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IN TWO URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS

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COLLEGIALITY: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL COLLEGIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN TWO URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS

By

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ABSTRACT

COLLEGIALITY: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF
TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL COLLEGIAL RELATIONSHIPS
IN TWO URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS

By

Barbara J. Reinken

Reform proposals call for the restructuring of school organizations. These reform proposals maintain that teacher collegiality is important. This study explores high school informal collegial relationships to better understand this phenomenon. Three areas of interest guided this study: 1) teachers' perceptions of the collegiality; 2) contextual features that affect collegial relationships; and 3) the relationship of teacher collegiality and teachers' work.

This study was completed by using qualitative methodology. Thirty-six volunteer teachers from two urban high schools completed a semi-structured interview. Data from the Center for Research on the Context of Secondary School Teaching (CRC) was also utilized as this study was a special project within the larger national study.

The findings suggested that the phenomenon of teacher professional collegiality was complex. Teachers made decisions about potential colleagues based on values of independence and interdependence, etiquette of collegiality standards, and individually developed personal characteristics of other teachers. Furthermore, issues, forms of collegiality, and other contextual features affected the determination of collegial

relationships. Self-interest and personal needs were an underlying factor as decisions were made. Lastly, collegial relationships impacted teachers' work by supporting, networking, and sharing information. Thus, collegial relationships reduced the complexity, uncertainty, stress, and intensity of work. Knowledge gained during collegial relationships was only implemented if it was deemed worthwhile.

Based on these findings, a theory -- the system of collegiality -- is suggested as one way of understanding the development and maintenance of collegial relationships. As reform policies focus on restructuring schools, the system of collegiality will give further understanding to the tensions between independence and community, and self-interest and organizational interest.

Dedicated to
My Loving Husba

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

This is a study of teachers' professional collegial relationships, the contextual features surrounding these relationships, and the consequences of collegial interactions on teachers' work. Reformers assume that professional collegial arrangements "will enhance teachers' capacity for learning and problem solving, build solidarity and cohesiveness within schools, and satisfy teachers' needs for affiliation" (Rowan, 1990:374). Consequently, professional collegial relationships are suggested as one way to reduce the teacher isolation presently found in schools and to improve the image of the profession as a whole.

Currently there are many questions concerning this assumption. This study will explore teachers' professional collegiality as currently found within two urban comprehensive high schools to generate hypotheses concerning teacher professional collegiality.

Background and Need for Study

Reform proposals to restructure the organization of schools are a prevalent topic in educational literature. Two lines of reform currently dominating the discussion on restructuring schools are based on conflicting accounts of how schools should be

organizationally structured (Rowan, 1990). More specifically, the organizational structure these reforms address is the coordination and control of the work completed in schools -- the technology of teaching. Technology is defined as "the actions that an individual performs upon an object, with or without the aid of tools or mechanical devices, in order to make some change in that object" (Perrow, 1967:195). In other words, advocates are pressing reforms that directly impact the technology of teaching based on assumptions they hold about the nature of teaching and learning and how it should be completed. It is these assumptions that are conflicting.

On the one hand, schools are loosely coupled and need to become more rational and bureaucratic. These reform proposals are grounded in the effective schools research and call for common school-wide goals, use of direct instruction, and frequent evaluation of students. The assumption in these proposals is that the technology of teaching can be routinized by centralizing goals and standardized procedures for completion of work.

Other reformists indicate that schools are centralized and bureaucratic thus stifling the professional autonomy of teachers. These reform proposals call for more teacher autonomy, authority and power. Advocates of professionalization of teaching indicate that the technology of teaching can not be accomplished by use of routine behaviors because the technology of teaching is complex and non-routine (Gage, 1978; Lortie, 1975; Rowan, Raudenbush, & Cheong, 1993). This assumption is based on the "uncertainty, instability, and uniqueness inherent in the nature of the work" (Sykes, 1983:90). These reformists refer to the variability of students, context specific situations, and previous instructional exposure as factors which create the uncertainty, instability and complexity of teaching and learning. Specifically, the argument is that the technology of

teaching is a complex task requiring "problem-solving activity that relies heavily on teacher judgment and discretion in developing a situationally effective response" (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988:39).

