costs and benefits.

In a study of East and West Berliners, Valdin (2001) found that social and cultural factors affected the development of relationships, with individuals from East and West indicating considerable differences with respect to interpretations of mutual trust and close relationships. East Berliners spoke of trust as being able to "reveal all of one's personal behaviors and thinking to a friend," acknowledging a great degree of intimacy associated with the concept of friendship. West Berliners, however, thought otherwise, illustrated by one individual who claimed, "Trust is being convinced that the other person won't cheat you," thus indicating different connotations of trust between East and West Germans (p. 11).

The efforts of researchers in coming to terms with the broad and the particular reflect the dilemma in which culture has traditionally been caught. Should the context of culture in research be to identify proximal relevance within a specific group or community, or should it be to gain opportunities for comparisons between larger numbers of groups or nations? Perhaps here lies the crux of cultural research, the playing field between the universal and the local. Perhaps the real search for meaning, interpretation, and relevance lies deep within close proximities, yet demands acknowledgement and understanding of differences amongst cultures and nations.

Cultural Leadership Research

Differences in leadership across cultures have been well-documented in research; however, what has not been determined is to what extent differences in leadership are attributed to culture, to external political, economic, and international forces; or to in-house organizational impacts (House, Wright, & Aditya, 1997). Theorists focused on culture have tended to focus on differences in cultural entities as accounting for variances in individual behaviors (Hofstede, 1980a, 2001; Kluckhorn, 1951; Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997) and organizational practices (Hall & Hall, 1990; Hofstede, 1980a, 2001; Schein, 2004), rather than focusing on other external or in-house organizational forces (House, Wright, & Aditya, 1997).

Yukl (1998) pointed out that the majority of leadership research over the last half of the 20th century has been conducted in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe, concurring with Hofstede's (1993) claim that "in a global perspective, U.S. management theories contain a number of idiosyncrasies not necessarily shared by management elsewhere, to include a stress on market processes, on the individual, and on managers rather

than workers" (p. 81). Similarly, House (1997), in noting that most prevailing theories of leadership are North American in nature, declared an ethnocentric perspective as prevalent, thus indicating the need for increased awareness and better understanding of how leadership is enacted in various cultures.

Of the hundreds of replications spawned in comparative research by Hofstede's work, the 10 year GLOBE Project (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) headed by House and colleagues (1997, 2002) has been by far the most expansive, with over 160 researchers across 62 countries. The three-phase study interacting the effects of leadership, societal culture, and organizational culture based on Hofstede's (1980a, 2001) cultural dimensions, the GLOBE Project included quantitative as well as qualitative components, adding other dimensions to account for criticisms of Hofstede's earlier work. The purpose of the project was to identify preferences of leadership attributes and behaviors across cultures, identifying universally positive, universally negative, and culturally contingent attributes. Endeavors such as the GLOBE Project have served to bring increased understanding of the relevance of culture across nations, as well as the effects of culture on leadership.

Cultural leadership research has traditionally focused on similarities and differences, with attempts to identify characteristics of leadership as either universal and *etic* or culturally contingent and *emic* (Den Hartog, House, Hanges, & Ruiz-Quintanilla, 1999; Graen, Hui, Wakabayashi, & Wang, 1997; Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999). Culturally *etic* thinking is focused on behaviors or dimensions universal to all cultures; whereas, culturally *emic* thinking focuses on behaviors or dimensions unique to a particular culture. The dilemma for

researchers then lies in identification of *etics* and the *emics* used to define and describe the nature of leadership.

The GLOBE Project serves as a good illustration of the issue between *etic* and *emic*. In identifying positive leadership preferences, the only characteristics and traits indicated as universal across cultures were certain aspects of transformational leadership, namely those of trust and integrity, inspiration and motivation, communication and collaboration (House et al., 2002). However, a follow-up study indicated that while such aspects of transformational leadership were universally selected and were thus *etic*, the actual enactment of those characteristics was on the contrary *emic* and culturally contingent in practice (Dorfman, Hanges, & Brodbeck, 2004). Thus, the importance of distinguishing between *etic* and *emic* thinking in leadership research came to light.

Primary in all research across cultures has been the issue of universality; however, over the past decade, the search for the universal among leadership attributes has declined in lieu of a shift to the redefinition of culture and an "increasing application of the dimensions of culture" (Dickson, Den Hartog, & Mitchelson, 2003, p. 729). Researchers are asking, "Do leaders of organizations in different countries have different characteristics and behaviors, and are the differences due to differences between cultures, and is there a theoretical rationale for expecting the differences?" (p. 729). In short, those involved in leadership research endeavors appear in agreement with Hofstede (1997) concerning the importance of theory and a solidly designed framework in cultural research (Dickson, et al., 2003; Szabo et al., 2001).

For the GLOBE cross-cultural research project, the meaning of organizational leadership was determined by researchers as, "the ability of an individual to influence,

motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of organizations of which they are members" (House, Wright, & Aditya, 1997, p. 548). This culturally endorsed definition of leadership from the GLOBE project was utilized for this study to alleviate misunderstandings and misperceptions in the transference of leadership theories, definitions, and practices across cultural contexts.

Useful for cultural study of leadership, House and colleagues (1997, 2002) developed an integrated theoretical model of four culturally endorsed theoretical perspectives. Given the cultural context of this study, the four theoretical integrated perspectives of this model were deemed relevant, to include implicit leadership theories (Lord & Mayer, 1991), values and beliefs theories of culture (Hofstede, 1980a), implicit motivational theories (McClelland, 1985), and structural contingency theory (Donaldson, 1993).

1. Implicit leadership theory. As identified by Lord and Mayer (1991), implicit theoretical theory claims that individuals have implicit stereotypes, assumptions, beliefs, and perceptions about the attributes and behaviors that distinguish leaders from non-leaders. While similar in specific cultural contexts, the extent to which implicit leadership theories vary within a cultural unit increases the likelihood that leadership influence and acceptance will be constrained, moderated, or facilitated (House, Wright, & Aditya, 1997; House et al., 2002).

2. Values and beliefs theories. Approaches based on values assert that behavior of individuals is typically congruent with values endorsed by members of a particular culture or nation. Hofstede (1980a, 2001), the most widely cited researcher of organizational behavior across cultures, declared five universal dimensions of culture based on values: power distance, individualism versus

collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, uncertainty avoidance, and future

versus past orientation.

3. Implicit motivational theories. McClelland (1985) linked achievement motivation

to economic growth through the setting of challenging goals, risk-taking,

persistence, and feedback; thus advocating leaders could transform a society by

linking high achievement expectations with motivation. This achievement-

orientation of society appeared to make its way into the educational realm, as

motivation was determined an aspect of transformational leadership and an

impetus behind high student achievement (Leithwood & Hallinger, 2002).

4. Structural contingency theory. The contingency theoretical framework initiated by

Donaldson (1983) consisted of four contingencies deemed to effect organizational

form, namely those of strategy, size, technology, and environment. For effective

performance, organizational structure adapted to these four contingencies

promoted organizational flexibility or inflexibility, short-term and long-term

integration and planning, and the assumption of resources as predictors.

The universally endorsed model of integrated leadership advocated by House and

colleagues (2002), illustrated in Figure 1, combines implicit leadership theory (Lord &

Mayer, 1991), values/belief theory of culture (Hofstede, 1980a), implicit motivational theory

(McClelland, 1985), and structural contingency theory (Donaldson, 1993); illustrating

specific societal and organizational culture to be predictive of leader attributes and behaviors

and vice versa.

Thus, this model demonstrates the interplay between societal culture, organizational

culture, leadership attributes and behaviors, strategic organizational contingencies, and

culturally endorsed theories. Effective leadership is depicted in accordance with societal and

organizational values, norms, practices, and contingencies. Indicated, therefore, is the notion

that if incongruence exists between the organization and leadership, especially with added

impacts of inadequate resources and lack of strategic coordination, there is great risk for

organizational ineffectiveness (House et al., 1997).
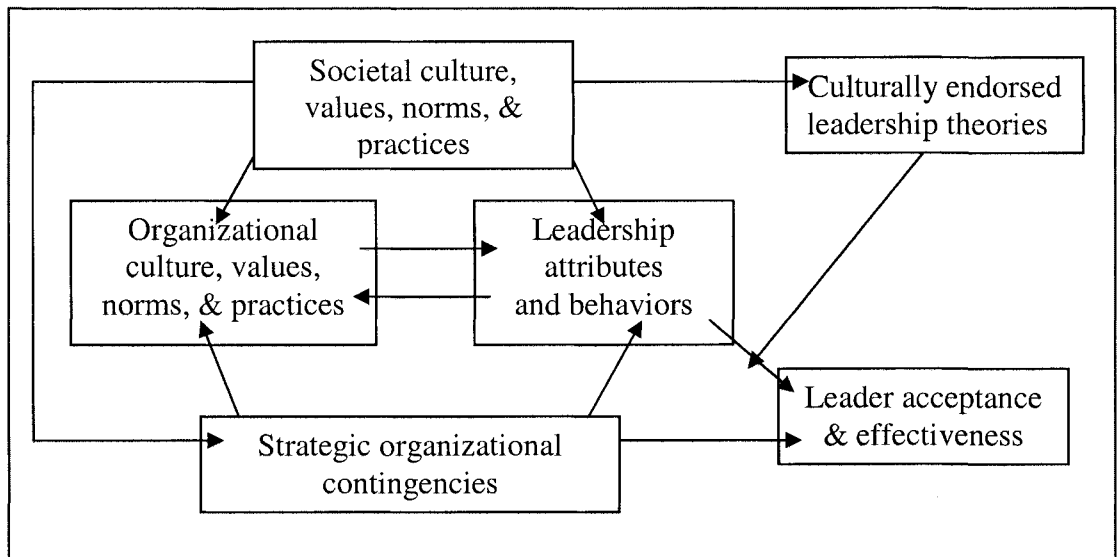
Figure 1: Integrated Culturally Endorsed Model of Leadership
(House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002)

The integrated model of leadership proposed by House and colleagues (2002), while

affording specificity for culturally specific values, norms, practices, and leadership, does not

allow for societal or organizational in-cultural differences in values, norms, and practices;

nor does the model address organizational processes such as decision-making,

communication, motivation, problem-solving, and other relational aspects involved in the

implementation of change.

In studies emerging from the GLOBE Project, findings indicated attention to

interpersonal acumen and relational characteristics as preferred leadership attributes across

cultures (Dickson et al., 2003). Likewise, in considering the universality of social intelligence and the interpersonal ability of leaders to decipher underlying motives and intentions, Aditya and House (2002) found different leadership theories across different societies to have characteristics in common concerning interpersonal and relational wisdom. Similarly, Javidan and House (2001) argued the necessity for global leaders to have cultural intelligence and sensitivity for cultural differences, indicating the need for awareness of the different communication styles across cultures. Clark and Matze (1999), in their model of relationship competence, claimed that the ability of individuals or organizations to effectively and appropriately manage relationships across and within diverse cultural settings is central to leadership.

Other studies have replicated the GLOBE Project in geographically specific areas. For example, Brodbeck and Frese (2004), in their study of leadership preferences between individuals from West Germany and the former East Germany, indicated that East Germans perceived status consciousness, procedural conduct, and administrative skill as most essential for facilitative leadership. West Germans, on the other hand, identified high-transparency, participative leadership, and interpersonal responsibility carried out in team settings and social relationships as most important.

In another follow-up to the GLOBE Project, Szabo and colleagues (2002) found the value and practice of participatory and democratic leadership at different levels in different Germanic countries, thus implicating that "people can indeed slowly be led to participation by systems and institutions containing built-in participatory elements. The researchers claimed, with regard to the differing processes enacted across different cultures, "The

outcome is the same, whereas the process toward the outcome was very different indeed" (p. 67).

As of yet, no consensually established definition of leadership has been agreed upon by scholars, with definitions varying in areas of emphases, orientations, and interests (Bass, 1985; Bolman & Deal, 2003; Leithwood et al., 1996, 2002; Yukl, 1998). But the realization that transformational leadership, at least in terms of integrity, charisma, inspiration, and vision, universally endorsed as a reflection of outstanding leadership, has proven encouraging to researchers (Den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 2002). Leadership and culture are not static, but are indeed dynamic and continually evolving phenomena, and leadership research within a cultural context "will continue to matter, and leaders will continue to face unexpected challenges when confronting cultural resistance" (Dickson et al., 2003, p. 759).

Since the early 1980s, there has been an increase in leadership research in cultural contexts within the social sciences, evidenced by increases in literature devoted to the topic (Earley & Erez, 1997; Hofstede, 1980a, 1993; House et al., 1997). As global leadership research endeavors address leadership in the cultural arena, one cannot help but speculate the appropriateness, relevance, and applicability of such studies for education, particularly in light of the ever-increasing diversity and multicultural pluralism of schools and the ever-increasing need for global awareness and understanding.

Cultural Research in Educational Leadership

In the late 1980s while reviewing the state of comparative study in educational administration, Hughes (1988) bluntly described the field as "zero base" (p. 655). Early United States pioneers in educational administration such as Bobbitt, Cubberley, and Strayer

had "bequeathed no legacies to develop a comparative perspective" (p. 655), for as Hughes claimed:

> The early practitioner-scholars and those who came after them appear to have been almost exclusively concerned with the specifics of educational administrative procedures and practices in their own local context. There is little evidence of interest, even in the United States, in making comparisons between different modes and structures for providing education. (p. 656)

During the 1950s and 1960s, the theoretical movement in educational leadership progressed, prompted by sociological methods of inquiry for exploring schools as social systems (Owens, 2001). With the establishment of the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) in 1954, university graduate programs in educational administration reflected the influence of the social sciences, particularly those of economics, sociology, psychology, and political science, in terms of the relevance of organizational research. However, the movement "appeared to have no interest in developing a comparative dimension" (Dimmock & Walker, 1998, p. 382).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, attempts were made to establish academic interchanges between scholars of educational leadership in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia through conferences and journals. Though relatively superficial, such events served to promote an awareness concerning a lack of comparable theoretical frameworks and concepts in educational administration. This, along with heavy reliance on traditional quantitative methodology, stood in the way of advancing comparative research in educational policy and administration (Dimmock & Walker, 1998).

In the 1980s, trends in cross-cultural research began to shift to socio-cultural approaches and interpretive qualitative methodologies, integrating into comparative studies of business management, psychology, and the social sciences (Hall, 1989; Hofstede, 1980a; Redding, 1994). Interest and growth in comparative research from a cultural context continued to escalate in other disciplines, driven by economic considerations, diverse markets, multinational organizations, and overall general globalization. The resulting knowledge base and gains in understanding, however, failed to transfer to educational administration (Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996).

Cultural research in educational leadership has been slow to take hold. The start of a knowledge base in 1995 resulted from three major trends: the "increased attention to ethics and values, the social context of schooling, and the craft dimensions of the profession" (Murphy, 1995, p. 67). Yet, despite these trends, the real driving force of cross-cultural research more realistically appeared to be the effects of globalization, international comparison testing, standards and accountability measures, competition, and the borrowing of educational policy between countries (Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Phillips, 2000).

Bray and Thomas (1995) pointed out that national studies have tended to over-generalize without accounting for local or regional differences, thereby indicating the need to consider all cultural levels: organization, regional, and national. Likewise, Dimmock and Walker (1998), Hallinger and Leithwood (1996), and Paige and Mestenhauser (1999) have declared cross-cultural research in educational leadership as worthwhile and necessary. Identifying the naivety of ignoring culture in the adoption of educational policy and practice, Dimmock and Walker (1998) affirmed that awareness in policy borrowing has been absent, with knowledge of culture lacking for constituting:

the receptive conditions, the situational context, and the host system into which any reform or change in policy, practice, or behavior is introduced. At all stages, but particularly at the crucial stage of implementation, culture plays a key part in determining the receptivity of the system to new initiatives. (p. 390)

Considering the focus on school culture over the past decade, minimal attention has been paid to the concept of borrowing by educational policy makers, much less to the research behind it (Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999). Policies and theories developed in one discipline or nation were borrowed and transferred *carte blanche* to other disciplines or nations, with no accounting for differences in culture and context (Dimmock & Walker, 1998).

Two criticisms have arisen concerning current comparative work in educational leadership. In studies identifying social and cultural differences between Western and Asian learners and leaders as important, researchers found that undue focus was placed on effective practice, with minimal attention paid to cultural context and conditions (Hallinger et al., 2005; Lam, 2002; Su, Adams, & Mininberg, 2003). Thus, cultural and contextual differences significantly affecting leadership and organizational preference and practice have been largely ignored (Hofstede, 2001, House et al., 2002).

The second criticism concerns the reliance of comparative researchers on single-level analysis, noted by Bray and Thomas (1995) as resulting in "unbalanced and incomplete perspectives" through lack of an international dimension (p. 472). Researchers determined the study of school leadership across cultural settings to broaden and deepen understandings of how cultural context impacts theory and practice of school administration (Dimmock &

Walker, 1998; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Heck, 2002; Hofstede, 2001; Paige &

Mestenhauser, 1999).

Yet, despite the fact that organizational culture has been widely acknowledged in

educational literature (Bolman & Deal, 2003, Fullan, 2001; Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach,

1999), a strong cross-cultural body of research in educational leadership has failed to emerge

(Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Heck, 2002). The outlook, however, is encouraging, evidenced

by the Second International Handbook of Educational Leadership and Administration

(Leithwood & Hallinger, 2002) indicating expansion of the knowledge base in school

leadership, as well as a wider inclusion of global perspectives and international studies.

Comparative research in educational leadership can benefit from decades of study in

other fields and disciplines, areas such as psychology, sociology, economics, anthropology,

and business, for researchers in these fields have confronted similar problems (Dimmock &

Walker, 1998). Redding (1994) claimed that in the area of comparative research, there is a

general agreement among researchers that methodology is moving away from quantitative

analytic approaches toward more qualitative interpretive approaches.

Within a cultural context, the possibility exists of describing leadership according to

culturally contingent differences and similarities; however, Heck (2002) challenged this

option, advocating instead that culture be viewed as a focal point for influencing school

leadership. Graen and colleagues (1997) and Paige and Mestenhauser (1999) determined that

developing theory with culture at the center allows for defining leadership according to

norms, values, and traditions; thus allowing the identification of aspects of leadership that

"travel across cultural settings" (p. 91) and those that do not.

Historically, there has been little theory to connect the nature of education and leadership across cultures, much less to inform an awareness of how economic, social, and demographic issues with which schools are confronted might affect or be affected by school leadership (Heck, 2002). Researchers have only in the last decade begun to position leadership within a larger socio-cultural context, revisiting Getzels' (1963) model that places leadership within a dynamic relationship between the organization and the larger social system (Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996); however, the number of studies examining the impact of societal culture on leadership remains small. Cultural studies in educational leadership have largely focused on traits and attributes, with relatively minimal regard for the larger socio-cultural context that influences and shapes the culture of the school and the dynamics of those within it. Hallinger and Leithwood (1996) identified the need to examine leadership within a framework of societal culture, stating:

> Normally we operate without an awareness of our own culture – that is, 'just the way we do things around here.' Consequently, our theories typically make little or no reference to the cultural context in which leaders work. A cultural context exists, but our 'acculturated lens' blinds us to its effect. (p. 106)

The conceptualization of educational leadership has evolved over the last 20 years, with the knowledge base upon which it has been based under continuous challenge and critique (Murphy, 1995). In recent years, feminist scholars and critical theorists have offered new lenses for administrative paradigms that have challenged the "one best way" approach (Blount, 1998; Brunner, 1999; Grogan & Andrews, 2002). However, in consideration of today's multiethnic, multicultural, and multinational schools, perhaps educational leadership

research that places culture at the center is the next step for ensuring the inclusion and voice

of all cultures (Hallinger et al., 2005).

Educational Leadership and the Process of Change

There are almost as many different definitions of leadership
as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept.
Stogdill, 1974, p. 259

The second area of literature reviewed for this study pertained to educational

leadership as related processes or concepts to schools relevant to educational reform in

schools across the globe. Because this study was set in a specific cultural context, literature

included research conducted across various nations to lessen ethnocentricity and expand

perspectives. Within the area of educational leadership and the process of change, four

processes or concepts were addressed: A vision for change, organizational culture, a capacity

for change, the sustainability of change, and pitfalls and perceptions.

Leadership has long been linked with vision and culture in relation to the process of

change (Bass, 1985; Bolman & Deal, 2004; Leithwood et al.,1999; Senge, 1990). In re-

thinking leadership and the process of change for the 21st century, Davies (2002) identified

six changes with which school leaders are confronted: economic and societal issues,

education as a business, autonomy and decentralization, impacts of technology, use and

misuse of information, and educational reform. Change in schools is inevitable, crossing

borders the world over and effecting school leaders around the globe, with leaders faced with

developing new insights and approaches for "leading in a culture of change" (Fullan, 2001).

Leithwood, Leonard, and Sharratt (1998) and Portin (1998) identified a close link

between leadership, organizational culture, and structure in implementing reform in schools.

Lam (2002) claimed that leadership, culture, and organizational structure is more influential

than any other environmental and contextual factors for promoting change, thus identifying

the critical role of leadership in reform. Calabrese (2003) declared the necessity of school

leaders involved in change to promote cultures focused on achievement, commitment,

cooperation, mentoring, ethical change, and internal harmony through consideration of five

basic questions:

1. Can change be controlled or managed?

2. Is change inevitable?

3. How do leaders manage people who resist change?

4. How do leaders create an environment in which organizational members

   embrace change?

5. How do leaders assist others to cope with the uncertainty of change?

Educational leadership has been in the midst of change for over three decades, with

trends aimed toward such reforms as school-based management, increased political and

social demands, changes in leadership paradigms, decentralization of government authority,

privatization and competition of schools, increased accountability of teaching and learning,

and cultural and technological changes. The role of educational leadership, therefore, has

been at the forefront, instrumental in facilitating the process of change with regard to

concepts and perceptions concerning leadership vision for change, leadership capacity, and

the sustainability of reform.

Vision for Change

The notion of visionary leadership was first introduced in the 1980s with the concept

of transformational leadership, identified as the manner in which leaders exert influence in

organizations based upon underlying values and ways of viewing the world (Bass, 1985; Leithwood, 1994). The power of personal vision was found to impact not only behavior, but also to energize and motivate others, and was thus claimed to be an inspirational catalyst for transformation and change (Hallinger & Heck 2002; Bolman & Deal, 2003). Charisma, the most recognized component, was identified as the inspirational aspect of leadership vision involved in change (Leithwood et al., 1998).

Other researchers found additional aspects of leadership linked with vision, to include expertise in problem-solving and decision-making (Hallinger, Leithwood & Murphy, 1993), with leadership the underlying role of vision in organizational learning (Leithwood et al., 1999; Senge, 1990). Claimed most important during periods of rapid change, vision has been determined to be an underlying condition for the change process (Fullan, 2001; Senge, 1990). Deemed particularly essential in rapidly changing environments, Hallinger and Heck (2002) claimed:

> that in the future principals and other school leaders will need to focus at least as much attention outside the schoolhouse as inside. School leaders must be able to discern emerging trends in the environment and link these future possibilities with past traditions within their organizations. (p. 11)

In other studies, personal vision was determined to impact such constructs as school improvement (Hill & Rowe, 1996) and organizational culture (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Leithwood et al., 1999). From the concept of personal vision emerged the notion of shared vision, identified as the commitment gained through group membership motivation aimed toward shared goals (Drucker, 1995; Bolman & Deal, 2003). According to Hallinger and

Heck (2002), shared vision has been the benchmark of school effectiveness and improvement literature for the past two decades.

The motivation inherent in shared vision has been determined to originate from various sources, to include the personal vision of the individual leader (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Bolman & Deal, 2003), the community of participants (Fullan, 2001), the source of school goals (Barth, 1990), the school culture (Leithwood et al., 1999; Fullan, 2001), and common activities (Crandall, Eiseman, & Louis, 1986). Bolman and Deal (2003) claimed that "leadership is a two-way street. No amount of charisma or rhetoric skill can sell a vision that reflects only the leader's values and needs" (p. 361).

Shared vision has long been linked with mission, commitment, and change in effective organizations (Bass, 1985; Bolman & Deal, 2003; Fullan, 2001; Leithwood et al., 1999; Senge, 1990). Hallinger and Leithwood (1996) found that establishing a clear mission was the primary avenue of leadership influence, with the key role of vision in connection to mission and goal setting supported in other studies (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Fullan, 2001; Leithwood, 1994). However, researchers have not yet been able to clearly distinguish between the concepts of vision, mission, and goals (Hallinger & Heck, 2002).

Organizational Culture

Culture is manifested through values held individually and collectively, brought to life by symbols, rituals, and heroes that reflect the values of the dominant culture. Asking individuals to describe the qualities of a good leader, their cultural hero, is a way of asking them to describe their culture. Thus, leaders are builders of culture and creators of shared values and beliefs (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Hofstede, 2001). Burns (1978) illustrated leadership as culture builder in his distinction between transactional and transformational

leadership, separating what leadership "does" from what leadership is "for." According to

Burns, transactional leadership involves the performance of necessary activities and duties,

while transformational leadership involves the ethical aspirations of both the leader and the

led, thus implying the building of culture based on the shared values of those involved.

Every group, organization, and nation has a culture, whether intended or not, that

once established tends to be very stable and difficult to change (Hofstede, 1997). Embedded

values and meanings emerge as cultural symbols, becoming part of the cyclical phenomenon,

triggering mutual expectations that in turn serve to define culture. Cheng (1995) and

Hallinger and Leithwood (1996) deemed an understanding of organizational culture as

essential for gaining conceptualization of educational administration and for expanding the

vision of administrative practice.

Bolman and Deal (2003) identified culture as "a powerful form of organizational

glue," the distinct beliefs, values, practices, and symbols that shape effective organizations

(p. 249). The notion of school culture as a unified entity received criticism for the exclusion

of inevitable subcultures in complex organizations and for the lack of acknowledgement of

broader societal and cultural influences (Dimmock & Walker, 1998). Researchers determined

that organizational and cultural perspectives of school culture unite people around shared

values and beliefs grounded in the underlying community, with societal and cultural values

acting as the foundation and influence, either positive or negative, for what goes on behind

schoolhouse doors (Cheng, 1995; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Lam, 2002).

Cheng (1995) argued that, just as corporate and business organizations identify with

different national compositions of culture, it is difficult to conceive that schools, which are

also organizations, should be seen as separate from the larger culture. Dimmock and Walker

(2000) expanded on this concept, placing leadership at the core of organizational culture,

surrounded by community and regional culture and the broader societal culture, thus

providing "a wider rather than a narrower perspective...incorporating school leadership,

organizational structures, and management...in holistic and contextualized accounts" (p.

143), as indicated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Structural Framework for Cross-Cultural Comparison in Educational Leadership and Management
Dimmock & Walker (2000)
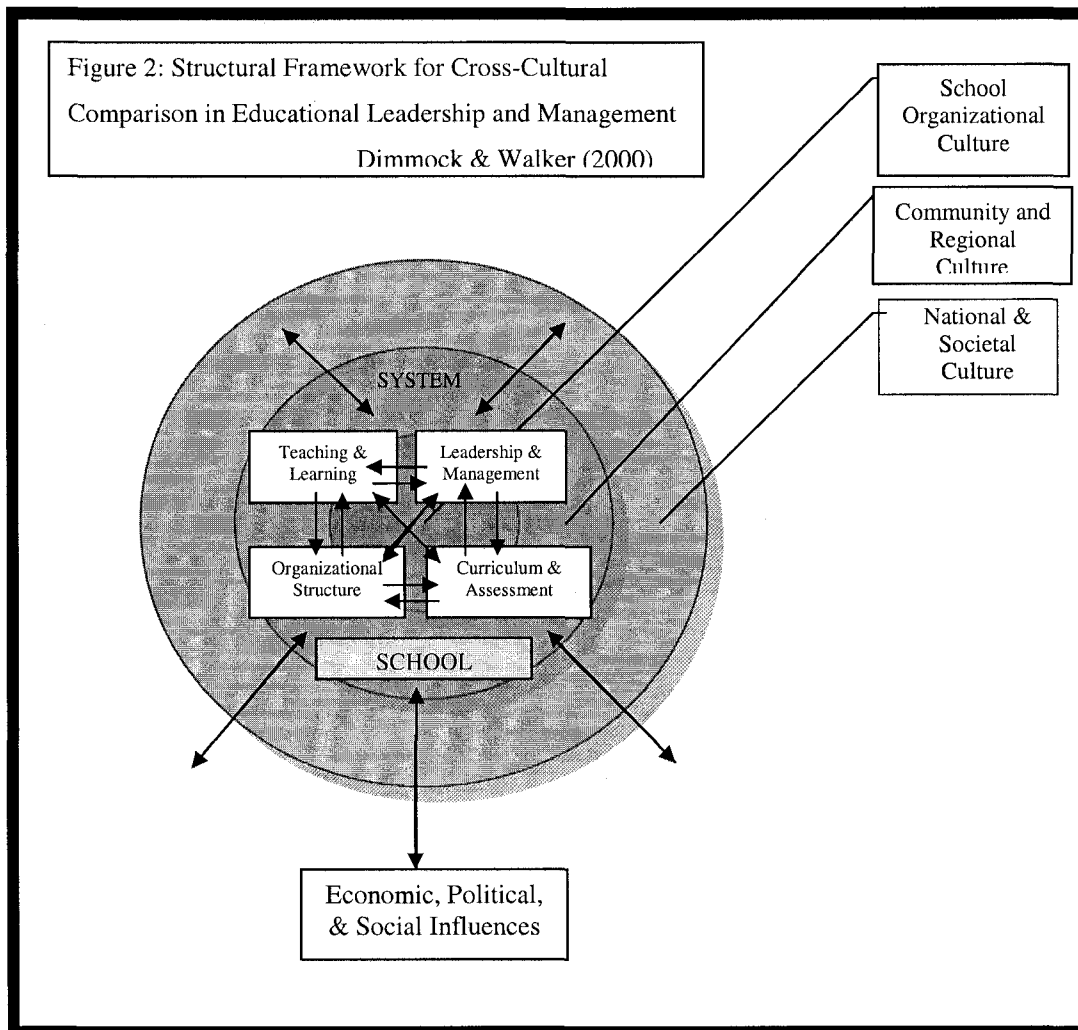
Leithwood et al., 1998) identified the importance of structure in organizational

culture, with structural constructs and processes either hindering or encouraging learning and

effectiveness, to include roles and networks of relationships within the system. The rigidity

or flexibility of the organizational structure as related to instruction, curriculum, and

professional development was found to affect the very culture, learning, and collaboration (or

lack thereof) within the organizational system. Thus, the importance of school leadership in

promoting positive school culture through optimal organizational structure was brought to

light.

Building organizational culture was identified as a collective endeavor requiring both

collaboration and inclusiveness (Little, 2001), with the role of leadership deemed essential

for ensuring the inclusion of student voice for greater democratic input (Fielding, 2001;

Levin, 2000). In consideration of culture, Shields (2002) declared that "no one is

exempt...[for]...despite the common misconception that only visible minority groups 'have'

culture, no individual, organization, or society is culture-free" (p. 234). Specifying that

schools teach culture whether intended or not, Shields further claimed it is the role of school

leaders to make explicit "the nature of the dominant culture as well as to help the school

community to identify and find ways to include cultures that tend to be marginalized" (p.

234).

Capacity for Change

School leadership has been deemed to hold a strategic position in school reform

across the globe (Bush & Jackson, 2002; Portin, 1998). Though the impacts of leadership are

indirect and difficult to measure, researchers have claimed that leadership effects student

learning second to curriculum and instruction (Hallinger & Heck, 2002; Huber, 2004;

Leithwood & Hallinger, 2002). However, contributing to the complexity of the relationship

between leadership and learning, were realizations identified by Dimmock and Walker

(2000), namely that school leadership takes different forms in different contexts and that dominant leadership policies, theories, and practices have been derived largely from business management and from Anglo-American initiatives. The concept of educational leadership, therefore, has been an ambiguous concept to grasp, in theory and in practice, in a form that can be globally and consistently applied to all contexts, cultures, and schools (Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999).

Nevertheless, the reframing of educational leadership has become a focal point for measuring school effectiveness and school improvement. In some contexts, the concept of leadership has been reframed as moral and service-oriented (Sergiovanni, 1992) and visionary and credible (Fullan, 2001) aimed toward the development of leadership capacities, thus representing a shift in the way leadership was perceived in the past (Portin, 1998). Mullen and colleagues (2002) identified six capacities essential for leadership preparation: organization capacity, managerial coordination capacity, systemic mentoring capacity, collaborative leadership capacity, democratic leadership capacity, and ethical leadership capacity.

Of particular relevance to the German educational system has been the notion of democratic leadership and the question of whether it denotes a leadership trait, a leadership process, a leadership function, or a leadership structure. Glickman (1998) identified the notion of democratic leadership capacity as democratic pedagogy viewing reform as participatory and community-oriented learning of stakeholders; Sergiovanni (1998) claimed pedagogical leadership values human capital and community building more than economic prosperity; and Mullen and Graves (2000) identified democratic accountability as

strengthening cohesion and performance by negotiating conflict between democracy and accountability.

Murphy (2002) expanded on this notion, drawing on three metaphors to illustrate democratic leaders as moral stewards, educators, and community builders, offering a new paradigm fusing "together the powerful constructs of school improvement, social justice, and democratic community" (p. 189). Democratic leadership, therefore, has been found to fall under one umbrella of shared leadership, shared vision, and shared support (Huffman & Hipp, 2000; Portin, 1998), similar to the distributed and shared leadership structure built into German schools by tradition and by law.

Dubs (1996), also emphasizing the importance of democratic and collaborative distributed leadership, identified the necessity that one leader be designated responsible for structuring and controlling processes of management and leadership. His notion of shared and situation-based leadership allowed for the necessary ebb and flow between single and participatory decision-making, based on context and circumstances. According to Dubs, the principal is responsible for continuous leadership that:

1. Develops collegial rather than bureaucratic structures in the organization based on a common educational purpose with shared vision and mission.

2. Provides school management that instructs only if necessary, otherwise encouraging others in decision-making.

3. Promotes professionalism and the internal development of individuals and the organization.

Like Dubs, Lambert (2003) suggested the key for successful leadership lies in shifting the focus from the individual to the school community, thus distributing the process of

leadership across the school, with all deeply involved in the development of mutual learning, participatory decision-making, and collaborative and collective responsibility. The community learns to be engaged in a shared vision where leadership is "everyone's work" (Lambert, 2003, p. 40).

Dimmock and Walker (2004) have suggested that vision is not enough, advocating "strategic leadership" for addressing schools as organizations, including how schools function and what enables change. Advocating Boisot's notion of "strategic intent" in lieu of "strategic planning" (p. 45), Dimmock and Walker claimed that a highly turbulent environment is assumed that commands high levels of understanding on the part of the school organization. Strategic intent connects leadership with school improvement and reform through backward and forward mapping in values driven, learning-focused, and culturally contextual organizational designs relevant for diverse communities.

Portin (1998) identified the need to reconceptualize distributive leadership in implementing successful school reform, claiming the necessity to build capacity for principals and maintain teaching and learning as central. Claiming that "leadership of schools holds a strategic position in many nations" (p. 381), Portin declared that school leaders are faced with a growing tension concerning the following questions:

1. What are the apparent changes and stresses in administrative roles?

2. What is the impact of those changes?

3. What purposeful solutions and insights for school leaders are suggested?

Sustainability of Change

Of concern for school leaders tasked with the implementation of reform is how to ensure processes of change that will last over the long haul, bringing to mind the notion of sustainability (Coburn, 2003). Hargreaves and Fink (2003) have stated that "educational change is rarely easy, always hard to justify, and almost impossible to sustain" (p. 693), arguing that "sustainability does not simply mean whether something can last but rather addresses how particular initiatives can be developed without compromising the development of others in the surrounding environment, now and in the future" (2000, p. 30).

According to Hargreaves and Fink (2003), leading for sustainability involves integrated and holistic ways of thinking that place the student at the center with "everyone else's learning directed toward supporting student learning" (p. 695), calling for distributed and collaborative leadership "based on learning, inquiry, and problem solving" and comprised of "networks of relationships of people, structures, and cultures" from both within and across organizational boundaries (p. 696).

Lambert (2003) identified leadership required for sustainable reform as the development of "broad-based, skillful participation in the work of leadership...learning and instructional leadership become fused into professional practice" (p. 38), identifying common elements of successful schools undergoing sustainable school improvement as the following:

1. Principals, parents, students, and parents participating as mutual learners and leaders in study task groups, action research teams, vertical and horizontal departments, and learning-focused staff meetings.

2. Research-based inquiry as information that guides decisions and practice.

3. Roles and actions reflecting broad involvement, collaboration, and collective responsibility.

4. Reflective practice consistently leading to innovation.

5. Student achievement that is high or steadily improving.

Critical elements identified as essential for promoting and sustaining viable change in schools include broad involvement and investment of a diverse community of learners, planning and practice based on research and data-based inquiry, provision of ample resources and funding, and continuous and consistent collaboration and reflexivity. Educational systems across the globe involved in the process of reform can only benefit from taking notice of initiatives and practices occurring elsewhere, not only in terms of likenesses and differences, but to gain awareness of new possibilities and successes, for as Fowler (1995) pointed out:

> No nation's educational system developed in splendid isolation from the rest of the world...it is not possible to understand the educational policy ideas which circulate in...one's own nation without also understanding what is happening in the international political arena. (p. 90)

Of relevance to leadership and the process of change is the large-scale National Literacy and Numeracy Reform initiative implemented in the United Kingdom in 1997. From the onset, two specific priorities were highlighted in this massive national project, namely increased funding for schools and leadership. In evaluating the UK initiative, Leithwood, Jantzi, Earl, Watson, Levin, and Fullan (2004) identified leadership as most strategic to its success, leadership laterally distributed within a complementary vertical structure that is flexible over time and focused on direction-setting practices. Dependent on interactive

relationships across levels, such leadership focuses on transformational practices for the purpose of "developing people" and "redesigning the organization" (pp. 75-76).

Change is unpredictable, difficult to manage, and slow to take hold (Fullan, 2001). Some researchers found the structural-functional approach effective (Leithwood et al., 1998), while others identified the relational approach as influential in effecting change (Fullan, 2001; van den Berg & Vandenberghe, 1995). In studying schools in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Australia, and Canada, Lam (2002) found leadership the most important influence on learning outcomes, with relationships the most essential element for measuring internal culture and the effects of reform, again illustrating the link between leadership, organizational culture, and change.

Rosenholtz (1991) combined the structural-functional approach and the relational approach to change, claiming a cultural-individual perspective based on teachers who designated collaboration and leadership as most essential in the process of change. The cultural-individual approach to change focuses on socio-psychological interactions between people, thus offering implications for school leaders involved in the implementation of change.

Other studies from the cultural-individual perspective found that processes of reform were ridden with concerns, uncertainties, emotions, and resistance among teachers (van den Berg & Vandenberghe, 1995; Fullan, 2001). Sleegers, Geijsel, and Van den Berg (2002) found that both the organization and conditions affected teacher attitude and practice, in turn affecting the implementation of innovation and change. Thus, perceptions of teachers were determined to be highly influential in the process of change.

Proposed by Wertsch, Tulviste, and Hagstrom (1993), a cultural-individual approach

to school leadership requires that organizations be viewed as heterogeneous entities, with consideration not just of individuals but of the broader historical and cultural settings to which individuals belong. Reform initiatives have had a profound effect on those responsible for implementation, thus bringing inevitable changes to the role of leadership, with school leaders tasked with new roles and new responsibilities for change in local schools (Fullan, 2001; Huber & Kiegelmann, 2002; Portin, 1998).

Whether reform efforts are coined as increased autonomy in Germany, local management in the United Kingdom, site-based management in the United States, or delegated governance in New Zealand, all are representative of national political and social initiatives that have affected and changed the purpose and nature of education and leadership in schools (Portin, 1998).

Pitfalls and Perceptions

According to Hallinger and Leithwood (1996), professional preparation programs "have sought primarily to teach prospective administrators *about* the field of educational administration" (p. 110) for the past 30 years, suggesting that by "adopting a cultural lens, we would question the salience of Western theories of leadership and schooling to the role of administrators operating in very different cultural circumstances" (p. 111). Traditional leadership theories have for the most part ignored the cultural and political aspects of school organizations, thus rendering them insufficient to support the practice of educational leadership in rapidly changing local and global environments (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996).

Dimmock and Walker (2000) identified differences across cultures in specific leadership perceptions of reform efforts, with principals in Eastern cultures viewing

decentralization in a negative light as a loss of leadership power; while principals in Western

cultures considered decentralization a means of gaining increased empowerment. Likewise,

Su, Adams, and Mininberg (2003) identified differences in the perceptions of principals

regarding responsibilities, with individuality, equality, and self-realization deemed most

important by American principals, but carrying negative connotations for Chinese principals

identifying conformity and respect for authority as most important.

However, principals of both countries were found to value comparative visionary

thinking as important, with a principal from China claiming that the ideal school "should be

characterized by the tight structure and careful management of the Chinese educational

system, the solid basic skills education in Russian schools, the pragmatic spirit in German

education, and the lively and varied methods in American instructional delivery" (p. 215).

Bolman and Deal (2003) and Schein (2004) pointed out that, through decades of

leadership research, theories, and models, the only leadership attributes deemed universal are

those pertaining to vision, passion, and trust. However, discrepancies and differences exist

across cultures in the perception of vision. Hallinger and Leithwood (1996) claimed that,

while the influential aspect of leadership on organizational culture is agreed upon, there are

fundamental limitations within the broader cultural context in describing educational

leadership as visionary across cultures.

Weber (1947), in distinguishing between alternative forms of power, declared the

term *perceived* as crucial to the concept of vision, with personal power [vision] emerging

from the perceptions of others based on leadership characteristics and abilities deemed

valuable. Considering the inhumane use of visionary leadership in the historical and cultural

context of Germany, the concept of *perceived* vision is particularly understood. Senge (1990)

characterized the problem, pointing out that "our traditional views of leaders – as special people who set the direction, make the key decisions, and energize the troops – are deeply rooted in an individualistic and systemic world view" (p. 340).