Even though these reform proposals have conflicting ideas of how school organizational structures should be restructured, one component of both reform proposals is that the organizational structure should include teachers working together and engaging in face-to-face interactions.

In the effective schools literature, teachers work as a school community to develop mission statements, goals, and complete problem-solving activities together. The reforms based on professionalization of teaching suggest that problem solving completed through joint participation with other teachers can give "access to a larger pool of ideas, methods, and materials" and prepare teachers to adapt flexibly and quickly to the varying and specific demands of students (Little, 1990:523). Thus, both these reforms assume that teachers will engage in face-to-face encounters about professional matters. Furthermore, it is assumed that these encounters will lead to and maintain collegiality among a community of individuals (Birnbaum, 1990). More importantly, professional encounters -- teachers' *professional collegiality* [1] -- will improve the effectiveness of schools and the quality of teaching "by tapping the collective talents, experience, and energy of their professional staffs" (Little, 1987:492).

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[1] The term *professional collegaility* denotes interactions among teachers that are based in professional matters. These interactions do not include personal or social encounters that might occur while at the workplace. For the remainder of this paper, the term *professional collegiality* and *collegiality* are used interchangeably.

A pervasive problem currently found in schools is that teachers seldom engage in joint problem solving (Little, 1990). Present research portrays teachers as working independently and in relative isolation, learning by experimentation, and having little voice in school or organizational matters (Goodlad, 1984; Jackson, 1968; Little, 1987; Lortie, 1975). Relatively rare is the portrait of teachers working collaboratively or collegially for the purpose of joint problem solving or individual growth and development. Thus, teacher collegiality appears to be minimal at best. Furthermore, the lack of collegiality decreases their ability to perform well in the classroom and places limits on the effectiveness of schools.

From this perspective, collegiality involves more than belonging to the same profession, holding a shared mission, or enacting appropriate behaviors. Professional collegiality also involves participation in discussions about work and/or collaboration among individuals in order to solve shared problems (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Little, 1982, 1987, 1990). That is, collegiality involves teacher professional development based on continual development of practice through shared experiences with peers (Little, 1981; Rosenholtz, 1989; & Zahorik, 1987). Thus, newer conceptions of how to improve the effectiveness of schools and the quality of teaching suggest that teachers need to work together and interact about topics important to their work for the purpose of solving problems and learning teaching practices on the job.

A difficulty with this view of professional collegiality is that it is restricted to classroom work -- specifically classroom management, instructional techniques, subject matter knowledge, student learning, and assessment. However, many teachers, especially at the high school level, engage in activities beyond the classroom that can also be

considered professional work. These activities include: student club sponsorship; tutoring; coaching; committee work at the school and district level; work in professional associations; staying current on school events; and maintaining order throughout the school. As a result, in this study I will focus not only on professional collegiality in the context of classroom practice but also on professional collegiality as related to non-classroom dimensions of teachers' work.

Many researchers believe that to increase collegiality among teachers there must be a change in the context in which teachers work (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1987; Hargreaves, 1984; & Little, 1984). As a result, research has recently turned to school culture as an important factor in educational reform. Purkey and Smith (1983) suggest that school culture is arrived at by linking context with process. Purkey and Smith define context as organizational structure, roles, norms, values, instructional techniques, and curricular information. Process "refers to the nature and style of political and social interactions and to the flow of information within the school" (Purkey & Smith, 1983:440). If teachers' professional collegiality is seen as a process, then Purkey and Smith's (1983) work suggests that collegial relations in schools will be difficult to describe or change without considering the contextual features in which they are embedded.