Trends in the 21st century reflect the need for a paradigm shift from traditional theories and models to expanded connotations of leadership, identified by such terms as distributive (Gronn, 2002), shared (Huffman & Hipp, 2000), integrative (Huber, 2004), participative (Yukl, 1998), democratic (Hargreaves & Fink, 2003), and transformational (Leithwood, 1994). Expanded contexts of leadership emerged in response to rapid changes occurring in diverse and heterogeneous organizations (Cheng, 2002), with leadership paradigms going beyond the shaping and influencing of behavior to cognitive and affective domains (Fullan, 2001; Sergiovanni, 1992) and political and cultural domains (Dimmock & Walker, 2000; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Leithwood et al., 1999).

Thus, the concept of transformational leadership coined by Burns (1978) has gone beyond simply the motivating of individuals to surpass expectations. To cope with the complexities and ambiguities of today's heterogeneous schools, expanded and more innovative connotations of leadership are required (Cheng, 2002; Huber, 2004); particularly given technological and cultural changes, demands for school quality and accountability, and increased focus on privatization, the market economy, local management of schools, and parental and community involvement.

In examining England's National Literacy and Numeracy Strategy in a four year study, Leithwood and colleagues (2004) relied on transformational leadership to describe the concept of leadership, utilizing Gronn's (2002) connotation of distributed leadership to distinguish between additive and holistic aspects. Realizations indicated first of all, that

reforms were accompanied by more money, rather than less, as is typically the case in large reform movements. Second, was the identification of three assumptions that were not substantiated in this study, namely the need for leadership to be highly transactional and managerial, the need for leadership to be provided by talented individuals, and the notion that hierarchical forms of leadership are incompatible with distributed leadership.

On the contrary, this study indicated that "strategic, laterally distributed leadership must be embedded within a complimentary vertical leadership structure" with those at the top focused "on direction-setting practices and the provision of resources to make the implementation of large-scale reform possible" (Leithwood et al., 2004, pp. 75-76). Perhaps, because the "One Best Model has failed to frame effectively the complexity of real-world issues," then a "cultural frame offers a promising lens for understanding...schools, communities, and districts where competing sets of cultural values pose challenges to leadership that are largely missing from the core knowledge base of educational administration" (Woodrum, 2002, p. 34).

Education in the Federal Republic of Germany:

Trends and Traditions

The third and final area of literature reviewed for this study pertained to the cultural context of Germany and the particular context of Berlin. Due to the historical nature of this study and reflection on the reunification era, of relevance was gaining understanding of the philosophical and traditional foundations of education, school leadership, and reform, as well as the situatedness of education in the historical development of Germany. The review of literature related to education in the Federal Republic of Germany is divided into three

sections: The philosophy and foundation, the roles and responsibilities of the school leader, and the cultural context of Berlin.

Philosophy and Foundation

To understand schooling in Germany is to understand its history. Education as a unified state system had been in existence for only 70 years before the East-West schism of 1945, but its foundation began in early 19th century Prussia with establishment of the first state system of education, thus gaining worldwide recognition for the first attempt at centralization (Phillips, 2000). Just as crucial for understanding the crux of the German educational system is gaining awareness of the reform era accompanying the establishment of state control; as reform efforts not only promoted education for the masses and bridged the gap between elementary and secondary schooling, but also increased access to universities (Richter, 1945).

The defeat of Prussia in 1867 prompted an influx of educational reforms initiated by Wilhelm von Humboldt, founder of the traditional *Gymnasium* secondary academic setting and the university in Berlin that bears his name. Humboldt revitalized humanistic and classical education by promoting "the individual to become independent of the constraints of his or her social milieu" (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995, p. 810) through his conceptualization of *Bildung*. As the building block of education, *Bildung* is the "head, heart, and hand" of German schooling (Pestalozzi, 1927) designed for "the awakening of self-determined moral responsibility, a readiness for moral action" (Klafki, cited in Westbury, Hopmann, & Riquarts, 2000, p. 96).

Education in Germany is synonymous with *Bildung* as the "development of all human powers" (von Humboldt, 1783); the reason and reflection, the *verstand* and *vernunft*

transcending both curriculum and method (Kant, 1963/2000). As process and product,

Bildung implies education combined with character formation, a concept not readily

translated or easily understood in English. It is important to understand *Bildung* as the basis

and holistic foundation of social pedagogy in German education, the inseparable cultivation

of character development involving cognitive, social, cultural, and ethical aspects of

education (OECD, November 26, 2004).

As defined by educational policy, "*Bildung* is a comprehensive process of developing

the abilities which enable human beings to learn, to develop their academic potential, to act,

to solve problems, and to form relationships" (cited in OECD, November 26, 2004, p. 53).

From its conception by Humboldt in the 1800s, through subsequent eras of control and

centralization, upheaval and reconstruction, reunification and reorganization, *Bildung* has

continued to stand as the cornerstone of philosophy and pedagogy in German education, in

both theory and practice (Westbury, Hopmann, & Riquarts, 2000).

Before World War I, a major flaw in the German educational system was the rigid

differentiation between primary schooling and the secondary education available only for

children of prosperous parents, thus severely limiting access to secondary schools and

universities. Following World War I, the Weimar Republic sought a more democratic vision

of education, thereby legally awarding responsibility for education to the individual *Länder*

states for ensuring uniform teacher training, free compulsory schooling, and upper secondary

education. However, intended reforms failed to reach fruition due to the rise of National

Socialism (U. S. Library of Congress, 2003).

The Hitler regime (1933-1945) halted state governance over education, establishing

highly centralized national administration as the means for promoting political ideology and

rigid governmental control. Universities lost autonomy, with nearly 14% of all university

professors removed from their positions by 1936 due to political views or ethnicity or both.

By 1939, all but six universities were closed. The traditional tripartite structure of primary

and secondary education continued, with primary schooling in homogeneous *Grundschulen*

followed by differentiated types of secondary schools aimed toward either university or

vocational training – but the focus had shifted toward supporting the Nazi regime (U. S.

Library of Congress, 2003).

Defeated by the Allied Powers in 1945, the split of Germany into the communist East

and the democratic West resulted in two educational systems that served as a reflection of

opposing political, social, and economic ideologies from 1945 until 1989 (Rodden, 2002).

Both East and West were faced with the task of denazifying teachers and reeducating

students; however, the purpose of tracked schooling took strategically different paths in the

two Germanys, with both educational systems grounded in the political ideologies of their

respective occupying powers (Rust & Rust, 1995). In the Federal Republic of Germany

(FRG), the responsibility for education had been returned to the individual *Länder* in a

federal system founded on ideals of democracy, individualism, and opportunity. In the

German Democratic Republic (GDR) of the East, education was communist-controlled,

highly centralized by the government as the institution and instrument for cementing socialist

values (Rodden, 2002).

The GDR educational system of East Germany included well-developed child care

and pre-school programs, as well as after school programs for primary and secondary

students, thus accommodating women in the work force and ensuring "the first stages in

creating young socialists loyal to the GDR" (Pritchard, 2002, p. 49). Nearly all students

attended uniform comprehensive *Polytechnische Oberschulen* technical secondary schools

providing non-differentiated, non-selective academic education, followed by attendance at

Werksberufsschulen state-owned vocational schools designed to ensure a viable work force

(Rust & Rust, 1995).

Only a select and privileged few, based more on political ideology than on academic

achievement, were permitted to attend *Erweiterte Oberschulen* for the two additional years of

secondary school and the *Abitur* examination required for university admission (Führ, 1997;

Wilde, 2002). Schooling in the GDR had but one purpose, exemplified as Rodden (2002)

stated:

> The little red schoolhouse of the GDR faithfully inculcated the traditional Prussian
>
> values of order, cleanliness, and punctuality. And yet, behind the scrubbed
>
> schoolhouse door, crouched a faceless, hulking, centralized bureaucracy. Mired
>
> inefficiency and incompetence, it formed teacher and student outlooks that combined
>
> cultural provincialism with dependence on the state, cravenness to authority, and self-
>
> forgetfulness...For East German education existed primarily to legitimize socialism
>
> as a world-wide movement and validate its historical destiny to replace capitalism.
>
> (p. 15)

Conversely, secondary schooling in West Germany provided a wide range of

educational choices and opportunities, shaped by the democratic ideals of federalism and

individualism. The educational system was restructured and federally decentralized in the

Grundgesetz (Basic Law) of 1949, thus returning responsibility for education to the federal

Länder states. Following World War II, the traditional structure of schooling was maintained,

namely the three-tiered system of common primary *Grundschule*, followed by differentiated

types of lower secondary schools, and upper secondary schools aimed toward either university admission or vocational preparation and training (Weiss & Weishaupt, 1999; Wilde, 2002). Facilities were rebuilt and reorganized, and by 1953, reforms were initiated that attempted to standardize education across the *Länder* (Führ, 1997).

Through the 1960s and into the 1970s, educational reform continued, with the vocational system and the academic *Gymnasium* restructured to increase the numbers of students eligible to attend university. A new type of integrated secondary school, the comprehensive *Gesamtschule,* was introduced that combined the differentiated types of secondary schools under one roof. However, this innovation was met with resistance in most *Länder* due to political influences and traditional expectations, achieving only limited success (Rodden, 2002). By 1973, effects of the world oil crisis served to hinder further educational reform efforts in Germany for nearly two decades (Führ, 1997). However, between 1959 and 1979, 20 new universities were built in West Germany, and university attendance increased from 200,000 in 1960 to 1.9 million in 1992-93 (U. S. Library of Congress, 2003).

In contrast to the GDR, only 70% of children in the West were guaranteed kindergarten places, with after school care available for only 6%, thus indicating different philosophies in the East and West concerning childrearing practices and working mothers (OECD, November 26, 2004). Following reunification, the "singularly academic" mission of western schooling migrated east, thus ending the early and extra schooling common during the GDR era (Dumas, Dumas, & Lee, 1996, p. 100) Ironically, reforms implemented in Germany after 2000 have included increased childcare, kindergartens, and all-day schools (OECD, November 26, 2004).

Despite existing differences in purpose, ideology, and structure before reunification, both East and West regarded education as a constitutional right and a public responsibility, with both sides ensuring that students obtained an appropriate education. Throughout the years of separation, both East and West retained the *Abitur* examination required for university admission and the traditional dual system of vocational education. And despite 40 years of estrangement, both remained committed to Humboldt's conceptualization of *Bildung* and the necessity of combining education and research (Führ, 1997).

The more recent history of German education was ultimately marked by two extraordinary events that followed World War II: the formation of two separate states divided by a common border, and the unexpected reunification of those two states ending a separation that had lasted over 40 years (OECD, November 26, 2004). The urgency to reform the East brought escalating economic and social pressures previously unknown to Germany, the effects of which continue to impact education and the implementation of reform – particularly within the cultural context of Berlin and other eastern *Länder.*

Schulleiter Roles and Responsibilities

The *Grundgesetz* (Basic Law) of 1949 awarded responsibility of education to the federal *Länder* states (Weiss & Weishaupt, 1999), thus affording each responsible for maintaining its own educational system and ministry of education (Ashwill, 2003). Educators are civil servant employees, thereby falling under the jurisdiction of each *Land.* Yet despite state control, teachers maintain strong pedagogical autonomy largely unknown in other traditions and nations, holding the right and the freedom to teach independently, deemed by law as the appropriate curricular theorists to interpret both curriculum and *Bildung* (Westbury, Hopmann, & Riquarts, 2000).

In accordance with the German language, titles of professions are designated by gender; with the term for the leadership position in schools designated as *Schulleiter* for males and *Schulleiterin* for females. The position of *Schulleiter* and *Schulleiterin* holds an interpretation particular to the tradition of German education, illustrating that differences exist in the concept of school leadership across cultures. However, differences in the nature of school leadership across cultures are not part in this study. To facilitate ease of translation and understanding, *Schulleiter,* principal, and school leader are used interchangeably in this study, denoting those persons, male or female, holding the head position in charge of schools.

The school laws of each *Land* specify exact duties and responsibilities of *Schulleiter,* with tasks described in terms of functions to be performed within the organization of the school (Schratz, 1998). The role of *Schulleiter* has traditionally held a precarious position, not considered as a separate profession or career and with no specific training or licensure requirements. In Germany, over 370 vocations and careers are defined by joint government commission, designated by specific job descriptions, training requirements, and qualification specifications. The position of *Schulleiter* is not one of the identified professions.

The position of *Schulleiter*, literally translated as school manager, denotes the "point of authority at the peak of the hierarchical school management structure" and at the bottom of hierarchical state management (ASD, 1999, p. 8). Because the position is not designated as a separate profession, a subtle ambiguity exists in the role of *Schulleiter* between the legal authority awarded for carrying out specific responsibilities and the lack of authority inherent in the position as a designated profession (Bonsen, Gathen, Iglhaut, & Pfeiffer, 2002).

School laws have traditionally defined school leadership in terms of processes to be performed, rather than as a title or a position, thus meshing the role of *Schulleiter*

horizontally with other leadership functions across the school (Münch, 1999; Wissinger, 1996). However, revised school laws focused on improvement and development designate functions of leadership in terms of team participation, naming the principal, assistant principal, and department chairpersons as members of a leadership team (Füssel, 2002). Even under the team management approach, leadership responsibilities are defined in terms of processes and functions, rather than in terms of an individual or a position (ASD, 1999; Wissinger & Huber, 2002).

The revised school law in Berlin has increased the responsibilities of *Schulleiter* for the intent of strengthening local autonomy and affording teachers more significant influence and control (*Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, 2003). However, the position of *Schulleiter* is in a difficult "sandwich position" (Schratz, 1998, p. 98), between the distributed management structure of the school and the hierarchical administrative structure of the state – thus creating a delicate balance between centralized administrative management and educational leadership (Wissinger & Höher, 1998).

In addition to positional ambiguity, *Schulleiter* are caught between the concepts of manager and leader. *Führer*, the German word for leader, is laden with historical, values-ridden connotations associated with negative indoctrination and the exercise of power. Therefore, in lieu of the word *Führer,* the more values-free English word "leadership" is more often utilized, but with reference to functions and processes, rather than as a title, a position, or an individual (Höher & Rolff, 1996; Kansteiner-Schänzlin, 2002).

In spite of ambiguities surrounding the concept of *Schulleiter,* some *Länder* have considered reframing the position as separate from teaching, therefore bringing the issue

under discussion (Bonsen et al., 2002). Federal and state legislation has yet failed to designate the position of *Schulleiter* as a profession (Wissinger, 1996). Therefore, ambiguities and conflicts remain concerning the nature, the authority, and the competence of *Schulleiter* in carrying out responsibilities, negatively affecting decision-making processes that occur in schools (Höher & Rolff, 1996).

It might be said the path to the position of *Schulleiter* is symbolic of the apprenticeship aspect of Germany's dual vocational education system. According to Hofstede (1993), apprenticeships ensure a means of passing down expertise, craftsmanship, and tradition within a culture. Such occurs for principals of German schools, first mentored by lead teachers and heads of departments, then progressing over time to such positions themselves, finally gaining the expertise and longevity required for the position of *Schulleiter*. Preparation programs, continuing education, and standards-based qualifications for *Schulleiter* have not been part of German tradition; however, since the enactment of revised *Schulgesetze,* training, professional development, and requirements of the position are under development (Wagner, 2004).

Typically, once a position is gained, short in-service training courses are offered through the state government or from private firms, with the most legitimate learning occurring "on the job" (Huber & Kiegelmann, 2002). Of utmost importance is becoming an expert in one's field, honing one's skills, and working to the top (Hofstede, 2001; Mintzberg, 1983). Therefore, even after obtaining the position, *Schulleiter* maintain the role of teacher and by law continue to teach. In Berlin, *Schulleiter* are required to teach a minimum of six

classes per week, with the intent of maintaining expertise, credibility, and contact with students (S*enatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, 2003).

Education in Germany has until recently been highly centralized under the state control of each *Länder*. Specific organizational and structural functions and processes held under state administration traditionally included curriculum content, examination and qualification structures, financial management and dispersal of funds, recruitment and hiring of personnel, and evaluation of school quality and staff (*Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Sport*, 2003). However, since enactment of revised school laws, numerous responsibilities have been decentralized and delegated to local schools. As a result, *Schulleiter* are faced with difficulties not unlike those of other principals across the globe regarding the implementation of centralized governmental reforms in increasingly decentralized and more autonomous schools, particularly in the midst of economic austerity and changing social and demographic situations (van Amelsvoort & Scheerens, 1997; Winter, 2000).

The direction of control has shifted from centralized state control to local schools, thus tasking leaders with increased responsibilities and accountability for school quality and evaluation, financial and human resource management, hiring and supervision of personnel, and provision of professional development. The role of school leadership is undergoing change in Germany and in other nations across the globe (OECD, August, 2004; Riely, 1998), thus deeming a shift is necessary to a more interdisciplinary and international concept of leadership (Byrnes, 1997). Research has suggested that leadership in schools will continue to undergo change as long as globalization and competition continue, thus demanding a broader, more "border-free" concept of leadership (Bogler, 2002, p. 222).

In general, the management system in Germany has been slow to change, as have management competencies, and school leadership competencies are no exception (Randlesome, 2000; Wilde, 2002). However, Brodbeck and Frese (2004), in their study of leadership attributes and preferences, indicated a shift from the old fashioned leadership ideal of individual responsibility within an organizational bureaucratic hierarchy, at least in preference if not practice. Stating that the "normally effective manager" is perceived as somewhat autocratic and task oriented toward "doing things right," Brodbeck and Frese (2004) stated:

> an excellent leader is perceived to be more than a competent manager, by being wise and visionary ("doing the right thing"), by dealing especially well with people (considerate, empowering), by being an outstanding person in character (integrity, authentic), in dedication and vision (enthusiastic, innovative) and in education (broad knowledge) effective manager. (no page)

In addition to shifting leadership preferences, the influence of globalization has instigated a gradual change in the management culture in Germany, thus prompting an urgency for intercultural training and an internationalization of competencies (Schneider & Littrell, 2003). Also occurring have been shifting management trends from the traditional *Gemeinschaft* community-minded approach to a more *Gesellschaft* free market economy approach focusing on customers within the broader society (Randlesome, 2000, p. 638). As a result, questions arise concerning the impact of such trends on leaders of schools.

School leaders in Berlin are experiencing the effects of changing management trends mandated in the new school law, shifting the direction of control from state centralization to local autonomy. *Schulleiter* are charged with increased responsibilities and accountability for

standards and school quality, financial and human resource management, and professional

development and staff evaluation, and, although the position holds interpretations and

traditions unique to Germany, *Schulleiter* are experiencing problems similar to those faced

by principals in other cultural contexts.

The context of *Schulleiter* in Germany may differ from those of other countries, but a

similarity remains. The position is in the process of change. As a result of new school laws

and increased responsibilities, as well as the greater complexity and competition of schools

and changing social demographics, labor market, and economic conditions, school leadership

in Germany has undergone a process of change with regard to the purpose, roles, and

responsibilities. Centralized reform, increased autonomy and accountability of local schools,

globalization and competition, and the ever-changing social demographics, labor markets,

and economic conditions have made change in the role of *Schulleiter* inescapable (OECD,

August, 2004).

Berlin: Context and Culture

The metropolitan area of Berlin took shape in 1920 following World War I, as the old

city merged with villages and estates in surrounding areas to form its current boundaries. At

the heart of the city lies Berlin *Mitte,* the medieval center located on the banks of the River

Spree, enveloped by residential and industrial areas, parks, and farmlands. The capital of

Germany since 1871, Berlin was a major industrial center until being virtually destroyed

during World War II.

Following defeat in 1945, the country was divided into four zones of Allied

occupation: French, British, American, and Soviet. In the late forties with the end of the

wartime alliance, the Soviet zone in East Germany became the German Democratic Republic

(GDR) under communist control; and the French, British, and American zones of West Germany combined to form the democratic Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). The historic capital of Berlin was divided between the two nation states, with East Berlin remaining the capital of the GDR, and Bonn named the capital of West Germany due to the geographic location of Berlin deep in East German territory (U. S. Library of Congress, 2003).

In 1961, in an effort to stop the exodus of millions of East Germans migrating to the more prosperous and democratic West, the GDR erected the Berlin Wall as a symbol of the political, economic, and ideological division of Germany that lasted for 40 years (Encarta, 2005). Finally, in 1989, precipitated by political and social unrest, the Berlin Wall fell, initiating the collapse of the GDR socialist government that ultimately lead to reunification of the two Germanys in 1990 (U. S. Library of Congress, 2003).

The resulting economic and social ramifications of the reunification threw the country into unprecedented unemployment and fiscal austerity, particularly in the new *Länder* states in the East, for "the cultural change and social psychological consequences of the German Reunification mainly concerned the East Germans. They carried the primary share of change ('modernization shock')" (Brodbeck & Frese, 2004, p. 9).

Germany is now the seventh largest country in Europe and also the most populous. Yet, the country maintains one of the lowest birth rates in the world, offset by high immigration existing since the end of World War II. Of Germany's 82.5 million inhabitants in 2004, nearly 7.3 million are foreigners, the majority of whom live in the former East and a quarter of whom are of Turkish decent (OECD, November 26, 2004). Soaring unemployment rates resulting from the reunification remain in some areas of the East, reaching nearly 20%

as compared to West Germany's unemployment rate of 7-10%. Vast differences are indicated

between Eastern and Western *Länder*, as illustrated in Figure 3.

2004 Demographics	Berlin	Germany
Population	3,388,477	82,531,671
Persons per square kilometer	3,804	231
Population growth	-0.1%	0.0%
Birth rate	0.8%	0.9%
Over age 65	14.6%	17.0%
Immigrant Population	13.2%	8.9%
Unemployment Rate	18.1%	10.5%

Figure 3. 2004 Demographic differences between Berlin and the rest of Germany
(*Statistisches Bundesamt*, 2004; *Statistisches Landesamt*, 2004)

In 1990, as East and West Berlin were rejoined, the city was divided into 23

boroughs, remaining until 2001 when the number was reduced to 12 to make city governance

more efficient. But no amount of structural reform, reconstruction, or construction could

remedy the financial state plaguing the city after reunification (Encarta, 2004; U. S. Library

of Congress, 2003). The restructuring of East Germany into a market economy and the

joining of East and West Berlin brought drastic ramifications in the form of housing

shortages, high unemployment, increased taxes, reduced government subsidies, and cuts in

social services. Economic pressures were compounded with the building explosion

precipitated by the decision to move the federal government back to Berlin as the reclaimed

capital. In addition, more than 400,000 foreigners from Eastern European countries

immigrated to Berlin in the 1990s, thereby not only compounding economic pressures, but also changing the social, cultural, and educational demographics of the city (U. S. Library of Congress, 2003).

Berlin has regained its place not only as Germany's capital, but also as a center of scientific research and education, reconnecting with its history of more than 29 Nobel Prize winners from *Humboldt Universität zu Berlin* (Encarta, 2004). Yet the merging of two fundamentally different social and cultural systems, compounded within the close proximity of the city *Land* of Berlin, resulted in staggering economic and social pressures. Therefore, the capital city has lagged behind other *Länder* in entering Germany's era of reform, finally following suit in 2004 with the enactment of a new *Schulgesetz* school law (*Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, 2003).

The Berlin *Schulgesetz* awarded unprecedented autonomy to local schools, thus increasing responsibilities for decision-making and accountability. The law ensures the "right of participation" of key stakeholders through so-called advisory councils, structured in detail to enable broad participation according to democratic principles. Advisory councils specified at school, borough, and state levels, again ensure democratic representation by state officials, principals, teachers, students, parents, and community members. Requirements mandated in the new school law detail the following reforms (*Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, 2003):

1. Development of school improvement plan

2. Establishment of *Schulkonferenz* (school board) as primary decision-making entity

3. Development of school standards and school program

4. Development of quality assurance measures

5. Increased requirements for teachers and *Schulleiter*

6. Increased competencies of veteran teachers and *Schulleiter*

7. Development of professional development for teachers

8. Local school responsibility for disposal of funds

9. Local school responsibility for recruiting, hiring, and assignment of teachers

10. New definitions and distributions of leadership and management tasks and roles

The structure of the educational system in the *Land* of Berlin illustrated in Figure 4 is

similar to those of other *Länder*, with the exception of entry into secondary schooling which

begins in grade 7 in Berlin and Brandenburg and in grade 5 in other *Länder*.

Type of School	Level	Grades
Grundschule Elementary school	Primary Level	1-6
Gesamtschule Integrated school	Lower Secondary Level I Upper Secondary Level II	7-10 11-13
Hauptschule Basic school	Lower Secondary Level I	7-10
Realschule Intermediate school	Lower Secondary Level I	7-10
Gymnasium Advanced academic school	Lower and Upper Secondary Levels I and II	7-10 11-13
Berufsschule Dual system vocational school and other vocational programs	Upper Secondary Level II	11-13

Figure 4. Primary and Secondary School Structure
of Berlin Educational System: Grades 1-13.

Oberstufenzentren vocational school centers for grades 11-13 house various vocational programs, including the *Berufsschule* dual-system program that consists of in-school academic schooling and apprenticeship vocational training in companies. Other types of vocational programs in *Oberstufenzentren* provide academic coursework and in-schools vocational training, developed during recent years due to company apprenticeship shortages. Programs vary, depending on levels of certification and qualification requirements, ranging from basic programs offering entry level qualifications to *Gymnasiale Oberstufe*n programs requiring similar academic coursework as *Gymnasien*, including two foreign languages and the *Abitur* examination required for university admission. Various other vocational programs lead to qualifications required for skilled employment and/or further education within particular career areas (*Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, 2003).

In 2003, the second phase of PISA was administered to over 250,000 students across 41 countries, to include the 30 OECD member countries as well as 11 partner countries. The results of PISA 2003 indicated the overall performance of German students as not significantly different from the OECD average. However, of particular significance for Germany on PISA 2003 was the high variation in scores between schools, 1.5 times greater than the OECD average, implying that student performance may be related to which schools are attended (OECD, December 3, 2004).

Of even greater significance in the PISA 2003 results was the high relationship indicated between the performance of German students and the socio-economic background of parents, with a 93-point deficit for students of immigrant status - higher than that of any other OECD country. In addition, scores differed widely on PISA 2003 for students attending more or less advantaged schools, thus pointing to the realization that "experiences at school

can too often reinforce rather than mitigate effects of home background" (OECD, December 3, 2004, p. 22).

While PISA 2000 induced a national focus on the performance of students and the quality of German schools, PISA 2003 has indicated deeper social and cultural issues of a more qualitative nature. The changes in school laws and policies have changed the focus from input control to output control, thus charging school leaders with increased responsibility for quality and accountability in more autonomous schools (*Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, 2003).

Berlin today is a vibrant and diverse cosmopolitan city, standing as the capital of the Federal Republic of Germany. Effects of the reunification remain, some more overt than others, bringing to light questions of equality and equity that will take time to resolve, particularly in relation to social issues and education. The merging of two cultures and societies in the close proximity of Berlin brought the negotiation of a new identity and sense of place for those in the East that has carried misinterpretations and misunderstandings (Belhachmi, 1997; Pritchard, 2002).

Even the interpretation of freedom took time to meld between East and West, as freedom for Easterners was not defined in terms of individual interests, but rather as the Marxist-Leninist socialized ideal anchoring the individual in relationship to the *"collective."* Thus, the concept of freedom was misconstrued, blurring the notion of collective freedom with the concept of individualized freedom according to Western ideals. Many were left disappointed, as envisioned wishes and endeavors failed to materialize, and only over time began "to discover that freedom was not to be identified with the absence of obstacles to the satisfaction of *any* desire" (Pritchard, 1999, p. 213).

Summary

This study, as situated in the historical and cultural context of Berlin and influenced by ramifications and reforms occurring since the reunification, covers much territory in addressing educational leadership and the process of change. The review of literature presented in this chapter is not exhaustive by any means. But due the broad spectrum of research questions, the intent was not to review all literature, but rather to present that which informs the focus of this study, namely cultural research in general and leadership research in particular, the role of educational leadership in the process of change, and the historical and cultural context of Germany and Berlin.

However, underlying the review of literature in this chapter, written or unwritten, was the common thread concerning the relevance and effects of culture, particularly with regard to the East-West phenomenon in the merged city of Berlin since the reunification of Germany in 1990.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Individuals possessing an international mindset...
make sense out of experience by striving to attribute meaning to events
as those in the host culture would.
Triandis, 1972, p. 510

The purpose of this study was to explore school leadership and the process of

educational reform in Germany through the perceptions of school leaders in Berlin, in

retrospection of their experiences of the reunification in 1990. The intent was to gain

meaning and understanding regarding how school leadership is "enacted in real life" (Den

Hartog et al., 1999, p. 251) based on the perceptions of respondents in light of an historical

event that changed their lives. To foster understanding of their perceptions and experiences, a

qualitative paradigm was deemed appropriate and relevant for several reasons.

Most importantly, the nature of the research problem in seeking understanding of

individuals situated within a particular cultural context in a particular era in time lent "itself

to getting out into the field and finding out what people are doing and thinking" (Strauss &

Corbin, 1998, p. 11). To understand the perceptions of school leaders in the midst of their

experiences required face-to-face connections affording opportunities to gain continuous

clarification and in-depth meaning. In addition, my experiences in working in various

international contexts, as well as my professional background in counseling psychology,

contributed to a well-suited match with qualitative inquiry in terms of preference and interest.

Finally, because this study was partially historical in nature, a qualitative approach was

appropriate for gaining understanding though narratives related by respondents concerning

their perceptions of past experiences.

Through qualitative inquiry, gaining understanding of intricate details, thought processes, and feelings within a specific cultural, social, and retrospective context was possible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), for qualitative research is descriptive and inductive in nature and focuses on uncovering meaning from the perspective of the individual (Merriam, 2002). In the remainder of this chapter, the theoretical framework and methodology of this study is discussed, to include the cultural approach and epistemology, theoretical perspective and methodology, and methods of data collection and analysis. In addition, the trustworthiness of this study and the reflexivity of the researcher are discussed.

Theoretical Paradigm

A Cultural Approach

Research in leadership is a "tricky endeavor" (Dickson et al., 2003, p. 731), as no consistent or universal definition of leadership has yet been determined (Bass, 1985; Bolman & Deal, 2003). Adding a cultural component only compounds the process, for research in a different cultural context is embedded with tension between the inclination to zealously over-generalize the effects of culture on one hand, while narrowly localizing and fragmenting the effects of culture on the other (Bennett, 1993; Heck, 2002). Therefore, a workable theoretical framework was crucial for providing coherence and focus to this study (Earley & Erez, 1997; Hofstede, 2001).

The inherent limitation of transferring theory across national and cultural boundaries was recognized in this study, acknowledging that educational leadership effective and appropriate in one cultural may not be in another (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Leithwood et al., 2004; Paige & Mestenhausen, 1999). Therefore, the approach of this study, as set in a particular cultural context, was based on the assumption that cultural context matters, not

only the culture of organizations and groups, but greater cultural influences on the collective

construction and interpretation of meaning and reality – in theory and in practice (Crotty,

1998; Earley & Erez, 1997; Hofstede, 2001; Leithwood et al., 2002; Shadish, 1995).

The intent of this study was not to seek understanding through the lens of one's own

country, but rather to purposefully hold an "international mindset...a complex,

multidimensional learning process" of integrative, intercultural, interdisciplinary, contextual,

and global dimensions of knowledge construction (Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999, p. 504). A

cultural approach to context allowed for non-evaluative broadening of understanding and

meaning of concepts and practices concerning education, leadership, and reform. Thus,

holding an international and cultural mindset in this study was not just about acquiring

knowledge, but was more poignantly about what was done with it (Hallinger & Leithwood,

1996).

In order to focus directly on the particular, on the *emic* of the historical and cultural

context of Berlin, a sociocultural understanding was conducive and relevant for situating the

study in both a cultural and historical context. A sociocultural perspective afforded the notion

that activities take place in cultural contexts as mediated by cultural constructs, such as

language, symbols, values, and patterns, and as based on historical development. Meaning,

therefore, was considered as constructed by the individual both within and as a result of a

particular cultural and historical context, thus affording not only deeper understanding of the

mediated positioning of those in the merged city of Berlin; but also acting as a lens for

viewing other economic, political, historical, social, or cultural contexts that impact

individuals or groups (Vgotsky, 1993).

Due to the diverse background of the researcher, with previous professional experience and residence in Germany, England, and Japan, a international approach to cultural context afforded opportunities for broadening interpretations that acknowledged both *emic* and *etic,* both the culturally specific and the culturally different, while also serving to lessen ethnocentricity (Dimmock & Walker, 2000; Szabo et al., 2001). The focus of this study, therefore, as set within the specific cultural context of Berlin and viewed through a cultural lens, was framed in a paradigm that reflected the "basic set of beliefs" guiding the actions of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 157).

Epistemology

Set in the cultural context of Berlin, this study focused on gaining understanding and meaning through the perceptions of respondents regarding educational leadership and the process of change in light of the reunification in 1990. To explore how leadership was enacted through their perceptions, this study was grounded in both a constructivist and constructionist epistemology, assuming on one hand that the meaning-making of reality was constructed by the individual, as multiple realities were expressed by respondents depending on individually constructed perceptions of their lives and interactions with others (Patton, 2002).

On the other hand, however, it was assumed that the individual meaning-making of respondents was influenced and shaped by embedded cultural and social constructions of *"knowledge about* reality" (Shadish, 1995, p. 67). Thus, the individual construction of meaning and perception was determined to be socially co-constructed, culturally and contextually embedded, situated for ensuring the "collective generation (and transmission) of meaning" through time (Crotty, 1998, p. 58).

The cultural context of Berlin is grounded in the realities of two (or more) "collective generations" of meaning; and therefore, individual meaning-making was acknowledged as influenced by the socially constructed backgrounds and cultural contexts of the respondents - from either the East or the West. An added influence on individual meaning-making was the blurring of East and West social constructions of meaning and the construction of new meanings that have occurred since reunification in the cultural context of Berlin.

Finally, the integration of constructivist and constructionist epistemology allowed for a non-judgmental framework appropriate for broadening and democratizing discussions about theory, policy, and practice, while maintaining continuous reflection (Gergen, 1994). A constructivist/constructionist epistemology facilitated the interpretation of meaning from two socially constructed perspectives, enabling entrance into the realities and perceptions of respondents without evaluating on one hand, yet enabling a focus on "an improvement to the human condition" on the other (Schwandt, 2000, p. 200).

Theoretical Perspective

Given the nature of this study, qualitative inquiry afforded exploration of the particular perceptions of respondents within particular contexts, offering possibilities to get "handles on problems without obvious starting places" (Krathwohl, 1998, p. 229). The study initially consisted of two phases, an initial project focusing on school leadership and educational reform in the 21st century, and the second more expansive phase that included a more in-depth and historical view of educational leadership and the process of reform since the reunification of Germany in 1990.

It was the second phase of this study that is presented in this dissertation, focused on the perceptions of school leaders regarding the process of change and reform, as set within

the context of their experiences since the reunification of 1990. Because the research was situated in a specific cultural context and in one different than that of the researcher, and because it was partially historical in nature, there were several assumptions premising the structure and process of this study.

The focus was aimed at exploring not only present day experiences of school leaders involved in the process of educational reform, but also past experiences with regard to their involvement in and memories of the reunification of Germany in 1990, particularly concerning the process of school reform in East and West Berlin. Because history is interpretive and subjective in nature (Krathwohl, 1998), it was therefore a basic assumption that the intent of the study was not to verify or validate the accuracy of private experiences against historical records, but rather to gain meaning and understanding of the perceptions of school leaders regarding their experiences in the cultural context of Berlin during the reunification era.

In addition, because "society and culture determine what is important to record" (Krathwohl, 1998, p. 580), it was assumed that the cultural backgrounds of the respondents, whether from the East or from the West, would have an effect on individual perceptions. The reuniting of East and West Germany merged two distinct cultures separated by ideological and societal differences for over two generations, yet with common links in history, language, and tradition. This merging of differences was particularly illuminated within the close proximity of East and West Berlin; therefore, rival explanations or perceptions were expected from the respondents based on their different cultural and social backgrounds (Krathwohl, 1998). But the intent of the study was not to establish the truth value of one cultural context over another, but rather to purposively include individuals from both East

and West in order to gain meaning and understanding of the perspectives of respondents from both cultural contexts.

From a critical perspective, culture is "a contested and conflictual set of practices of representation bound up with the processes of formation and re-formation of social groups" that creates a "theoretical paradox" (Frow & Morris, 2000, p. 328) in cultural studies, assuming some kind of opposition needing to be undone, i.e., opposition between representation and reality, opposition between the dominant and the marginal. The premises of this study, set in the cultural context of Berlin, loosely assumed the existence of remnants of tension surrounding the social and cultural differences between East and West, tensions that in some fashion might or might not affect school leaders depending, at least in part, on their perceptions. The intent of this study, however, was not to undo any tensions that might or might not exist from the reunification, but rather to identify "the implications of particular forms of symbolic action and the consequences of particular moments of cultural practice" (Frow & Morris, 2000, p. 332) with regard to how school leadership and the process of reform are enacted.

The merging of two societies and cultures at the time of reunification brought an inevitable mixing of discourses and genres, one example in education being the differences that emerged between East and West concerning the purpose of secondary schooling and the value of daycare or working mothers. It was assumed for the purposes of this study, therefore, that if remnants of cultural and societal differences between East and West indeed remained, whether overt or underlying, so would different or at least blurred discourses and genres (Frow & Morris, 2000).

Given this possibility, as well as the international and cultural approach of this study, specific definitions and understandings of particular concepts, terms, and roles concerning areas of education, i.e., leadership, autonomy, centralization, or vision, were not assumed as universal. Meanings of terminology associated with education and leadership, whether in theory, policy, or practice, were not taken for granted as understood or one-dimensional, thus leaving the door open for exploring differences, concerning emerging concepts in education, school leadership, and the process of change.

At the methodological level, the perspective of this study was not assumed to be situated in cultural particularism, meaning that which lies in opposition to the general or the universal. But rather, this study was set in the situated "singularity" of Berlin as a context where individuals have or have not gained a sense of belonging since the reunification (Grossberg, 1996). The intent, therefore, was to "capture some of the ways in which we continually move in between categories of specificity" (Probyn, 1996, p. 9), with categories in this context being the fluid borders between East and West within the "singularity" of Berlin, with movement between the two dependent on the need (or requirement) to belong or not to belong.

Influenced by my professional counseling background, it was also a basic assumption that gaining entry and understanding was dependent on the nature of the researcher-respondent relationship. Ten years of residence in Germany provided an extensive familiarity with, knowledge of, and "situatedness" in the cultural context, thus acting as a definite advantage for gaining entry into relationships and establishing identification with respondents. However, an assumption was that meaning and interpretation would only be gained through the social interactions and connections with respondents (Patton, 2002).

Particularly given the different social and cultural backgrounds, and the sometimes sensitive nature of discussions, empathy in this study was equated with understanding or *Verstehen,* identified by Meyers (1981) as:

> an attempt to "crack the code" of the culture, that is, detect the categories into which a culture codes actions and thoughts....Empathy in evaluation is the detection of emotions manifested in the program participants and staff, achieved by evaluators' becoming aware of similar or complementary emotions in themselves. (p. 180)

Finally, this study was framed from an all-encompassing qualitative point of view.

The initial purpose was to gain understanding and meaning of the perceptions of these particular individuals within a very unique cultural context, to find out what this world means to them and how they perceive their interactions within it. Multiple meanings and interpretations were expected, depending on individual perceptions, socially influenced within the cultural context of Berlin and shaped by their backgrounds from either the East or the West.

The intent of this study was *emic* in nature and situated in the local, but yet from the onset was *etic* in scope, grounded in the assumption that understandings gained from individuals situated in the particular cultural context of two merged cultures and societies would in some fashion hold relevance and have something to say across all cultures (Denzin, 1989).

Methodology

Given the sociocultural nature of this study, as well as the worldview of the researcher, grounded theory methodology was utilized for exploring school leadership and reform in Berlin. Due to difficulties in transferring theory, policy, and practice across

cultures and nations (Dimmock & Walker, 2000; Hofstede, 2001), grounded theory provided

an open sense of direction, while at the same time afforded specific methods and techniques

for bringing directions into reality (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). According to Strauss (1987),

"The methodological thrust of the grounded theory approach to qualitative data is toward the

development of theory, without any particular commitment to specific kinds of data, lines of

research, of theoretical interests" (p. 5).

Social phenomena are complex; therefore, for the purposes of this study, grounded

theory allowed "for developing many concepts and their linkages in order to capture a great

deal of the variation that characterizes the central phenomena studied" (Strauss, 1987, p. 7).

A grounded theory approach allowed the opportunity to explore the perceptions of

respondents in different conceptual areas within complex cultural phenomena, with

connections and links emerging among them. The basic tenet assumed that any resulting

meaning that emerged would come from the data collected, with findings therefore

discovered in close conjunction with methods of data collection and analysis. Inductive and

deductive approaches were utilized, grounded in the data collected, with meaning not

separate but emergent from the data. Collection and analysis of data and the formulation of

meaning were reciprocally related, with research questions open and general rather than

strictly structured, thus enabling the emergence of themes and categories that in the end were

relevant to what the respondents had to say about their worlds (Strauss).

Narrative analysis provided a secondary focus to the methodology of this study based

on the tenet that narratives provide varied and imaginative forms of communicating meaning

with regard to how people make sense of their worlds in the scope of their everyday lives

(Merriam, 2002). Much of the data collected in this study were historical in nature, presented

in narrative form by respondents recalling their experiences of the reunification era, providing meaning and understanding of their experiences of an historical event. The respondents, as "key informants…who are particularly knowledgeable about the inquiry setting" (Patton, 2002, p. 321), painted the picture of what it was really like to experience their worlds, while also providing information about existing social realities. The narratives of respondents defined their places in the social order of things, serving to describe how they managed to negotiate the process of change, both then and now (Patton).

On the part of the researcher, it was a collaborative endeavor, with interpretation based on narratives as individual texts that had something to say about life. It was their narratives, therefore, that made connections and contained meanings, with respondents providing the real interpretation in the telling of their own experiences and making clear what their lives were all about.

In the end, the criteria proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1998) for grounded theory as a methodology were applied, namely that grounded theory fit the nature and purpose of the study, was faithful to the reality of the context, provided both *emic* and *etic* understanding, allowed for broad and conceptual theory development, and provided a basis for action. Grounded theory methodology, with suggestions from narrative analysis, provided detailed and systematic methods and tools for the collection and analysis of data, for systematic and creative generation of meaning.