The current enthusiasm for collegiality has spawned numerous school improvement programs that involve both contextual and process aspects of schooling. These programs include coaching, mentoring, and team arrangements; shared decision making; collaborative curriculum development; shared views about school improvement; and more. With the ever-growing emphasis on programmatic approaches that embrace

teachers' professional collegiality, many questions are raised. What does teachers' professional collegiality mean to teachers? How central or peripheral is collegiality to teachers' professional growth? How does collegiality affect teachers' control over working conditions? What importance do teachers put on professional collegiality? Even more importantly, what forms of collegiality are found in school settings? What beliefs, norms, values, and attitudes guide peer collegial relationships? What effects do school improvement programs have on teacher collegial interactions? What contextual features of these programs foster or inhibit collegial relationships? What are the outcomes of teachers' collegial relationships to their work?

These questions are significant in that the term collegiality remains conceptually vague and ideologically optimistic. Advocates of professional collegiality suggest that collegial relationships can reduce the teacher isolation so prevalent in the school workplace (Lortie, 1975; Goodlad, 1984; Sizer, 1984;). Collegiality is also thought to improve, to some unspecified degree, teacher knowledge, skill, judgment, commitment, and morale. In general, collegiality is thought to enhance the combined capability of groups and organizations. In other words, "advocates have imbued [collegiality] with a sense of virtue" (Little, 1990:509).

A close review of the literature on teachers' professional collegiality, however, raises doubts about the positive effects described above. First, the connection between collegiality and school improvement (i.e., change) may not be warranted. Groups bound by shared beliefs and purposes can as easily thwart change as promote it (Sergiovanni & Starratt, 1988). For example, Lightfoot (1983) uses the term collegiality to describe a group of teachers at Carver High who collectively resisted administrative changes by

forming a covert gossip ring that allowed them to preserve their own inertia. Four years after the entry of the new principal, some of the faculty were still "dragging their feet and resisting his directions" (Lightfoot, 1983:44).

The second difficulty with assuming that collegiality will improve the effectiveness of schools and teaching is that "collegiality [generally] does not add up to much" (Little, 1987:501). For example, team collaboration often involves minimal planning and coordinating rather than deep discussions of classroom practice (Cohen, 1976; Cohen, Meyer, Scott, & Deal, 1979; Cohen, 1981). In part, the lack of depth in team relationships occurs because teacher interdependence is typically more contrived than real, that is, "perched precariously on the margins of real work" (Little, 1990:510). Such collegiality often centers on scheduling or other coordination activities that simply allow for the continuation of independent work.

Third, externally created programs designed to promote collegiality rarely promote sustained collegial relationships. Most programs use specific contextual factors to bring groups of teachers together. Dependent on a variety of circumstances, these programs quickly reduce teacher motivation to collaborate with each other. The difficulty with externally developed programs that try to stimulate teacher collegiality is that teachers' work is based not only on the kinds of contextual factors changed by such programs (e.g., time, schedules, number of students, subject matter), but also on social factors (e.g., personal beliefs, backgrounds, values). Metz's (1986) description of three magnet programs is an example of this difficulty. In her study, two of the magnet schools developed a specific approach to the education of children. But within a three-year period, teachers' collaboration in these schools had deteriorated to the point that teams

were either collaborating minimally or not at all. Changes in staffing and diverse beliefs about teaching and learning interfered with collaborative work.

The fourth difficulty with colleagueship in schools concerns the way collegiality is defined and explained by research. Researchers have been predisposed to limit what are considered collegial interactions and to further limit what is considered the work of teachers. Much of the latest research suggests that teachers are collegial only when they are interacting about the practice of teaching. In other words, collegiality has been studied either as discussions of teaching practice or as collaborative problem-solving concerning this practice (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). An even narrower definition of teacher collegiality is that teachers are collegial when they are giving or receiving help (Little, 1981; Rosenholtz, 1989; Zahorik, 1987). This definition emphasizes teacher professional growth and development and describes collegial teachers as those who work jointly and "share the responsibility for the work of teaching" in the classroom with a group of students (Little, 1990:519). Thus, teachers either work in isolation or they work collegially (Goodlad, 1984; Little, 1987; Lortie, 1975).