With regard to understandings gained through the perceptions of *Schulleiter*, a particular leadership theory or model was not utilized for three reasons. The first reason pertains to the inadequacy and inappropriateness of crossing cultural boundaries with leadership theory (Hofstede, 2001; Leithwood et al., 1999); the second points to the grounded

theory methodology of this study in allowing categories and themes to emerge from the data

collected without predisposed theoretical frames; and the third reason points to the data

collected as grounded in the perceptions of *Schulleiter*, rather than in the actual enactment of

leadership or in the perspectives of others.

Grounded theory methodology was utilized "to study experience from the standpoint

of those who live it" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 23). The inquiry process was both inductive and

deductive in nature, inductive in discovering theory through systematic collection and

analysis of data, and deductive in drawing conclusions for the purpose of generalizing and

verifying (Strauss, 1987). Thus, theoretical implications in the particular areas of study were

"allowed to emerge" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 23) with conclusions formulated that were

grounded in the data.

Research Setting

This study was conducted through an association with *Humboldt-Universität zu*

Berlin (Humboldt University in Berlin), particularly coordinated through the auspices of the

Abteilung für Wirtschaftspädagogik (Department of Vocational Education). The original

intent was to include respondents from the full range of school types in Berlin, including

schools at the *Grundschule* primary level and *Hauptshule, Realschule, Gymnasium,*

Gesamtschule, and *Berufsschule* secondary level schools. However, upon arrival in Germany,

a different plan evolved.

Teacher training programs for different subjects and types of schools are provided

across different university departments, with the *Abteilung für Wirtschaftspädagogik*

(Department of Economics and Vocational Education) at Humboldt University responsible

for the preparation of secondary teachers in vocational schools. Because access to schools

and coordination of research activities for this study was afforded through the vocational education department at Humboldt University, inclusion of other types of schools outside the realm of vocational education would have proved difficult. Therefore, the decision was made to narrow the research setting to *Oberstufenzentren* secondary vocational centers and other vocational schools with established professional partnerships with the *Abteilung für Wirtschaftspädagogik* at Humboldt University.

The vocational schools and centers included in this study provide programs for upper secondary students, grades 11 - 13, with several offering technical and further education programs beyond the secondary level. Academic study and vocational training are provided in specific career area programs at varying levels and lengths of study, depending on levels of qualification requirements and employment opportunities. The various programs range in scope from basic content and training leading to entry level qualifications to advanced academic coursework and the *Abitur* examination required for university admission.

In addition to affording ease of access, an unexpected advantage of narrowing the site of this study to secondary vocational schools pertained to their positioning within the educational system. The state department of education, the *Berlin Senat für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, holds authority over all Berlin schools; however, district offices in each city borough stand between the *Senat* and the general schools, responsible for providing direct support and supervision. But due to the specialized funding requirements and the wide geographical areas served, vocational secondary schools are situated under the direct jurisdiction of the *Senat* with no middle governing entity. Therefore, regarding enactment of the new school law, vocational schools had more direct and immediate contact with the state,

which, if nothing else, alleviated time and communication delays associated with increased

bureaucracy.

Vocational schools, therefore, were appropriate for the purposes of this study due to

their close proximity with and connection to the *Berlin Senat* where the new school law

originated. Another advantage for including only vocational schools in this study pertained to

the circumstances of these institutions following the reunification in 1990. In former East

Germany, vocational and technical education was the path followed by some 90% of

students; therefore, it would stand to reason that after the reunification, particularly in the

merged urban area of Berlin, there were duplications in vocational schools providing

education and training in the same or similar career areas.

After reunification therefore, because vocational schools in the East offered

redundant educational and training considered substandard in technology and content as

compared to schools in the West, vocational institutions in East Berlin were typically paired

with schools in West Berlin having programs in the same career areas. Decisions were made

to either close one of the schools (most often in the East due to extensive renovation needs)

and restructure and expand the other; or in a few cases to keep both schools open as two

campuses with programs divided between them. As might be expected, during this

restructuring process, schools in East Berlin retained higher percentages of teachers from the

East, while schools in West Berlin included more teachers from the West. But in all schools,

there began a definite mixing and integration of staff members across schools in both East

and West Berlin.

Compared to other types of schools, therefore, the focus on vocational schools was

particularly advantageous for the purposes of this study due to the merging of teachers from

both East and West that readily occurred during the restructuring process. In the end, what

appeared to be a happenstance occurrence of pre-selecting only vocational institutions, based

on the association of this study to the *Abteilung für Wirtschaftspädagogik* (Department of

Economics and Vocational Education) at Humboldt University, turned out to be a relevant

and valuable setting - given the purpose and scope of this study in light of the reunification

era. The research sites included ten secondary *Oberstufenzentren* (OSZ) vocational school

centers, one company owned vocational school, and one private vocational institution.

Research Sites	Student Enrollments	Respondents	Years at Present Site	Background of Respondents
Oberstufenzenrum 1	1200	*Schulleiter 1*	4 years	West Germany
Oberstufenzenrum 2	3000	*Schulleiter 2*	8 years	West Germany
Oberstufenzenrum 3	1600	*Schulleiter 3*	2.5 years	West Germany
Oberstufenzenrum 4	1600	*Schulleiter 4*	4 years	West Berlin
Oberstufenzenrum 5	1500	*Schulleiter 5*	15 years	West Berlin
Oberstufenzenrum 6	1200	*Schulleiter 6*	36 years	West Berlin
Oberstufenzenrum 7	2000	*Schulleiter 7*	13 years	West Berlin
Oberstufenzenrum 8	2900	*Schulleiter 8*	3.5 years	West Berlin
Oberstufenzenrum 9	2300	*Schulleiter 9*	15 years	West Berlin
Company vocational institute 10	200	*Schulleiter 10*	10 years	West Germany
Oberstufenzenrum 11	1200	*Schulleiter 11*	1 year	East Berlin
Oberstufenzenrum 12	2300	*Schulleiter 12*	14 years	East Berlin
Private vocational institute 13	850	*Schulleiter 13*	36 years	East Berlin
Senat education official	NA	Respondent 14	12 years	West Berlin
University professor	NA	Respondent 15	13 years	West Germany
German labor *attaché*	NA	Respondent 16	7 years	West Germany

Figure 5. Research sites and respondents, Berlin, Germany

Respondents

The *Schulleiter* involved in this study were pre-selected through the auspices of the *Abteilung für Wirtschaftspädagogik* at Humboldt University based on existing university-school partnerships between the schools and the university. The school leaders in this study were involved in implementation of the new school law, educational reform, and the process of change in vocational schools, with 13 school leaders participating. For the purposes of this study, the top leadership position is addressed as school leaders or *Schulleiter,* implying the person in charge of the school who is responsible for implementation of the new law. Also included as respondents to provide additional clarification and understanding pertaining to the German educational system, leadership and reform, the school law, and the reunification era were a university professor, a German labor attaché, and a government official from the *Berlin Senat.* In total, 16 respondents participated in this study.

Of the 13 *Schulleiter,* 10 were from West and three were from the former East, as indicated in Figure 5. Because the majority of school leaders in the East were dismissed at the time of reunification, and because the traditional career path to *Schulleiter* takes many years, there are very few from the East in *Schulleiter* positions; therefore, a more representative sample was not available.

The *Schulleiter* were all previously fulltime teachers in vocational schools, and in keeping with tradition, continue to teach from 6 to 12 class periods per week. Years of experience in school administration ranged from 3 to 36 years, with all 13 *Schulleiter* integrally involved in implementing the new school law in Berlin. The university professor, labor *attaché,* and the government official were from the West. At the time of the reunification in1990, 11 of the 16 respondents worked in East or West Berlin, while the other

5 lived elsewhere in the western part of Germany. The 16 respondents were all male, as there are very few women in school leadership positions at the secondary level.

Methods of Data Collection

The primary methods of data collection for this study included in-depth interviewing, observations, the collection of documents, and the recording of field notes and reflections. In accordance with grounded theory, data collection and data analysis were conducted continuously throughout the stages of this study.

Interview Procedures and Process

In-depth interviews were conducted with 13 principals at their respective vocational institutions. In addition, interviews were conducted with a university professor, German labor *attaché*, and an official from the *Senat für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport*, for purposes of clarification concerning implementation of the new school law, the status of leadership and reform and the educational system in Berlin, as well as to provide opportunities for multiple sources and cross-comparisons of data. Follow-up interviews were conducted with four *Schulleiter,* with all interviews conducted at the workplaces of respondents and lasting in length from one and a half to two hours.

Nine interviews were conducted in German and seven in English per respondent request, with interviews audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Assistance was gained from a Humboldt University graduate student in Berlin to check for accuracy of translation and understanding of meaning. A general interview guide of open-ended questions was designed for the purpose of outlining particular areas of interest, as illustrated in Appendix B, to include the professional identity and mission of the school, the role of school leadership and management, and the process of change and reform.

Because the purpose of this study was to gain understanding of the role and purpose of educational leadership through the perceptions of respondents, questions were non-directive in nature, specifically with regard to specific terminology, thus avoiding ambiguous or incongruent interpretations of such terms as leadership, vision, management, or culture. Open-ended questions were asked to avoid leading or misleading respondents, such as, "What do you think are the priorities for a school leader implementing change today? What is most important? How did you decide what to do to get the process started?" or "What advice would you give a new *Schulleiter* just starting out today?"

Other interest areas, such as gender and the East/West phenomenon were also included in the interview guide; however, it was predetermined that pursuing these areas would be dependent on the appropriateness of such questioning. The interview guide provided the researcher with open-ended questions in general areas of interest, serving as a springboard for directing focus and eliciting responses.

Interviews occurred in the offices of the 13 *Schulleiter* at the vocational institutions in which they were employed. As this was typically the first time an American had visited their schools, respondents appreciated the opportunity to highlight the programs and amenities of their institutions. In the beginning, therefore, my role was one of visitor and learner in the world of vocational education, although positioned on common ground as a fellow educator. That, along with my cultural familiarity and identification with Germany, provided opportunities for quickly building rapport that provided a comfort level conducive for establishing relationships.

Return visits were made to four schools to conduct second interviews, addressing follow-up questions emerging from initial interviews, as well as gaining clarification,

missing information, and verification of understanding. For example, attention to the

East/West phenomenon emerging from respondents from the East prompted additional

questions to pursue in second interviews with Western principals during return visits to the

first four *Schulleiter* interviewed.

Likewise, responses in first interviews concerning leadership priorities elicited

questions that narrowed the scope for exploring decision-making and authority in second

interviews, as indicated in Appendix B. The process continued over the next nine months via

email; continuously exploring questions, perceptions, categories, and themes that emerged

from previous data, while checking with respondents for understanding and meaning.

The initial phase of data gathering was at times confusing in nature since it focused

on gaining basic knowledge about the institutions visited and the German vocational system,

while at the same time being meant to establish relationships with respondents and

prospective respondents. Eager to offer explanations about their schools, respondents were

asked intermittent open-ended questions concerning their role and background, the culture of

the school, the new school law, changing responsibilities, and issues identified as

problematic. Initial information from these informal exchanges was utilized primarily for the

first phase of the study, but provided valuable background for entering the second and more

expansive phase included in this dissertation.

A problem that surfaced in the first few interviews concerned the amount of time

spent with respondents describing programs and providing information about schools, thus

cutting into interview time. At first, I was unsure how to change the direction of conversation

without conveying disrespect or disinterest. To alleviate the problem, a more directive

approach was taken in getting the interview back on track once a respondent had shared basic

information about his or her school, suggesting it would perhaps be helpful to save detailed information for the school tour to combine description with context. The importance of keeping a sense of timing, without appearing rude or overly eager, was essential for appropriate pacing and adequate time for discussing key information needed for data collection. Even so, this strategy was not always successful and had to be supplemented by scheduling subsequent interviews.

My professional background in counseling served as an advantage in maintaining an empathic approach for establishing trusting relationships with respondents. The researcher-respondent relationship was considered the primary instrument for gaining understanding of meaning, thus requiring attentiveness, respect, care, and a sense of responsibility on the part of the researcher. Although interviews were loosely framed within a basic set of "door-opening" questions, it was the responses elicited from respondents that directed deeper levels of discussion and took the lead in continuously creating and recreating meaning. As Sartre claimed:

> each piece of data set in its place becomes a portion of the whole, which is constantly being created, and by the same token reveals its profound homogeneity with all the other parts that make up the whole. (cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 53)

Interviewing was the method utilized for gaining understanding of that which was significant and meaningful to respondents, with understanding based on their perceptions of personal experiences and situations. The aim of interviewing, therefore, was to reach meaning beyond the superficial, to "zero in" on new emerging questions prompted by initial responses. Thus, respondents provided the direction for pursuing meaningful explanations

concerning dynamic processes, inconsistencies and discrepancies, and gaps resulting from incomplete or evasive answers. This required a non-directive approach, with attention paid to formulating questions and probes in ways that minimized potential for defensiveness on the part of respondents, and yet did not influence the content of their answers (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A variety of interviewing techniques, addressed in turn below, were utilized for encouraging engagement and maintaining a sense of trust and acceptance.

In each interview, every attempt was made to stay on an equal plane with the respondent, promoting non-directive questioning that encouraged discussion in mutual conversation. Both researcher and respondent took turns in speaking, sharing personal and professional experiences and perceptions back and forth as appropriate. But the primary role of the researcher was that of listener, focusing on listening reflectively to "key in" on feelings and perceptions that were perhaps just beneath the surface.

Efforts were offered to help respondents look deeper, with such open-ended probes as, "By that you mean...?" or "So you felt...?" or "To you, that meant...?" The blank was typically filled-in by the respondent, thereby adding depth and direction for continued probing and discussion. In rare instances where the respondent did not complete the gap, an educated and perceptive interpretation, offered in the form of a semi-question, encouraged either verification and expansion or an alternative explanation.

Continuous attention to maintaining rapport and attentiveness in the researcher-respondent relationship required the researcher to be a participating member as a fellow educator, but to also remain an outsider for gaining perspective on the situation. Participating in the process was intended neither to evaluate or judge the perceptions of respondents, nor to sway opinion and perspective in a particular direction. The purpose was to gain

understanding and meaning through the perceptions of respondents, to understand what their worlds and their experiences meant to them. To accomplish this purpose, it was my aim to promote relationships that helped respondents to realize that their perceptions were accepted as their truths. The role of the researcher, therefore, was not only one of visitor, fellow educator, and learner, but was also one of a participant.

Initial data collection and preliminary analyses were purposely conducted in advance of consulting prior research and literature in particular instances, such as in the areas of centralized reform and the role of power and authority. As these areas emerged, this approach was intentional in order to ensure that analysis was based in the data and not in the literature. The integration of existing literature, though initially delayed, was later added as an important part of theory development, thus justifying existing theoretical constructs in the data.

Observational Data

Observations were conducted in order to gain understanding of the vocational education system in Germany and the work environments of the respondents, as well as of their roles within their particular organizations. Observations occurred primarily while touring institutions, visiting classrooms, and attending professional development sessions. The *Schulleiter* typically provided guided tours following the completion of interviews. At five schools, classroom teachers conducted the tours, thus affording opportunities for cross comparisons of data through casual conversations with teachers.

The role of the researcher was again one of visitor, fellow educator, learner, and participant. The intention was transparent, with questioning and probing for explanation focused not only on the culture, structure, and mission of the institution; but also on the role

of the principal, effects of new reforms, and historical context since the reunification. The touring of schools provided opportunities for continuous cross comparisons of data, as well as for the collection of new insights and explanations. Seemingly small details became noticeable and important, details such as whether or not classroom doors were kept open or purposively closed, whether or not principals knocked on classroom doors before entering, whether or not exchanges between staff were formal or casual, whether or not the period of reunification was addressed as traumatic or incidental, or whether or not the topic was avoided altogether.

Guided tours ranged from one to two hours in length, depending on the amount of time spent visiting classrooms. The researcher visited one or two classroom lessons at each school, depending on the appropriateness of the situation, with visits lasting from 30 to 45 minutes. The visits were unannounced, therefore providing opportunities for observations of spontaneous interactions between principals, teachers, and students. Observations were also noted concerning teaching and learning processes, as well as detailed descriptions of the physical environment and culture of the school.

Observations were conducted at two schools during professional development sessions on school quality and evaluation, offered for teachers and principals by the *Abteilung für Wirtschaftspädagogik* (Department of Vocational Education) at Humboldt University. The workshops were two hours in length, focusing on school development and quality assurance with regard to the new school law in Berlin. Opportunities were afforded to observe interactions between the university professor, the *Schulleiter*, and the teachers, noting styles of communication, participation, and decision-making.

The intent during observations was to be open to all possibilities, taking full advantage of whatever opportunities arose to explore as much as feasible (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Therefore, the collection of data was loosely structured during observations, depending on the nature of the situation and possibilities that arose. For example, observations at one institution were focused on the status of innovation occurring in all aspects of the school; while at another, observations were narrowed to a focus on the authority of the principal.

Although observations varied from institution to institution, the intent was to look for incidents and occurrences that demonstrated dimensional ranges, variations, or discrepancies between concepts and relationships emerging from the data. At the initial stages of the study, it was not known if differences would be observed, given the pre-selection of schools included in the study; however, among the vocational schools visited, observations warranted rich opportunities to constantly compare data collected, as well as to identify categories that became saturated (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Observations conducted during school tours, class visitations, and staff development sessions provided increased understandings of the research sites and respondents, documented through detailed descriptions, field notes, and reflections. But more importantly, observations provided richness to the data collected, acting as an added dimension for making comparisons and identifying emerging themes concerning the role of leadership in relation to the communication patterns, school culture, authority structure, and overall climate of the institutions included in this study.

Collection of Documents

Collecting relevant documents was the third method utilized in this study. Documents were collected from the vocational school sites visited, to include school profiles with descriptions of programs, entrance requirements, and student demographic information. Also collected were documents from the *Berlin Senat für Jugend, Bildung, Sport*, including the 2003 school law; directives for school development; composite demographic, enrollment, and achievement data; the 2004-2005 implementation plan; and presentations concerning school development and the evaluation of school quality.

The school profile documents from the vocational institutions were utilized primarily for informational purposes to gain knowledge of the history, mission, program offerings, and other factual information. Documentation pertaining to school reform and development was available from only two schools, as most had not yet generated formal paperwork pertaining to recent reform initiatives. These documents were utilized in data analysis primarily for reference purposes and for making comparisons with respondent interviews, program descriptions, and reforms established in the new law.

Other relevant documents included the 2003 Berlin school law and a presentation for school leaders by the *Berlin Senat für Bildung, Jugend, und Sport,* detailing important aspects of the law and outlining directives aimed toward school development and quality assurance. These documents were utilized for gaining increased knowledge and for conducting cross comparisons with data obtained from respondent interviews, particularly with the *Berlin Senat* official and the *Schulleiter* in schools, as well as with observations recorded during the professional development sessions attended. Other documents such as school improvement plans, minutes from meetings, or evaluations were not in existence

The data collection methods of in-depth interviewing, observations, and collection of documents utilized in this study were never separated from analysis, but were interactively intertwined with continuous exploration of emerging themes, returning to previous data and directing the continued search for new explanations and different views, relationships, discrepancies, and categories (Strauss, 1987). During the period of data collection, the recording of field notes and reflections was another dimension of data collection and analysis that added richness, direction, and illumination to this study.

Field Notes and Reflections

The recording of field notes, reflections, and memos ultimately became a separate entity that held the different components of data collection together (Ersterberg, 2002). Field notes and reflections were recorded of interviews and observations, documented by in-depth description, reflective journaling, and memos. Initially, attempts were made to separate the different types of documentation; however, this soon proved cumbersome. After the first school visitation, all documentation - field notes, memos, and reflections - were recorded in one notebook divided into sections by institution and in sequential order based on date visited. This system afforded an orderly organization for documentation and personal reflections, minimizing confusion during school visitations and assisting in the positioning and locating of documentation later for reflection and comparison of data.

Notes were hand recorded during and after each school visitation, documenting descriptions of observations and conversations; emerging perceptions, themes, and questions; personal perceptions and reflections; areas for further exploration; and other thoughts and details of relevance. It was helpful to record notes while en route to school visits, focusing on important points to remember and taking stock of concerns. Of particular interest, when

continuing notes to record what had occurred during visits, was the reality that preliminary

apprehensions never came to pass. Thus, the process of writing field notes before and after an

interview helped to alleviate anxieties for subsequent interviews.

Throughout the data collecting process, it was important to be aware of the fact that

observation was the key to documentation, for without making acute observations, there was

nothing to record. In the initial stages, voluminous notes were recorded of observations

gathered during visitations, relevant or not. At that point, the key was to take a broad and

descriptive approach in documenting observations of environmental surroundings, interactive

conversations, first thoughts and perceptions, and personal reflections. The purpose was to

record as much detail as possible because in the process new perceptions and new questions

emerged, acting as motivation for gathering and documenting more information to gain new

insights.

An integral part of documentation was rereading notes at a later time to add new

perceptions and questions, as well as to recall and add observations omitted the first time

around. As the documentation process continued, realizations arose concerning observations

essential to record and information that was not, with saturation points reached in specific

areas such as descriptions of vocational programs, components of the new law, new

responsibilities of school leaders, and problems in schools.

A second revelation occurred as observations, perceptions, emerging themes, and new

questions recorded in field notes began to relate internally, in addition to the setting in which

they were observed. Through continuous reflection, documentation, and comparison,

secondary relationships began to emerge, illuminating multiple perspectives that indicated

similarities, differences, and discrepancies. Slowly, recorded field notes and reflections

became its own body of data, affording new documentation to be added and integrated. For example, respondents from the former East readily described and "relived" their East/West experiences of the reunification, thus providing rich data for analysis and further exploration. Field notes documenting those discussions led to new questions and perceptions on which to follow-up with respondents from the West, resulting in new notes to integrate with existing documentation, thus adding depth and breadth to the whole.

Another important aspect in documentation was to position myself at the center of the process, with the goal not only to describe and record what was observed "out there" but to stay involved as a participant. To do this required continuous reflection and deliberation on personal thoughts, feelings, and biases during the data collection process, particularly during the interviews with respondents. Taking stock of personal actions (or reactions) governed by personal emotions was the most difficult. For example, gender was an issue initially included as an added area of interest in this study. However, after the first few respondents glossed over the topic as a non-issue, gender was pursued only if time permitted, and was often omitted. The conscious assumption was to be selective about gender as a topic because of its unimportant status and seeming disinterest on the part of respondents.

However, upon reflection, I realized that underlying the omission of gender as a point of discussion were apprehensions in pursuing the issue further (or at all) with respondents who dismissed the topic as unimportant. Self-reflection as a participant, therefore, provoked confrontation with personal thoughts, feeling, and actions, affording the opportunity to go back and collect missing data or correct mistakes. I did address gender later with some respondents, but elected not to include the data in this study since it was not included in all interviews.

Once data collection was completed, hand written field notes and reflections recorded in the "notebook" were entered into a computer spreadsheet and organized according to categories and themes that had emerged, thereby affording an organized format for continuous analysis and for making cross-comparisons with other data. However, even with the spreadsheet and the progression of the analysis, interpretation, and documentation process, the "notebook" of handwritten and spontaneous recordings remained a prime source of reference for continuous analysis and reflection.

Methods of Data Analysis

In concurrence with grounded theory methodology, a joint process of data collection and data analysis was utilized in this study, collecting data by continuously coding, analyzing, and deciding what to include or add that would lead to emerging categories and themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data collection and analysis were deliberately intertwined, with analysis during earlier stages driving the direction that shaped later stages of data collection.

Interview questions in the beginning were open-ended and general, with analysis of initial responses leading to subsequent lines of questioning, adding new streams while probing deeper into existing themes. This was intended to provide opportunities for increasing the density and saturation of recurring categories and themes, as well as for following up on unexpected findings. Interweaving data collection and analysis in this way assisted in increasing insights and clarifying the parameters and direction of the data collection and analysis process.

Theoretical Sampling

Two key analysis procedures were utilized in this study, asking questions through theoretical sampling and making comparisons for specifically informing and guiding continued data collection and analysis (Strauss, 1987). The collection of data was guided by theoretical sampling, meaning to question on the basis of relevant implications or concepts. Initially, the sampling of respondents, research sites, and documents, involved open and flexible procedures for discovering and identifying relevant data concerning the role of leadership and the process of reform in Berlin since the reunification in 1990. The data were sampled to purposively and systematically identify relationships and variations, thus either confirming or invalidating connections between categories. Finally, deliberate and directed samplings of the data were conducted that either confirmed and validated a central category or theory as a whole or that identified poorly developed or saturated categories.

The sampling procedures of asking questions and making comparisons occurred during three overlapping processes: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Open coding, the first stage, consisted of broad exploration and analysis of interviews, observations, and field notes, sketching out large categories derived from relationships emerging in the content. The purpose was both to designate possible themes as well as to facilitate the organization of data. For example, the beginning of each interview included descriptive and factual data about the nature of the institution visited. These data were labeled "school profile information" and placed in a distinct category to which other data were added for reference as appropriate. Another immediate category emerging through open coding was entitled "leadership priorities," for every *Schulleiter* indicated and

expressed definite perceptions and ideas concerning attributes of effective leadership in the process of change.

The goal during the open coding stage of analysis was to break down the data and begin to identify flexible categories, with new questions emerging for exploration. An immediate observation was that for the most part, responses and notes appeared to fall into four very broad areas, at least temporarily and for organizational purposes. It was advantageous to utilize broad areas in order to designate which data to separate out for the first project of this study, which was for informational purposes, and which to utilize for the more expansive phase of this dissertation.

The first content area pertained to educational leadership, the second was centralized reform and change, the third had to do with teachers, and the fourth with students and community. With 16 respondents and two phases of this project, the four broad areas provided a means of organizing the data into categories and a coherent format for continued collection and analysis. Questions emerging during open coding pointed to several areas that directed future exploration, to include probing for differences between school leaders from the East and the West, the nature of power and authority in the position of *Schulleiter,* the role of the state, different ways of thinking alluded to concerning teacher differences, avoidance in discussing the reunification, and the blaming of external conditions for delays in implementing reform.

During the second stage of analysis, axial coding, the broad content areas were dissected again, separating verbatim transcripts through focused coding (Ersterberg, 2002) into subcategories within the broad content areas. Through the use of a computer spreadsheet, categories emerging from the interview transcripts were identified as "slices of

data" from respondent narratives that were cut and pasted into categories under the four

broad areas (Strauss, 1987, p. 27). Whenever, a new theme, concept, or topic emerged, a new

category was added to a broad content area, all the while documenting emerging perceptions,

questions, and relationships in "the notebook" of reflections and field notes. At this point, the

four broad areas included the following categories:

1. Leadership priorities

    Qualities, attributes, management styles, professional development needs,

    tasks and responsibilities, positional authority, decision-making processes,

    vision, leadership structures, communication styles, priorities for change,

    important sayings

2. Reform and change – past and present

    New school law, federal and state administration, "gap" between state and

    schools, autonomy from state, autonomy within schools, new reforms,

    sustainability, process of change, supervision and evaluation, changing role of

    Schulleiter, problems, solutions, gender, reunification experiences

3. Teachers

    Professional development, teaching and learning, teacher responsibilities,

    reactions to change, effects of change, teacher resistance, teacher engagement

4. Students and community

    Student responsibilities, student achievement, effects of change, community

    involvement, company involvement, market economy

During the second stage of axial coding, as data were organized into emerging

categories, the focus changed, with relationships forming between categories and between

respondents. New questions emerged concerning dimensions and variations between events, individuals, concepts, and consequences. As relationships emerged, comparisons of data became more focused, narrowing the direction for further exploration and analysis. During the second stage, relationships began to emerge indicating differences between *Schulleiter* from the East and those from the West, with new questions emerging concerning the effects of the reunification on *Schulleiter* and their implementation of reform.

A large amount of data were collected in the category of "reunification experiences," thus requiring further breakdown and follow-up on new emerging relationships, themes, and questions. As data were compared and analyzed, the direction of the remaining interviews changed course, with irrelevant questions in saturated areas such as "program descriptions" deleted, and more focused questions based on emerging relationships and themes added. Second interviews were conducted with respondents from the first four schools visited in order to address new questions and gain missing information (primarily concerning the East-West phenomena as it did not emerge until after the first few interviews), as well as to gain clarification, check for understanding, and compare with data collected earlier.

The third stage of data analysis included elective coding in which core categories were tied together and subcategories were integrated, with relationships validated and theoretical implications emerging. Saturation was reached in areas concerning the new school law and responsibilities of *Schulleiter*, with no new or relevant information forthcoming. Discriminate questions were formulated to refine existing data and relationships. Dialogue continued with respondents over the next nine months via electronic mail, as illustrated in Appendix A, in order to gain clarification, ask new questions, and verify or invalidate

relationships, connections, and understandings aimed toward the formulation of theoretical implications.

The final stages of analysis included a deductive approach for determining the appropriateness and genuineness of the data. It was at this stage that two distinct subcategories emerged, with respondents clearly separated into those who lived in the East before the reunification, and those who lived in the West. This understanding was based on differences that emerged between the two groups, for in accordance with grounded theory:

> Anytime…a researcher derives hypotheses from data, because it involves
>
> interpretation, we consider that to be a deductive process. At the heart of theorizing
>
> lies the interplay of making inductions (deriving concepts, their properties, and
>
> dimensions from data) and deductions (hypothesizing about the relationships between
>
> concepts). (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 22)

Data drawn from the substantive areas in which theoretical sampling had occurred were compared during the final stages, to include leadership priorities, decision-making processes, authority structures, and the process of change based on the perceptions of respondents from the two cultural contexts. Finally, conclusions were drawn from substantive theory that emerged from comparative analysis of the data (Strauss, 1987), such as attribution theory (Martinko, 1995), Lewin's balance of forces (1951), and House's culturally endorsed model of contingent leadership (1997).

Constant Comparison of Data

In addition to theoretical sampling, the constant comparative method was utilized for data analysis, conducted by comparing the data within each emerging category, then

integrating and differentiating the categories, and finally generating implications emerging from analysis. Comparisons of data were continuous, with each stage of development serving to transform the next, constantly unfolding the next step leading to the end of analysis (Strauss, 1987). Following the open coding of data into emerging categories, notes were recorded to identify differences, likenesses, and relationships within and across specific categories. During the initial open coding, differences between respondents from the East and West began to emerge, first noted in comparisons of the perceptions of school leaders concerning the authority of the state.

Two types of categories emerged during the initial open coding of data. Some categories were constructed from the language of respondents, such as leadership priorities and the "gap" between state and school; while other categories were constructed by the researcher from understandings emerging from the perceptions of respondents, such as top-down decision-making, collaborative decision-making, and personal vision. Categories constructed from substantive text tended to be oriented more toward labels, processes, or behaviors; whereas, those constructed by the researcher aimed more toward explanations of processes or perceptions. Therefore, even during the early stages, comparisons within categories began to provide theoretical explanations (Strauss, 1987).

Categories were coded several times, with some becoming quickly saturated, while others required additional comparisons leading to further comparisons and differentiations. The types and descriptions of school programs became readily saturated, as did the content and context of the new school law in Berlin. However, categories concerning leadership,

authority, East/West experiences, and the process of change contained conflicting texts that lead to alternate ways of comparing as well as to new categories.

As coding between and among categories continued, constant comparisons of concepts or incidents shifted to comparing specific properties within categories, thus affording increased knowledge and understandings. Diverse properties were compared and related in many different ways, as constant comparison of data continued with theoretical sampling that allowed implications to emerge by itself toward a unified whole. As theoretical implications developed, cross comparisons continued to limit and reduce irrelevant properties, thus clarifying and refining interrelated categories and the discovery of uniform properties. Finally, comparisons between and among the smaller set of remaining concepts and properties afforded the formulation and generalization of meaning.

In essence, constant comparisons served to first reduce, delineate, and saturate the data, illuminating emerging themes and understandings that then required returning to data collection and theoretical sampling for continued exploration. Constant comparisons forced consideration of cultural diversity in the data, with categories changing in terms of internal development and relationships with other categories and properties. Thus, the researcher was "forced to develop ideas on a level of generality higher in conceptual abstraction than the qualitative material being analyzed" (Strauss, 1987, p. 62). For example, initially any East-West data were positioned in one category, but by the end of analysis that one category had emerged into 12, as more complex concepts and issues emerged.

Reflective Analysis of Data

In the analysis of data, it was necessary not to assume that cultural boundaries before

the reunification of Germany were synonymous with the border between East and West

Germany (Wilkinson, 1996). While culture in the former East was grounded in one

predominant ideological society (at least for appearances sake), the culture of the West was

more diverse, as dependent on the politics, religion, and traditions of each state. To minimize

inappropriate generalizations, it was important to be mindful that cultural differences are just

as common within national boundaries as across (Dimmock & Walker, 1998), and in the case

of Berlin were to be expected. Caution was taken against the tendency to attribute emerging

data only to cultural differences, at the risk of ignoring other historical, social, and political

conditions affecting and shaping the situation in Berlin (Dimmock & Walker, 1998).

During data analysis, not only cultural differences, but also political and social forces

effecting school leaders, were continuously explored. The foundation of historical and

current information gained during the review of literature for this study assisted with this

differentiation, providing knowledge and background later built upon by respondents in

addressing the reunification and reform, thus offering clarity and explanation for

differentiating between the effects of culture and the effects of other environmental

influences.

During later stages of analysis, narrative analysis was drawn upon to dissect

relationships among concepts and historical stories, teasing out word by word and sentence

by sentence the meanings embedded in respondent narratives. Excerpts pertaining to the

broad concept of authority were minutely extracted from respondent narratives to determine

and analyze individual meaning, thus affording understanding of the position of respondents

with regard to authority and power. Gaining an understanding of the meaning and context of authority in relationship to individual perceptions was necessary for exploring other themes and patterns, such as the role of leadership, the process of decision-making, and the individual in relation to the collective. Likewise, the historical narratives told by respondents of their experiences during the reunification were analyzed as historical texts set in a particular cultural, political, and social context, thus allowing meaning to extend beyond the realm of the particular and personal.

Through inductive analysis, data were continuously collected and analyzed based on categories and themes emerging from the data collected, with multiple relationships identified among various levels (Patton, 1990). As understandings and relationships were formulated, concepts were generated from the data collected, with theoretical implications grounded in the data. Comparisons were made to existing research concerning leadership, culture, and the process of change, searching for new theoretical understandings based on the findings of this study, with meaning grounded in the perceptions of respondents and their real-world experiences (Glaser, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A grounded inductive approach enabled discoveries based on the perceptions of respondents from the East and from the West, thus affording comparisons and connections between life experiences in close proximity and those more retrospective in nature (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

<div align="center">Trustworthiness</div>

Establishing trustworthiness lies at the heart of qualitative research, forever negotiable, continuous and open ended (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The goal of this study was not to seek final and ultimate truth, but rather to gain understanding of multiple realities as dependent on context, with reality in the qualitative sense "actually the researcher's

interpretation of participants' interpretations or understandings of the phenomenon of interest" (Merriam, 2002, p. 25). It was through the use of multiple data sources, multiple data collection methods, member checks with respondents, ongoing self-reflection, rich and detailed written description, triangulation of data, and the keeping of a detailed audit trail of "methods, procedures, and decision points" that "interpretations of reality" were directly accessed, thus affording ethical trustworthiness that is ultimately the "strength of qualitative research" (Merriam, 2002, p. 25).

Dependability and consistency were built through careful auditing measures conducted to continuously check for accuracy. Detailed and ongoing written descriptions were recorded to document field notes, observations, reflections, school settings, and unique interview dynamics concerning body language, interactions with colleagues, communication style, tone of voice, expressions of emotion, and topics or issues of noticeable avoidance or undue attention. Multiple data sources included the 16 respondents (13 school leaders, and the university professor, government official, and labor *attaché*), observational data; notes and reflections; government education documents; historical literature; school profile descriptions, and professional development presentations. The data sources of this study afforded opportunities for extensive comparisons across and against the data collected.

The coding of data was systematic and continuous, increasing in focus and depth as categories and subcategories emerged and were refined based on relationships and validation by respondents. Once initial data collection began, member checks with respondents were continuously conducted to verify or invalidate understandings, perceptions, and interpretations. Patterns, themes, relationships, and questions were posed to respondents, thus affording opportunities for gaining clarification and addressing new questions, while

continuously comparing and checking for understanding with regard to consistencies and discrepancies in meaning. Subsequent on-site interviews afforded opportunities to conduct member checks with respondents, continuously comparing respondent perceptions across the data collected.

Once on-site collection of data was completed, member checks and comparisons continued via electronic correspondence for nine months, thus allowing additional time for checking and rechecking with regard to interpretation and meaning. Respondents replied in written format, verifying, invalidating, and clarifying interpretations attributed to data collected, thus increasing confirmability of the results and lessoning the influences of researcher bias. Data concerning implementation of the school law, impacts on school leaders, the role of educational leadership, and themes emerging from data concerning the reunification of East and West were continuously verified over time. Data concerning gender were not inclusive or comprehensive, so were not utilized in this study.

Establishing confirmability required that measures be taken to allow for self-reflexivity of methodology (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Detailed self-reflections were recorded before and after each school visitation, documenting what went well and what did not, relational or communication concerns, researcher apprehensions and biases, issues omitted or not adequately explored, and changes in the direction of questioning. Continuous efforts were made to place the researcher at the center of the research process as an active participant, identifying and recording preconceived and emerging biases, unexpected overreactions and identifications, and tendencies to jump to conclusions before adequate analysis.

Consistency was derived at different times and by different means, as data were categorized according to emerging themes and relationships, with connections and theoretical

implications emerging from the reduction and refining of categories and properties (Patton,

2002). Triangulation of data was conducted by comparing the different sources of data

collected, i.e. observations, interviews, and notes. For example, with regard to the

implementation of reform initiatives, data from *Schulleiter* interviews were compared with

the Berlin school law and with government education regulations, as well as with the Berlin

Senat education official's account.

Consistency in data was also gained by comparing what respondents reported at

different periods in time (multiple interviews and electronic mail correspondence later in

time); by comparing data from different points of view (interviews with 13 *Schulleiter*); by

comparing the perceptions of school leaders with the university professor, the labor *attaché*,

and the government official; and by comparing interview data with government education

documents, the school law, and notes from professional development sessions.

During later stages of analysis, comparisons were made between interview data,

previous research, and historical literature, thus enhancing transferability and generalizability

of the theoretical implications of this study. Detailed and rich descriptions were recorded to

provide clarity and understanding of the historical and cultural context of Germany, the

German educational system, and educational leadership, particularly within the context of

Berlin since the reunification of 1990.

The integrated constructivist/constructionist epistemology of this study is more or less

incompatible with the concept of ultimate truth, as the purpose was to gain understanding

through the perceptions of respondents. Authenticity was demonstrated by representing a

range of realities constructed within a unique social and cultural context, thus affording the

possibility of developing "more sophisticated" understandings that served to expand

viewpoints and contexts beyond one's own. However, inevitable to trustworthiness in this study, "the issue of quality criteria in constructivism…is not well resolved, and further critique is needed" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 114).

<div align="center">Reflexivity</div>

The notion of the researcher as instrument is a focus in postmodernist thought, claiming personal reflexivity as necessary for self awareness; political, cultural, and social consciousness; and ownership of one's perspective (Patton, 2002). Given my professional training and experience in counseling, the notion of researcher as instrument was well-suited for this study, conducive for the acknowledgement of personal motives, biases, and advantages that:

> places the researcher on the same plane as the researched…never…as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as a real historical individual with concrete desires, and interests. (Harding, 1997, p, 9)

As the researcher in this study, I am a Caucasian female educator completing a doctoral degree in educational leadership and policy studies, with qualifications that include K-12 administrative licensure, school counselor certification, and teaching credentials in elementary and special education. In addition to being an educator, having 15 years of professional experience in international schools in Germany, Japan, and England, served as an advantage for conducting this cultural study. Other advantages included extensive knowledge and understanding of the German language and culture, an international approach and cultural lens gained from multi-cultural life experiences, broad knowledge of secondary education systems across multiple national contexts, and residence in Germany from 1990 to 2000 during the reunification era. Another advantage in conducting this qualitative study

included training and professional experiences in counseling processes and interviewing techniques.

Reflexivity served as a reminder "to be attentive to and conscious of the cultural, political, social, linguistic, and ideological origins of one's own perspective and voice as well as the perspective and voices" of those interviewed (Lincoln & Denzin, 1994, p. 54). The call for reflexivity, therefore, went beyond mere positioning in German culture, but included involvement as an active, equal participant and fellow educator, with acknowledgement of a conscious and personal agenda, history, and perspective.

In contrast to a search for universal truth, the positionality of the researcher in this study required honesty, authenticity, and subjectivity in acknowledging critical ways of knowing. Therefore, the text was considered "partial and incomplete; socially, culturally, historically, racially, and sexually located; and can therefore never exhibit any truth except those truths that exhibit the same characteristics" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, pp. 112-113). The stance between one's own culture and the culture of this study was an advantage; however, of importance was keeping a continuous focus on personal motives and actions, comparing and contrasting personal perceptions and interpretations across the data collected. This "sandwiched" position served as an advantage as well as a limitation, affording a flexible positionality with a wide and knowledgeable cultural lens, but one that could never be positioned exactly as national (Trompenaars & Hamden-Turner, 1998).

Researcher notes of reflections and perceptions were recorded in journal format, continuously reinterpreting and comparing personal understandings across interview data, literature, and observational documentation to identify underlying explanations for personal actions and reactions, and to identify possible areas of bias. To minimize effects of bias in

analysis and interpretation, a continuous focus was placed on letting the data, rather than the

researcher, speak. A data-based focus lessened the influence of researcher bias, particularly

against ethnocentric worldviews that could spur overreactions, adoption of others'

ethnocentricity, or subjective treatment of the East/West phenomena in Germany, that may

have influenced interpretations of reunification effects.

Summary

This chapter addressed the theoretical framework and methodology for this

qualitative study, to include the grounded theory methodology through a cultural approach.

The epistemology was constructionist and constructivist in nature, with meaning both

individually constructed and shaped by collective meaning gained from the historical,

cultural, and social contexts of either East or West Germany. Methods of data collection

included in-depth interviews, observations, collection of documents, field notes and

reflections; while methods of data analysis consisted of continuous theoretical sampling and

constant comparisons of data. Trustworthiness was established through the use of multiple

data sources and collection methods, ongoing member checks and self-reflection, rich and

detailed written description, triangulation of data across sources and methods, and the

keeping of a detailed audit trail.

Chapter 4 includes the analysis and interpretation of results, grounded in the

perceptions and perspectives of the respondents participating in this study: the 13 *Schulleiter,*

and the university professor, German labor *attaché*, and Berlin *Senat* education official. In

particular, the results emerged according to the perceptions of respondents from East and

West with regard to the reunification in the cultural context of Berlin, impacts influencing

their capacities to implement reform, and the role and purpose of educational leadership in

the process of change – shaped and influenced by the larger ideological forces that have

"formed us all" (Heilbrunn, 1989, p. 37).

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS OF STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to gain understanding of educational leadership and the implementation of reform in Berlin schools through the perceptions of school leaders involved in the process of change, particularly within the cultural context of Berlin in light of the reunification of 1990. In-depth interviews were conducted with 13 school leaders of secondary vocational schools in Berlin and a university professor, government education official, and German labor *attaché*. Three respondents were from East Berlin, with the remainder from the West. The results of this study emerged as relevant to the research questions in three categories:

1. The historical and cultural context of Berlin in light of the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990.

2. The impacts on school leaders charged with the implementation of reform.

3. The role and purpose of educational leadership in the process of change.

The Historical and Cultural Context of Berlin

The results of this category speak to the context of Berlin before, during, and after the reunification of 1990, as interpreted through the perceptions of respondents and based on their experiences from either East or West Germany. In keeping with grounded theory methodology, understandings of the historical and cultural context of Berlin and the reunification era were grounded in the data collected, with respondents providing understanding based on their perceptions of life experiences from either the East or the West. This is the interpretation of their story, gleaned from their perceptions of a particular period in time that merged two cultures separated for by conflicting political ideologies. The impacts of

the reunification were no more profound than in the close proximity of East and West Berlin, as a microcosm of the greater Germany symbolizing a cold war reaching far beyond its borders.

In 1990, as East and West were reunited amidst fireworks at Brandenburg Gate, sparks of freedom and fanfare were ignited around the world, followed in Berlin with an aftermath of enduring ramifications and repercussions. The narrations that follow tell the story, with respondents providing understanding of a "double-edged sword" phenomenon. *Schulleiter* 1 through 10 were from the West; while *Schulleiter* 11, 12, and 13 were from the East. The university professor, labor attaché, and government education official were also from the West. This is an account of their story, interpreted from experiences of an event that changed the world.

> In Berlin, in the time 40 years after the war, the budget of West Berlin was subsidized almost 50%. And in that time, Berlin used to be very well off. There used to be high standards of equipment in schools, and in lessons there didn't used to be a lack of books or a lack of computers. Actually especially in the time until 1989, in the old West Berlin there was very good equipment and a very high standard of quality. That was politically insisted because West Berlin was the city that was in the frontier line against socialism, and so of course they wanted to show that it had a very high standard. And the costs of the German unification amounted to about 1.4 trillion German Marks. And that money is lacking now.   *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> Berlin was kind of front line city between East and West, between socialism and capitalism, a kind of interface between all the political problems of America and West Europe and the Soviet Union and East Europe. So Berlin was the melting pot. And there were concepts of enemies on each side which were created during the 40 years after the war that got stuck in our heads, making the whole problem come closer in Berlin. To reunite was very difficult in the beginning.
> *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

> The Eastern German society was a very friendly, comfortable society in a certain way. Everybody was taken care of, you didn't have to think too much, and you had your job. You couldn't travel, but this was okay, you could travel to the Eastern European countries. And this has changed. And you see Berlin as sort of a melting pot of all the problems Germany has, the economic problems, the educational

problems, the employment problems, the migration problems, and...and...and...

German Labor Attaché from the West

During the 40 years that followed the end of World War II, West Berlin was heavily subsidized by the West German government for the purpose of demonstrating the positive influence of capitalism to the East, thereby also serving to build long- standing resentments in the West. After reunification, the social, political, and economic problems escalating throughout Germany, particularly in the East, were compounded in the merged city of Berlin, the "melting pot" capital of a new era.

The respondents in this study related their experiences of the reunification, progressing through time within the historical and cultural context of Berlin, according to the following sequence:

1. German Democratic Republic before reunification

2. Reunification of East and West

3. Impacts of reunification

4. Integration of East and West

5. The process of change: Past and present perceptions

German Democratic Republic (GDR) before Reunification

Respondents offered a revealing account of what life was life in the GDR before reunification, with security, collectivism, and equality at the forefront. As they described their former existence, respondents began to illustrate the roots of their "double-edged sword existence," the balance between conformity and choice, restriction and freedom, security and opportunity.

> In East Germany, they were missing a lot of things that may be good for education. For example, there were not enough places to go for holidays with a group and not

enough youth and sports clubs. I tried to do such projects, to make cultural groups, to do things together. And 25 people said yeah we'll come, and I had contact with schools in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and Russia. Then the students of GDR would go to those schools, students go to those schools. We had closer relations to the students because school was their life. *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

In the GDR, we had much more time for education and for the youth. It was no question of money. The whole education in the GDR, it was basically better because we had no economic pressure. And it was more special to do something then. If you wanted to go to the East Sea, you couldn't just do it because you probably wouldn't get accommodations there. And so I said okay, we'll make it a camping trip, but then you couldn't get any tents. So we formed a camping group and built the tents ourselves, and then we went for four weeks to the East Sea. It was more of a give and take then, and this made it more special because you couldn't have everything you wanted like today. *Schulleiter13* from East Berlin

This type of vocational school in the GDR offered an apprenticeship and the *Abitur* examination linked with it, and this particular company school was very selective. Let's just say there was a great ambivalence for those who came here and then went to study at university or *Fachhochschule*. They knew they had to come back. On one hand you had quite a social integration, a good integration into the company which was a positive thing. The negative thing was that there was no competition or choice. They knew they would die here in this company; they knew it when they were 16 or 17. So you have both sides, and it differed between individuals as to how that was balanced. Social security, security of the work place on the one hand, but with no opportunities and very low salaries. But all was secure. Social and job security placed number one. You have the difference, they could marry at the age of 21, and they knew that for their whole life they would be 98% secure, the other 2% only being if they would die. *University Professor* from the West

Of the three respondents from the East, *Schulleiter 11* was employed as a teacher before the reunification, while *Schulleiter 12* and *13* were already leaders of schools. *Schulleiter 13* was director of a company-owned school, thereby retaining his position after reunification; whereas, *Schulleiter 12* was demoted back to the classroom for a period until being reelected some years later. Memories shared of the former GDR reflected the spirit of concern held for the collective as representative of socialist ideology, namely a way of life that included both discipline and care as important components of schooling. Social security

was ensured for life, security at work and at home, security in the present and for the future –

but with little sense of choice or opportunity.

Uniform comprehensive schooling was provided for all students through grade 10 in

Polytechnische Oberschulen technical secondary schools, followed by training in

Werksberufsschulen state-owned vocational schools designed to ensure a viable work force

(Rust & Rust, 1995). Only a select and privileged few, based more on political ideology than

on academic achievement, were permitted to attend *Erweiterte Oberschulen* for the two

additional years of secondary school and the *Abitur* examination required for university

admission (Führ, 1997; Wilde, 2002). But all were secure for life.

Reunification of East and West

The reunification came as a shock to German citizens from both East and West, again

emerging as a "double-edged sword" phenomenon between gratitude and resentment, joy and

loss, excitement and fear. The end of socialist control was not the issue for easterners, but

rather was the loss of a way of life and thought held as reality and truth, thus indicating the

power of socially constructed meaning and perception. Respondents poignantly shared their

reactions of the reunification.

> Let's say, I grew up in the GDR never experiencing anything else. Of course that was no disadvantage. I was the new principal. But for school trips we only could travel in one direction, and I always said, "There is the border, it doesn't go further; that's it." Then there came the reunification. I didn't really realize what was happening before. It suddenly was like... let's say I went to work in the morning and there was a teacher coming down the hallway saying, "I love you all!" I thought he had gone crazy! My mother was in a resistance group, and she almost died from shock. And well...I had been convinced of it all. *Schulleiter13* from East Berlin

> These were the most thrilling and most interesting times which one could have experienced. The wall fell, the people could after 40 years be again in the free world, experiencing democracy! The history took place so to speak with our own eyes, and we had the chance to participate together in this unbelievable process. At the schools,

excitement ruled, with many questions to which the teachers knew no answers. And yet that was quite a dangerous time because during the period of the reunification, and even in the time before when the borders were opened. There were a lot of fears that there could be shots...that militaries would march in. Fortunately this process happened without any bloodshed.   *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

We knew that the GDR would not become a new state, but that according to the *Grundgesetz* [Basic Law] of the Federal Republic of Germany, according to Article 23, the GDR had joined the system of the FRG in all areas of application. Thus, the whole system of the FRG was taken over by the East ... this was the so-called economic and monetary union, and the political entry occurred on October 3 in 1990, and is today the day of reunification, a day of unity that is a holiday.

Schulleiter 11 from East Berlin

I was in Mannheim that evening, and I remember that I...I was at a union convention for my job, meeting people, making contacts, chatting. I came back to my hotel room and switched on the television to watch the evening news, and watched this...I couldn't believe it. I had actually tears in my eyes...I was a young student in school, still in school when they started to build the wall, and I was 100% sure that in my lifetime I wouldn't see the other side. It was clear that to me that this was a division of Germany cemented by a concrete wall. Well, a cynic would say that it's the only thing which the Easterners actually did pretty well...built the wall and got rid of it.

German Labor Attaché from the West

The period before, during, and after the reunification was a time of unrest, instability, and excitement, as people in the East experienced fear of the unknown and hope for the future. Schools were initially left to fend for themselves – which they did quite efficiently. Change was swift, with impacts creating a "double edged sword" existence for Easterners. Teachers were retrained in content knowledge, technology, and democratic ideology; school leaders were fired or "demoted" to teaching positions; and schools in the East were restructured to conform to those of the West. For those in the East, the process of change fostered both fear and hope, held in delicate balance between loss and access, security and risk, innovation and tradition, motivation and marginalization.

I still get goose bumps when I remember that time because the reunification changed our life deeply. I was a teacher in East Berlin and overnight the borders went down. And overnight we became spectators of a process that kept us all in suspense,

creating fear because no one knew where we were going or how Germany would develop…maybe it is hard to imagine what it was like living for 40 years…well, I have not been 40 years old at that time, but living in a country where you knew all your life that you will never be able to go out into the free world, and suddenly the border is going down. You can go there, you can travel, you can buy things. Tears were running down, people were falling in each other's arms, and that was a very exciting and beautiful time. So everything went very quick. The old school leaders, which were all tied to the political party, were deposed of and dismissed from their functions. Some were informed by the newspaper that they would not be school leaders from tomorrow on anymore. Of course, that was no proper way. But step by step we built up the education to the new standards. We handled the process. All the students passed their exams better than we expected, and we executed that process of reunification quite fast and well.   *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

The teaching staff here used to be all Eastern. The school first became a branch of an *Oberstufenzentrum* in the West, and I was demoted from school leader to branch leader. This branch was supposed to fit together with the West model in accordance to the reunification contract, in article 23 of the constitution, the GDR joined the system of West Germany. All the teachers' school-leaving qualifications were questioned, and a lot of teachers had to study again…we had a lot of blank spots in our minds, especially in politics. You could understand both sides then in this process of reunification. For example, in our school atlases, there were frontier lines drawn to West Germany, and then that it was simply shaded grey – there was nothing more. Those things really existed, and we thought it was normal! But that was only possible in a dictatorship.   *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

So in the schools, there was a lot of hard work, we exchanged views and experiences with our partner *Oberstufenzentrum* in West Berlin. The colleagues were working together, and we got to know each other in a private way too. Friendships were built, and then we became an independent *Oberstufenzentrum* again after only two years. I had to apply for the headmaster's job again, and there was a real election.
                     Schulleiter 12 from East Berlin

At the schools, we worked hard. Every possibility for advanced training and continuing education was used. Thus, overnight the preparation of the teachers had so to speak lost its validity…the teachers and the pupils searched for answers and an identity in a new, not yet available society.   *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

You have to take some time, but it's definitely worth it to know…because the problems existed. You must not forget that, that there was no single shedding of blood at all. The borders opened up and the process of unification in Germany and in Berlin as a melting pot happened – here in Berlin it was the most direct nearness of both systems…I could tell. Many start to forget, and to forget means not to remember. You settle in. But I think it has to be captured.
                     Schulleiter 12 from East Berlin

Thankful and appreciative on one hand, resentments and ambiguities began to form on the other. As teachers were retrained in content knowledge and technology and were matched with "mentor" teachers from the West, realizations of marginality began to build. Most *Schulleiter* were immediately dismissed due to connections with the socialist regime, and those allowed to remain were demoted to teaching or other positions. Very few were allowed to remain as *Schulleiter*, thus explaining the small number of *Schulleiter* from the East in this study. Due to the dismissal of most at the time of reunification, and the long period of time required for eligibility, very few *Schulleiter* in Berlin are from the East.

Impacts of Reunification

Once the initial reverberations of reunification quieted down, realities began to surface among both Easterners and Westerners, with disillusionment and dashed hopes giving way to the by-products of capitalism, soaring debt, high employment, and increasing social forces – particularly in the merged city of Berlin.

> And soon they were wondering, "Why do we have crimes now?" Of course, I knew that there were not only good things coming from the reunification. A half a year afterwards, I fell sick. I don't know why. And in that time I wrote down my whole life story, and then I made a plan for myself. There was to be no political party for me anymore, and no union. I had to try to go my own way. I would never join a party again in my life. But I could still be social if I wanted to. I certainly would never be an entrepreneur or, how do they call it, a capitalist. Unfortunately, it is sometimes not always good, because I am a little bit well-known, and if I have something to give...well, how do they say it, "The last shirt has no pockets."
>
> *Schulleiter 13* from East Berlin

> The problem is for me as somebody who was brought up and educated in West Germany for most of his life, I am closer to the French and Italians than to the East Germans...closer to Americans. The move was actually...the move to Berlin was an experience which I didn't need to have...after five years...I wasn't too sure that...well, I'm sure it was a nice experience for some, but for me it was something different.
>
> *German Labor Attaché* from the West

After the reunification, life went on as before for those in the West, with the

exception of vast increases in taxes to support escalating unemployment and reconstruction in

the East, and rapid influxes of immigrants from Eastern block countries with newly opened

borders. But as time went on, life became a tenuous balancing act for some in the former East,

as embedded traditions and cultural values surfaced to question newly gained freedoms,

expectations, and realities in the new society.

> Some people did not think about it at all, but for many the next problems were bigger. If you had ideals you have believed in your whole life, and then suddenly they all broke down...I think a lot of them...I wouldn't judge them, but today I would say, for someone who can't find the way, you should not push. There are very different reasons. But maybe it is something one cannot get over very easily if a person has buried himself so much into something, and then he enters a completely different society...and then he is unemployed. These were hard-working people, and it is still going on with no jobs. I gave them work to do; I didn't have to look after them, but there was no one giving them work. I still have to search for work for people; I have to try hard; I have to be flexible. This is the problem...the society used to be like that, providing security for everything you needed. No more.   *Schulleiter 13* East Berlin

> People in the East were of course faced with their first experiences of unemployment, drugs, crime...and a lot of other manifestations of the capitalistic world, many problems that did not exist in the GDR. Today, for example, in the new federal *Länder* in the East, the unemployment rate is 15-20%, and in Germany more than 5 million people are without jobs! And without jobs, many youngsters can find no training apprenticeships now. Of course we have also experienced free elections, the freedom to travel, no longer waiting 12 years for a car...and...and...and....
> *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> This company was not prepared for competition with the West. But there were government subsidies for East Germany, and in 1991 we got DM 50,000 to build this new company school. As the manager, I had to decide what we should do, and I decided we wouldn't do anything that we hadn't done before. So the teachers taught the same things that they had done before, nothing new. But every year I had to fight for money, for a program for a group of students, and then the next year I would try to get it for another year. Finally investors from West Germany took the last finances out of here. The number of employees decreased over time through 1995 and in 1996 the company merged with another company. When we finally had to close down, we had a problem of what to do. So I said okay, we will go private, but how to get money. So I got credit from the bank, and now I am the manager and the owner of this school, and we have started three new programs.   *Schulleiter13* from East Berlin

Even as late as 1993, teachers from the West thought that they were something special; they really thought that they were the only ones who had ever worked before.

Schulleiter11 from East Berlin

In the West, the deed was done; in the East, it was just beginning. As the newness of change wore off, people returned to where they had been before, to comfort zones not particularly grounded in ideology, but rather in particular ways of thinking in particular cultural contexts. For many Easterners, long-held idealized visions of freedom gave way to unexpected realities; while those in the West gained realizations of massive reconstruction costs in the East. The way of life for East Germans was repositioned and reconstructed; the way of life for West Germans was intruded upon, with values, beliefs, and traditions questioned and challenged by both.

Integration and Differences of East and West

In the beginning, there was the reunification of Germany, so the East had to come together in this vocational education. And there was also another school in the East, and this had to be renovated completely, and there were about 70 million DM, and I was in charge of the administration of all this, of this money, which is always difficult. And then also we had a new building here, 52 million DM, so there again was the load on my shoulders to manage the whole business.

Schulleiter 7 from West Berlin

Unfortunately, with the entry to the FRG some good experiences of the GDR were not taken over that would have cost money, for example, day nurseries and kindergartens, whole day schools, 12 years compulsory attendance up to the school-leaving exam, obligation for advanced training and continuing the education of teachers...also there lays the causes for the bad PISA results.

Schulleiter12 from East Berlin

The West Berlin school law was adopted by the East for the 1991-92 school year. As some Eastern schools were closed, teachers were reassigned to schools in West Berlin, thus instigating immediate integration. But in schools with paired campuses in both East and West Berlin, teacher integration occurred more sparingly, thus leaving schools less evenly mixed.

Differences in training and knowledge were acknowledged; with Eastern teachers retrained, reeducated, and paired with teachers in West Berlin, thus beginning the process of integration. However, even today schools in the East have primarily eastern teachers, and schools in the West have primarily western teachers.

The *Schulleiter* in this study identified various differences between East and West that were apparent as schools were integrated after reunification and that, according to their perceptions, were continuing to impact the implementation of reform. Areas of difference emerged in three subcategories: (1) orientation toward the individual or the collective; (2) positioning in the East or the West; and (3) differences in perceptions concerning risk, age, teaching and learning, and power and authority.

The individual versus the collective

In this study, collectivism refers to the interdependence with others, with sharing resources and unconditional emphasis on relatedness and relationships as paramount; as well as in-group goals and behavior based on norms, duties, and obligations. Individualism, on the other hand, refers to autonomous and independent behavior apart from the group, with relationships based on the rational determination of benefits, goals correlated independently, behavior based on attitudes, needs, and rights (Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997). The socialist ideology of the former GDR ensured equality and security for all, placing the individual as interdependent with others and as sharers of resources. In the West, democracy encouraged individual freedom, with values and traditions aimed toward autonomy and independency.

> We had closer relations to the students because school was their life. They learned here in former days, they had their free time spent here in the afternoons, and if you wanted to refurbish a room, to clean and make it white, the students and teachers would do that by themselves. They had more discipline, and they looked after each other. They felt a sense of ownership, that this was their home, and they felt

responsible to keep it clean. *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

Often the IHK (Chamber of Industry and Commerce) connects the company's name with my name, that's just the way it is. And you hope that it will go on well into the future. And there are many colleagues I know very well, for 10 or 15 years or even longer, and you have kind of a social responsibility. I see it this way. It's like tomorrow if a certain subject doesn't exist any longer, I could certainly say I would do something else. But then I would have to fire proven and good colleagues, and I don't want that. So I always try to train them like family so that we can make it, and I always try to keep this team together. There might be some weaknesses, but we never have to give up. *Schulleiter 13* from East Berlin

With the reunification, we went to the Eastern school that was like ours, and we noticed immediately that it wouldn't be able to survive in capitalism. We integrated 15 teachers from that school, and the points of view, due to the different backgrounds, are still sometimes different. I noticed that teachers from the East missed the feeling of solidarity. They were used to doing a lot of things together; they formed groups and did a lot together in their free time. Here at our school, we were more individuals. *Schulleiter 5* from West Berlin

There are still differences between East and West colleagues. You realize that in the way they act regarding agreements, if you are making trips they always hold together. *Schulleiter 9* from West Berlin

Respondents from the West identified the collectivist behavior of Easterners, as respondents from the East lived it; yet the underlying reasons behind the differences identified tended to vary depending on perspective. Eastern *Schulleiter* lived collectivism not as unusual or different, but rather as "the way we do things around here" (Deal & Kennedy, 1982, p. 4). *Schulleiter* from the West attributed the collectivist behavior of Easterners either to their traditional upbringing in socialism or as the means by which they collaborated together in resistance – or both.

Perhaps here again lays the "double edged sword" balancing act experienced by those from the East, not so much as resistance against a new ideology, society, or school; but rather as the struggle against embedded values and ways of knowing and the stereotypic behaviors

attributed them in the new society – as well as the existing ambiguities and expectations

between the two.

> The West German tradition was that schools and teachers had pedagogic
> independence. The state said what you had to do in five years or so, but not what to
> do in every lesson. That is one side. Then there was the GDR, the communist state.
> They said you had to go to communism and socialism, to go up the mountain only
> one way. So now, maybe only the leader goes there, and they stay behind. We have
> many colleagues from the East, and they say, "Oh God, it sounds like the old
> communist system." Maybe they are sometimes right, but I don't think this is a
> typical view towards capitalism or communism; it's that different people have
> different views. It's *allgemeine* [universal], a special way of thinking from an
> orientation to life. It's not the ideology; it's the life experiences.
>
> *Schulleiter* 3 from West Berlin

> That will be a very exiting process which will end in what school program we will
> choose, where our strengths are, what are our weaknesses, where we are not so good,
> what we have to focus on and how do we take that trip altogether. To take everyone
> on this trip will be difficult, but I think that is the aim of the program, which is
> supposed to mean an improvement for teachers and students.
>
> *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

Differences in thinking were acknowledged; however, Westerners tended to view

differences as problematic, while Easterners tended not to focus on individual differences but

rather the collective task at hand. Herein lies the differences in experience noted by

Schulleiter 3, with one oriented toward the attitudes and actions of the individual, and the

other toward the group goals of the collective.

Cultural positionality in East versus West

For all practical purposes, the political ideology, economic and monetary systems,

and societal structures of the GDR were replaced by the Federal Republic of Germany;

thereby, designating the West as the dominant culture and society. The dominance of West

Germany was not only due to its economic, social, and political advantage, but also to its

positioning in the center as keeper of the change process (Bennett, 1993). Neither *Schulleiter*

from the East nor from the West expressed regret or remorse over the demise of the GDR;

however, the process of reunification brought a definite imposition of one system over

another, thus positioning Easterners in the cultural margins, illuminating the "double-edged

sword" existence in the new society.

> It was no duty, but I think it was no harm. Quite the reverse, because we had a lot of
> blank spots in our mind, especially in politics, and those were filled up in many
> different ways. You could understand both sides then in this process of
> reunification...The process certainly gave me strength. I know both sides. I know the
> one development, I know the other development.   *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

Entrance into the reunified German culture and society contained an element of

ambiguity for Easterners, with forced compliance and a sense of loss on one hand, and

anticipated freedom and jubilation on the other. Drawing on the analytical framework

suggested by Ladson-Billings (2000), perhaps the positioning of East Germans in the cultural

margins constructed an advantage in perspective, thus enabling a view of the situation

through a wider lens than was available to Westerners.

Schulleiter from the East neither identified nor pinpointed differences between East

and West colleagues as problematic, even though differences in backgrounds and ways of

thinking were acknowledged. On the other hand, respondents from the West designated

differences between East and West as problematic hindrances that affected the process of

change, albeit with varying and sometimes conflicting perceptions.

> The Westerners think they know better, and they regard them [Easterners] as sort of
> second class citizens and so on. This is still there
> > *German Labor Attaché* from the West

> East colleagues came here with big fears because professionally they were not able to
> handle the lessons. They were always behaving very quietly, always listening and
> staying together. The West colleagues didn't take the East colleagues at face value
> because they said, "They can't do anything anywhere," and there was hardly any
> contact between them. That means the East colleagues were afraid of asking for help

because a lot of West colleagues were condescending, saying "Come on! You are teachers! Don't you know this?" That was really difficult. You could see it in the votes, too. You could see very clearly that East colleagues voted for East colleagues, and West colleagues for West colleagues. And we guided East colleagues through the lessons that were made by West colleagues. It was a disaster because the West colleagues were always shaking their heads and saying, "They don't know anything at all," and they East colleagues were always saying, "They only want to show us that we don't know anything." That was very unfortunate. We solved the problem by letting the East colleagues sit in the lessons, and we formed two-person teams, one East colleague and one West colleague. They had to cooperate. There were a lot of complaints by the West colleagues about the East colleagues, but after one year they came together. It is not solved, but it has improved. At least they talk with each other. But in fact, the East colleagues were clearly worse in a professional sense, you have to say.   *Schulleiter 7* from West Berlin

And maybe together with an extended leadership group or in workgroups where ideas, influenced by my own ideas and the ideas of others, we won't do anything that is not supported by the colleagues. A school program can only be supported by the colleagues. School has to be fun, too; work has to be fun. And so you must not only feel obligated to new ideas but you have to say, "Hey, you are a leader of a team and you have to reach what you can do according to your possibilities" so we can work well. That is the most important task.   *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

Throughout the decade that followed, some schools became more integrated than others, with teachers from both East and West settling into relative stability, at least as far as structure and organization were concerned. According to the *Schulleiter* in this study, the primary issue affecting progress in education through the 1990s and into the 21st century was the continuous lack of funding, with Berlin falling further and further into the economic abyss caused by costs associated with the reunification. The results of PISA 2000 had thrust Germany's education system into the political limelight as never before, with centralized legislation across all *Länder* mandating unprecedented reforms and responsibilities to local schools – without allocation of sufficient resources or funding.

With enactment of the Berlin school law in 2004, *Schulleiter* were afforded new responsibilities for budgeting, expenditure of funds, hiring and evaluation of personnel, and

accountability for school quality, functions previously under state control. Reforms mandated in the new law not only changed the role of *Schulleiter*, but also impacted teachers, as traditional teaching methods, pedagogy, and independence were being challenged by reforms focused on output, teamwork, projects, and integration of subjects. According to the *Schulleiter* in this study, the one drawback faced in implementing reform (besides funding) was that, although the law spelled out reforms to be implemented, teachers were not required to participate, thus leaving *Schulleiter* with minimal authority for ensuring the engagement of staff.

The majority of the schools involved in this study were in the midst of initiating school improvement and reform plans at various stages; with two schools just beginning. According to the reports of *Schulleiter,* the rates of teacher participation in reform efforts were sporadic, ranging from 10-70% in the 11 state schools to ironically 100% in the two private schools. As *Schulleiter* described their experiences in implementing reform and involving staff in the change process, several factors were identified as affecting their capacities to afford change. *Schulleiter* from the West attributed such factors to distinctions between Easterners and Westerners, identifying differences in perceptions, attitudes, and group processes as problematic. Eastern *Schulleiter*, while also identifying problematic areas as affecting their capacities to implement change, did not attribute challenges to differences between East and West.

> In the school, it was a big problem because we got half the teachers from the East. It had to do with competence – Eastern colleagues had not studied what we needed there, but they were stricter about education, paying attention to punctuality and tidiness. In part, the other Western colleagues didn't see it that way; there were differences. They are not gone yet; there are still differences between East and West colleagues. You realize that in the way they act regarding agreements; if you make trips, they always stick together.   *Schulleiter 9* from West Berlin

There are the difference between East and West. It's more behavior as in the experience that they have had in their 30 years or 40 years. We say they are less...much less creative. They are not so creative perhaps because they didn't learn to live in this way, to be sometimes chaotic or spontaneous because it's not...That's positive in the Western community or countries, that you learn to develop yourself, and that you try to sometimes be a little bit chaotic or creative. Easterners had not the chance in this direction because the state said okay, these people who are a little bit chaotic or creative or spontaneous, they will go to the prisons and are gone from the streets. Or they must go inside their flats and close the doors. That's history I think.

Schulleiter 3 from West Berlin

The *Schulleiter* is the manager of the whole venture, but he has department heads and an assistant, and subject teachers with whom we will certainly develop the school program. Maybe together with an extended leadership group or in work groups where ideas, influenced by my ideas and those of others...we won't do anything that is not supported by the colleagues. A school program can only be supported by the colleagues.

Schulleiter 12 from East Berlin

Differences in perception

The *Schulleiter* in this study related experiences of how the implementation of reform was progressing in their schools, as grounded in their perceptions. Again a difference noted was that Western *Schulleiter* focused more on behaviors of individuals, whereas *Schulleiter* from the East focused on the tasks at hand and processes utilized to accomplish the mission. Western *Schulleiter* tended to focus on whom; Eastern *Schulleiter* focused on what and how.

Orientations toward change differed among the *Schulleiter,* influenced by past experiences and assumptions, although with varied perceptions, concerning: (1) the willingness or unwillingness to risk, (2) the effects of age, (3) teaching and learning, and (4) authority and discipline.

Perceptions toward risk-taking. The *Schulleiter* from the West perceived change as influenced by the willingness or unwillingness of individuals to risk, albeit through different perceptions; with progress or resistance affected by attitudes and values based on past

experiences concerning risk.

> From my impression, Westerners take it easier, they are more flexible.
> Well, you just know from watching. When this thing was introduced about the new curriculum and the *Berufsoberschule* [school with in-house vocational training], I found even in the minutes of the teachers meeting that the Easterners have problems adapting to new situations. They don't see them as chances; what they do is see them as problems. So what they do is write down "this is a problem." They don't come to the clue that there can be any kind of a solution somewhere around the corner. The Westerners wouldn't...the Westerners would say, "Oh, where's the next meeting, I will go and get it organized...somehow." We do try to address it individually, to go and say try this and that and so on, but what you usually get back is a problem. With Westerners you mostly get back, okay we will do it, and I will show you what I've done after a week or so, and we can discuss it. That's the difference.
> *Schulleiter 6* from West Berlin

> I think those from the East are nearly better to handle change. They learned in former times that it is better to look up, not especially with engagement, but to go with you. They do a good job, but it's more like, "I have to do these things, I must do it, this is my job, and I will do it correctly". *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

> Boundaries...do you want to go beyond the boundaries or do you want to stay...it is always difficult...sometimes I don't think about the risk, and sometimes the risk seems to me so great and so unbelievable that I don't want to take the risk, but for the betterment of the others I take the risk. *Schulleiter 10* from West Berlin

> You also have a lot of examples where East Germans actually migrated to the West or somewhere else; they escaped and took the risk to start again. And some...it has something to do with qualification and motivation and interest...they're the ones taking some risks. To a certain extent, it is these people who are out traveling all over Europe, and sometimes you recognize them from the back, and they are entrepreneurs, they're engineers, they're scientists, and they have ideas, they take risks. *German Labor Attaché* from the West

Some perceived Westerners as more flexible than Easterners, while others did not.

Still others, such as the labor *attaché*, saw Easterners as risk-takers and entrepreneurs. But

interesting to note was the realization that risk-taking emerged as an issue for Westerners but

not Easterners. Those from the East assumed the element of risk as inherent in the process of

change and innovation, with little mention of or regard for the willingness or unwillingness

to risk. In addition, differences between people were attributed to human nature, rather than

to differences between East and West.

> Of course we have to try new things. We get a lot of information…I am in some other organizations, chairman in some, and then there is the *Berlin Senat* association and there I am the chairman of [this area]. There are educational institutions in it as well and so you always meet…of course, I have some instructors…so I always send people where I know they learn…those who have time for it and who are a little bit ambitious, we send them to work groups.…And, of course, there is no stagnation.
>
> *Schulleiter 13* from East Berlin

> And that means that a lot of colleagues will be involved in this process, and they will have to limber up and adopt new methods of teaching gained in further training. But I would say, if the teaching profession is not able to implement new methods and contents for themselves, whoever else can? *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> For me sometimes there are huge sums to cope with like high rent, additional property expenses, recently we had a breakdown of a boiler. I mean I am quite relaxed, I always used to be. Otherwise it wouldn't work out probably. I am always optimist. In 1991 I thought, "If you can make it for one year – well, then you did something." But always be an optimist. And then in 1992, I thought, "Look at this, two years!" And now we are on the market for 13 years – why shouldn't it go on?
>
> *Schulleiter 13* from East Berlin

> It depends on the sort of people. Some people do their work and they don't want more to do. They are satisfied with that and that is enough, and they work hard, and you can not hold that against them. On the other side, there are people who want to do something new by themselves. They are just not satisfied, and they want to be better or doing something new because otherwise it would be boring. And you can work well with these people. *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

> I think if the colleagues become clear of that there are advantages for them, that in their work they can experience joint tackling of concepts in lessons, joint development, joint try outs in the *Fachkonferenzen* [subject teams], then that will be a process that will be attended by everyone. But I am sure that will take some time.
>
> *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

The perceptions of respondents from the West varied as to the risk-taking attributes

of Easterners, with some perceiving them as flexible toward risk, while others did not. A

difference noted was that Western respondents perceiving Eastern colleagues as inflexible

represented them in terms of the larger GDR socialist whole; while those perceiving

Easterners as risk-takers viewed them more as individuals.

It was also noted that differences existed between the perceptions of Eastern and Western respondents regarding the focus of risk and change. In the GDR, one-way compliance was the norm, with the mission set to do what was expected and to get the job done. The Eastern *Schulleiter* in this study portrayed the process of change in this light, as a mission to be accomplished The task was to get the job done and to try to involve everyone in the process, with differences in risk-taking and problem-solving attributed to human nature, rather than to differences between East and West.

On the contrary, *Schulleiter* from the West, though differing in terms of positive or negative perceptions, portrayed change and risk in terms of differences in people and their orientations toward risk-taking and problem-solving. Orientations toward risk-taking were perceived differently by different *Schulleiter,* with differences in thinking indicated as some focused on involvement of the collective, and others focused on differences among individuals within the group.

Perception toward the effects of age. Depending on the past experiences and backgrounds of respondents, age was perceived to play a role in the process of change, with some perceiving younger teachers as risk-takers and change agents, and others viewing older teachers as set in their ways and unwilling to change. One Western *Schulleiter* viewed older Easterners as left-over products of the GDR, while another viewed older Westerners as left-over products of the 1960s era. Still other Western *Schulleiter*, as well as *Schulleiter* from the East did not perceive age to be a factor or an influence on the process of change at all.

> We'll find a way and that's kind of the whole attitude that we have. It's not a function of age; we have many older employees. It's the flexibility and the openness.
> *Schulleiter 1* from West Berlin

It depends on the age. The young Easterners are entirely different than the older ones,

like the 40+ plus people. They have difficulty.   *Schulleiter 6* from West Berlin

I believe it is more a phenomenon of age. Some colleagues have given lessons in the
same way for a long time, and they were prepared for that and are good in that.
Switching to new educational concepts with more freedom and bigger areas of
responsibility - that is hard for them and is unfamiliar and scares them...But there are
older colleagues as well who are participating until the end. That does exist, too. So it
is not the absolute age, but is more the emotional age.
                                                    Schulleiter 9 from West Berlin

That has got to do with older colleagues like my generation – the "68s". In West
Germany, 1968 was a generation where teachers fought for liberation from formal
restraints, for equal rights, refusing any leadership or supervision or control. The
teachers do their work quite well now, but it's the formal things which are annoying.
I have to say the young colleagues are more prepared to try something new because
have don't have this history, and they are more prepared to try new things and to
work in a team. They don't have the problem to show that they are the best. They
older colleagues have to try to save face.   *Schulleiter 10* from West Berlin

Sometimes the ones who are the least flexible are the younger ones, some of the more
flexible ones are the older ones, it's peculiar, and I don't know how much of it is that
we tend to attract a certain kind of person because they feel comfortable in the team.
                                                    Schulleiter 5 from West Berlin

Westerners attributed age to have an influence on the process of change, albeit

through differing perceptions toward younger and older colleagues, but Easterners did not.

Schulleiter 12 indicated older colleagues as valued and appreciated, illustrated by the

contributions of an older colleague with technology expertise as an example that age was not

perceived as connected to teacher resistance.

One of them is 97. And he said, "We are doing something else next year," so he can't
come because he'll be on a world trip at that time. And I say when he is 100, he is
still participating in life. I mean some of them are not in good shape; you can't do
anything about that. But you have to make the best of it.
                                                    Schulleiter 13 from East Berlin

Well, that problem [resistance] is certainly existent here in this school, for sure. I
don't believe that it is a problem of the older colleagues only. I have a lot of older
colleagues who just are very open-minded about new things. If I think about Herr
[Schmidt] and all the things he did in computer science. Sure, for older colleagues it

is increasingly causing strain and stress to teach more lessons per week. But not age.

Schulleiter 12 from East Berlin

Perceptions toward teaching and learning. Differences between East and West in

teaching experience and training extended far beyond content knowledge and technology.

There were different ways of thinking about teaching and learning, indicated as differences

between the theory-based schooling of the West and practical-based training of the East.

Western orientations tended more toward individualism and the theoretical; whereas Eastern

orientations focused more on discipline and uniform thinking.

> If I am no teacher with my heart, then it's all in vain. Everyone can give lessons, like an engineer presenting something in front of the class. Every teacher is responsible for order, tidiness, and discipline when entering the school, until that moment you leave the school. Everyone! And if everyone does that, then you are successful. And then you must have some time to have some fun, too.
>
> *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> It changed from what was typical for the GDR. That is, for 4 to 5 years he remained the principal of the school, but then the company became insolvent and was closed, which also meant closing the vocational school. So he bought the school; this is all he knows, and now it is changed into a competition situation. So as the principal and owner, he became the chief leader of this new institution. The normal reaction is he comes from the old system, but many of the current teachers were also in the old house and were there at the impact. They were all teachers in the state GDR company, and you have two different types of teachers: one is the so-called practical teacher in the vocational areas, and the other is in the theoretical subject fields. They tried to go to other vocational colleges as teachers, but there was no chance for that. They all needed to go back to university. That's a German story; it's a very German story. *University Professor* from the West

> There are some very special things where we see some differences between the Eastern and the Western education. We have some colleagues who have been here in the school for 14 years, since 1990-1991. There was assimilation of those colleagues, but it took us about 7, 8, 9 years. Yes, it's true, because of the curriculum it was completely different for those from the Eastern part. *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

> Well, no, it is not okay yet. If you do not study a subject the same as the colleagues from the West, then you cannot be as knowledgeable. That just doesn't work because you don't see the connections. You learn it by heart and you don't see the structure. That is still the case with many East colleagues, that they are giving good lessons,

sometimes better than West colleagues. They work much more stringently and are much more focused. But I have visited a lot of lessons, and often they don't see the connection of how it is related with other subjects like economics or accounting. You cannot eliminate these professional deficits so fast...but what they can do better, I think, is lead the class; they are good at that.   *Schulleiter 4* from West Berlin

But you cannot put them [Eastern teachers] into subjects like social studies or economics or business studies that easily. That's just the way it is. And they are frustrated too because they didn't learn to work with different school books. In the East it used to be the way that they had one school book; there was page three to seven to be learned, and then page seven to nine; and now there is no single book. There are a lot of books and they are not used to creating something from different sources, a totally different type of studying for Eastern teachers. What they can do better, I think, is lead the class. They are good at that. In fact, we, as West colleagues, didn't learn to do that. We studied at university for five years, and then were in schools for four weeks twice, and then – qualified. We came to school and then we got the first shock from practice. That is always a shock!

Schulleiter 2 from West Berlin

During the restructuring of education that followed the reunification, Eastern teachers were motivated and eager to learn and improve on one hand, but were given no choice in decision-making or chance for input on the other, thus again reflecting the "double edged sword" of their existence. Easterners complied and watched and learned, although their values and traditions, training and experiences emerged in the classroom. The perceptions of respondents interviewed in this study varied as to whether or not past teaching experiences and training were viewed as problematic and negative or as inevitable strengths and weaknesses that effect processes of change. Some were oriented toward the discipline and well-being of the collective; while others focused on differences between individuals in the group.

Perceptions toward discipline and authority. The *Schulleiter* in this study from both East and West held different perceptions concerning authority and discipline, portrayed either as related to education and the classroom or as pertaining to life in general. However, Eastern

Schulleiter lived discipline as an inherent component of life with authority as a necessary given; whereas, respondents from the West portrayed authority and discipline in terms of distinctions between East and West or as attributable to Germany's historical past. Respondents from both East and West acknowledged discipline as an important value of Easterners; however, Western *Schulleiter* portrayed authoritative thinking and behavior in more negative connotations, while Eastern *Schulleiter* viewed authority and discipline as once again "the way we do things around here" (Deal & Kennedy, 1982, p. 4).

> And the thinking, they [Easterners] were much more top down and authority thinking. In West Berlin teachers have much more transparency and team working together. These were two very, very different points of view. And there you see, if you look very closely, still some differences in the way they teach pupils. They are, in the lessons still some differences. They are much more...well I do not know whether it's right, but they are much more authoritative. And if a student does not accept it, he has to leave the classroom. But you can't...it's unusual with Western colleagues...we have another way of thinking about lessons.
>
> *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

> In Germany teachers aren't accustomed to thinking about evaluation because since the war teachers are standing alone and could do whatever they want. There were very few controls, but now it begins to change. That means that a long history, a long historical development is ending now, and you have to change the way. This is very, very difficult, very difficult. They translate evaluation with control, and I think that's the biggest problem - to see that evaluation is not only control. It's more than control, but you have to control the process to change methods, to improve your reports and targets, to be better in the lessons for the students. But nowadays they translate evaluation with only control, and you have to know that control has been in East Germany a very, very bad word and in Germany before the Wall too. It means control is something like slavery, they say that big brother is watching, like 1984, and that is the thinking of a lot of the colleagues.   *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

> We had some problems in the Western part between laisse faire and anti-authority, something like that. It means exactly that rules were missing, and this caused some very, very big problems for the children, for the young people, for the students coming into the school.   *Schulleiter 9* from West Berlin

> A *Schulleiter* cannot just do what he wants to. There is the *Schulaufsicht* [school supervisor] and the school law, and in this frame he has to move, because of course he cannot differ in a complete crazy way. He has to stay on a certain course. Now the

headmaster is an official superior, but only in specified certain areas. He leads the school; however, in many decisions he is of course not free, since participation is not guaranteed because of attitudes, employment rules, and staff exemptions.