The difficulty with these views is that no allowance is made for other forms of interactions teachers may engage in or for collegial interactions that focus on work beyond the classroom. These conceptions present an either/or perspective. Teachers are not private practitioners who use space within a building and work independently of each other, nor are they continuously interacting with each other about their classroom practice. In fact, there are multiple forms of collegiality that can and do occur within schools on a daily basis. This is not to say that the present views of collegiality are unimportant, only that other "forms" of collegiality (i.e., ways in which teachers interact)

are left unexplored (Little, 1990). Various other forms of collegiality suggested by Little (1990) include storytelling, sharing, aid and assistance, and joint work. But these are not all inclusive. To date, research concerning teacher collegial relationships has usually focused on one form at a time, dismissing other forms as non-collegial.

There is a necessity to take a broader look at teacher professional collegiality to develop an understanding of collegial relationships within the workplace, contextual features related to professional collegial relationships, and the impact collegial relationships have on the work of teachers. In fact, most recently there has been a call for further investigation of teacher collegiality to better understand the multiple forms of collegiality, as well as the meaning of collegiality (Little, 1990). In order to specify the nature and significance of these multiple forms, research will require revealing

> ...the situated meaning or value teachers attach to various interactions... [At present], there have been few explicit attempts to encompass multiple conceptions or dimensions of collegiality in single studies, to discriminate among these various forms of collegiality, and to trace their apparent consequences. (Little, 1990:531)

A further need concerning teacher collegiality centers on the level of schooling under study. At present, most literature on teacher professional collegiality focuses on elementary schools (Cohen, 1976; Little, 1981; Rosenholtz, 1989; Zahorik, 1987). Except for one high school in Little's (1981) study of staff development in urban desegregated schools, no other studies specifically focus on this topic at the secondary level.[2]

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[2] This was verified through interviews with Dr. Thomas Bird and Dr. John Zahorik, who both have researched this topic.

Statement of the Problem

This study examines teachers' professional collegiality as it occurs within two urban comprehensive secondary schools. Specifically, this study uses teachers' perceptions to develop meaning for the term collegiality. This includes the multiple forms of collegial relationships teachers engage in, and the underlying criteria which guide and direct teacher collegial relationships. The study also explores contextual features that surround the professional collegiality found in these two sites. Finally, the study describes teachers' perceptions of how their professional collegial relationships effect their work both in and outside the classroom.

Purpose of the Study

At present "the concept of collegiality has been employed in many ways, perhaps most commonly as the panacea for most institutional ills" (Bess, 1988:113). The purpose of this study is not to elaborate on institutional ills, but to develop a more robust conception of teachers' professional collegiality and to generate hypotheses concerning teachers' collegiality at the secondary level. This study extends the current research on teacher professional collegiality in four ways: 1) it describes teachers' perception of collegiality -- what collegiality means to teachers and the criteria teachers use to judge a relationship as "collegial"; 2) it discriminates among various forms of teacher professional collegiality; 3) it explores how various contextual features influence and shape collegial relationships; and 4) it reports on teachers' perceptions of how collegial interactions affect their work.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide this study:

1) How do teachers in the two urban high schools perceive professional collegial relationships?

2) What varied forms of collegiality do secondary teachers engage in during their work within these schools?

3) What contextual features of the workplace do these high school teachers see as influencing the phenomenon of professional collegial relationships?

4) In what ways do professional collegial relationships influence the work of these teachers?

5) What similarities and differences concerning the phenomenon of teachers' professional collegiality are found between these sites?

Definition of Terms

This study uses several terms in its discussion. The major terms are defined below.

Professional collegiality is defined as professional relations among colleagues that are based on professional work matters, as opposed to social or personal matters. These professional relationships are defined by the values and criteria that are developed and maintained by way of regular face-to-face contact. For the purposes of this study the terms professional collegiality and collegiality are used interchangeably.

Culture of collegiality is defined as a collection of beliefs and values about what is appropriate behavior in collegial relationships as these beliefs and values exist in the

minds of organizational workers.