Schulleiter 12 from East Berlin

I would tell a new *Schulleiter*...check your staff, choose the staff that will reach your goals. The goals for me in education are always that you can only do proper education if you have discipline. That means I would tell the students that this is a school and if they want to be here they have to have a certain discipline. There are certain regulations, a certain punctuality and tidiness...Furthermore you need a certain appearance as a teacher, as a professional. I would do it like that.

Schulleiter13 from East Berlin

Let's say I don't hang down like a spider to hear and know everything that is not immediately in my area of decision. And in this way I try to give the colleagues responsibility and only come in when that's not possible. But the guideline has to be given from me, and that will be very clear in working with deadlines for jobs, but I don't want that dogma, this bureaucratic way of thinking. I absolutely want the educational freedom of the teachers to continue, but they have to bring this educational freedom within the new school law and within our school program for their benefit and for our all benefit, first of all for the students.

Schulleiter 12 from East Berlin

The respondents in this study indicated that remnants of the reunification continued to influence the process of change in Berlin schools, remnants manifested as perceptions and ways of thinking, as cultural positioning in the East or in the West thereby indicating dominance or marginality, and as avoidance or denial of the East-West dilemma. Some respondents perceived differences between East and West as still transparent and inherent; while others distinguished differences as fading or scarcely in existence. Some recognized differences as embedded entities that will remain well into the future; others perceived the situation in terms of "as the old die out, so will distinctions." But all respondents in this study recognized that change takes time, particularly considering the aftermath of ramifications resulting from the merging of two cultures and societies in the cultural melting pot of Berlin.

Yes, it will last at least two generations. And, strangely, even students from the East... some of them came to this school after the reunification, and they still feel

like East students. It is still like, "Here is East; here is West." It is quite interesting; it's just what they learn from their parents, and they don't want to move. They want to stay in their East districts, and we stay in our West districts. So the exchange between East to West and the other way around is not that much yet. And actually, the West colleagues who go to the East have much bigger problems, mostly in schools for general education not in vocational schools. This is a problem, in schools providing general education at *Gymnasium* - if a West colleague is going to the East, it's always been very problematic. *Schulleiter 9* from West Berlin

But my thesis is…you cannot change a society that has been separated for at least two generations in 10 years time. So it takes maybe another 15 years at least without the Soviet customs in Germany. *German Labor Attaché* from the West

Orientations toward Change

Schulleiter from the East perceived that, while the reunification of Germany was inherently positive and constructive, not all components of the GDR educational system were "bad," indicating that an element of collaboration could have not only benefited relationships between East and West, but would have been beneficial to the quality of education in the future.

Unfortunately, with the entry to the FRG some good experiences of the GDR were not taken over that would have cost them money, for example, day nurseries and kindergartens, whole day schools, 12 years compulsory attendance up to the school-leaving exam, obligation for advanced training and continuing education of teachers…also there lies causes for the bad PISA results. *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

The changes happening in Germany are of course too slow; bureaucracy is an essential obstacle, but also the difficult budgetary position of the *Länder*. In addition, in the last 20 years, there has been a blockade against educational reform building in Germany which was not solved by the reunification, and now the era of globalization is demanding solutions. *Schulleiter 6* from West Berlin

You see actually the…well, there is a perception among Westerners that Easterners are getting too much, relying too much on handouts, on subsidies basically…don't stand up for their fate and so on. The Easterners think still that the West Germans claim they know everything better…maybe it's true. *German Labor Attaché* from the West

> Almost every week, schools receive material concerning school development from the Berlin *Senat* advising schools how quality should be improved. The idea of politicians and central school administration is to overcome the PISA shock as soon as possible. Activities of excellent schools in Finland, Canada etc. are being imported into the German school system, trying to make many things better in a very short time and to avoid mistakes made in the past 25 years.
>
> *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

Schulleiter 12 from the East identified the irony in the turn of events that has

occurred in educational reform, as components of the former GDR educational system were

reinstated after PISA 2000 in such initiatives as increased child care and preschool programs,

all-day schooling, individual support for non-German speakers and low achievers, and after

school programs and organizations. Lingering perceptions of the reunification related to the

process of change itself illustrate the delicate balance existing between the past and present

perceptions of those involved.

Some respondents spoke of the process of change with eagerness and motivation;

others did not. Some respondents were task or process oriented; others were more focused on

individuals and problems. Some viewed the mission as moving the collective along; others

viewed individual differences as inhibitors or catalysts. But interesting to note was the

avoidance and unspoken perceptions of some Western *Schulleiter* concerning the East-West

challenge (or dilemma, depending on perspective). Some respondents from the West were

reluctant to discuss the issue at all, claiming it as no longer relevant or as too sensitive to

address.

The experiences of the reunification shared by Western respondents were generally

focused on "the other" rather than on their own personal experiences. When Westerners

talked about reunification, they talked about Easterners. When Easterners talked about

reunification, they talked about themselves, eager to share their own experiences of the

reunification era, as well as its lingering effects.

> Well, it's a very, very difficult question....in general not, in general we don't talk
> about it.   *Schulleiter* 8 from West Berlin

> Ya, ya. It's too sensitive to bring up. We wouldn't.   *Schulleiter* 6 from West Berlin

> You can't see any difference, there is assimilation of those colleagues....but there
> you see, if you look very closely, still some differences....there are still some
> differences....Now we see some differences in these colleagues.
>   *Schulleiter* 4 from West Berlin

> I can tell you about it! I have it at home somewhere – if you are interested I can get
> the book.   *Schulleiter* 13 from East Berlin

> About the reunification, I could talk hours and hours...what happened negatively and
> positively, you have to take some time for that but it's definitely worth catching up
> with that because those problems existed...I think that has to be captured.
>   *Schulleiter* 12 from East Berlin

Thirteen *Schulleiter,* one labor *attaché,* one university professor, and one government

official, committed and dedicated citizens of the reunited Germany, grounded in a cultural

context from either the East or the West, each holding individual perceptions and life

experiences of a world-changing event. According to the perceptions of respondents, various

influences have impacted the process of change, reflected namely as differences in

orientations toward the individual or the collective; cultural positioning in the East or the

West; and perceptions toward risk-taking, age, teaching and learning, discipline and authority

– the effects of culture.

Discussion: The Effects of Culture

Culture is indeed an enigma. By definition it has been coined "patterned ways of

thinking, feeling, and reacting" (Kluckhorn, 1951, p. 86), a shared system of meaning

(Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998), and the "collective programming of the mind

that distinguishes...one group of people from another" (Hofstede, 1993, p.1). Culture has been described in terms of how communication and information is shared (Hall & Hall, 1990) and how common problems of humanity are solved (Inkeles & Levinson, 1969), from universal dimensions (Hofstede, 1980a; Triandis, 1993) to individual "webs of significance" (Geertz, 1973, p. 5) that distinguish one culture from another.

Despite varying interpretations and connotations among scholars, common threads running through definitions of culture imply collective agreement, shared values and meanings, common experiences, and social influences transmitted across generations. Thinking of culture in terms of norms, values, and beliefs, as well as "common experiences and environmental forces" (House et al., 1997, p. 538), affords a focus on the collective while also acknowledging changes in the environment, and in the case of Germany – in ideology.

So in considering the effects of culture in this study, the question that first must be asked is, "What is it then that has been learned?" What is it that the respondents in this study brought to light through their perceptions of experiences in the cultural context of Berlin? Situated in the collective values and shared experiences of respondents from both the East and the West, the role of culture in this study validated several assumptions concerning the effects of culture on change, individuals, families, organizations, communities, nations, and most likely any other conglomeration of humanity.

The first assumption points to the notion that change is always difficult and painful, involving inevitable adjustment and sacrifice that causes a "clash between the demands of the personality and those of a culture" (Sapir, 1993, p. 201). Magnified in the particular cultural context of this study, the acculturation of East Germans into Western society involved a

process of adjustment that reconstructed their cultural reality, a task threatening to values, assumptions, and identities, to a greater or lesser extent depending on the individual (Paige, 1993). Even with common language, common historical traditions, and common ancestries, the perceptions of respondents from the East indicated a loss of inward and outward cultural stability, at least for a time, that lead to varying degrees of insecurity and fear as social norms, value systems, and perceptions of reality were threatened and faced with reconstruction.

The second assumption signifies that ways of thinking and perceptions are heavily influenced by meanings attached to values, assumptions, beliefs, and traditions (Schein, 2004), fostered by an unconscious awareness "that no one bothers to verbalize...yet forms the roots of action" (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 24). Basic values and assumptions about human nature, behavior, and relationships vary across cultures (Hofstede, 1980; Schein, 2004), categorized in polarities to include individualist versus collectivist (Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997); high-context versus low-context (Hall, 1977); universalism versus particularism (Trompenaars & Hamden-Turner, 1998); masculinity versus femininity (Hofstede, 2001); democratic versus autocratic (Lytle, Barsness, Tinsley, & Janssens, 1995), and so on.

But integrated into all cultural dimensions is the realization that there are cultural differences in the way individuals view and perceive the world, and that collective ways of thinking become automatic and unconscious over time, illustrated in this study by the different perceptions and perspectives of respondents, with values, assumptions, and perceptions influenced by their positionality in either East or West.

A third assumption regarding culture implies that, although time, integration, and assimilation make differences less visible, basic values, assumptions, and perceptions are embedded and difficult to change (Berrell & Gloet,1999; Hofstede, 1984, 2001; Paige, 1993). Evidenced by the differences between respondents from the East and West, perceptions differed even after 14 years, particularly with regard to the perceptions of Westerners toward East Germans. On the contrary, the assumptions and perceptions of those from the East appeared grounded more in the collective, focused on "the way we do things around here" (Deal & Kennedy, 1982, p. 4) to accomplish the tasks at hand, rather than on differences between East and West.

A fourth assumption of the effects of culture points to the realization that the perceptions and ways of thinking of the dominant culture may very well be more embedded and difficult to change than those of the assimilated group (Foucault, 1980; Schein, 2004). Dominant discourses are elevated as "institutional knowledge, cultural values and biased social reproductions," with the dominant treating "knowledge as valid explications of the order of things" (Berrell & Gloet, 1999, p. 12). Discourses of the West were carried as dominant after the reunification, and according to the Western respondents in this study, lingering perceptions of dominance still hold.

Respondents from the West, though focused on change and reform, tended to depict those from the East in a negative light in one fashion or another, holding them subtly responsible for substandard skills, old "socialist" behaviors, and skyrocketing debt and unemployment from the reunification. On the other hand, those from the East, while walking the "double-edged sword" tightrope at one level or another, were focused on the tasks at hand and the well-being of the collective. The question arising with regard to the West as

dominant and the East as marginal, points to the extent to which the balance between Eastern

resistance and Western resentment has impacted the process of change in schools, and the

extent to which those from the East continue to be marginalized.

The *Schulleiter* in this study all acknowledged teacher resistance as existing in

varying degrees within their organizations, attributed primarily to the effects of age, lack of

motivation, overworked conditions, and increased class sizes. And according to the

respondents in this study, an "invisible wall" still remains between East and West, albeit it

ever so subtle or discounted. So, the question surfacing points to the resistance and

marginality of Easterners and the resentment and dominance of Westerners. Was it truly age,

poor conditions, lack of motivation and time that lead to resistance, or was it the imbalance

between Eastern resistance and Western resentment that was inhibiting movement forward?

In essence, the perceptions of respondents concerning the impacts of reunification

indicate the relevance and influence of cultural context in the process of change, varying in

responses attributed to resistance, submission, retreat, or engagement. Respondents, whether

from East or West, were influenced by long held assumptions, perceptions, and common

fears underlying change – fear of the unknown, fear of intimidation, fear of marginalization,

and fear of loss (Bennett, 1993; Schein, 2004). The issues raised by the respondents below in

this study leave us to decide the relevance, role, and impact of cultural context in

communities, organizations, schools, and nations.

> And switching to new educational concepts, to greater freedom, to bigger areas of
> responsibility; that is hard for them. That is unfamiliar to them and scares them. And
> if you are scared, and if you don't know how it works exactly, then you retreat. Then
> there are these blockades.   *Schulleiter 9* from West Berlin

> They have other opinions about pedagogy and *Bildung* of students. It is more strictly
> about education; they pay attention to punctuality and tidiness. In part, the other

colleagues don't see it that way. There are differences. They are not gone yet. I have the feeling at least in this school there are still differences between East and West colleagues. You realize that in the way they act regarding agreements, if you are making trips they always hold together.   *Schulleiter 2* from West Berlin

You know if I say now we will start evaluation, I know I am running against the wall. I will have a bloody nose. Everyone is resisting, and I do not have any power to change it. I have not the money, I cannot say you are fired, I cannot say we will put money into an evaluation process, something like that. That means we have to use another strategy.   *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

If you had ideals you have believed in your whole life and suddenly they all break down – I think a lot of them...I wouldn't judge them...today I would say, someone who couldn't find the way – you should not push too hard from behind. There are very different reasons...let's say, I grew up here, I was really convinced everything we do here is right and I thought in a human sense there were a lot of good things...and now suddenly you come here and she says, "The borders are open!"
                    Schulleiter13 from East Berlin

In summary, the results of this study pertaining to the cultural and historical context of Berlin indicate that perceptions differed between respondents from the East and respondents from the West. The positionality of respondents in East or West indicated differences in training, differences in thinking, and differences in assumptions, traditions, and experiences; thus influencing orientations toward the collective or the individual, and perceptions toward risk-taking, the effects of age, teaching and learning, discipline and authority.

But whether from the East or the West, respondents all demonstrated the same claim, namely that they are products of their environments and that their cultural contexts have shaped and influenced their values, assumptions, and perceptions. Respondents even perceived differences between East and West through different lens, ranging from influential to inconsequential, blatant to hidden, causal to unavoidable – different perceptions grounded in different cultural contexts, with different life experiences of the same historical event.

The respondents in this study, particularly those from the East from having experienced acculturation firsthand, brought home the realization that change is indeed difficult and painful, and that adjustment takes time, patience, and reflection. Also indicated was the realization that perceptions, patterns of thinking, and ways of knowing are embedded in values, assumptions, and perceptions and are difficult to change. And finally, the lingering perceptions of Western respondents indicated the realization that indeed the values, assumptions, and perceptions of the dominant culture may very well be more embedded and difficult to change than those of the marginal culture.

So the question remaining is, if culture becomes automatic over time and disappears from consciousness as indicated in the literature, developing into assumptions and perceptions that form the central core of culture (Trompenaars & Hampden, 1998); what is the core of culture that emerges as central in merged, assimilated, integrated, multicultural, and diverse communities or organizations or schools? Whose values and assumptions and perceptions become the central core in merged, assimilated, integrated, multicultural, and diverse groups?

Impacts on Educational Leadership
and the Process of Change

The second category of results in this chapter pertains to the impacts identified by *Schulleiter* as influencing their capacities to implement reform. The underlying theme was that cultural context matters, not only as a singular culture fashioned to an organization, but as an inclusive and broadened construct particular to the local, effected by the global, and influenced by everything in between. The impacts identified by *Schulleiter* as influencing their capacities to implement change concerned four broad contexts:

1. Economic, political, and social context

2. Global and international context

3. Local school context

4. The context of change

Economic, Political, and Social Context

According to respondents, educational reform in Berlin was influenced by the federal

government after PISA 2000 and the enactment of educational reform legislation in other

Länder. The *Schulleiter* all perceived lack of funding and resources as the primary deterrent

affecting their capacities to implement change, with many viewing the law as an unreasonable

political strategy, given the lack of training and funding accompanying it.

> Change is always difficult in a big system. Our school system is very complicated
> and bureaucratic. But I think it's possible with *mut* (courage) in politics. The first
> thing you point fingers to is economy, economy, economy. The second thing is
> economy, economy, economy. And the third thing is economy, economy, economy.
> And the young people, I think they are sixth, seventh, or eighth in the ranking, and
> that's a problem. I don't want to say that all are bad politics, also we have problems
> and must change and do our part in this changing process, but we can't do it without
> resources.   *Schulleiter 3* from West Berlin

> We have agreed on European standards which now come as goals in education, and
> we give them to people. And we say, well this is the aim, the target, the line. You
> start at the bottom and work your way through. And this is really difficult, it proves
> difficult because people feel insecure in this position, so we have to help them and
> guide them....I think it's very strange that improvement comes in a period of little
> money, budgets getting smaller every year.   *Schulleiter 6* from West Berlin

Respondents also identified the high unemployment rate and social and demographic

changes in Berlin since the reunification as effecting the implementation of reform, with

shortages in apprenticeship places for secondary students, increased numbers of non-German

speakers, and achievement gaps that, according to PISA 2003, indicate differences based on

socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds.

> Everywhere you look there are differences we do not control... questions arose after PISA, and education systems vary greatly depending on party politics or interest groups...It all depends on which school you attend...You can imagine what this means. Within a school, just between the individual classes of one single grade, the differences are as wide as between different schools. Schools are not the problem. Schools don't produce the deficits; they only indicate the differences. That's the important point. The deficits are there, indicated in the differences in scores... but schools cannot do everything.   *University Professor* from the West

> It is very bad that in Germany the birth rate is so low. This naturally causes some fears about the course of the future concerning school policy, family policy, unemployment, etc. With the reunification, all teachers are of course free in work with no ideology to prescribe or forbid like before; the spectrum in literature is infinite and many possibilities arise. The role of the *Senat* is that of authority, and of course that is there still today with a lot of bureaucracy, many statistics, and also control. The new school law includes new basic conditions, partially creating more possibilities, but however, still prescribing also a lot.
>   *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> The biggest problem about the new school law is that it came at the same moment when Berlin as a state has to save money. The priority of the new school law is to save money, and all decisions have to be made from the point of view that you have to save money. This is one of the biggest problems of the new school law. If we had enough resources, I think it would be a very good law, but not under the aspect of how to save money, how to save resources....This is not very motivating.
>   *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

> I think reforms are only one side of the situation; this is political. Budget is a different side and has always been tight, as usual everywhere. But now the crisis has come over us, and we are in the crisis. So we are making reforms without money. It all rests on the shoulders of the actors; we are the actors and we try to perform.
>   *Schulleiter 6* from West Berlin

> We are a country with high wages; we know that, but that has grown historically. And now we have the opening of Europe, and there are ten countries standing in line to belong to Europe. So Germany can only lead or be in front if it presents a good educational system, if it is giving apprenticeships and studies to all people; if we are investing in education, training, and further education today. But most important is training and apprenticeships. That is my hope, but sometimes I have the feeling that maybe it will not be like that because of this four year legislative period in

government. Maybe the politics are only moving in this frame and only giving a vision in these four years because they hope to get re-elected.

Schulleiter 12 from East Berlin

At least 65% of all 16 year olds go to vocational secondary schools. Now what will take place in the vocational training system, nobody knows exactly. There is a big study to check whether it is possible to have an occupational component to PISA to see where students stand. However, it is expected that the variances and gaps will not become smaller in the acquisition of the competencies.

University Professor from the West

The respondents in this study perceived political, economic, and social influences as instrumental in driving educational reform, holding little hope in terms of improved funding. The circumstances in which Germany is immersed were perceived by respondents as beyond their control, with the prediction that the situation would become even more austere before it began to improve.

Global and International Context

Influences affecting *Schulleiter* within the global and international context pertained primarily to issues of competition and choice, new phenomena to *Schulleiter* from the former East. Broad impacts identified by *Schulleiter* as effecting change included competition in the market economy, international comparison testing, educational unity in the European Union, and international movements of educational reform. All respondents perceived education as essential for maintaining (or regaining) Germany's place in the world market, situating their circumstances and conditions within the broad global context. Because the German educational system is highly connected to and coordinated with labor market conditions, *Schulleiter* perceived their responsibilities and the purpose of education as reaching far beyond their own schoolhouse doors.

You have to say in fact, the German school system and how it is understood in foreign countries does still exist, but it is changing more and more in connection with the extension of the European Union. *Schulleiter* 11 from East Berlin

The changes happening in Germany are of course too slow. Bureaucracy is an essential obstacle, but also the difficult budgetary position of the state is very problematic. In addition, in the last 20 years there has been a block against reform in education building in Germany which was not solved by the reunification - and now the era of globalization is demanding solutions. *Schulleiter* 6 from West Berlin

If you compare with PISA countries, we are compared with schools in Denmark and Finland. You can compare them very, very well with the results of U.S. schools. But most politicians in Berlin do not see that the resources of schools in those countries are much higher than in Germany. We know about a school in Denmark about the same size as ours, with 130 teachers and about 3000 children. They do not have 10 or 12 staff employees, they have about 40! Yes it's true, it's true, they have 40, and they have more facilities. *Schulleiter* 8 from West Berlin

We Germans can no longer compete with other countries; there are extremely grave differences between the individual German regions. The economically prosperous regions attract a highly-skilled work force, and those regions that are not prosperous tend to lose qualified work forces, especially in work areas that are not academic...Berlin has to be open to the international competition and has to face the truth. Berlin is not an island any longer but is placed in an economic situation – in a local, regional and national economic situation that is usually hostile against it. Berlin does not have the problems of the new *Länder*, but there will be massive losses. *University Professor* from the West

The more you drive to the East, the more it looks like the old GDR. This is a real problem, and unification and its impact on the labor market is probably not the only reason unemployment is high, but it's a major factor that complicates the situation in Germany. There is also a relatively marginal economic growth compared to the rest of the world; it's ridiculous. *German Labor Attaché* from the West

Local School Context

Schulleiter identified effects impacting their capacities to implement change in the

context of the local school as most problematic, to include unrealistic expectations for

Schulleiter by the Berlin *Senat,* lack of collaboration between the *Senat* and schools, and the

incongruous role of evaluation based on the tradition in German schools. Though the position

was afforded increased responsibilities in the new law, the formal status of the position of

Schulleiter had not changed, with the position still not designated as a profession separate

from teaching.

Although positional responsibility had been increased in the new law, positional

authority had not; therefore, the implementation of change was dependent upon the

acceptance and investment of teachers, with resistance and lack of motivation on the part of

overworked teachers surfacing as problems that hindered reform efforts.

> Now the headmaster is an official superior, but only in specified certain areas. He leads the school; however, in many decisions he is of course not free. Gaining consensus in decisions is protected and not guaranteed because of teacher attitudes, employment rights, and exemptions to advanced training.
> *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> And we have a mistrust here against school leadership. I have the feeling that the colleagues don't want to be led – maybe you can understand. It is nice without leadership, but on the other hand there are expectations that leadership has to develop the school further. So this confrontation between colleagues and school leadership is still there a little bit, I think.
> *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

> I think the school law was not thought over. Now, the school leader has been removed a little bit from the colleagues. He is more superior, but at the top he has not much say. He's hanging between school administration and colleagues, and he is the one loaded with everything. It's the *Senat* leadership and the school leadership as well. We have many new tasks, but we don't have the qualifications and there is no special training offered. But the school leader is still a teacher and follows the usual way as a career – usually as head of department and school leader. He gets very little support in training and has very few possibilities of leading the school in a creative way.
> *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> The first priority is as a teacher, with the special tasks of *Schulleiter* added on. So the principal has a reduction of 19 lessons which means he's supposed to give at least 6 lessons a week. In the future, teachers will have to be managers too because of what the *Schulleiter* has to do according to the new school law. The *Schulleiter* is supposed to build up and lead the autonomous school, manage the school budget, do the evaluation of school quality, and do the conferences. He's supposed to represent the school externally and internally and also has to be a teacher. The principal has to be present in conflicts and is supposed to be the first man or woman in school. You cannot shoulder that as a teacher. You have to do a lot of further training in the future and develop management qualifications that distinguish the new kind of *Schulleiter*.
> *Schulleiter 5* from West Berlin

The *Schulleiter* in this study perceived the lack of collaboration with the Berlin *Senat* as affecting their capacities to implement change, identifying the need to develop and build relationships, gather input and discuss ideas, participate in decision-making and problem-solving, thus implying a need for the same shared leadership and democratic structures between the *Senat* and schools as are mandated by law within schools. According to the *Schulleiter*, communication and collaboration with the Berlin *Senat* was problematic, given an understaffed department and lack of personnel with educational backgrounds.

Ironically, the *Senat* administrative official in this study also identified the same need for discussion and problem-solving; however, the direction was expressed as top-down from *Senat* and *Schulleiter* to teachers, rather than as shared and collaborative problem-solving. According to the *Schulleiter*, the gap between *Senat* and schools is problematic but inevitable without change, starting at the top.

> There has to be a change of mind in the ideas of the teacher, and it will help if the administration and the *Schulleiter* discuss the problems. So if they often have discussions, then the teachers will be more sensitive about the problems.
>
> *Senat* Government Official

> The relationship of the headmaster to the *Senat* is defined through the functions of the headmaster; however, it is stamped also by the actions and contacts with each other. I have no problems with respect to that, even if I get instructions just at the last moment to open a new class - although I have no spaces and no teachers.
>
> *Schulleiter11* from East Berlin

> Importantly, it appears to me that we should talk with each other about decisions affecting us before they are decided by the experts. As the schools involved, we should be included.
>
> *Schulleiter 3* from West Berlin

> We want to do more by ourselves...ten years ago the administration had a very critical eye on the schools and were not very supportive. We need them as supporters, not as critics.
>
> *Schulleiter 1* from West Berlin

A major area identified by *Schulleiter* as affecting their capacities to implement

change concerned the development of quality assurance measures and staff evaluation

procedures, for evaluating schools and staff had traditionally always been centralized at the

state level. While establishing internal and external evaluations of school quality was

perceived as problematic ("they tell us what to do, but they don't tell us how to do it"), the

evaluation of personnel was deemed most problematic in the implementation of change.

Acknowledging that evaluation is necessary for quality assurance and progress, the concerns

of *Schulleiter* pointed to the incongruence between the traditional mentoring role of school

leadership and the task of evaluating personnel.

> The problem is that the school leadership has to do evaluations of all colleagues. You used to be able to work very well on a professional level with the colleagues as school leader. But if I have to do evaluations about the colleagues, I have to go to their lessons, to check how they lead their class, and so on. For me it is a high expenditure that has to be done in a formal way, and it does not support the colleagues' trust. So this relationship that was based on trust got lost, and that's a pity. *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> In Germany, teachers aren't accustomed to thinking about evaluation because since the war teachers are standing alone and had the right to teach how they thought best. There were very low controls, and now it begins to change. That means that a long history is cut now, and we have to change the way. This is very, very difficult, very difficult. *Schulleiter 6* from West Berlin

> For teachers…well you know they translate evaluation with control, and I think that's the biggest problem, to see that evaluation not only as control. It's more than control, but you have to control the process. You have to control the process to change methods, to improve your reports and targets, to be better in the lessons for the students. But nowadays, teachers translate evaluation only with control, and you have to know that control was in East Germany a very, very bad word – and in Germany before the Wall, too. It meant control was something like slavery; they say that big brother is watching, like 1984, and that is the thinking of a lot of colleagues. *Schulleiter 9* from West Berlin

> If I say now we will start evaluation, I know I am running against a wall and will have a bloody nose. Everyone is resisting, and I do not have any power to change it. I have not the money; I cannot say you are fired; I cannot say we will put the money

into a evaluation process or something like that. That means we have to use another strategy, but evaluation is more than control. It is based on the idea that a teacher can bring more, that there are some advantages for the teachers themselves, that it is an instrument for they themselves to get better along the effort of education. It is not just control. *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

The Context of Change

The final impact perceived by *Schulleiter* as influencing their capacities to implement reform pertains to the context of change itself. In discussing problematic issues affecting reform efforts, respondents inadvertently identified particular elements they deemed necessary for effectively implementing the process of change. Based on their perceptions, leading change requires the following: to progress slowly and integrate all ways of knowing, to motivate staff and integrate a sense of hope, to promote a change in consciousness, to maintain tradition along with innovation, and to teach, talk and train others.

The respondents in this study understood the need to integrate all ways of knowing, particularly those from the East, due to reunification experiences that considered only one way of knowing – that of the dominant West. Other respondents also realized the need to understand and integrate the thinking of others in order to effect change.

> After the reunification, I became used to this process, and it certainly strengthened me because I knew both sides. I knew the one kind of development, and I knew the other. And if you step on new land completely on your own, you have to try to balance that by trying new ideas, the trial-and-error-method, and of course by further training. Otherwise you cannot keep it up; you simply have to learn that. And somehow we all did that with more or less success. I think with more success.
> *Schulleiter* 12 from East Berlin

> Those who want to improve their own motivation and the others who are in resistance…it's like you can't require them, and that's why we are trying to do it a different way a little bit slower, a little bit…step by step. We hope to change the thinking of those colleagues. Well I do not know if it's working.
> *Schulleiter 3* from West Berlin

> At this school there are, let's say, this is only beginning because…you can only do that with the colleagues and not against them or without them.
>
> *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

A second realization perceived by *Schulleiter* concerned that of motivation, that a sense of hope must be integrated, not just for the motivated and involved, but for the collective. *Schulleiter* perceived themselves not so much as the vision-makers, but as the role models and carriers of hope responsible for constructing the flexibility required to bring everyone together.

> We will have to go in very small steps in this process and will have to convince a lot, but finally I think if the colleagues become clear that there are advantages for them, that in their work they can experience joint tackling of concepts in lessons, joint development, joint try outs, then that will be a process that will be attended by everyone. But I am sure that will take some time.   *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> The Berlin *Senat* increased drastically the working hours of the teachers in the last few years, from 22 to 26 lessons per week. And we have not enough teachers now. A lot of schools need money for renovation, for new furniture. These are only a few points that certainly bring down the mood…so the colleagues say, "I give my 26 lessons and then I am empty, I am all done in. I can't do more and won't stand in line as the first one to do new things and innovations."   *Schulleiter 4* from West Berlin

> I just know too many people who had problems, who have problems even today and will never…One who supported me here a lot was a real communist as I would say. He fought against Hitler in the English army and was later in Austria, and then there was the GDR, and then the reunification. Today I would say he never came to terms with that. Certainly he did not see any hope; he was inflexible. Maybe it is my luck, maybe it is not my luck…but if you bury yourself too deep in something, there might be problems. You have to keep your eye on hope.   *Schulleiter 13* from East Berlin

> A lot of colleagues will be stuck in this process, and they will have to limber up and adopt new methods of teaching gained in further training. But I would say if the teaching profession is not able to implement new methods and contents for themselves, whoever else can?   *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

A third realization of the respondents was that along with the implementation of reform, there must also be a change in the consciousness of everyone involved. However, the way respondents perceived this change in thinking differed, with some perceiving it as a goal

to be reached, while others viewed it as impossible due to forces such as lack of funding and unmotivated teachers.

> The consciousness of everybody has to change, students and teachers, starting from above not just on the paper. The motivation is not very high at the moment. We also need the funds and the possibilities to reach these goals.
>
> *Schulleiter 2* from West Berlin

> It's in the hands of the teachers…to take everybody in this process. They say yes that's okay, but some are very shy and have *angst* [worry]. Everything is changing. There is more work, less money, and which direction should we go?
>
> *Schulleiter 11* from East Berlin

> It depends on the colleagues. If the colleagues say they want certain things then the headmaster can't press against that. He has to go along with it. It's difficult if the colleagues are not very motivated and don't want any changes.
>
> *Schulleiter 8* from West Berlin

> Change has to be personal, with professional advantages for there to be motivation to change, intrinsic change happens on the inside.
>
> *Schulleiter 1* from West Berlin

> A lot of decisions are made step by step. We want to change the thinking in the heads of our teachers about what we are going to do, step by step, slowly, very slowly.
>
> *Schulleiter 10* from West Berlin

> It happens inside, and we can only give them the chance for this. Then we hope they can then move toward change. It's voluntary, but it's positive in our program that many of the teachers (60%) are doing this new project.
>
> *Schulleiter 3* from West Berlin

A fourth realization for effecting change that was identified by *Schulleiter* concerned the need to keep organizational traditions while adding innovation. Citing that new reforms had been adapted without consideration of benefit, appropriateness, or need, respondents advocated going slowly, taking stock of needs and possibilities, differentiating between the myths and realities of reform, and utilizing data to teach and inform decision-making – in lieu of selecting reforms as definitive choices or improvements borrowed from elsewhere.

Schulleiter also identified the need to balance tradition with innovation in order to promote

feelings of security and familiarity for teachers involved in change.

> It's always a question if reforms are helpful when they are introduced. Several years ago in math, suddenly set theory was taught and was supposed to have a beneficial effect on student understanding. Five or ten years later it was gone, and no one talked about it anymore. I think you have to be patient to see what becomes of it. I'm not completely sure yet that these measures are suitable to improve quality because to introduce tests doesn't improve anything. It just establishes what's gone wrong and what's going right. Here at the moment, it's more to see what's gone wrong.
>
> *Schulleiter 2* from West Berlin

> This company was not prepared for competition with the West. But there were government subsidies for companies in East Germany, and in 1991 we got DM 50,000 to build this new company school. As the manager, I had to decide what we should do, and I decided we wouldn't do anything that we hadn't done before. So in the beginning, the teachers taught the same things that they had done before, nothing new.
>
> *Schulleiter 13* from East Berlin

> We have developed many new programs...but in my opinion many reforms don't move the teachers. They are not interested. Now it's more a change of competence from the *Senat* to the headmaster. So there are not many changes yet for the colleagues.
>
> *Schulleiter 2* from West Berlin

> You have labor market rigidities in Germany from the employers' approach because they felt that they could not embark on the American style of hiring and firing. It's some of those myths that are actually used to describe the situation that make it very complicated and complex. My feeling is that to solve the labor crisis, it's basically not possible to use one panacea. You have to look for a variety of measures, including maybe a combination of the supply side and the demand side policy, labor market reforms, but also continuation of the old traditional system.
>
> *German Labor Attaché* from the West

> The people...we have to teach the people that we can solve problems only together and in a calm situation. We have to teach them how to formulate goals and how to formulate the project...it takes a long time and doesn't happen only today or tomorrow.
>
> *Schulleiter1* from West Berlin

> We tried to use our knowledge and our experiences to get over the period of insecurity. It comes from a lot of talking time actually. And you say well you can do it this way and that way, talk to this one, and give them the phone number of an expert here and there. I connect them with other schools so they get together and work – things like that, so they feel safeguarded through this process.
>
> *Schulleiter 6* from West Berlin

The German policy in education is like a dove, you know, it swings in this direction and then the other direction, but both are a little bit too far. And I'm convinced that especially in this field, constant development is very important. And it's best to go in this direction and then check and step back again, and that's very important especially for such big schools. You should go step by step and have a direction.

Schulleiter 8 from West Berlin

Discussion: Impacts on Educational Leaders

and the Process of Change

The problems and difficulties faced by the *Schulleiter* in this study were not unlike those faced by school leaders across other nations. Under rapidly changing conditions and inadequately funded mandates, school leaders in Berlin are caught in a "sandwiched" position by nature of their position.

The Impacts of Centralization.

The large scale reform effort enacted in Berlin was under funded and under staffed, an occurrence not unlike major reform initiatives that have occurred elsewhere in the world (Leithwood et al., 2004). Realistically speaking, until the economy of Berlin is revived and revitalized, funding in education will continue to be a low priority. The reasoning behind decentralization of education is to decrease not only authority away from government control but also to decrease funding, thereby saving money by handing over opportunities (or encumbrances, depending on one's viewpoint) to schools for controlling their own finances, raising money, contracting services, etc.

The problem lies in the reciprocal demands made by governments for increased accountability measures, standardized assessments, and massive reform initiatives that are then not adequately funded, as in the No Child Left Behind initiative in the United States as well as other endeavors across the globe. The UK got it right with its five-year literacy

initiative that made the mark – by ensuring not just adequate funding, but substantial funding

for pinpointed initiatives designed to raise student achievement (Leithwood et al., 2004).

Only time and circumstances will tell the economic path of Berlin and the future direction of

funding for education.

Educational systems in Europe and elsewhere have been decentralizing education

from national and state governments since the 1980s, with centralized reform mandates

handing down increased autonomy and authority to local levels, as well as demands for

accountability and quality assurance. Placing decision-making authority at lower levels of the

educational system has been a primary goal in European nations, with other countries such as

the UK, Australia, and the United States following suit (OECD, 2005).

With greater global emphasis placed on the importance of education, caution speaks

to the practice of borrowing between nations, especially with regard to the adoption of

decentralization and deregulation policies that merely pay lip service to authentic autonomy

(Braakma, 1994; Weiler, 1990). As in Germany, decentralization typically occurs in vertical

format, with decision-making capacities passed down hierarchically, albeit with different

positioning of authority across different nations (van Amelsvoort & Scheerens, 1997).

But too often, under the illusion of decentralization, it is only the transference of

responsibilities that are handed over, with limited or no authority attached. Considering the

"best of the best" across nations increases awareness and possibilities. However, it is only by

taking stock of "if the shoe fits, wear it" at local levels, that opportunities can be afforded for

reflection, reevaluation, and reform of current practices and assumptions (Su, Adams, &

Mininberg, 2003).

Delayed by repercussions of the reunification, Berlin entered the "decentralization game" late in comparison with other *Länder* in Germany, but besides the dismal state of Berlin's economy, the *Schulleiter* in this study identified the process by which decentralization has occurred in Berlin (or rather lack thereof) as problematic, only serving to compound the existing "power gap" between the *Senat* and the schools and the ambiguous position of *Schulleiter*.

The Ambiguous Position of Schulleiter

Beyond the constructs of insufficient funding, inadequate training, and scarce resources, school leaders in Berlin identified the shifting and "sandwiched position" of their roles as most problematic on a day-to-day basis, illustrated as one *Schulleiter* declared:

> The school leader has been removed a little bit from the colleagues. He is more superior but at the top he has not much say. He's hanging between school administration and colleagues and he is the one loaded with everything.
>
> *Schulleiter11* from East Berlin

The *Schulleiter* of the two private vocational schools did not experience the same ambiguity and "sandwiched" position" as those at state schools, most probably because the state had less jurisdiction over their positions. However, they were faced with other concerns, namely from having to deal with pressures from companies, the instability of the labor market, and the lack of apprenticeship spaces for students.

But identified as very problematic in relation to the *Senat* was the lack of structure and guidelines, as *Schulleiter* voiced the need for collaboration, planning, and cooperation between *Senat* and schools. Increased responsibilities with minimal training in financial and personnel management were no doubt problematic; but having the most profound in-house

effect were the newly acquired responsibilities of *Schulleiter* without the accompanying authority for ensuring accountability and for evaluating staff and school quality.

Evaluative and judgmental tasks were not previously afforded the position of *Schulleiter*, by tradition or by law, thus a change in role has occurred with new school legislation. But while the tasks charged to *Schulleiter* were repositioned to greater levels of responsibility, the authority to carry out the responsibilities was not, with the position still not designated as a formal career area with a prescribed course of university study by the federal government. As a result, the friction resulting from centralized reform, between *Schulleiter* and school, was compounded. Bush and West-Burnham (1994) identified the problem as this:

> Quality assurance is collegial rather than hierarchical and about prevention from the inside rather than 'cure' from the outside. It cannot work in a climate of threat and sanctions, nor can it be sustained in a climate where teachers and schools compete to achieve goals which they do not believe in (p. 14).

Structural distributed leadership has long been mandated by law in German schools, with leadership processes and tasks spread across teams and groups, rather than as designated roles or individuals. In theory, such laterally spread leadership is shared and "enacted by people at all levels rather than a set of personal characteristics and attributes located at the top" (Fletcher & Kaufer, 2003, p. 22). But the ambiguous position of *Schulleiter* in Berlin, serves to illustrate the ineffectiveness of distributed leadership structures without distributed leadership processes.

The friction and "power gap" experienced by some *Schulleiter*, and the avoidance and non-engagement enacted by others, resulting from the redistribution of responsibilities without the redistribution of authority, created a "sandwiched position." "Additive forms" of

leadership, meaning the adding on or redistributing of functions and tasks, avoids interaction and collaboration, the inclusive and relational context that is essential for developing effective distributed leadership processes - and the engagement of stakeholders. According to Gronn (2002):

> A holistic perspective on distributed leadership sees it as a phenomenon which is more than the sum of its parts...there are collaborative forms of engagement...emergent interpersonal synergies...a variety of structural relations...an expression of the actual division of labour, as opposed to the system of formally defined role relations found in the workplace. (pp. 656-657)

Lessening the power gap and leveling the playing field between policy makers and schools minimize obstacles that block well-intended priorities of quality, accountability, efficiency, and equity (Wallace, 2000). While distributed leadership structures have been in place by law in Berlin schools since the end of World War II, holistic distributed processes have not. Only through reflection and reevaluation of historical and cultural assumptions, processes, and practices about schooling and leadership and authority, combined with examination of research-based practices of successful and effective schools, can policy makers and practitioners alike begin to close the gap toward a shared journey of preparing today's students for life in an increasingly complex and changing world.

The role of *Schulleiter* has also been impacted by influences far removed from the immediate, or at least seemingly so. The farther reaching and less visible impacts of globalization had trickled down to local schools, with tensions acknowledged as coming from beyond the schoolhouse door, with impacts particular to the local and perceived positively or negatively depending on perspective. Particularly relevant to their roles as

school leaders of vocational institutions, the *Schulleiter* in this study identified the following

as impacting their capacities to implement reform: competition in the market economy,

international comparison testing (PISA), unstable labor market, high unemployment, lack of

apprenticeship places, and of course insufficient funding.

However, with regard to implementing the process of change, the problem appears to

extend from the *Schulleiter* up and from the *Schulleiter* down, "sandwiched between in the

middle with minimal room to negotiate change. Perhaps the problem lies not in the

distributed structure of schools outlined by law, nor in the prescribed tasks and functions of

Schulleiter designated also by law, but rather in the processes established within those

structures (or lack thereof) for efficiently and successfully carrying out the business of

schooling. .