Etiquette of collegiality is defined as the unwritten codes which members of an organization follow so that certain things deemed likely to injure others are not forthcoming.

Forms of collegiality is defined as phenomenologically discrete teacher-to-teacher exchanges that vary from one another in the way information is exchanged, the purpose for which information is exchanged, and the degree to which persons expose their work to the scrutiny of others.

Research Assumptions

This study is based on the assumptions that:

1) As human beings, teachers are social by nature. They engage in interactions with other teachers by virtue of their social nature.

2) Teachers, through interactions with other teachers, use the content of their talk to change their perspective and/or knowledge, to reaffirm their perspective and/or knowledge, and/or to develop an understanding of the other person's perspective and/or knowledge of the subject under discussion.

3) Teachers who view peers as colleagues, by some definition, give more credence to these peers than they do to persons who just share space within a physical structure.

4) Teachers continually engage in an interaction and exchange process with their context by acquiring, interpreting, and acting upon the information received. In so doing, teachers create new patterns of information that effect changes in the whole

field. Thus, relationships are continually changing or being modified as a result of continuous interaction.

5) The sample group has been present in each site long enough to have joined peer groups in the building and developed an understanding of appropriate norms, structures, and behaviors for working within the site.

Review of Methodology

This study used qualitative methods to gather data in the pursuit of creating hypotheses concerning teacher professional collegiality. Specifically, interview methods were deemed appropriate for this study in order to establish the status of the phenomenon within a given setting and population. This study's interview guide consisted of a semi-structured format with open-ended questions. Hence, this study's data collection was conducted by asking individuals within a population what they knew, believed, perceived, and valued about teacher collegiality.

The procedure used to conduct this research study included: 1) development of an interview guide; 2) testing of the interview guide with volunteers from a site with similar characteristics; 3) revision of interview guide for clarity, length, and focus on study questions; 4) establishment of the sample group in each of the two sites by use of stratified random selection; 5) administration of the teacher interview to thirty participants; and 6) analysis of data to generate hypotheses concerning teacher professional collegiality.

The analysis consisted of categorical coding of data, frequency counts of codings, and selection of descriptive quotations. These procedures were used to summarize,

present conclusions, and generate hypotheses about the phenomenon of teacher professional collegiality that occurs in urban comprehensive high schools.

Study within a Study

The study conducted here was part of a larger study of the context of secondary school teaching recently completed (McLaughlin & Talbert, 1993). The Center for Research on the Context of Secondary School Teaching (CRC) used both surveys and interviews in its research (McLaughlin & Talbert, 1993). In using a similar methodology, this study contributed information to the larger study and did not conflict with, hinder, or contaminate data collection in the larger study. More importantly, this study drew on data from the larger CRC study, including the 1990 and 1991 teacher interviews. The present study was undertaken in 1991, the third year of the larger study. Therefore, the participants within the sites were familiar with the research project's methodology, goals, and the presence of researchers in the building.

Limitations of the Study

There are four limitations to the study: the generalizability of findings, the measurement of cognitive processes through interviews and questionnaires, bias in data collection due to one data collector, and study boundaries.

Limitation 1: Generalizability of the Findings

Generalizability beyond the sample and sites is limited due to the research methodology employed. Descriptive studies inform researchers of "what is" in specific settings. As such, this form of research does not create laws and conclusions applicable

beyond the subject matter described, but does provide clues for subsequent research (Simon, 1969). Furthermore, the fact that every school has a unique social organization and an underlying culture limits generalizability of results. Also, the sample size is limited and restricted to two sites. Therefore, since a majority of the teaching population at the secondary level is not represented, the generalizability of the findings is limited.

Limitation 2: Measuring Cognitive Processes

The validity of research concerned with mental aspects of individuals (i.e., beliefs, values, attitudes, knowledge) has been questioned by research methodologists (Yinger, 1986). When teachers are asked for their understanding of their actions or knowledge, there is no guarantee that responses capture the person's true perspective. "Discounting the possibility of intentional deception, it is difficult to judge how accurately people report on their own perspectives" (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986:506). Even with knowledge, there is the possibility of not having the ability to express it accurately, or even of not understanding the underlying meanings. Therefore, measures used to assess teacher perceptions and their underlying reasons for actions may be subject to questions of validity.