In summary, in resounding voice and emphasis, the economic situation of Berlin was

by far the most widely claimed problem impacting *Schulleiter* and schools, manifested by

continuous funding and staff cuts, buildings in need of renovation, outdated equipment and

technology, insufficient professional development, and inadequate resources. Results

pertaining to impacts influencing educational leaders and their capacities to implement

change were identified within four contexts:

1. Economic, political, and social context – Impacts identified were the political impetus
   of the law, lack of funding and training, high unemployment, shortages in
   apprenticeship places, increased non-German speakers, and achievement gaps due to
   socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds.

2. Global and international context – Impacts in a global context included competition in the market economy, international comparison testing, educational unity in the European Union, international movements of educational reform.

3. Local school context – Local impacts included the ambiguous role of the *Schulleiter,* lack of collaboration between *Senat* and schools, lack of positional authority of *Schulleiter,* and incongruous role of evaluation.

4. Realizations about the context of change – Factors identified as essential for effective change included going slowly, integrating all ways of knowing, motivating staff with a sense of hope, integrating a change in consciousness, maintaining tradition with innovation, and teaching and talking with teachers.

<p align="center">The Role and Purpose of Educational Leadership</p>

The third category of results in this study pertains to the role and purpose of educational leadership in the process of change, grounded in the perceptions and experiences of *Schulleiter* involved in implementing reforms in the Berlin school law enacted in 2004. The educational reform movement in Germany resulting from PISA 2000 served to thrust the traditional role of educational leadership into a flux of change, with *Schulleiter* struggling to adapt to responsibilities previously held under centralized state authority.

> The old school law defined the leading position according to…the Latin expression is *primus inter pares,* that means equal amongst equals. Usually he was elected by the colleagues and appointed by the *Senat.* So basically, he was kind of a role model. He could not give references and could not decide independently about finances. So he had few possibilities to lead the school. The new school law makes the responsibility for school leadership more clear with one person responsible, and that is the *Schulleiter*…The new *Schulleiter* has to do evaluations now, and has more possibilities to lead colleagues in a positive or negative way.
>
> *Schulleiter* 11 from East Berlin

Before the new law, the position had been primarily managerial in nature, with

Schulleiter regarded first as teachers and secondarily as school organizers, thus holding

limited responsibility and minimal authority over personnel and financial management,

budgeting and raising revenue, or supervision and evaluation of staff. But new legislation

charged school leaders in Berlin with responsibilities for hiring and evaluating personnel,

budgeting and expenditure of funds, development of school programming, and evaluation of

school quality – with decreased funding, inadequate resources, staffing cuts, and minimal

guidance. Such changes in role and responsibility served to bring the traditional concept of

Schulleiter under discussion.

> If you ask the difference between leadership and management, I would say leadership
> to me tends more to a dictatorial system, where leader means there is one who makes
> the decisions. Management already assumes that decision-making will be spread. We
> ask a lot how our staff thinks, and we take this into consideration in our decision-
> making.   *Schulleiter* 5 from West Berlin

> The difference is still the competence in teaching, apart from all the nice
> competencies of leading staff and competence to develop the school. This is still very
> important with the new school law. They say the core of the school is the lesson.
> There is a lot of advising and counseling, but you can't advise without profound
> knowledge. That's my opinion, but it's probably not representative.
>   *Schulleiter* 6 from West Berlin

> There is a special kind of leadership that describes how to talk to people, not only for
> deciding in the leader's way, but to convince them to do something you think is the
> right thing. This tradition comes from scientists in Switzerland. It means you have to
> discuss it, and then you have to decide. But you have to control the decision-making
> in a positive way.   *Schulleiter* 9 from West Berlin

> But in cases when certain things have to be decided, and when finally it has to be
> represented to the outside, the essential things are the matter of the school leader.
> That's the way it is. Otherwise, you wouldn't need him and you could do without
> him.   *Schulleiter* 11 from East Berlin

> The schools or the headmasters are often left alone with the new developments, with
> any coaching taking place only slightly. One has the impression that when the policy
> has no explanation, the questions are simply handed on down to the schools....In

Berlin, there is not enough training on leadership or in the educational policy.

Schulleiter 3 from the West

For change to work in organizations, four conditions are presumed necessary: the involvement of participants in decision-making, external administrative support, no escalation in teacher workloads, and the involvement of those responsible for implementing change (Bucko, 1994). Two conditions, the direct involvement in decision-making of staff and the involvement of those responsible for the implementation of change, were present in varying degrees in schools involved in this study. But concerning the other two conditions, there was limited external administrative support provided to schools from the *Senat,* and teachers for the most part had experienced increased pressures in work loads.

The tasks, functions, and responsibilities required for the position of *Schulleiter* were all the same for the *Schulleiter* in this study, as stipulated and described by law. In addition, the conditions of the vocational institutions involved were primarily the same or very similar, with the educational mission, organizational vision, reforms, goals, and direction for future improvement relatively homogeneous. However, reform initiatives were at different stages of development at different institutions, indicated by different levels of involvement and progress, and by varying degrees of teacher engagement and/or resistance. So if the conditions of the institutions were so similar, what was different?

The role and purpose of leadership as perceived by the *Schulleiter* were varied and diverse, shifting in scope within the tradition of education in Germany, yet holding uniqueness from global perspectives. Perceptions of educational leadership emerged in three areas: Priorities for effective leadership, the personal vision of *Schulleiter,* and decision-making preferences. Leadership priorities emerged naturally as respondents discussed

discussed priorities deemed most important for effective leadership in reform. Decision-making preferences also emerged obviously, stemming from the distributed leadership structure required by law in schools.

But the area of personal vision emerged subtly and obviously less intentionally, a theme emerging from the data that acknowledged the personal lens and worldview of the *Schulleiter*. In contrast to mission-oriented organizational vision, personal vision in this study was identified as the individual lens through which reality was perceived, one's "take" on the organization. The results of this category concerning the role and purpose of educational leadership are presented, therefore, in the three areas of leadership priorities, personal vision, and decision-making preferences, as illustrated in Figures 6 – 18, with *Schulleiter* 1 through 10 from the West and *Schulleiter* 11 – 13 from the East.

West	*Schulleiter* 1
Leadership Priorities	Vision, open communication, calmness, team-building, collaboration, integration, problem-solving, trust, people, autonomy First of all, you must have vision, and you have to have some talent in managing organizations and personnel, and you must not be afraid to talk with people. There are some *Schulleiter* in Berlin who think it is better for them to close the doors, but that's not the right way for me. Also, you have to know the law and you must be happy about your job. The most important thing is not the *Senat*, not the money, not the building, but the people. We have to teach people that we can solve problems only together and in a calm situation. We have to teach them how to formulate goals, how to work on projects together. It's a long way and doesn't come today or tomorrow. When they have a problem, the teachers or the scholars, I always give it back first...for them to think over.
Personal Vision	Trusting Collaborative Vision First of all, you must have vision – a cool and calm vision without fear. I think I have a special vision about our school. And my vision is to work together with the other parts of our house and not to divide the departments, but have them come together...My vision for the scholars is that they learn to be autonomous. So there is *Vertrauen* [trust]. We have no problems to mix the groups; the relationships are open. So sometimes to solve a problem, we come together. But everyone knows they can talk with me and the other department heads about the ways and about what to do. That's what I mean by *Vertrauen*.
Decision-making	Integrated Collaboration The *Schulleiter* shares the vision and ideas with department heads to plan the process together, and then department heads go back to teams where decisions are made concerning content to be included in visions and plans. The primary decisions are made from the teachers, not from the top-down but the bottom up. Building the team is one thing; building communication is the other. The idea is to build a group who can communicate with me, and I with them. That's why I'm always walking around and my door is always open.

Figure 6. *Schulleiter* 1: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter 2*
Leadership Priorities	Responsibility, decision-making, goal setting, legal, economic, social, and management competence; authority; funding and resources First, a leader must be prepared to make decisions and accept responsibility, second is social competence. I think you have to have legal competence...and basics in economics...and be able to give management a certain structure. We must say what we want and tell students as well as external stakeholders where we want to go. But we also need the funds and the possibilities to reach these goals.
Personal Vision	Skeptical Vision If I know from the start that it's not possible, then there won't be any innovation. I don't want to say that innovation is only dependent on money. That's not the case for sure. It starts in the head, but without the funds it's not possible as well. It's important that the *Schulleiter* is taking more responsibilities now. But the only question is if the state *Senat* can let go. I am not convinced of that.
Decision-making	Top-down Delegation Of course, there are things I have to decide on my own which no one can relieve....I don't have anything to do with the daily operative things in school. That's the job of the department leaders. I am more responsible for the fundamental management of the school. It's kind of like a middle clad company and you have to lead it by delegation. There is no other way If the colleagues say they want certain things, then the headmaster can't press against that. He has to go along with it. It's difficult if the colleagues are not very motivated and don't want any changes. Then the process has to be initiated by the headmaster. You have to stand the ambivalence. The competence of everybody has to change, students and teachers. The motivation is not very high at the moment. The faculty leaders have to control the process more. At the moment that's a very difficult problem but I am working on that, to involve them more in the process. We try to focus on the training of key skills...to get the teachers out of their isolation to work in a team.

Figure 7. *Schulleiter* 2: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter* 3
Leadership Priorities	Role model, flexibility, the collective, positive environment, problem solving, legal competence, provision of resources I speak about leading people, there must be a good climate and positive thinking everyday, and you try to give them the resources they need to develop...We have no resources, and there you must look for intelligent solutions, creative solutions.
Personal Vision	Reflective Vision Because they [teachers] have a certain view of life, they want to do things where they can choose and know that it's the right way. My colleagues are the *Spiegelbild* [mirror reflection] like a little world. They show me similar things that I find in the whole world. Therefore, I say okay, there are some people - 10, 20, or 30 % who are not ready to move. Some go very straight up the mountain; in the middle there are others who go with an invitation; and some I have to especially invite.
Decision-making	Collective Negotiation I think it only helps them with *Vorbild* [role modeling]. They say, "It's too much for me, and I'll wait and see." But then they come along a little bit later; they need time. There are some who say let's go, go, go up the mountain. There are some who say okay, it's good, but there are too many other things to do every day to think about going up the mountain. But you have not only the mountain and the beautiful few who go up; you have also these at the bottom. I act between the lines every day of the job. And the best role models for this are big companies; look at the loopholes they find in the laws. That's our job, and we must look for what stands between the lines to do what is best for all.

Figure 8. *Schulleiter* 3: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter* 4
Leadership Priorities	Organized communication, problem-solving, feedback culture, team building, shared decision-making, school improvement, legal and management competence

My role is in communication; I'm the *Kommunikation Organisieren* [organizer of good communication].We need to know the laws and all the things that are involved, the regulation of the system. I want to establish a feedback culture. We want the teachers to go to each other and get feedback, and the *Schulleiter* and the other leading persons to go there, and we say leave the doors open so everybody can go in and have a look. I think only 10% are doing it, but we want to establish it so that in one year there are 30%, and in eight years everybody will be going to everybody. Open communication...it's the feeling of transferring communication. |
| Personal Vision | Philanthropic Vision

I have a painting of a mountain, and I said in eight years we want to be at the top, we want to go there. Where are we now? And every three months, we talk about at what point we are. Are we going to the side? Are we going straight up? Where are all the teachers? Where are all the pupils? In this process, where are the leaders? Are they climbing and nobody's following? We have a vision. |
| Decision-making | Top-down Team

It's a circle of about eight persons. We sit together once a week and we decide all things together. And at the last point, if there is something at the end to decide, then I have to decide. But most things we decide together. There's no difference. We talk about the problems for ten or fifteen minutes, and then we decide together. |

Figure 9. *Schulleiter* 4: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter* 5
Leadership Priorities	Relevant and reasonable goals and policies, division of responsibilities, open communication, positive atmosphere, consultation with staff, management team From my point of view, the atmosphere is just as important as the functioning of the management...that you can offer to your staff an aim with which everybody can identify, and reasonable policies referring to the staff...That he's able to communicate with the staff, all of the staff is intelligent and open communication is essential.
Personal Vision	Shared Management Vision One person won't be able to lead this boat because the organization is so difficult, and there are so many interlinks between the different branches of education. It's very complicated and you need a management where the responsibility and the tasks are spread on many shoulders.
Decision-making	Top-down Extended Management We discuss, we work out some ideas and then we pass it down to the *Abteilungsleiter* [department heads]...the reason why we talk to each other first is to have one point of view that we stand for when we discuss with others. Then we discuss with others and discuss the whole matter again, and then we come to a conclusion. We spend a lot of time to see how the staff thinks, and we take this into consideration in our decision-making. In the so-called extended management of the school, we try to find out what are the feelings of the employees, so its not one person making the decisions.

Figure 10. *Schulleiter* 5: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter* 6
Leadership Priorities	Teaching competence, communication, persuasion, security, flexibility, intellectual leadership For me it is still the competence of teaching...still, apart from all the nice competencies of leading staff and competencies to develop the school... the academic field that we are in requires some sort of intellectual leadership. So leadership is sometimes more important than pure management. I mean, a business plan might not be enough, to give an idea to present it as a call for enthusiasm as well. And try to be flexible. That's the only thing you can do, a pragmatic approach.
Personal Vision	Persuasive Vision It comes from a lot of talking time actually; you talk them into things. And you say, well you can do it this way or that way; talk to this one, and give them the phone number of an expert here and there, and I connect them with other schools so they get together and work on curriculum – things like that, so they feel safeguarded through the process.
Decision-making	Top-down Team Well in the decision-making, basically from the top, we have a team of the *Schulleiter* and two department heads, and so this is the group that basically makes the decisions under the team leadership of the *Schulleiter.* This group has to decide.

Figure 11. *Schulleiter* 6: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter* 7
Leadership Priorities	Credibility, visibility, open-mindedness, accountability, cooperation, persuasion, control, teacher effectiveness Be convincing, be open-minded, do not hide in a room and lock the door but to go out and try to convince and support the staff's cause. And you clearly have to give the impression that you are supporting the students' cause, that you accept certain reforms and are not pushing them away...
Personal Vision	Manipulative Consensus Vision By direct cooperation, there is a certain satisfaction that the information is forcing its way down to colleagues, so that maybe in the end all of the colleagues will know and will carry the whole thing forward, so the *Schulleiter is* in a good position....But in the end when we are through, this also happens that the last colleagues have no choice. They have to be integrated in a team. And I am aware there are personnel problems.
Decision-making	Top-down Control Then there has to be a controlling group, and this controlling group tries to change certain things in the school. Changing not only in the sense of the colleagues' well-being but also changing the professional situation for the good to become more effective. There has to be a certain freedom noticeable for every teacher as to how he decides to deal with students for that day and for that lesson. I can tolerate that if he is making the decision to finish the lesson early because he did a test – that is his decision. But it is not allowed to be a habit!

Figure 12. *Schulleiter* 7: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter* 8
Leadership Priorities	Role model, communication, reflective direction, gaining input, professional development, gradual development, reflection, consistency For me it's a very simple answer. You have to be an example. It works...perhaps. The first part is to be an example; the second part is to speak with your colleagues... I'm convinced that especially in this field, constant development in very important. And it's best to go in this direction and then check and step back again. You should go step by step and have a direction. If you want to change the direction, go very slowly.
Personal Vision	Contingent Vision The only chance is to convince your staff and tell them why we are convinced about it. I'm a positively thinking person, that's why I'm doing this...But now I do not see the horizon...with the general politics I have problems.
Decision-making	Top-down Democratic You don't have to talk to every teacher, but there is a structure of key people. They have meetings with the teachers and transport the ideas, discuss it in these circles and then it comes back. First we are trying to discuss it all together, and then we decide it, and then the colleagues have to follow this line. When you have decided, and the decision was democratic, that means you have to control it.

Figure 13. *Schulleiter* 8: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter* 9
Leadership Priorities	Sense of awareness, capitalizing on teacher strengths, human resources, teams, motivation, collaboration I can go to training to learn the new law, and learn financial law, and learn personnel law. But the most important is how it is in school, how the colleagues work, what opinions they have; what needs they have. Actually, that is most important. It is very important to know how the staff works, who has certain knowledge, who has certain personal hobbies or vocational specialties and so on, who can do special things in school...See how the personalities can become effective. Everything else you can learn. You can learn the laws, but you cannot learn that sense...maybe it is some instinct too.
Personal Vision	Resourceful Vision You have to recognize what trends exist in school very early, what are the experiences of the staff, what the staff can do and what they cannot do. And you have to recognize that in good times. I think this is very difficult, but is most important.
Decision-making	Maximized Collaboration I believe we are not hierarchic top down. It is the way that the school leadership with its four persons is kind of team. And the allocation of duties, what one has to do something in school, we allocated that so everyone is responsible for certain sections. And I believe that the staff recognizes that we are handling this together and very helpfully and considerably with all of them. We formed small groups, teams of teachers. That is quite good for motivation, so it makes more fun and we can explain what we are doing there. So others see, "In the school, there are interesting things happening – we want that, too!" Since three years there are teams of teachers, about 30% of the teachers are participating. So we will get more and more and convince the others someday.

Figure 14. *Schulleiter* 9: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

West	*Schulleiter* 10
Leadership Priorities	Innovative, visionary, team, creative problem-solving, communication, relationships, focus on students, culture, flexibility, collaboration We have to be aware that there is always change… we have a real high level of flexibility… The relationship between the people is very close, a rather family kind of atmosphere. Most of the teachers are very engaged and you see their love for the subject. The process to look at is how to solve special problems, and I think almost everybody has a problem to solve and for almost all problems that means communication. It's the constellation of the group…and we talk about new projects to try.
Personal Vision	Innovative Vision It's the flexibility and the openness…my philosophy is that it kind of goes both ways, nothing is a guaranteed success, but we try it and hope that it works, and do the best we can do to see that it works, then occasionally, something goes haywire. We have to find out what is the key to open the doors to a different idea of teaching and learning. Believe me, the door is the core - bringing the customer and project together, the needs of industry, especially smaller companies, their needs are very, very important. And we have to know what are the real needs of students, and not just the needs we say they are. We are on a relatively high level here in the innovation of techniques…. So this connects us very close together [company and school], and by discussions and this working together with the students, we are able to transfer it into the classroom. I think you can feel it.
Decision-making	Innovative Collaboration You have to believe in the abilities of the others, in the teachers and the students, there's a lot of confidence; it's a process. And also the team approach, it's a whole team it's not just a tiny little department here, a little department there…everyone is in this together, and the camaraderie and the relationship is obvious. We have staff meetings on Mondays and look at what problems we can solve and what needs a decision. We do a two or three day retreat to work out some of the specifics about how can we make things better, trying to visualize the concepts…and motivating the team.

Figure 15. *Schulleiter* 10: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

East	*Schulleiter* 11
Leadership Priorities	Team-building, cooperation, fun, common goals, gradual development, only with colleagues, not against or without them, the collective For me it is important that we act like a team. That we know we cooperate and have a common goal....I have to take responsibility then that we have nothing yet, that we are in a kind of development stage first. And because the school program is important for the whole school, because it will shape the school for the next five or six years, I think you have to take your time and make a bit of fun.
Personal Vision	Cautious Collective Vision I think it is the same in every other company if someone is new. First they are looking and saying how is he? And there are no conflicts yet. I have been received very well and am getting help from the heads of departments and from the colleagues, too. But I haven't mentioned any conflicts and decided to have a look first for a few weeks. I have to know the school first and then I will see how I can develop it further. The school has to write a school program. That means we have to create main focuses; we have to define developments; and then we have to control and evaluate that every year. At this school there are, let's say, this is only beginning.
Decision-making	Collective Team We established a new group of colleagues, but it will take a lot of time. And for the legal guidelines to develop, and to develop and evaluate a school program will be put into action gradually. You can only do this with the colleagues and not against them or without them. And so in many schools it will take more time than the law intends.

Figure 16. *Schulleiter* 11: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

East	*Schulleiter* 12
Leadership Priorities	Collaboration, consideration, freedom, shared responsibility, benefit for all, the collective, gradual development, fun. I try to be very helpful and considerate in leading into action. I absolutely want the educational freedom of the teachers to continue, but to bring this educational freedom within the new school law and within our school program for their benefit and for our all benefit, first of all for the students. A lot of responsibility will be given to the faculty, more than they have now....School has to be fun too.
Personal Vision	Integrated Collective Vision It will be an exciting process which will end with the school program that we choose. Where are our strengths, what are our weaknesses, where are we not so good, what do we have to focus on, and how do we take this trip together? To take everyone on the trip will be difficult, but that is the aim of the program, which is supposed to mean an improvement for teachers and students. I try to be very helpful and considerate.
Decision-making Preferences	Top-down Collective Collaboration The *Schulleiter* is the manager of the whole venture, but he has department heads and an assistant, and subject teachers with whom we will certainly develop the school program. Maybe together with an extended leadership group or in work groups where ideas, influenced by my ideas and those of others...we won't do anything that is not supported by the colleagues. A school program can only be supported by the colleagues. I give a lot of space to the faculty for their way of making decisions. Let's say I don't hang down like a spider to hear and know everything that is not immediately in my area of decision. And I try to give the colleagues responsibilities and only come when that is not possible. But the guideline has to be given by me.

Figure 17. *Schulleiter* 12: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

East	*Schulleiter* 13
Leadership Priorities	Rules and regulations, discipline, teaching excellence, the collective, fun, security, tidiness, staff like family Check your staff. Choose the staff that will meet your goals. The goals for me in education are that you can only do proper education if you have discipline…There are certain regulations, for teachers too, a certain tidiness and punctuality…If I am no teacher with my heart than it's all in vain…And then you must have some time to have some fun, too. Otherwise everyone would be in a bad mood. Furthermore you need a certain appearance as a teacher…professional.
Personal Vision	Authoritative Collective Vision And you hope that it's going on well into the future. There are many colleagues I know very well, for 10 or 15 years or even longer, and you have kind of a social responsibility. I see it this way. It's like tomorrow if a certain subject doesn't exist any longer, I could certainly say I will do something else. But then I would have to fire proven and good colleagues, and I don't want that. I always try to train them like a family so they know we can make it. I always try to keep the team together. There might be some weaknesses but we never have to give up.
Decision-making Preferences	Democratic Dictatorship Yes, I am always organizing meetings and let's say, I accept other people's opinion, but only one can decide. Otherwise, it's too much and it does not work. Now is the European soccer championship, and Greece, they have good soccer players but have not had success in the last 30 years. And now, when the German coach arrived who I really respect, they are really successful. He said, "If you want success, you have to establish a democratic dictatorship." It worked for the Greeks. We discuss it, and there are suggestions…well, I am not very rhetorical, and if I see things going in a certain direction, sometimes I just say, "Stop, it's going to be this way!" It can't work another way. We are not a government here where everybody can do what he wants! The management is three persons, 36 fulltime vocational teachers, and 18 who are part-time. Every three weeks we have a management meeting, and every six weeks we have a meeting of all the vocational teachers and management where everyone can talk.

Figure18. *Schulleiter* 13: Leadership priorities, personal vision, decision-making

Figures 7 – 18 illustrate the perceptions of the individual *Schulleiter* regarding their leadership priorities, personal visions, and decision-making preferences, with nearly as many traits, attributes, roles, and functions as there were *Schulleiter*. The results are grounded in the perceptions and experiences of *Schulleiter* as diverse individuals from different cultural contexts that have influenced and shaped their assumptions, perceptions, behaviors, and personal visions.

With regard to the role and purpose of leadership, the *Schulleiter* in this study indicated differing personal visions, as well as differing leadership priorities and decision-making preferences. The personal visions of *Schulleiter* concerning their roles, circumstances, organizations, and colleagues appeared to differ depending on perception, thereby appearing to influence both decision-making preferences and leadership priorities.

Leadership Priorities

The priorities for effective leadership identified by the *Schulleiter* in this study are indicated in Figure 19 below. The only leadership construct designated as a priority by all 13 *Schulleiter* was that of d*ecision-making*, followed by 12 for communication, 11 for culture, 11 for team building, 9 for teaching competence, and 9 for vision. Six *Schulleiter* named all six of the top-ranking constructs as priorities: *Schulleiter* 1, 9, and 10 from the West, and *Schulleiter* 11, 12, and 13 from the East.

The three *Schulleiter* from the East identifying the top six leadership priorities, also named the collective, positional authority, care, and trust as priorities; and were the only respondents claiming fun as a priority. Also, *Schulleiter 13,* self-reportedly the most autocratic of the respondents, was ironically the only Eastern *Schuleiter* to name flexibility as a priority, as illustrated in Figure 20.

Of the 10 *Schulleiter* from the West, *Schulleiter 1, 9,* and *10* named the top six

leadership constructs of *decision-making, communication, culture, team building, teaching*

competence, and *vision* as priorities. *Schulleiter* 1 and 10 also identified the collective, care,

and trust as priorities, thus having common profiles with *Schulleiter* 11, 12, and 13 from the

East. Additional priorities named in common between *Schulleiter* 1 and 10 were goals and

strategies, problem-solving, and student learning, as indicated in Figure 20.

None of the *Schulleiter* from the West identified fun as a priority, and other patterns

among Western *Schulleiter* were inconsequential and scattered. Of the 13 *Schulleiter*, 1, 9,

and 10 from the West, and 11, 12, and 13 from the East had common profiles; with all

indicating the top-ranking six constructs as priorities, as well as common constructs of the

collective, care, and trust, as indicated in Figure 20.

Schulleiter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	West	11	12	13	East	Total
Decision-making	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10	X	X	X	3	13
Communication	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9	X	X	X	3	12
Culture	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	8	X	X	X	3	11
Team building	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	8	X	X	X	3	11
Teaching competence	X	X				X	X		X	X	6	X	X	X	3	9
Vision	X		X	X	X				X	X	6	X	X	X	3	9
Goals, policies, strategies	X	X		X	X					X	5		X	X	2	7
Problem solving	X		X	X			X			X	5		X	X	2	7
The collective	X		X							X	3	X	X	X	3	6
Credible, convincing			X			X	X	X			4	X		X	2	6
Positional authority		X					X	X			3	X	X	X	3	6
Social skills, collegiality		X					X		X	X	4		X	X	2	6
Care	X									X	2	X	X	X	3	5
Cooperation							X	X		X	3	X	X		2	5
Role model	X		X				X	X			4		X		1	5
Trust	X									X	2	X	X	X	3	5
Flexibility		X			X	X			X		4			X	1	5
Student learning	X									X	2		X	X	2	4
Consistency		X						X			2		X		1	3
Fun											0	X	X	X	3	3
Regulations & discipline							X				1		X		1	2

Figure 19. Priorities for effective leadership identified by 13 *Schulleiter*

Common priorities	West Schulleiter				East Schulleiter		
	1	9	10		11	12	13
Decision-making	X	X	X		X	X	X
Communication	X	X	X		X	X	X
Culture	X	X	X		X	X	X
Team building	X	X	X		X	X	X
Teaching competence	X	X	X		X	X	X
Vision	X	X	X		X	X	X
The collective	X		X		X	X	X
Care	X		X		X	X	X
Trust	X		X		X	X	X
Goals & strategies	X		X				
Problem-solving	X		X				
Student learning	X		X				
Positional authority					X	X	X
Fun					X	X	X

Figure 20. Leadership priorities of Six *Schulleiter* with common profiles

In Figure 21, percentage advantages of East or West are indicated with regard to

leadership priorities. The priorities of *Schulleiter* from the West were widely spread and

distributed, with minimal advantage noted in cooperation and flexibility. More distinct

advantages were readily apparent concerning priorities of Eastern *Schulleiter* with regard to

constructs of the collective, positional authority, care, trust, and fun, as indicated in

Figure 21.

197

Schulleiter	West	East	Advantage
Decision-making	100%	100%	0
Communication	90%	100%	10% East
Culture	80%	100%	20% East
Team building	80%	100%	20% East
Teaching competence	60%	100%	40% East
Vision	60%	100%	40% East
Goals, policies, strategies	50%	67%	17% East
Problem solving	50%	67%	17% East
The collective	30%	100%	70% East
Credible, convincing	40%	33%	7% West
Positional authority	30%	100%	60% East
Social skills, collegiality	40%	67%	27% East
Care	20%	100%	80% East
Cooperation	30%	67%	37% East
Role model	40%	33%	7% West
Trust	20%	100%	80% East
Flexibility	40%	33%	7% West
Student learning	20%	67%	47% East
Consistency	20%	33%	13% East
Fun	0	100%	100% East
Regulations & discipline	10%	33%	27% East

Figure 21. Advantages of leadership priorities in East and West

Regarding the role and purpose of educational leadership in the process of change,

the *Schulleiter* in this study identified specific leadership constructs as priorities for

implementing effective reform. Differences were noted between *Schulleiter* from East and

West, with Easterners focused on the collective, trust, care, authority, and fun, as might be

expected based on past research (Earley & Erez, 1997). Overall leadership priorities

illustrated by Western *Schulleiter* were more heterogeneous in nature, diffused with fewer

common groupings. However, 9 out of 10 named communication as a priority, followed by 8 out of 10 for team building and culture. Thus was indicated an over preference for teamwork and cooperation, with 6 out of 10 naming the cooperative or cooperation as priorities.

Personal vision appeared to be directly related to the decision-making preferences and leadership priorities indicated by Schulleiter, with personal vision as the lens through which they viewed their organizations. *Schulleiter 13*, for example, designated both autocratic leadership preferences and transformational attributes such as vision, culture, care, and trust as essential for effective leadership, preferences not seemingly incompatible with successful reform initiatives and distributed teams structures in place at his school. However, the majority of teachers were from the East, with many having been employed there since before the reunification. Therefore, the ambiguous interplay between the effects of leadership and the impacts of cultural context come into play with regard to the form of leadership enacted and/or accepted.

According to the *Schulleiter* in this study, leadership priorities and decision-making preferences were influenced by the personal vision of the *Schulleiter,* with self-reports indicating various approaches and enactments of leadership in actual practice that in turn effected perceptions of authority, teacher resistance, and the connotation of school leadership.

Of the 13 *Schulleiter,* 1, 3, and 10 from the West and 11, 12, and 13 were integrally involved in the implementation of reform in their schools, evidenced as passionate involvement focused on the collective and/or on collaboration, and by the school improvement plans, professional development programs, and program team structures that were in place and in action. From the onset of this study, a noticeable sense of authenticity

emerged from these six *Schulleiter* not recognized in other respondents, and long recognized as significant in organizational behavior (Halpin, 1966; Halpin & Croft, 1963).

Schulleiter 1, 3, and 10 from the West, and *Schulleiter* 11, 12, and 13 from the East displayed in their discussions a persona of passionate investment and integration of self, not only for their work and responsibilities, but also for the genuine well-being and security of the people in their organizations. According to Henderson and Hoy (1983), authentic leadership requires "accountability, non-manipulation, and salience of self over role" (p. 63). Authentic leaders are supposedly able to admit mistakes without casting blame, and without exploiting others and succumbing to stereotypic roles incongruent with their own needs (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 2004).

In this study, though personal visions, decision-making preferences, and leadership priorities differed, *Schulleiter* 1, 3, 10, 11, 12, and 13 demonstrated an authenticity of trust and direction, voicing a genuine concern for the security and productivity of the collective. School improvement, quality, and productivity were viewed as connected or perhaps even secondary to the people in their organizations, reflecting an authenticity in these *Schulleiter* that was not apparent in others more focused on persuasion, manipulation, avoidance, or control. In other contexts, the passion and sense of authenticity exhibited might have been coined as charismatic, but in the context of Germany, *charisma* is not deemed an admirable leadership attribute due to its connotations in past history.

Nevertheless, these six *Schulleiter* were engaged in moving their organizations forward, as were others as well. But the momentum and action observed in the schools of *Schulleiter* 1, 3, 10, 11, 12, and 13 was noticeably more accelerated, with teachers engaged in

teamwork and professional development sessions, posters of goal planning sessions on the

walls, and *Schulleiter* in the midst of it all setting the direction and acting as motivator.

Personal Vision

Vision has become a common phenomenon in educational circles (Lunenburg &

Ornstein, 2004), understood since the 1980s as "the capacity to create and communicate a

view of the desired state of affairs that induces commitment among those working in the

organization" (Bennis, 1984, p. 241). Creating vision for focus, direction, and inspiration has

been designated one of the few characteristics that comes close to being universal in

leadership definitions (Bolman & Deal, 2003), with roots going back four decades in theories

of leadership and management (Leithwood, Jantzi, & Steinbach, 1999).

In this study, organizational vision so described was indeed evidenced through the

data collected during interviews and observations; particularly with regard to *Schulleiter* 1

and 10 from the West and *Schulleiter* 11, 12, and 13 from the East, the five with the common

leadership priority profiles indicated in Figure 20. However, also emerging were visions with

differing connotations. Illustrated in Figures 6 – 18 are the individual personal visions of the

13 *Schulleiter* reflecting differing perceptions and lenses through which they view their

organizations. Indicated below in Figures 22 and 23 are the personal visions of the

Schulleiter in abbreviated form.

West	Personal Vision
Schulleiter 1 Trusting collaborative vision	Cool and calm vision without fear...so there is *Vertrauen* [trust]. The most important is the people. Relationships are open; I'm always walking around and my door is always open.
Schulleiter 2 Skeptical vision	If it's not possible, there will be no innovation...I am not convinced if the *Senat* can let go.
Schulleiter 3 Reflective collective vision	If teachers can choose, they know its right. Colleagues are the *Spiegelbild* [reflection] to go up the mountain.
Schulleiter 4 Philanthropic vision	I gave a painting of a mountain where to go, the vision for them to lead the way. Are they climbing and nobody's following? We have a vision.
Schulleiter 5 Management vision	One can't lead this boat because the organization is so difficult, management tasks are spread on many shoulders.
Schulleiter 6 Persuasive vision	It comes from a lot of talking time actually; you talk them into things. You talk them into things so they feel safeguarded through the process.
Schulleiter 7 Manipulative consensus vision	By direct cooperation, information forces its way down, and the *Schulleiter* is in a good position. But in the end, the last colleagues have no choice.
Schulleiter 8 Contingent vision	The only chance is to convince staff and explain why, I don't see the horizon, with politics, I have problems.
Schulleiter 9 Resourceful vision	Recognize trends in the school - experiences of the staff, what they can do, what they cannot do. Recognize it in the good times.
Schulleiter 10 Innovative collaborative vision	We have to find out what is the key to open the doors to a different idea of teaching and learning....My philosophy is...we try it and hope that it works, and do the best we can do to see that it works

Figure 22. Personal vision of *Schulleiter* from the West

East	Personal Vision
Schulleiter 11 Cautious collective vision	I decided to have a look first, to know the school and then see how I can develop it further. For me it is important that we all act like a team, that we cooperate and have a common goal.
Schulleiter 12 Integrated collective vision	It will be an exciting process. What are our strengths? What are our weaknesses? How do we take this trip together? To take everyone on the trip will be difficult, but that is the aim.
Schulleiter 13 Authoritative collective vision	You can only do proper education if you have discipline. You have a social responsibility, train them like a family, keep the team together. There might be weaknesses but we never have to give up.

Figure 23. Personal vision of *Schulleiter* from the East

Considering vision as the "realistic, credible, attractive future" for an organization (Nanus, 1992, p. 8), the *Schulleiter* in this study were all involved in organizations headed toward realistic, credible, and attractive futures of improvement and quality – at one stage or another. Broad reforms and directives were prescribed by law; and particular goals, plans, and programs were in process or at least in the planning stages in local schools. All organizations had functioning leadership structures and processes in place; all were experiencing the same inadequate funding and support; all had similar missions and purposes as vocational schools; all were involved in implementing new processes, curricula, and approaches to teaching and learning. The organizational vision of the schools, therefore, was relatively the same or very similar. So what was different?

Emerging from the *Schulleiter* in this study were differences in the personal visions of individual *Schulleiter*, differences resulting from assumptions and perceptions held concerning their situations and positions. Personal visions were manifested as individual worldviews and ways of knowing based on values, assumptions and perceptions.

Differentiated from leadership styles, practices, and behaviors (Leithwood, Jantzi, &

Steinbach, 1999), the personal vision of *Schulleiter* in this study refers to the individual lens

through which *Schulleiter* viewed their situations and their organizations, which for some

was not necessarily the same as the directional goal-oriented organizational vision.

The personal vision of *Schulleiter* appeared congruent with the decision-making

preferences and leadership priorities they indicated, thus illustrating the influence of

perception on forms of leadership. This influence was identified by Leithwood and

colleagues (2004), in their UK reform initiative study, as shifts in leadership styles were

observed when new individuals assumed leadership positions, thus indicating leadership

preferences to be in direct relationship with forms of leadership that emerge.

Of added importance from the UK study (Leithwood et al., 2004) was the congruence

identified (rather than expected incompatibility) between the hierarchical structure of top-

down authority and aspects of transformational leadership such as shared vision, high levels

of commitment, and collaboration. The same was also indicated in this study, particularly by

Schullieter 13, with his authoritative personal vision and autocratic decision-making

preferences side-by-side with aspects of transformational leadership priorities.

Like all school leaders in Berlin, the *Schulleiter* in this study were involved in the

implementation of change and reform at one stage or another; however, they perceived the

role of school leadership, the scope of their responsibilities, the context of their

organizations, their relationships with others, and the processes for change through different

personal visions. The personal visions of *Schulleiter* appeared to influence their decision-

making preferences, leadership priorities, perceptions of power and authority, and

communication styles. In other words, the form of leadership of the *Schulleiter*, according to

their perceptions and disclosures, appeared to be shaped by personal vision (Leithwood et al.,

2004), thus indicating the power of perception.

Decision-making Preferences

Internal and external decision-making functions of schools are designated by law in

Germany for the purpose of ensuring shared and distributed leadership structures. With

regard to decision-making preferences indicated by *Schulleiter* in this study, the exact

leadership and management configurations and organizational structures differed across

schools. However, what was interesting to note were the similarities indicated between

decision-making preferences and personal visions, thus again pointing to the influence of

perception on forms of leadership (Leithwood et al., 2004), as illustrated in Figures 24 and

25.

Decision-making style	*East Schulleiter* Decision-making preferences	Personal vision
Schulleiter 11 Collective team effort	It is important that we act like a team, but it will take time and will be put into action gradually. You can only do this with the colleagues and not against them or without them. The school has to write a school program; this is only the beginning.	Cautious collective vision
Schulleiter 12 Top-down collective collaboration	The *Schulleiter* is the manager of the whole venture, but with an extended leadership group. We won't do anything that is not supported by the colleagues. I give a lot of space to faculty for making decisions, but the guideline have to be given by me.	Integrated collective vision
Schulleiter 13 "Democratic dictatorship"	I accept people's opinion, but only one can decide. We discuss it, but if I see things going in a certain direction, I just say, "Stop, it's going to be this way!" We are not a government where everybody can do what he wants!	Authoritative collective vision

Figure 24. Decision-making preferences of East *Schulleiter*

Decision-making style	*West Schulleiter* Decision-making preferences	Personal vision
Schulleiter 1 Integrative collaboration	Discuss ideas with department heads; primary decisions are made by teachers, not from top-down but from bottom up integration. Building the team is one thing; building communication is the other.	Trusting collaborative vision
Schulleiter 2 Top-down delegation	The department leaders must be prepared to make decisions. There are things I have to decide. I don't have anything to do with daily operations. They have to control the process more...I am working on that.	Skeptical vision
Schulleiter 3 Collective negotiation	It only helps with role modeling and time. I act between the lines every day, that's our job; we must look for what stands between the lines to do what is best for all.	Reflective collective vision
Schulleiter 4 Top-down team	A circle of eight persons sits together once a week and we decide all things together. And if there is something at the end to decide, then I have to decide. But most things we decide together.	Philanthropic vision
Schulleiter 5 Top-down extended management	We discuss to have one point of view before discussing with others. In the extended management, we try to find out feelings of the employees, so it's not one person making the decisions.	Management vision
Schulleiter 6 Top-down team	Basically from the top, we have a team, and this is the group that makes the decisions under the team leadership of the *Schulleiter*. This group has to decide.	Persuasive vision
Schulleiter 7 Top-down control	A controlling group tries to change certain things, not only in the sense of the colleagues' well-being but also the professional situation to become more effective.	Manipulative consensus vision
Schulleiter 8 Top-down democratic	A structure of key people meets with teachers and transports ideas; they discuss and come back. When you decide and the decision is democratic, then you have to control it.	Contingent vision
Schulleiter 9 Maximized collaboration	We are not hierarchic top down with four persons; we formed teams of teachers, that is quite good for motivation. Since three years 30% are participating, so we will convince the others someday.	Resourceful vision
Schulleiter 10 Innovative collaboration	It's a whole team ...everyone is in this together, and the camaraderie and the relationship is obvious. We do a retreat...trying to visualize the concepts...and motivating the team.	Innovative vision

Figure 25. Decision-making preferences of West *Schulleiter*

Decision-making preferences varied, ranging from collaborative to democratic, from deferred to dictatorial, with patterns emerging amongst them. In Figures 6 – 18, the individual decision-making preferences of *Schulleiter* are illustrated. Figures 24 and 25 above provide abbreviated illustrations of decision-making preferences, as well as personal visions.

A close relationship was indicated between the personal visions of the *Schulleiter* and their decision-making preferences and leadership priorities, indicating the influence of perception on forms of leadership that emerge (Leithwood et al., 2004). As expected, due to requirements for distributed leadership, some type of leadership team or structure existed in all schools. Some *Schulleiter* (4 and 6) headed teams operating as top-down primary decision-makers, while others (1, 8, 9, and 11) chaired teams that acted more as messengers to the larger group. Still others, such as *Schulleiter* 2 and 7, appeared in control of their teams; while *Schulleiter* 13 was highly dictatorial and made no bones about it, even with a team.

Though indicating differing orientations toward authority, *Schulleiter* 1, 3, 10, 11, 12, and 13, all appeared to lean toward the collective, meaning oriented toward interdependency, in-group goals, duties and obligations, relationships, and needs of others (Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997). Regarding leadership approaches, *Schulleiter* 1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 indicated preferences pointing toward collaborative approaches; while *Schulleiter* 5, 2, and 7 appeared more management-oriented in nature. Of interest were the relationships and consistencies emerging between the personal vision, decision-making preferences, and leadership priorities of *Schulleiter* illustrated in Figure 19.

In consideration of the five *Schulleiter* identifying common leadership priorities,

namely *Schulleiter* 1 and 10 from the West, and *Schulleiter* 11, 12, and 13 from the East,

Figure 26 illustrated below portrays their personal visions, decision-making preferences, and

overall profiles, as well as the leadership priorities held in common. Interesting to note is

that, although identifying common leadership priorities, the five *Schulleiter* depicted personal

visions and decision-making preferences that varied from one another. However, all five

Schulleiter (1, 10, 11, 12, and 13), as well as *Schulleiter* 3, indicated attention to and concern

for the collective, with some more collective-focused than others.

Common Leadership Priorities: Decision-making, communication, culture, team-building, teaching competence, vision, trust, care, and the collective		
Decision-making style	Leadership Profile	Personal vision
Schulleiter 1 Integrative collaboration	Vision, open communication, calmness, team building, collaboration, problem-solving, integration, trust, integration, the people, student autonomy	Trusting collaborative vision
Schulleiter 10 Innovative collaboration	Innovative, visionary, team, creative problem-solving, communication, relationships, focus on students, culture, flexibility, collaboration	Innovative collaborative vision
Schulleiter 11 Collective team effort	Team-building, cooperation, common goals, gradual development, only with the colleagues, not against or without them, the collective, fun.	Cautious collective vision
Schulleiter 12 Collective management	Collaboration, the collective, consideration, freedom, shared responsibility, benefit for all, gradual development, fun.	Considerate collective vision
Schulleiter 13 "Democratic dictatorship"	Rules and regulations, discipline, teaching excellence, the collective, fun, security, tidiness, staff like family	Authoritative collective vision

Figure 26. Leadership profiles of five *Schulleiter* with common leadership priorities

In consideration of the role and purpose of educational leadership, personal vision, leadership priorities, and decision-making preferences varied. But emerging as apparent was the notion that the perception and personal vision of the educational leader influences the form of leadership enacted, and is thus concurrent with other findings (Leithwood et al., 2004). However, despite varying perceptions of the leadership roles, structures, and processes, what emerged as a clear distinction was the perceived positioning of authority among the *Schulleiter* in this study.

Discussion: The Role and Purpose of Educational Leadership

in the Process of Change

With regard to the perceptions of *Schulleiter* in this study, three areas emerged as relevant to the role and purpose of their positions in the process of change: leadership priorities, personal vision, and decision-making preferences. The following discussion addresses understandings gained through their perceptions, including leadership preference and practice, individualist versus collectivist orientation, the power of perception, perception of authority, perception of resistance, and the cultural connotation of educational leadership.

Leadership Preference and Practice

Transformational leadership has long been deemed a successful tool for organizational change in management and educational, designated in terms of motivating followers, generating purpose, developing culture, and mobilizing commitment to shared visions (Bass, 1985; Bolman & Deal, 2003; Burns, 1978; Fullan, 2001; Leithwood et al., 1999). In the GLOBE Project that spanned 62 nations over 10 years, transformational aspects of integrity, charisma, inspiration, and vision were identified as universal leadership preferences (Den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 2002); however, the enactment of those

preferences (Den Hartog et al., 1999; House et al., 2002); however, the enactment of those

attributes was deemed culturally contingent in practice; thereby indicating the ambiguity of

trying to understand "the paradoxes and tensions in the demands placed on leaders in

different societies" and across different cultures (Den Hartog, et al., 1999, p. 251).

The leadership priorities identified by the *Schulleiter* in this study were perceived

rather than enacted, self-reported as perceptions of effective leadership. Several *Schulleiter*

identified the only leadership attributes to hold up as universal across decades of research,

namely those of vision, culture, and trust (Bolman & Deal, 2003; Den Hartog et al., 1999;

House et al., 2002). But in conjunction with those aspects, the decision-making preferences

and personal vision indicated by the *Schulleiter* in this study varied, ranging from highly

authoritarian to non-committal to managerial to collaborative. Thus, in accordance with

previous research, while certain leadership attributes were named as preferences by

Schulleiter, it appeared that the enactment of those attributes differed in practice, at least

according to their reports.

In consideration of the priorities indicated, the realization that the praxis of leadership

is enacted in a wide variety of styles, behaviors, and attributes was apparent. Differences

were indicated in the varied range of personal visions, leadership priorities, and decision-

making preferences acknowledged. Even among the five *Schulleiter* with common leadership

profiles, their preferences regarding decision-making and personal visions varied,

particularly with regard to authority and decision-making with two more collaborative, two

highly collective, and one noticeably autocratic.

The *Schulleiter* in this study acknowledged variations in leadership styles, practices,

and preferences, according to self-reports as well as observational data gained during

Brodbeck and Frese (2004) also found individual differences within cultures, acknowledging that individuals do not always adhere to the same values. Thus, the importance of remaining "open to the differences" not just across cultures, but also within in order to "overcome enculturation, and recognize what aspects of [one's] personal values systems are a result of their own cultural experience" (Dickson et al., 2003, p. 758).

Some researchers have compared leadership styles, traits, and behaviors between and across cultures, indicating cultural specificity in terms of preference and enactment (Dorfman et al., 2004; Hartog et al., 1999; Lam, 2002). Others have addressed the comparability of leadership within cultures, thus acknowledging cultural heterogeneity (Dickson et al., 2003; Weiss, 1992; Wertsch, Tulviste, & Hagstrom, 1993). Still others have attributed significant differences in individual behaviors to values, assumptions, and perceptions; as well as to strategic organizational variables (Hofstede, 1980a; Schein, 2004). But the most prevalent construct identified in studies of the differences between and among groups has been attributed to orientations toward the collective or the individual (Earley & Erez, 1997).

Individualist versus Collectivist Orientation

Despite differences in decision-making preferences, personal vision, and positional authority, emerging hand-in-hand for *Schulleiter 1, 3, 10, 11, 12,* and *13* in this study was a natural and embedded focus on the collective, a concern for the productivity of all the individuals in their organizations, not just those involved in the reform initiatives. While all voiced concern for people within the collective in one way or another, *Schulleiter* 1, 3, 10, 11, and 12 appeared more focused on collaborative and integrative approaches within the collective; whereas, *Schulleiter* 13 was more in-tuned with the security and well-being of the collective. But of importance to all voicing the collective as a priority, it appeared to be their

attention not only to obligations and duties, but their focus on unconditional relatedness with people that made the difference – concurrent with previous studies of collectivist orientations, with the self viewed as interdependent and in-group goals seen as synonymous with individual goals (Earley & Erez, 1997).

Triandis (1995) found different attributes describing cultural orientations toward the collective or the individual; with self-reliance, independence, and competition more prevalent in individualist cultures; and interdependence, family integrity, and in-group closeness more representative of collectivist cultures. Schwartz and Sagie (2000) found that socioeconomic development and democratization affected the importance placed on individualism, thus increasing openness to change while decreasing conformity, tradition, and security. And Schwartz (1992, 1994) identified collectivist clusters of values as conservatism and harmony, and individualist clusters as intellectual and affective autonomy. Despite multitudes of studies indicating homogeneity in orientations toward the collective or the individual in practice and values, the actual enactment of practices and values within and between cultures can be quite dissimilar (Drenth & Den Hartog, 1998), as indicated in this study.

While the perceptions and preferences of *Schulleiter* varied, the most noticeable differences that emerged pointed to the orientation of those from the East toward the collective, appearing focused more toward the collectivist viewpoint of attributing circumstances to external causes like the *Senat* or the economy (House et al., 1997); whereas, Westerners tended more toward attribution of cause to internal situations and individuals, such as differences between East and West, teacher resistance, or lack of motivation and resources.

According to attribution theory, situations, behaviors, and events have very different meanings depending on perception (Martinko, 1995). Thus, arises the possibility of a fundamental attribution error (Smith & Bond, 1994), indicated by the overemphasizing of internal difficulties and individuals as problematic at the expense of de-emphasizing external forces, thus overshadowing realizations that optimum conditions for reform, namely quality professional development, adequate resources and funding, smaller class sizes, and time for collaboration and planning – were indeed lacking (Fullan, 2001; Leithwood et al., 1999).

The six *Schulleiter* naming the collective as a leadership priority expressed a collaborative spirit and advocated the integration of change where it belonged - in the hands of the teachers and in "an atmosphere of trust...[thus producing] a climate conducive to change" (Hoy & Kupersmith, 1984, p. 87). Of the six *Schulleiter* identifying the collective as a priority, three were from the West (1, 3, and 10), and three from the East (11, 12, and 13). To *Schulleiter 1, 3,* and *10* from the West, focusing on the collective was presented as a desirable and innovative strategy in the process of change; whereas, *Schulleiter* 11, 12, and 13 from the East demonstrated an inherent focus on the collective, portraying a collective spirit as a part of whom they were, as the natural way to conduct business.

The Power of Perception

A fundamental limitation in describing educational leadership within a broader cultural context lies in discrepancies and differences in perception that exist across cultures (Den Hartog et al., 1999; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996). Perception refers to the way one sees the world and draws on intuition and sensing in order to make sense of reality (Bolman & Deal, 2003). The personal perceptions of school leaders in this study, grounded in individual values and assumptions gained in a specific cultural context, demonstrated views

of the world that ranged in scope from pessimistic or hopeful, from skeptical to enthusiastic –

and everything in between.

Of significance was the influence of perception on the personal vision, decision-

making preferences, and leadership priorities of the *Schulleiter* in this study. But also of

noted importance was the influence of perception on the external balance of forces between

the *Schulleiter* and the state, and on the internal balance of forces between the *Schulleiter* and

the teachers. In this study, *Schulleiter* reflected personal visions, leadership priorities, and

decision-making preferences that were congruent with their perceptions, thereby implying

that the individual perception and worldview of the leader influences organizational behavior

and processes.

Few studies exist in educational leadership research regarding perception, limited to

prescriptions of perceptions needed for effective leadership (Schein, 2004), the function of

perception in the communication process (Bolman & Deal, 2003), and varying perceptions

about the concept of leadership (Leithwood et al., 1996). Senge (1990) addressed perception

in terms of mental models, described as "internal pictures of how the world works" (p. 174),

with perceptions shaped by assumptions in turn forming mental models that, according to

Senge (1990):

> thwart changes...If managers "believe" their world views are facts rather than sets of
>
> assumptions, they will not be open to challenging those world views. If they lack
>
> skills in inquiring into their and others' ways of thinking, they will be limited in
>
> experimenting collaboratively with new ways of thinking. (p. 203)

Perception was vaguely alluded to by Goleman (1998) in his domains of emotional

intelligence, addressed in the personal competency domain of self-awareness as knowing

one's internal state, preferences, resources, and intuitions. However, the examination of one's "internal rudder" and "blind spots" (p. 63) was discussed more in terms of emotional strengths and weaknesses, rather than as grounded values and assumptions driving personal perception. Ricoeur (1974) alluded to symbols as representing assumptions and perceptions, stating:

> I am convinced that we must think not *behind* the symbols, but starting from the symbols, according to symbols, that their substance is indestructible, that they constitute the revealing *substrata* of speech which lives among men. In short, the symbol gives *rise* to the thought. (p. 299)

In Riding the Waves of Culture, Trompenaars and Hamden-Turner (1998) claimed assumptions about the existence of humanity lie at the core of relationships, identifying that:

> Groups of people organize themselves in such a way that they increase the effectiveness of their problem-solving processes. Because different groups of people have developed in different geographical regions, they have also formed different sets of logical assumptions...[but] people within a culture do not all have identical sets of artifacts, norms, values, and assumptions (pp. 23-24)

The organizational visions for the schools in this study had already been established, with new programs under development and plans of action at different stages of implementation. The law was enacted, goals had been set, structures for implementation were in place, and committees and teams were formed. The schools were relatively homogeneous in nature, with a common purpose, mission, and direction. *Schulleiter* had provided the organizational vision with a "sense of mission" (Leithwood et al., 1999) aiming toward "the

their organizations" (Bennis, 1984, p. 241), with some *Schulleiter* attempting to raise

consciousness in individuals (Leithwood, 1994).

In the end, the organizational visions of the schools were relatively similar and

homogeneous; yet the personal vision of *Schulleiter* for viewing their individual

organizations were very different. Therefore, the assumption drawn from the *Schulleiter*

regarding the role and purpose of school leadership is as follows: The personal vision of the

leader, as an individual lens and way of perceiving the situation that is grounded in

constructed values and assumptions and contexts, effects decision-making and leadership

preferences, as well as organizational processes and the balance of forces involved in the

process of change.

Position of authority

The locus of authority and control in the position of *Schulleiter* was different,

depending on the assumptions, perceptions, and personal visions. *Schulleiter* 13 commanded

full authority in his position as "the way we do things around here" (Kennedy & Deal, 1982,

p. 4), with authority and control not a negotiable issue, but rather a natural and assumed right.

Schulleiter 2, 5, and 7, on the other hand, held similar rights to positional authority, but in

actuality *Schulleiter* 2 blamed others for blocking his, while *Schulleiter* 7 used it to

manipulate others, and *Schulleiter* 5 capitalized on it for efficient management.

Others, such as *Schulleiter* 1, 9, and 12, acknowledged external and internal obstacles

but owned their own authority, utilizing it collaboratively and purposely. However,

Schulleiter 3, 4, 6, and 8 positioned authority with others rather than with themselves,

attributing the locus of control primarily with teachers, viewed as obstacles to be won over.

Schulleiter 10 acknowledged authority as mutually shared and saw it as a non-issue. And

teachers, but knew that it would be shared eventually.

The positioning and utilization of authority (or lack thereof) appeared to be the one

construct that most differentiated leadership priorities from the decision-making preferences

and personal visions indicated by *Schulleiter*, as illustrated in Figure 27.

Perception toward change	*Schulleiter*	Positional authority
Needs and/or utilizes authority and control over change	2 West	Authoritative and not in control: Personal need for positional authority but perceives limited control; delegates, blames, and stays at the top
	7 West	Authoritative and in control: Utilizes collegial manipulation to gain cooperation, plays the collaborative game for consensus, but in the end all must comply, staff only allowed to go so far
	13 East	Authoritative and in control: Personal vision of discipline and rules as the right way to success, runs a tight ship but genuinely cares for the collective, provides security and fun with a sense of humor
Innovates and grows with change	1, 3, and 10 West 11 and 12 East	Collaborative team-oriented change, innovative with clear vision of destination and process toward improvement, integrative culture focused on the collective, no agenda for personal gain or authority
Accepts and manages change	5 and 9 West	Management of processes and people, maximizes rather than motivates, gets the job done despite hindrances; delegates responsibility to share the load but retains authority
Insecure and fearful of process	4 and 8 West	Shares authority to stay safe if things don't go right, has the right vision and team approach but is afraid to risk being "out there," negotiates change and persuades others
Defers authority or casts blame	2 and 6 West	Perceived lack of authority, defers responsibility and/or blame to others, relies on persuasion to gain consensus, hides out at the top, and capitalizes on others to do the work

Figure 27. Positional authority of *Schulleiter*

The connotation of authority as related to leadership emerged differently among the *Schulleiter* in this study. Although organizational authority is specified by law through prescribed responsibilities, functions, and distributed structures, some *Schulleiter* perceived minimal positional authority, while others claimed full power. Thus, while the societal perspective toward authority may be culturally determined and transmitted (Blumer, 1969), the positional power and authority perceived by *Schulleiter* in their organizations differed. Likewise, Berrell and Gloet (1999) found perceived positional authority was culturally determined, indicated by the instability and resistance that resulted in a school due to differing assumptions of cultural groups of teachers regarding the authority of the principal.

Perception of Resistance

As related to perceptions of authority, the *Schulleiter* in this study identified the resistance of teachers, or at least their non-participation, as present and inevitable in the process of change. In initiating reform, the *Schulleiter* of state schools had no leverage in requiring compliance or participation of staff, due to the tradition of autonomy and freedom afforded teachers. Although this is slowly changing with enactment of new school legislation; the participation of teachers involved in reform efforts ranged from 10% to 70%. However, there was 100% teacher participation in the two private schools – with an assumption that participation was motivational in one and mandatory in the other. But along with differences in teacher participation, there were also noticeable differences regarding the status and influence *Schulleiter* afforded to teacher resistance and non-participation.

To gain understanding of differences in perception toward resistance, the concept of force-field analysis was drawn upon, identified by Levin (1951) as the dynamic balance of forces involved in the process of change, forces that work in opposition both internally and

externally. The external driving forces were relatively the same for all schools, namely the mandates exerted in the law, political directives exerted by the state *Senat,* and economic and social forces exerted by conditions in Berlin.

However, the resisting forces of individual *Schulleiter* in response to the external driving forces varied in scope, ranging from enthusiasm and compliance to passivity and resistance. Likewise, the individual driving forces exerted by *Schulleiter* within their own schools varied in scope, ranging from minimal or subtle to collaborative or compulsory. However, *Schulleiter* did describe the resisting forces of teachers within schools consistently for the most part, acknowledging resistance as present and inevitable, identified in terms of either passivity, lack of motivation, or refusal.

But differing among the perceptions of *Schulleiter* was the role that teacher resistance and non-participation played, with some perceiving it as an inherent challenge in the process of change, others viewing it as a continuous obstacle, and still others blaming it as a reason to not proceed. The five *Schulleiter* identifying common leadership priorities were involved in successful reform efforts, and all perceived resistance as an inevitable challenge but not as an obstacle that prohibited or deterred progress. Others not instigating reform initiatives voiced teacher resistance as a powerful deterrent, thus indicating the balance between forces may differ depending on perception rather than on the driving forces themselves. Perhaps, therefore, it is both the perception of the school leader and the context of the school culture that influence the balance between driving and resisting forces and the movement toward change – or lack thereof.

The organizational conditions and visions, as well as the external forces exerted on schools, were relatively the same for the schools involved in this study; yet their investment

and involvement in change and reform was different. *Schulleiter* appeared to impact the

balance between driving and resisting forces differently, not based on content, quantity, or

timeline of force exertion, but rather on the perceptions of *Schulleiter* toward resistance, and

on the process of exerting change.

    Schulleiter 1, 10 11, 12, and 13 made little reference to resistance as problematic as

indicated in Figure 28. *Schulleiter* 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 acknowledged resistance as present and

inevitable; whereas, *Schulleiter* 2 and 7 acknowledged resistance as highly problematic, as

illustrated in Figure 30. Perhaps, in the end, it was the personal visions of *Schulleiter* that

affected the balance of forces, with those aimed toward processes of authenticity and trust

within the collective as more successful. Perhaps, as indicated in Figure 28 and 29, it was the

perceptions of *Schulleiter* toward resistive teachers in their schools that influenced the

balance and momentum of change, or lack thereof.

Personal vision	*Schulleiter*	Reform and change	Minimal resistance
Trusting collaborative vision	1	Integrative culture, trust, autonomy, communication, collaboration, autonomy, problem-solving, professional development	Teachers invested, motivated, collegial, engaged, responsible
Innovative collaborative vision	10	Innovative culture, collaboration, teamwork, well-being of collective, professional development, freedom	Teachers invested, motivated, collegial, engaged
Cautious collective vision	11	New *Schulleiter* in problematic school, building teams, laying groundwork for change, moving collective forward to common goals & cooperation	Teachers accustomed to resistance, slowly becoming engaged
Integrative collective vision	12	Moved to new building, processes and teams moving ahead, focus on collaboration within collective	Teachers engaged and motivated, even with hardships
"Democratic dictatorship" vision	13	Many changes and hardships since reunification, moving ahead with new programs, professional development and regulations rule.	Teachers secure and invested, 100% involved in new programs & reforms

Personal vision	*Schulleiter*	Reform and change	Medium resistance:
Reflective collective vision	3	Leading the way up the mountain, expects slow going and resistance, guides and invites along the way	Some follow and some don't
Philanthropic vision	4	The "way" is provided from afar, resistance expected with communication seen as key, others show the way	Some are involved; others are not. The choice is voluntary.
Management vision	5	Reform is organized, managed, and moving forward; resistance is acknowledged but downplayed	Managed involvement, passive resistance
Persuasive vision	6	Authority is in the hands of teachers, must persuade them to follow and hope for the best	Some follow, others resist passively as unmotivated and uninvolved
Contingent vision	8	Movement toward change contingent on persuading others to come along and talking them into it	Some follow, others don't, passive noninvolvement
Resourceful vision	9	Teams and maximizing talents of others is key, collaborative structure in place, resistance accepted with hopes for the future	Voluntary, 30% involved, others becoming passively interested
Personal vision	*Schulleiter*	Reform and change	High resistance:
Skeptical vision	2	Delegates from afar, plays the victim with others to blame for lack of progress	Delegated tasks and involvement, overt resistance
Manipulative consensus vision	7	Mandated and controlled change, involvement of staff awarded in lip service	Forced involvement, hidden resistance

Figure 29. *Schulleiter* perceiving medium and high teacher resistance

Perhaps in the end, the differences indicated by the *Schulleiter* in this study regarding the role and purpose of educational leadership, as illustrated by their personal vision, leadership priorities and decision-making preferences, demonstrate that, "despite the apparent tension between the one-best-way" and broader views of leadership (Bolman & Deal, 2003, p. 340), and because "there are as many different definitions of *leadership* as there are people who have tried to define it" (Stogdill, 1974. p. 7); there are just as many ways in praxis that leadership is enacted and carried out in real life.

The Cultural Connotation of Educational Leadership

Though in the midst of change, the position of *Schulleiter* in Germany has by tradition and law been primarily managerial in nature, with minimal authority afforded the position. Leadership has been deemed in terms of processes or functions, rather than as a specific person or role, with leadership functions distributed across the school structure. Teaching has also been a traditional component of the position of *Schulleiter*, indicated by the importance placed on teaching in this study, with *Schulleiter* voicing concern over inadequate time for preparation and deeming leadership by one individual as undesirable.

Thus, realization that the role and purpose of educational leadership is culturally determined was illustrated by the *Schulleiter* in this study, with connotations defined and described based on historical, traditional, and legal interpretations and assumptions. The cultural endorsement of educational leadership, therefore, points to the appropriateness for theory and practice to also be culturally determined. So here lies the crux in cross-cultural research of educational leadership, to determine the appropriateness of crossing boundaries with methodology, theory, and practice in specific cultural contexts (Dimmock & Walker, 2001; Hallinger et al., 2005; Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996).

This study concurs with the findings of previous research, namely that connotations of leadership are culturally determined. Weiss (1992) and Szabo and colleagues (2001), in their studies of intercultural communication, found that immediate and local context shapes meaning and is difficult to change, thus indicating the importance of considering cultural connotation when attempting to transfer theory and practice across cultures. The assumption that leadership is culturally defined and endorsed, as indicated by the role of *Schulleiter* in this study, therefore, concurs with previous research (Hartog et al., 1999) that "what is

expected of leaders, what leaders may and may not do, and the influence that leaders have vary considerably as a result of the cultural forces in the countries or regions in which the leaders function" (House et al., 1997, p. 536).

Summary of Results

The results of this study concerning the role and purpose of educational leadership indicate that the praxis of leadership comes in many varieties and compositions despite best practice prescriptions (Bass, 1985; Leithwood et al., 1996); that perception and context influence the form of leadership that is enacted and/or accepted (Leithwood et al., 2004), and that universal leadership preferences are enacted differently in practice across and within cultures (Den Hartog, 1999). The influence of perception on personal vision, decision-making, and leadership priorities implies that the perception of the leader influences processes within organizations, the positioning of authority, and the balance of driving and resisting forces involved in change.

The impacts identified by *Schulleiter* as influencing their capacities to implement reform were identified in four contexts: the economic, political, and social context; the global and international context; the local school context; and the context of change itself. Resounding as the most influential were the continued lack of funding, the "gap" between *Senat* and schools, the ambiguous "sandwiched" position of *Schulleiter*, the incongruous role of evaluation, inconsistent staff participation, inadequate professional development and training, increased class sizes, and staffing and budget cuts.

Also impacting *Schulleiter* were the effects of globalization, to include competition in the market economy; international comparison testing; educational unity in the European Union; an unstable labor market; centralized reform; and policy borrowing. Realizations

identified by *Schulleiter* with regard to the context of change included the necessity to progress slowly, integrate all ways of knowing, motivate staff with a sense of hope, integrate a consciousness toward change, maintain tradition with innovation; and teach, talk with, and train teachers.

The results of this study, in concurrence with previous research, indicate cultural context as a core construct of influence on perception (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996; Hofstede, 2001; Schein, 2004). The power of perception was demonstrated by the respondents in this study, grounded in their assumptions and perspectives as culturally and socially constructed, and guiding their personal visions that in turn appeared to influence behavior, communication, relationships, and positional authority (Ratner, 2004; Schein, 2004).

In the end, the results of this study indicate that, if anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) is correct and culture is made of "webs of significance" that human beings spin around themselves (p. 5); and if sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2000) is right that culture is shared in a collective way by occupying similar spaces and similar experiences; then perhaps the tool on which we must rely to "interpret, reproduce, maintain, and transform" the complex webs of meaning within and across diverse cultures of today (Rifkin, 2000, p. 139), is the tool of communication. Perhaps, in the end, it is through *cultural* communication in *cultural* communities and organizations that webs of misperceptions and misunderstandings blocking processes of change and innovation can be untangled.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions, implications, and recommendations that emerged from understandings gained through this study. The purpose of the study was to gain understanding of educational leadership and the implementation of reform through the perceptions of respondents, in light of their experiences of the reunification of 1990. Situated in a specific historical and cultural context and in retrospection of a world-changing event, the results of this study speak to the particular and universal – to those who lead in one way or another, to those impacted by the world in which we live, to those who realize we "cannot act or interact…in any meaningful way except through the medium of culture" (Hall, 1966, p. 177), parameters that in one way or another include us all.

As a microcosm of the great divide, Berlin has since the reunification seen the front edge of revitalization and the back streets of ambiguity; garnished with refurbishment and reform, yet ridden with remnants of an "invisible wall." Increasingly subtle and often unspoken, differences between East and West continue to exist, visible in salary scales, property values, and unemployment rates; blurry in the daily goings-on of life in the workplace and on the street.

The shifting focus of this study was apparent from the onset, as both respondent and researcher kept one eye on the present and the other cast backwards, seemingly unable to discount reflections of the past as influences on the present. Throughout the course of this study, culture emerged as an increasingly complex and interwoven construct, difficult to disentangle and impossible to ignore. Yet, the focus was not an attempt to search for universal traits or lingering uniqueness between East and West, nor was it an effort to

measure and determine degrees of assimilation and acculturation between the two. But rather, the enigma of culture emerged as a journey, intertwining the interest of the researcher with the eagerness and forthrightness of those who shared it. The focus shifted as well as the findings, balancing between the present and the past, between tradition and innovation, between professional and personal. Perhaps in the end, they are side by side.

The conclusions, implications, and recommendations of this study are grounded in the perceptions of respondents, set in understanding, gained through their experiences in retrospection of the reunification of 1990, gleaned from the *emic* of the local and aimed toward the *etic* of the universal, in reflection and speculation of the effects of culture, the effects of change, and the interplay between the two. The conclusions and implications of this study are focused with in four areas: centralization and collaboration, globalization and culture, myths of culture, and cultural leadership.

Centralization and Collaboration

Centralized reform in decentralized schools is by nature ridden with ambiguity, with autonomy, funding, and responsibilities typically handed over to local schools, while accountability, standards, and assessment are maintained by the state, thus illustrating the fine line referred to by Weiler (1990) between evaluation and control. It would appear that enactment of the school law in Berlin via top-down hierarchical structures is seemingly contradictory with the distributed leadership structures mandated in German schools. However, this is not the problem (Leithwood et al., 2004).

The dilemma of centralized reform has to do with process, not structure. Often lacking in centralized systems of reform are collaborative and integrative processes within top-down bureaucratic structures. Such lack of interaction and integration in Berlin was

poignantly illustrated by one *Schulleiter* as "the critical eye that is still upon us." Top-down

approaches, as well as exclusively bottom-up measures, have not proven effective without

collaboration and working in "combination and systematic synchronization" (Huber, 2004, p.

670), thus suggesting the need for processes that provide integration and *complimentary*

involvement and input of stakeholders at both state and school levels.

The *Schulleiter* in this study voiced the need for guidelines, expectations, and

procedures from the top, for providing clear direction and vision for schools, as well as for

maintaining consistent accountability and quality, again indicating that top-down direction is

not the problem. The ambiguous and "sandwiched" position of *Schulleiter* has resulted from

the "adding on" of responsibilities, without the repositioning of authority, without support

from and collaboration with the state, without clear direction, and without holistic distributed

leadership processes (Gronn, 2002). The question remaining is whether or not the same

distributed leadership structures mandated and expected within the schoolhouse doors can

also be established between the state and the schools – with collaborative processes

established within those structures. But the real question, as voiced by *Schulleiter 2*, is

whether or not the Berlin *Senat* can relinquish, redistribute, and share authority and

leadership in conjunction with the responsibilities that have been passed down.

Hierarchical structures need not be sacrificed in the process, for it is through

collaboration, interaction, and cooperative relationships, namely through transformational

practices, that successful reform is implemented and sustained (Leithwood et al., 2004).

Reform in Berlin was mandated without adequate funding and resources, and without

sufficient guidelines and professional development. But it was the top-down enactment

without involvement and integration of stakeholders that appeared to be the greatest

deterrent. Time will tell, but speculation holds that without collaboration, mutual dialogue,

and the development of understanding and trust between state and school, the "power gap"

will remain and so will the "sandwiched" position of *Schulleiter.*

> And we still have a big mistrust in school here against the school leadership. I have
> the feeling that the colleagues don't want to be led…and on the other hand they
> expect from leadership that the school has to go further. So there are expectations that
> the school has to develop. And if you can find a common level there, where you can
> develop school – and I think that is possible – than you have to do it. But the direction
> is not obvious yet.   *Schulleiter 11* from the East

Globalization and Culture

In today's world of globalization, few developed nations are exempt from

competition in the labor market and international comparisons of educational systems. Rifkin

(2000) has described the effects of globalization as shifting from a product-based market

economy to an age of access, from manufactured goods to services, from services to access;

from industrial capitalism to cultural capitalism, from markets to network, with companies no

longer selling things but rather pooling and sharing collective resources. Such

transformations have challenged traditional assumptions about what constitutes human

society and the nature of relationships, for according to Rifkin (2000):

> From the beginning of civilization to now, culture has always preceded markets.
>
> People create communities, construct elaborate codes of social conduct, reproduce
>
> shared meanings and values, and build social trust in the form of social capital. Only
>
> when trust and social exchange are well developed do communities engage in
>
> commerce and trade. (p. 11)

So what does this have to do with educational leadership and *Schulleiter* in Berlin?

Perhaps a new way of thinking about education is indicated, a shift from education as a

commodity to be gained or owned to education as an opening of access to possibilities and opportunities. Perhaps if Rifkin (2000) is right, "access is becoming a potent conceptual tool for rethinking our world view as well as our economic view, making it the single most powerful metaphor of the coming age" (p. 15).

Particularly in the United States, the philosophical separation between education and labor may indeed be reaching obsolescence, with "the age old assumptions about the educated person…becoming less and less relevant to the needs of today's labour market" (Macbeath, Moos, & Riley, 2002, p. 227). Perhaps the vision for schools today, as in Germany, is to restore the balance, to make the leap from paradigms designed for an industrialized society to one that meets the needs of students in today's global society. Perhaps the call is to re-determine the purpose of education for an age of access, to set parameters that prepare students both academically AND vocationally, not one against the other, but in tandem as *complementary* to provide "a suitable way to preserve and enhance the rich cultural diversity that is the lifeblood of civilization in a global network economy" (Rifkin, 2000, p. 12).

There are no easy answers for the struggles experienced by *Schulleiter* in Berlin or elsewhere, but if "communication constitutes the core of culture and indeed of life itself" (Hall, 1966, p. 1), there lies the inseparable link that must be reconnected, as *complementary* between *Senat* and *Schulleiter*, between *Schulleiter* and teacher, between school and community, between education and labor. It takes the collaboration and integration of key players at every level, engaged in authentic dialogue "attentive to internal variations of needs and conditions" for legitimacy to be awarded the process of reform (van Amelsvoort & Scheerens, 1997, p. 362). Genuine dialogue affords the opportunity to build networks and

relationships aimed toward collaboration and planning, founded on values and visions and strategic intent. But first those values and visions and strategic intents have to be identified in terms of relevancy, importance, and inclusiveness, and in terms of cultural and historical context within the modern world.

The best scenario for Berlin and for other states and nations across the globe, would be for policy makers and practitioners to open the doors of discussion, collaborating to investigate "globalised policies and practices in culturally sensitive ways that respect the integrity" (Dimmock & Walker, 2000, p. 311) of tradition, but allow for change and development at all levels of the educational hierarchy. So are bureaucratic structures necessary for this? If history and tradition are reliable predictors, then undoubtedly so, for hierarchical structures have served to contribute not only to organizational structure and management, but are also useful for the designation of roles and responsibilities (Dubs, 2000).

The hierarchical educational structure in place in Germany since the end of World War II has afforded democratic and distributed structures, as are in place in other nations of democratic heritage, with leadership and decision-making distributed across school organizations. But what are missing are the mechanisms for collaborative and distributed processes within those structures, processes that are interactive and transparent, distributed across the school not only for the purpose of developing curriculum, programs, evaluation procedures, and accountability measures, but also for the acknowledgement of values, assumptions, and perceptions of stakeholders across all levels of the educational structure. For only through such integration can shared practices be formulated, can a shared purpose and vision of schooling be enacted. In the words of one *Schulleiter*:

> The most important thing is not the *Senat,* not the money, not the building, but the people...we have to teach the people that we can solve problems only together and in a calm situation. We have to formulate the vision and the goals...it's a long path. It doesn't come just from today or tomorrow.   *Schulleiter 1* from the West

Perhaps the time has come for policy maker and practitioner, professor and principal, teacher and parent, student and employer, to reevaluate the purpose of schooling within both cultural and global contexts. Perhaps it is time to examine what it is that should be placed at the center of education – economics, the curriculum, the student, competition, the teacher, standards, *Bildung,* the labor market, society, assessments, politics? What is it that should be the mission and vision of schools for preparing students to live in today's world of globalization and access? Perhaps once such basic and fundamental questions are addressed, through genuine and honest dialogue, the rest will follow.

> I think you have to be patient to see what becomes of it [reforms]. I'm not completely sure yet that the measures they took are suitable to improve quality. Because to introduce tests doesn't improve anything. It just establishes what's gone wrong and what's going right. Here at the moment, it's more to see what's going wrong.
> *Schulleiter 6* from West Berlin

> Germany can only lead or be in front if it presents a good education, if it is giving apprenticeships and studies to its people and if we are investing in education, training, and further education, And the most important if the training and apprenticeships. That is my hope.   *Schulleiter 12* from East Berlin

> The Germans want to be secure, and the Americans want to be free. First of all, it cannot be transferred from one system to the other, it's impossible...There is no way that the Germans would accept that universities would charge more. And the Americans complain about the speed limit on the German autobahns, but they say it's okay to have weapons. You guys defend the fire arms; we defend no speed limit on the autobahn.   *German Labor Attaché* from the West

Myths of Culture

Presumptions and assumptions concerning the concept and process of culture, whether pointing to schools, organizations, communities, or nations, drive the question, "Is one unitary culture reality?" To answer in the words of an East Berlin graduate student, "When the Berlin Wall fell, that was the end of GDR; everything East was bad and everything West was good. The new Germany was one, they said...but it really isn't." The respondents from the East indicated the precariousness of their existence, the "double-edged sword" phenomenon of "moving in between categories of specificity" (Probyn, 1999, p. 9) that was required for reconstructing a new identity and new reality.

Illustrated in this study were conflicting assumptions and perceptions between East and West, hidden by myths of culture erroneously promoted by Westerners as "the way we do things around here" (Deal & Kennedy, 1982, p. 4). Myths that emerged from the perceptions of respondents in this study, as set in the cultural context of Berlin, include the myth of cultural unity, myth of cultural research, myth of assimilation, and myth of culture as not central.

Myth of Cultural Unity

Promoted during the reunification of Germany, as well as in national and organizational endeavors for establishing common purpose and mission, the "myth of cultural unity" implies a one-way convergence and "meeting of the minds" that exposes the risk of "cultural blindness," whether conscious or not (Belhachmi, 1997, p. 5). Although culture has long been a buzzword in describing effective leadership in effective organizations (Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Senge, 1990), the term organizational culture perpetuates the misperception of cultural integration and convergence as a magic

solution. The crucial questions for leaders to ask then are, "By whose culture is an organization defined, and how does one know if there is cultural unity?"

Weick (1979), in offering a view of organizations grounded in values and beliefs of individuals, stated:

> The word organization is a noun and it is also a myth. If you look for an organization you won't find it. What you will find is that there are events, linked together, that transpire within concrete walls; and these sequences, their pathways, and their timing are the forms we erroneously make into substances we talk about as an organization. Just as the skin is the misleading boundary for marking off where a person ends and the environment starts, so are the walls of an organization. Events inside organizations and organisms are locked into causal circuits that extend beyond these artificial boundaries. (p. 88)

The task for school leaders, including the *Schulleiter* in this study, is to unravel the myth of cultural unity, to break silences and acknowledge the prevalence of dominant cultural values, ways of knowing, and perceptions that in turn may result in suppression of the cultures of others. Only in first gaining awareness of discrepancies and differences among colleagues can cultural misperceptions and misunderstandings begin to be unraveled, with the aim not to delineate solitary *organizational cultures*, but rather to develop *cultural organizations* – with culture identified not as a problematic and identified by race or language or class, but rather as a sets of *complementary* ways of knowing for problem-solving, communicating, and decision-making. By embracing an awareness, respect, and value for all cultures, organizational culture can then become truly cultural, thus increasing

the likelihood of the same being carried into the classroom for addressing inherent cultural inequities and disparities.

Myth of Cultural Research

Studies of leadership across cultures tend to be comparative in nature, focusing on specific leadership constructs, such as traits, behaviors, or policies, in lieu of culture itself. In contrast, cultural research focuses on specific cultural constructs such as assumptions, perceptions, and values, as related to cultural integration or acculturation (Hofstede, 2001; House et al., 2002). Existing studies, however, tend to address the "other," while failing to critically examine personal assumptions and biases concerning culture and cultural integration. Thus, individual biases and misperceptions have been perpetuated in research without scrutiny, thus resulting in ethnocentricity and the likely elevation of one's own cultural values (Belhachmi, 1997).

Although theorists in educational leadership concur that leadership is contingent on the context in which it operates (Owens, 2001); it was Getzels (1968) who situated school leadership within a cultural context, claiming that cultural values affect the actions of leaders. However, few empirical studies have followed up on the relevance of culture in educational leadership research (Woodrum, 2000). With the diverse and multicultural populations in schools today, questions in research include not only commonalities and differences between and among cultures and organizations, but also commonalities and differences within cultures and organizations and their effects on one another. So if research were to focus on culture as a specific construct within an organization, what is it that could be learned about the interplay the two?

Myth of Assimilation

Perhaps the myth of assimilation is a place to begin. The respondents in this study from both East and West understood the meaning of failing to integrate all ways of knowing, gained from past experiences during reunification when only one way of knowing was acknowledged – that of the West. The conflict for those in the East, therefore, was the myth of cultural assimilation that abounded, the myth contributing to their "double edged sword" existence.

Despite the reality that freedom, a sense of belonging, and a unified Germany were undoubtedly desired and wished for by Easterners, the myth of cultural assimilation mandated and expected by the West called for instant integration, thus not only failing to acknowledge different ways of thinking and knowing, but also devaluing and discounting Easterners in the process. Thus, was promoted the "concept of belonging without identity" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 321), at least for a period, if not longer, illustrating the "double edged sword" of their existence once again, with "movement carried by the wish to belong," shifting "in between categories of specificity" (Probyn, 1996, p. 9).

East and West Berlin were reunited as two "estranged twins" (Fisherman & Martin, 1987), rejoined in common language, history, and tradition – with one deemed as dominant and the other marginal. Issues of race and ethnicity were not the issue, nor were language and history, but despite cultural commonalitites, the distribution of power and authority was unequal, held as one over the other. According to the respondents of this study, the myth of assimilation still exists in Berlin, creating an "invisible wall" that still stands.

For the myth of assimilation to be acknowledged and unraveled, an understanding of the problem is not enough, but rather first is required "convincing ourselves that it is a real

one" (Sapir, 2992, p. 246). Creating cultural awareness and understanding first requires acknowledging the marginal, acknowledging "states of mind" that include "your own and those of the people you meet" (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 201). If West Germans were to open the gates of discussion with Easterners concerning the process of reunification, even today, perhaps overt reconciliation could begin. If cultural differences could be brought together as *complementary*, not for purposes of blame or contrition, but rather to acknowledge the marginalization that occurred in the reunification process in order to move on, perhaps authentic collaboration and integration would have a greater chance.

In bringing together all ways of knowing as *complementary*, rather than as problematic or divisive, genuine and transparent discussion could begin to bridge the "invisible wall" and promote genuine assimilation. But whether or not the inequities in power would be acknowledged in the process is another question, for only with the redistribution of power and authority is for there a chance for genuine, honest, and transparent assimilation – a process requiring clarity, courage, communication on both sides.

> It's personal – they don't want to integrate themselves in this strange world perhaps. Sometimes it's a little bit strange for them. They need more security.
>
> *Schulleiter 3* from the West

Myth of Culture as not Central

The myth of cultural unity, the myth of cultural research, and the myth of cultural assimilation; all bring to light the ultimate *myth of culture as not central;* not central in research; not central in nations; not central in states, communities, organizations, and schools. The myth of culture as not central discounts the diverse, the multicultural, and the marginal, subtly or blatantly, assuming the dominant culture as unitary and suppressing or at least "minoritizing" the "other."

Culture can be viewed through several lenses, from the Darwinian stance of biological adaptation, to the anthropological view of environmental influence, to the ecological interaction between the two. Culture is viewed as "interpreted and created daily through interactions between individuals and their social surroundings" through a sociocultural lens (Berry, 1997, p. 135); and from the ecocultural perspective is the collective and individual adaptation to context, affording two cultures at once even if conflicting or inconsistent. Whatever the perspective, when cultures merge or come into contact, acculturation occurs, involving change in both the collective and the individual (Berry, 1997).

The question arising then, with regard to the relation of acculturation to this study, points to the extent that change and adjustment and "reculturation" is by choice, and the extent to which acculturation and assimilation occur as a result of the "double-edged sword" phenomena of shifting "between categories of specificity" as demanded by the situation? Or are they one in the same? What, if anything, could ameliorate or at least ease the situation of merging one or more cultures with another; merging different sets of values, assumptions, perceptions, and ways of thinking?

Cultures are comprised of relationships between people, for without people there would be no cultures. Meaning is derived from "interpersonal relations," comprised of language, history, values, assumptions, and perceptions" (Sapir, 1993, p. 205); and everyone has a culture, acknowledged or not. The final question then becomes, "Is it culture that matters, or is it the meanings people attach to culture that matter?" And if culture is composed of meanings people attach; and if meanings determine assumptions and perceptions and beliefs; then culture indeed matters. And if culture matters, then perhaps a

shift in thinking is called for, a shift in mindset from the concept of unitary *organizational culture* to the reality of diverse *cultural organizations.*

Implications for Cultural Leadership

The impact of leadership in organizations has traditionally been viewed through three theoretical perspectives: the *cultural congruence* stance claiming that cultural forces define the kind of leadership that is accepted and enacted in organizations; the *cultural difference* perspective claiming it is the exceptional performance of leaders that induces change and innovation; and the *leadership trait and behavior* viewpoint attributing certain influential leadership characteristics and behaviors as universal across cultures (House et al., 1997). In consideration of the *Schulleiter* in this study, however, perhaps a broader view of the purpose and impact of leadership is indicated and warranted.

From a critical perspective, educational leadership is viewed through social and cultural relationships, with distributions of power and channels of communication based on discourses of explicit and implicit organizational knowledge, cultural values, and biased social assumptions (Foucault, 1980). The process and the product of leadership, therefore, become the same; namely that of transmitting hierarchies of assumptions and perceptions as "truths" across organizations and time, even if independent from actual organizational realities.

The very separation of educational leadership from teaching (not in Germany, but elsewhere in the world) casts the assumption that leaders somehow have superior traits and skills to those involved in teaching and learning, thus promoting elevated notions of status, power, and privilege (Bogotch, 2001). In Berlin, the elevated status of educational leadership awarded in new legislation has been viewed as undesirable by *Schulleiter,* due to the

separateness and friction with colleagues resulting from new responsibilities for evaluation. Speculation, therefore, points to the notion that the traditional distributed and shared leadership structures of Germany, in place without major constraints of status and power muddying the waters; warranted closer collegial working relationships with less "power distance" and less resistance between school leader and teachers, than that which may be in store for the future.

So what are the implications of this study for educational leaders? First of all is the acknowledgement that a school is more than the sum of a culture, but rather is influenced by multiple and diverse cultural forces from within and without, recognized or not. Second, is acknowledgement that culture in schools is typically perceived in terms of problematic groups described by race, color, language, and/or socio-economic background. And the third is the realization that assumptions and perceptions about culture are embedded and difficult to change, particularly assumptions of the dominant as "better than" and the marginal as "less than." The myths and realizations emerging from this study point the need for a shift in mindset, a change in perception and practice situating the construct of culture, not as problematic or marginal, but rather *as complementary*.

Culture as Complementary

The theory of *complementarity* was first introduced by Danish physicist Niels Bohr in 1927 to explain the dual existence of particle-like properties and wave-like properties coexisting simultaneously and separately within the same system, with differences deemed exceptional and *complementary*, rather than in opposition at extreme ends of a continuum. The precept of *complementarity* also serves as a reminder that phenomena in nature are interpreted by the perceptions and explanations of the observer (Wikipedia, 2004).

The principle of *complementarity* in this study was utilized to illustrate a different way of perceiving relationships between constructs typically situated in opposition or polarities, i.e., individualism versus collectivism, *emic* versus *etic*. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) first utilized *complementarity* as an impetus for understanding our own culture, respecting the cultures of others, and reconciling cultural differences, claiming that:

> Universalism and particularism are not separate but different, on a continuum between rules and exceptions. Things are more or less similar to the rule, or more or less dissimilar and hence exceptional. You could even define rules without knowing what exceptions were. The terms are therefore complementary. (p. 205)

The notion of *complementarity* surfaced early in this study, as pertaining to the vocational education system in Germany. The various levels of vocational education in Germany all include academic studies, with some 70% of secondary students in such programs, from the *Gymnasiale Oberstufe* leading to university to the *Berufschule* dual system of schooling and apprenticeship training. In contrast, the roots of separatism between academic and vocational education took hold early in the 20th century in the United States in response to industrial labor demands, with vocational programs destined for back seat status in comparison to academic studies (Lynch, 2000). The conceptualization of vocational AND academic education, in lieu of vocational VERSUS academic education, emerged as an illustration of the principle of *complementary*.

An additional example emerged from *Schulleiter 13* with regard to the serious impacts and ramifications occurring in his school after reunification. His course of action, in

the face of massive change and adjustment, was to keep tradition and add innovation, thus

indicating tradition AND innovation as *complementary*, in lieu of tradition VERSUS

innovation held in opposition, illustrated by the following:

> In 1991, we got DM 50,000 from the company to build this new company school, and I became the manager to decide what we should do. I decided we wouldn't do anything we hadn't done before, so the teachers did the same things that they had done before....I think we have to keep high quality here because you have to go with the times and do some innovations, or else you will step out of the market, you are behind the market. *Schulleiter 13* from East Berlin

Acknowledgments and understandings gained from this study point to implications

for educational leaders to focus on the relevance and importance of *culture as*

complementary, with *cultural leadership* pertaining to four domains:

1. Cultural organizations

2. Cultural consciousness

3. Cultural communication

4. Cultural integration

Cultural Organizations

The concept of culture has been under considerable debate as related to organizations

since the 1980s, defined with various approaches to figure out meaning and relevance (Deal

& Kennedy, 1982; Hofstede, 1980a; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Over the past 25 years,

culture has joined the ranks of norms, values, behaviors, and traditions used in business and

education for the purpose of providing stability, depth, breadth, and integration to

organizations (Schein, 2004). According to House (1997):

> Cultural differences in societies and in organizations are asserted to account for
>
> significant amounts of variance in individuals' expectations and assumptions about

their environment, attitudes toward others, modes of social interaction, expressions of emotions and global behavior patterns, and reactions to others. (p. 613)

Culture, therefore, "lies hidden and is outside voluntary control," penetrating the roots of one's being, determining how the world is perceived (Hall, 1966, p. 177), bringing to light the realization that in such unknowing states of awareness, "routine aspects of educational administration can mask the influence of culture" (Berrell & Gloet, 1999, p. 14). Of relevance for school leaders then, is the realization that "culture operates at such an embedded level in most organizations that stakeholders are habitually unsuspecting of its influence" (Triandis, 1993, p. 13).

As evidenced in this study, differences exist among individuals within organizations, manifested in distinctive styles of leadership, communication, decision-making, and problem-solving, as well as in differing interpretations and connotations of such constructs as resistance, authority, and culture (Berrell & Gloet, 1999). If the cultural differences between East and West had been a focus in the mindsets of reformers, at the apex of awareness from the beginning, perhaps the journey toward reunification might have been less troublesome and ambiguous. But the task confronting schools in Berlin was a momentous one, with the merging of two cultures and two educational systems amidst political, economic, and social pressures greater than anywhere else in Germany. In the words of one *Schulleiter*, "We did it quite well and quite fast."

So with no place for criticism or blame, what has been learned from the occurrence in Berlin, across German borders as a reflection to the world – perhaps to borders of Ireland or Rwanda or South Africa or the Sudan; or to less obvious boundaries dividing nations, communities, organizations and schools, blatantly or subtly?

A shift in mindset is again indicated, a shift in thinking from the unitary concept of organizational culture to cultural organizations that promote the acknowledgement and awareness of culture, not as the problematic or the "other;" not in terms of custom or color or class; but rather as *complementary* ways of knowing that are identified, valued, and utilized. Implications for school leaders pertain to four primary conceptualizations inherent in cultural organizations: culture as central, cultural consciousness, cultural communication, and cultural integration.

Culture as central

Cultural organizations hold culture as central, thus avoiding polarities, exclusions, and unheard voices existing in the unitary cultural concept. Differences as well as likenesses are at the forefront, as *complementary* ways of knowing for making informed and productive decisions. Organizations with culture as central are guided by the following:

1. Culture as a broad construct – Like the constructs of gender or age or race or ethnicity, culture also defines identity in a variety of ways. In cultural organizations, culture as a construct implies broad ways of knowing and thinking that extend beyond organizational boundaries and observable differences. According to Vygotsky (1993), ways of thinking and knowing are "psychological phenomena" that depend on social experience and embody cultural artifacts, such as language, symbols, and objects that mediate one's relation with the world. Culture as a broad construct embodies the ways of knowing of all those within an organization, not just the dominant.

2. Culture as a lens – As a way of viewing and perceiving the world, culture is defined beyond language or color or custom, to include values, assumptions,

perceptions, and positions; the lens through which we know what we know.

Individuals from different cultures have different understandings of events, and

experiences; and therefore, develop different assumptions and perceptions

(Ratner, 2004). With culture as a lens in organizations, processes and structures

are set within a broader view that envelops perceptions as well as misperceptions,

and understandings as well as misunderstandings, in lieu of the customary

discounting of such as non-existent or irrelevant.

3. Culture as collective – Culture is comprehensive, inclusive, and is owned by all; not just the marginal, not just the problematic, not just the "other." As Edward Hall (1966) claimed, "no matter how hard man [*sic*] tries it is impossible for him [*sic*] to divest himself [*sic*] of his [*sic*] own culture, for it has penetrated to the roots of his [*sic*] nervous system and determines how he [*sic*] perceives the world" (p. 177). In cultural organizations, all cultures are positioned within the collective.

4. Culture as supportive - In cultural organizations, culture is situated as a supportive construct within the collective, promoting respect and inclusion and care and participation. With regard to the East-West phenomena, perhaps "culture as supportive" might have alleviated, or at least eased, the marginalization and "double-edged sword" shifting of East Germans during the reunification.

Establishing cultural organizations holds great implications for school leaders

charged with developing the vision, setting frameworks, and formulating processes.

Establishing cultural organizations, situated with culture as central and supportive lens

requires first that school leaders gain an awareness of culture not as distinctly and problematic, but rather as a pervasive and organizational fact of life (Sapir, 2002).

Cultural consciousness

Vgotsky (1993) claims it is only through social experience that ways of thinking are brought under conscious control and understanding. Likewise, according to Ratner (2004), "Particular social values structure perception in a manner that highlights certain characteristics and precludes noticing other aspects of self and other people" (p. 6); implying that misperceptions and unconsciousness are structured and perpetuated by social experience. Therefore, cultural organizations embrace social experiences of cultural consciousness and awareness to acknowledge and gain understanding of misperceptions and misunderstandings.

Schulleiter 2 in this study claimed "the consciousness of everybody has to change, students and teachers, starting from above, not on the paper" This message was echoed by other *Schulleiter* as well, voiced in terms of resistance, non-motivation, too old to change, or a "certain kind of defensive attitude." In addition, avoidance of the East/West phenomena was indicated (at least by Western *Schulleiter*) as a topic of discussion, as seemingly not "politically correct" to discuss. Perhaps, what is insinuated is the need for increased cultural consciousness.

Cultural consciousness acknowledges culture as present, constant, and influential – with awareness as key. In comparing leadership ideals, Szabo and colleagues (2001) found that cultural factors influenced inconsistencies in relationships, thus implying that a "more holistic understanding of the intrapersonal processes on which leadership is based" is needed (p. 219). And in their study of Germanic countries, Szabo and colleagues (2002) also found that "people can indeed be slowly led to participation by systems and institutions containing

built-in participatory elements" (p. 67). Therefore, if cultural factors influence the relational

processes in organizations, it would appear that promoting increased cultural consciousness

and awareness would indeed improve intrapersonal processes.

Cultural communication

Increased immigration and globalization have undoubtedly contributed to

increasingly multicultural and diverse populations across the globe, thus acknowledging a

new kind of cultural identity and diversity not so unlike the shifting between East and West

of East Germans after reunification. Weis (1992) designated Yoshikawa's (1987) four mode

framework of cultural communication as useful for intercultural situations. In the first

ethnocentric mode, the person of culture A perceives culture B only in terms of A's frame of

reference, with culture B virtually ignored. In the second *control* mode, manipulative

communication dominates, with the person of culture B perceived as an object for A's

purpose. The third *dialectical* mode combines the viewpoints of both A and B in unity but

also in sacrifice. In the fourth dialogical mode, A and B recognize their differences but also

their interdependence. "A does not appear in its wholeness in isolation but rather in

relationship to B. While A and B are separate and independent, they are simultaneously

interdependent" (Yoshikawa, 1987, p. 323).

Perhaps yet another mode, with communication as *complementary*, might afford

acknowledgment of both A and B as complete, in addition to being independent and separate,

with differences viewed as *complementary* ways of learning from one another.

Complimentary communication, with East and West viewed in terms of separate and

different and complete ways of knowing, would acknowledge both as equal contributors and

complementary playing partners, in lieu of ignoring and marginalizing, controlling and blaming.

Given the circumstances of reunification, Easterners were by nature of the event positioned in the margins without voice or input. Amidst the chaos and expediency of the situation at hand, dialogue between East and West was forced to focus on modes of communication that undoubtedly fostered ethnocentricity, control, and separatism – with the West positioned in the driver's seat. But the question arising today concerns how the situation between East and West might have been different. Of course hindsight is always insight, and in this case, given the massive and urgent task confronting those charged with restructuring the educational system in limited time, the recommendations offered here are empathic reflections on how similar situations might be alleviated, or at least eased, in the future. So what would have been the relational context between East and West had the mindset been different, had processes of communication not resulted in ethnocentricity, marginality, or dependence?

What if communication between A and B were viewed as *complementary,* rather than an obstacle or problem to overcome*?* The initial goal of joining A and B need not be to avoid dependence or to strive for independence or to integrate in interdependence, but rather to engage in processes with A and B as separate and different and complete, with differences perceived as exceptional and therefore *complementary.* Perhaps then, the possibility of honest and transparent interdependence, without silent marginalization or artificial integration and assimilation, would have the chance to evolve. But to acknowledge A and B as *complementary*, or C and D as *complementary,* cultural leaders of organizations are

reminded once again that the first hurdle is "not so much the understanding of the problem as a problem, but the convincing of ourselves that it is real one" (Sapir, 1993, p. 246).

So how does a cultural leader promote cultural communication? First is acknowledgement that such terms as minority, majority, and shared culture often lead to disenfranchisement and misperceptions, as culture is not defined in terms of numbers or quantities, nor do all individuals share the same culture (Brodbeck & Frese, 2004). Drawn from understandings in this study, implications for promoting cultural communication include the following:

1. Communicate cultural consciousness, acknowledging the presence of all cultures, rather than denying, discounting, of marginalizing under the guise of a single unitary culture.

2. Communicate cultural differences, as different ways of thinking and solving problems and conducting processes, focused on gaining understanding of culture (one's own as well as others), utilizing different ways of thinking as *complementary*. According to Fullan (2001), "dissent is seen as a potential source of ideas and breakthroughs" (p. 74).

3. Communicate the continuous process of cultural meaning-making, as we are all constantly assigning meaning in different ways. Meanings and assumptions assumed as universal bring misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

4. Communicate cultural respect that values and utilizes cultural likeness and differences to contribute to organizational processes, again with cultural differences as *complementary* rather than problematic. "We are more likely to

learn something from people who disagree with us than we are from people who

agree" (Fullan, 2001, p. 41).

5. Communicate cultural organizations: Consciousness + respect + value + inclusion

+ contribution + empathy + acknowledgement = cultural organizations

Cultural integration

In cultural organizations, culture is held as central, as the construct and lens for

promoting support within the collective, thus creating a cultural consciousness and

communication that over time leads to cultural integration. So in the end, what are the

implications for school leaders involved in the integration of culture in organizations? Drawn

from understandings gained from the respondents in this study are the following

recommendations:

1. Integrate a sense of hope, as well as sense of fun

2. Integrate all ways of knowing

3. Integrate a consciousness toward change

4. Clarify language, meanings, assumptions, perceptions

5. Keep tradition and add innovation

6. Talk, teach, ask, and listen

7. Energize and maximize

8. Integrate *complementarity*

Differences in constructs in this study were acknowledged not only in coexistence

with one another, but also as *complementary,* thus substituting the word AND for the word

VERSUS, and with *culture as complementary* at the top of the list. The principle of

complementarity emerged over and over again in this study, illustrated by the following:

Academic AND vocational	Collective AND individual
Top-down AND distributed	Global AND local
Tradition AND innovation	Discipline AND care
School AND training	Risk AND security
Marginal AND dominant	Likenesses AND differences
Strictness AND fun	Hierarchical AND distributive
Authoritative AND relational	Accountability AND trust
Access AND ownership	Student needs AND market needs
Centralization AND collaboration	Quality AND competition

Culture as complementary in cultural organizations involves the assimilation of cultural leadership, cultural consciousness, and cultural communication within the collective, with likeness and differences held as *complementary*, productive, and valued ways of knowing. According to Fullan (2001), if the mission of schooling is focused on students and their achievement, and if the change process involves all stakeholders working together to build relationships and create an environment of mutual understanding, then the environment will evolve to one of trust, thereby allowing criticism and conflict and differences to be constructive and positive – to be *complementary*.

Model for Integrated Cultural Organizations

The culturally endorsed integrated model of leadership offered by House and colleagues (1997), depicted in Figure 1, affords cultural specificity but does not allow for in-cultural differences in values, norms, and practices; nor for processes of decision-making, communication, motivation, problem-solving, and other relational aspects of organizations. Dimmock and Walker's (2000) cross-cultural model of educational leadership and

management indicated in Figure 2, while placing school functions within a larger

community, regional, and national context, also does not address processes or in-school

cultural differences. The model for integrated cultural organizations suggested in Figure 30

not only situates the school within the greater cultural, political, social, and economic

context; but also integrates processes for promoting cultural consciousness and cultural

communication. Cultural differences and ways of knowing are acknowledged as

complementary – as integrated within the cultural organization.

Integrated Cultural Organizations

Local & societal culture, history, values, norms, & practices

External political, economic, & social influences

Strategic Structure
Leadership team structure
Teacher empowerment
Communication infrastructure
Scheduled collaboration
Integrated orientation of staff

Collective Thinking
Collective systems thinking
Shared purpose
Collective focus on student
learning & achievement
Consciousness for change
Collective responsibility

Collective Leadership
Distributed leadership
Supportive leadership
Trust & respect
Care & security of collective

Collaborative Interaction
Collaborative approaches
Cultural communication
Integrated team learning
Professional development
Reflective dialogue

Student Ways of Knowing
Cultural histories &
assumptions
Learning styles
Educational opportunities
Educational goals

Educator Ways of Knowing
Cultural histories &
assumptions
Instructional models
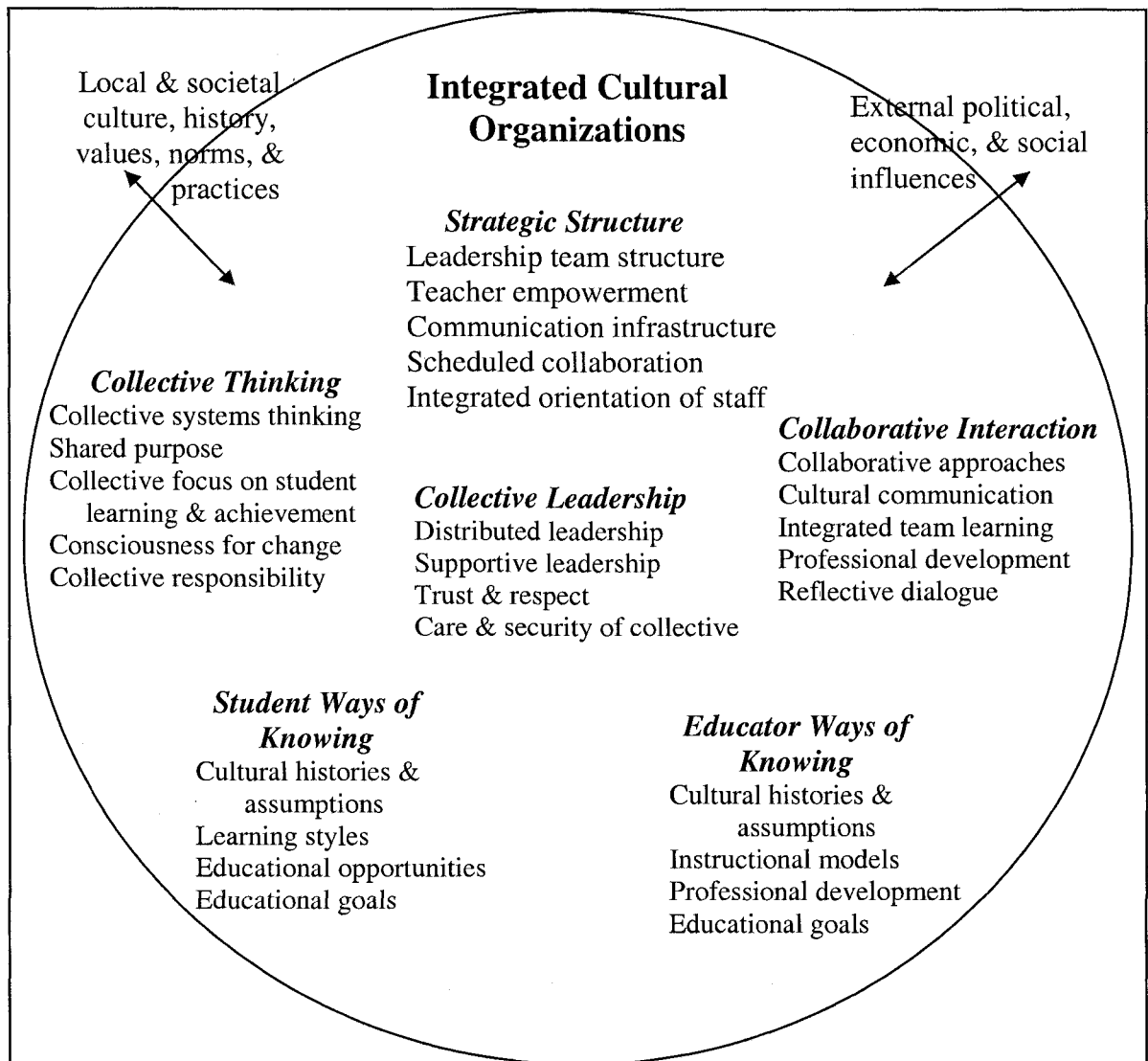Professional development
Educational goals

Figure 30. Model for integrated cultural organizations

Recommendations

The purpose of the study was to gain understanding of educational leadership and the implementation of reform in Berlin schools through the perceptions of school leaders involved in the process of change, particularly within the cultural context of Berlin in light of the reunification of 1990. The purpose was addressed in three areas: the role and purpose of educational leadership in the process of change, impacts affecting school leaders involved in the implementation of reform, and the historical and cultural context of Berlin. Suggestions and recommendations for theory and practice emerged as the following:

The first recommendation pertains to leadership and the process of change in schools. Previous research has attributed effective and successful programs and reform to effective leadership, identified primarily in terms of leadership traits, attributes, and behaviors. However, little research has been conducted to determine the extent to which the interplay between leadership, school culture, and organizational structure impacts effectiveness (Leithwood et al., 2004). In drawing on attribution theory, ascribing the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of schools to leadership may result in "the error of attribution" by underemphasizing other factors, such as cultural context and structure. Thus, additional research is recommended to gain understanding of the interplay between school leadership, organizational structure, and school culture within the organization as impacting the process of change and the forms of leadership that emerge.

A second recommendation concerns the realistic practice of leadership, as compared to the ideal, within particular cultural contexts. The *Schulleiter* in this study indicated, as has previous research, that leadership comes in many shapes, sizes, and forms. Illustrated were processes of change carried forth by leaders with varying preferences, from autocratic to

collective to collaborative; suggesting also that cultural context affects the extent to which

leaders are accepted or not. Additional research is recommended to gain better understanding

of the effects of cultural context on leadership, as differentiated from situational or

contingency-based context, to include broader cultural influences within the collective as

well as political, social, economic forces.

A third recommendation that emerged from this study concerns the extent to which

culture is a point of emphasis in preparation programs for future educational leaders. Over

the past three decades, programs "have sought primarily to teach prospective administrative

about the field of educational administration" (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1996, p. 110). The

question arising concerns whether or not future leaders learn *how* to establish cultural

organizations with integrated and interactive cultural processes? The issue is one of cultural

consciousness, for knowledge about cultural mores and traditions is not enough. As stated by

Weiss (1992), "One must be familiar with other culture's codes, fields of references, and

networks of power and communication as well as the individual's position within those fields

and networks" (p. 9).

> What we have to do is focus on how we take this trip altogether. To take everyone on
> this trip will be difficult, but...I would say if teachers are not able to implement new
> methods and content for themselves, whoever else can?
> *Schulleiter* 12 from East Berlin

Inequities and inequalities and gaps and disparities prevail in schools, both in

achievement and in opportunity. If school leaders do not encourage and establish cultural

organizations that in turn encourage and establish culturally sensitive classrooms, whoever

else can? To establish cultural organizations, greater emphasis is needed on developing

cultural awareness (one's own as well as others), cultural consciousness, and cultural communication in preparation programs.

A fourth recommendation points to the "gap" between government agencies and school districts, between district offices and schools, between policy makers and practitioners, between school leaders and teachers. Research indicates that bureaucratic structures are not incompatible with distributed leadership structures, nor with transformational attributes such as trust, integrity, passion, and motivation (Leithwood et al., 2004). What appear to be missing are distributed leadership processes for involving stakeholders in relational contexts for decision-making, problem-solving, etc. Therefore, it is recommended that increased emphasis be placed on communication and intrapersonal processes in preparation programs for promoting not only distributed and shared leadership structures but for learning *how* to establish, communicate, and carry out such processes. Also, additional research is warranted to identify the influence of effective communication and intrapersonal processes on the "gaps" in hierarchical structures.

And finally, it is recommended that the practice of tolerance and acceptance of educational leaders be continuously examined for the purpose of disentangling inequities of power and illuminating realities of marginality that exist in organizations; whether due to gender, ethnicity, language, class, race, or culture. In schools that are cultural organizations, with appropriate structures and processes of action and accountability in place, the respect and support and valuing of all cultures is evident, with culture deemed as *complementary*.

Epilogue

Both the concept of culture and the concept of leadership have been under

considerable debate and dispute as related to organizations since the 1980s, defined with

various approaches to figure out and decipher meaning and relevance (Deal & Kennedy,

1982; Hofstede, 1980a; Peters & Waterman, 1982). The respondents in this study helped to

contribute to that quest, sharing their perceptions and perspectives of what it means to be a

school leader in a global society, and what their purpose is for enacting the process of

change. Situated in a unique cultural context with a profound historical background, the

respondents in this study offered revelations and verifications concerning struggles faced in

schools across the globe.

Change is difficult, in nations, in communities, in organizations, in families, in

schools. In coming together, individuals bring their histories, their identities, and their

cultures – no one is exempt. Indicated by the *Schulleiter* in this study, one must have faith in

the process and in the outcome. For according to social theorist Pierre Bourdieu (2000), only

through "reflexive critique" that breaks up "habits of thought" (p. 7), cognitive interests, and

cultural beliefs, can social structures of power and domination be acknowledged and

confronted. Such is the task in Berlin, should it be accepted and acted upon.

Social class, racial, and cultural inequities exist within and across nations and schools

worldwide, indicated in Germany by PISA 2003 and the findings of this study, indicated in

the rest of the world by statistics and research (Belhachmi, 1997; Cheng & Jacob, 2000).

With schooling deemed the establisher of culture for any society, the "educational system

objectively intends, by concealing the objective truth of its functioning, to produce the

ideological justification of the order" (Bourdieu & Passerone, 1977, p. 206), thus "masking

the objective truth of its relationship to the structure of class relations" (p. 208). It is, therefore, within our own schoolhouse doors that the journey must begin, through the establishment of cultural organizations that seek out inequities, misinterpretations, and misperceptions; that create awareness and consciousness of *culture as complimentary*.

Despite commonalities and likenesses, it was the differences between East and West that made the difference, differences perceived as problematic and substandard, differences that promoted marginalization positioning likenesses on the sidelines of "so what?" Changing stats of mind and focusing on *differences as complimentary* and exceptional, rather than as inhibiting and divisive, is not an easy task. But it is one that would for the *Schulleiter* in this study and for others like them, bring not only transparency and authenticity to their organizations, but would also ease the struggle of maintaining and protecting one's own dominance against the "other" – also not an easy task. Perhaps if both sides focused toward the middle, toward the shared vision and mission of what schooling should be all about, resistance and restraint would be held in *complementary balance*.

But in the end, it is the call to consciousness summoned decades ago by Edward Hall (1966) that stands as still relevant today, reminding and holding us accountable for our mission as educators, as leaders, as citizens of the world:

> There is a great need to revise and broaden our view of the human situation, a need to be both more comprehensive and more realistic, not only about others, but about ourselves as well. It is essential that we learn to read the silent communications as easily as the printed and spoken ones. Only by doing so can we also reach other people, both inside and outside our national boundaries, as we are increasingly required to do. (p. 6)

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APPENDIX A: STRUCTURE OF BERLIN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
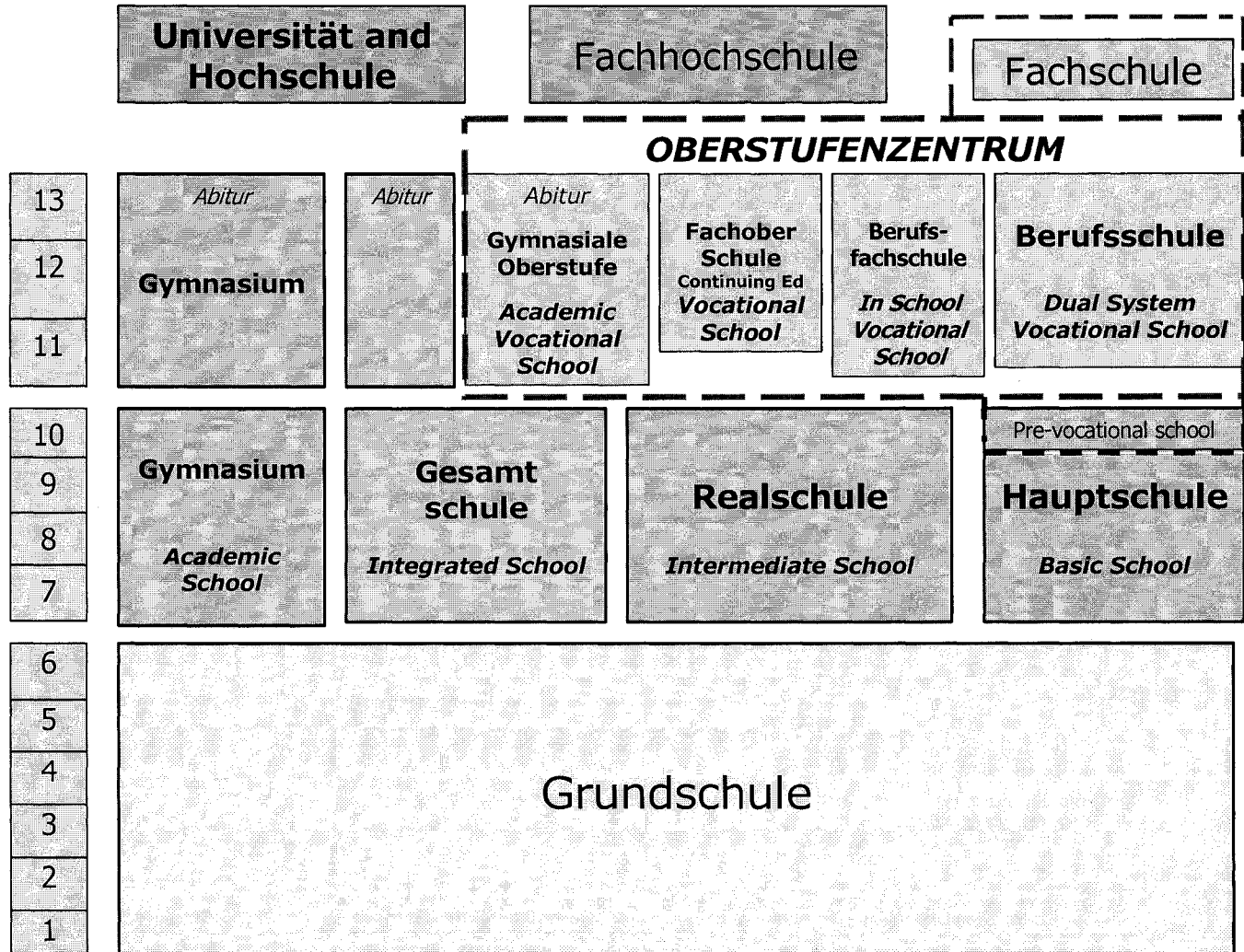
Primary School:
Grundschule

Secondary I Schools
Gymnasium   Hauptschule   Realschule   Gesamtschule

Secondary II Schools
Gymnasium   Gesamtschule   Oberstufenzentrum
Gymnasiale Oberstufe   Berufschule   Berufsfachschule   Fachoberschule

Higher Education
Universität   Hochschule
Fachhochschule   Fachschule

Structure of Berlin Educational System

Universität and Hochschule	Fachhochschule
	Fachschule

OBERSTUFENZENTRUM

13	*Abitur*	*Abitur*	*Abitur*	**Fachober Schule** Continuing Ed *Vocational School*	**Berufs-fachschule** *In School Vocational School*	**Berufsschule** *Dual System Vocational School*
12	**Gymnasium**		**Gymnasiale Oberstufe** *Academic Vocational School*			
11						

10	**Gymnasium** *Academic School*	**Gesamt schule** *Integrated School*	**Realschule** *Intermediate School*	Pre-vocational school / **Hauptschule** *Basic School*
9				
8				
7				

6	
5	
4	Grundschule
3	
2	
1	

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT AND INTERVIEW GUIDES

Informed Consent Form

Interview Guide

Follow-up Questions

Electronic Mail Correspondence

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

TITLE OF STUDY: Centralized Reform in the Federal Republic of Germany:
      Educational Leadership in Berlin since the Reunification of 1990

INVESTIGATOR: Nanci Shaw, PhD Student
      Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
      College of Education
      (515) 232-4442
      nlshaw@iastate.edu

This is a research study. Please take your time in deciding if you would like to participate, and please feel free to ask questions at any time.

INTRODUCTION: The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the experiences involved in the implementation of educational reform initiatives in German schools. The effect of leadership on organizational school culture, as well as the influences of political, social, and economic issues effecting leadership and reform implementation, will be explored. You are being invited to participate in this study because of your experiences in teaching and/or administrative roles.

DESCRIPTION OF PROCEDURES
If you agree to participate in this study, your participation will involve one to three visits that will last approximately two hour each. The researcher may also collect documents and observe classes or meetings in which participants are involved. During the study you may expect the following procedures to be followed: One to three audio-taped interview sessions and one or two observations of classes and/or meetings.

Audio-taped interviews will be transcribed for purposes of the study; however, the audio-tapes and transcriptions will be erased following the conclusion of the study. During the interview, you may refrain from answering any question that you do not wish to answer.

RISKS
There are no foreseeable risks at this time from participating in this study. All names of individuals and places will be stricken from any summary data that is shared with others. Pseudonyms will be used to avoid identification of participant responses.

BENEFITS
If you decide to participate in this study, there may be no direct benefit to you. However, it is hoped that the information gained in this study will benefit international education by providing valuable information about the effects of educational leadership during implementation of reform efforts, as are occurring in the German educational system.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION
There will be no costs or compensation to you for participating in this study.

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS
Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study at any time. If you decide not to participate in the study or leave the study early, there will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Identifying information of participants involved in the interviews, as well as observations, will be kept confidential and will not be used in any written reports. Real names will not be used during the data collection nor in the written report, and audio recordings will be erased once the report is written. You will receive a copy of the final report upon completion.

QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS
You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study. For further information about the study contact: Nanci Shaw (515) 232-4442. If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the Human Subjects Research Office, 2810 Beardshear Hall, (515) 294-4566; austingr@iastate.edu or the Research Compliance Officer, Office of Research Compliance, 2810 Beardshear Hall, (515) 294-3115; dament@iastate.edu

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SUBJECT SIGNATURE

Your signature indicates that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, that the study has been explained to you, that you have been given the time to read the document, and that your questions have been satisfactorily answered. You will receive a copy of the signed and dated written informed consent prior to your participation in the study.

Name of Participant (printed) _____

_____   _____
Signature of Participant   Date

INVESTIGATOR STATEMENT

I certify that you have been given adequate time to learn about the study and all of your questions have been answered. It is my opinion that you understand the purpose, risks, benefits and procedures that will be followed in this study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate.

_____   _____
Signature of Researcher   Date

Interview Guide

I. Professional Identity of Organization

A. Size of institution, number of students, population demographics, number of teachers, vocational programs and tracks offered,

B. Description of vocational areas, curriculum, coursework, training, and apprenticeships

C. How would you describe the professional identity of this organization? A *Beruf* as compared to a job?

D. What do you see as the purpose or mission of this institution?

E. What is your vision or hope for this institution in the 21st century?

II. Role of Management and Leadership

A. Describe the management and organizational structure of this institution.

B. What is your role as the *Schulleiter* of this particular institution, your responsibilities and duties?

C. What do you think are the most valuable for a *Schulleiter* of this institution to implement the new reforms?

D. How are decisions made in your institution?

E. How are problems solved?

F. What is the role of parents or the community in the institution?

G. What are your opinions or attitudes regarding the new school law?

H. What effect has the new law had on your role as *Schulleiter*?

I. What do you foresee as the greatest problem in implementing the new law?

J. What values or principles are most important to you as a school leader?

III. Change and Reform in the Organization

A. What are your opinions or attitudes regarding the reform initiatives of the new school law and the increased autonomy of local schools?

B. What stage is your institution at right now with regard to the implementation of change and innovation? How is it going?

C. How are the reform initiatives impacting you as the school leader? What do you see as your role?

D. How are the reform initiatives affecting teachers? What has been their reaction so far? Parents and students? How do you handle rigid attitudes or resistance to change?

E. How are decisions made in your school?

F. What measures do you foresee as essential for reform initiatives to be implemented effectively?

G. In your professional opinion as a school leader, how is change and reform sustained in an institution?

IV. Final Thoughts

A. What do you think are the main principles guiding education today in Germany?

B. How is the role of the school leader affected by social issues such as gender and race?

C. How would you describe the events that took place in your school following the reunification? What effects, if any, do you think remain today?

D. What differences do you see between teachers who came from the West and those from the East?

Follow-up Interview Guide

1. From your experiences during the reunification of East and West:

  A. What do you think should have been the most important factors driving

   reunification and reform in education?

  B. In your opinion, what should the purpose and role of school leadership have

   been then?

2. As an afterthought looking back:

  A. What advice would you give a *Schulleiter* leading change and reform

   now, with people who have differences similar to those of East and West

   during the reunification?

3. Many identified that a necessary "gap" exists between the *Schulleiter* and

Lehrer/Lehrerin.

  A. In your opinion, what does this "gap" mean to you?

  B. How would you describe this "gap," and what is its role and

  purpose?

4. Some *Schulleiter* said that change and reform in Germany is slow to take hold. Yet,

change and reform in some schools is happening rapidly and efficiently. If a school

has enough money, time, and training:

  A. What factors do you think make the difference for change to be

   effective and sustained over a long time?

  B. What cultural or historical factors particular to Berlin or Germany do you

   think influence change and reform?

Weitere Fragen für die Forschungsstudie

Zentralisierte Reform in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Wirkt auf Schulführer
Verantwortlich für die Erfüllung der Änderung in Schulen von Berlin ein

1. Da wir geredet dauern, wie ist Erfüllung des neuen Schulgesetzes, das für Sie geht? Wie ist die größten Probleme, denen Sie jetzt ins Gesicht sehen?

2. Welch Ihre Meinungen über Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede im PROZESS der Reform in Berlin heute und des PROZESS nach der Wiedervereinigung, bezüglich dessen ist:

   A. Berlin Senat

   B. Lehrer in Schulen

   C. die Rolle des Schulleiter

   D. andere Ähnlichkeiten oder Unterschiede

3. Mehrere sprach Schulleiter über eine "Gap" zwischen dem Senat und dem Schulleiter. Was denken Sie daran? Was konnte die Situation verbessern? Welche Änderungen (wenn irgendwelcher) haben Sie in dieser "Gap" seit dem *Wende* gesehen?

4. Mehrere Schulleiter sagten auch, dass die Änderung in Deutschland langsam ist, um zu geschehen. Stimmen Sie zu, und warum denken Sie, dass das so ist?

5. Wie ist Ihre Meinungen über die PISA 2003-Ergebnisse?

6. Was andere Beobachtungen oder Meinungen Sie über Probleme haben, die Ihnen heute mit dem Reformprozess, verglichen mit denjenigen ins Gesicht sehen die sind durch Schulleiter nach dem Wende gesehen?

Follow-up Questions for Research Study
Electronic Correspondence

1. Since we last talked, how is implementation of the new school law going for you?

2. What are the biggest problems you are facing now?

3. What are your opinions about similarities and differences in the PROCESS of reform in Berlin today and the PROCESS after the reunification, concerning:

   a. the Berlin *Senat*

   b. teachers in schools

   c. the role of the *Schulleiter*

   d. other similarities or differences

4. Several *Schulleiter* talked about a "gap" between the *Senat* and the *Schulleiter*.

5. What do you think about this? What could improve the situation?

6. What changes (if any) have you seen in this "gap" since the *Wende*?

7. Many *Schulleiter* also said that change in Germany is slow to happen. Do you agree, and why do you think this is so?

8. What are your opinions about the PISA 2003 results?

9. What other observations or opinions do you have about problems facing you today with the reform process, as compared to those faced by *Schulleiter* after the *Wende*?

10. Can you tell me what it was like for you during the *Wende*?