Limitation 3: Bias in the Data Collection

Possible bias may exist in the interview data because only one researcher collected all data. Bias on the part of the subjects is possible even though interviews are recorded. Transcriptions are not a full account of the events and responses. They lack information about body language or subjects' eagerness to please (Borg & Gall, 1983; Cohen, & Manion, 1989). Also, bias on the part of the researcher is possible. At the time of the study, the data collector had background knowledge of the school culture. Such

knowledge could lead to prejudgment of teacher collegial relationships and thereby lead to bias in data collection. Although the use of semi-structured interviews and analysis by a second researcher would help to reduce bias of a single data collector, this researcher chose to note limitations concerning bias instead.

Limitation 4: Study Boundaries

This study's focus is the school and the teachers within the school. Excluded from this study are certain aspects of the school culture (such as the interactions with administrators and students) that also add to the phenomenon of teacher collegiality. Also excluded from this study are outside influences such as district personnel, community, and other professionals whose interactions could influence teacher professional collegiality with peers. The difficulty with research in natural settings such as schools is the complexity and interactive fluidity of the setting (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988). At some point, boundaries need to be established for the purpose of studying a phenomenon. In this study, the boundaries are the school's social organization and more specifically, teacher interactions with other teachers within the setting.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

This chapter presents a review of the literature related to teacher professional collegiality. Specifically, three varied definitions of teacher professional collegiality frequently found in the literature are discussed. This review of the literature concerning teacher professional collegiality is divided into four major sections. The first section reviews the sociological perspective on collegiality and focuses on collegiality as an element of professions. The second section reviews the organizational perspective on collegiality and examines literature within the field of education that focuses on organizational elements of schooling. The third section critiques the teacher work and teacher change literatures as these relate to teacher professional collegiality. The final section presents a conception of the phenomenon of teachers' professional collegiality that incorporates characteristics of the three perspectives of collegiality found in this literature review.

Each section contributes to the theoretical basis for this study. The sociological perspective on professional collegiality provides a foundation for the more recent definitions found within the education profession. The organization literature focuses on social context and school governance research that suggests features useful to the development of the teacher professional collegial relationship phenomenon. The

literature on teachers' work and teacher change further explains the contextual features important to collegial relationships and the impact collegiality has on the work of teachers. This section also explains various forms of collegiality not found in the other definitions. The fourth section presents an interpretation of collegiality that may be useful in researching this phenomenon in educational settings.

Most of the literature on collegiality is theoretical in nature with little empirical research having been completed. What little research there is has been conducted at the elementary level. Therefore, despite the continual use of the term collegiality in recent educational literature, it is a relatively unexplored concept. Since educational reformers frequently claim that collegiality is critical to school effectiveness, it is crucial to have a clearer understanding of the concept and the phenomenon to which it refers. This study contributes to the emerging field of research on collegiality by conducting a hypothesis-generating study concerned with understanding collegiality as it presently occurs. Furthermore, this study extends research on teacher collegiality into urban public secondary schools.

Sociological Perspective on Professional Collegiality

The sociological perspective on collegiality is drawn from literature on the professions. In this literature, collegiality is one of three attributes usually associated with the definition of a profession (Starr, 1982). Basically, the sociological literature on professions defines relationships between members of the same occupation as collegial relations (Gross, 1958). However, to say someone is a colleague does not help to define collegial relationships. Even though "there is considerable ambiguity among sociologists

over the meaning of the term 'colleague'" and collegiality (Bucher & Strauss, 1961:330), for the purposes of this study, a more robust definition is developed[1]. Such a definition would place more stress on the "brotherhood" of colleagueship. Blumer (1957), for example, ascribes collegiality to persons having a sense of belonging together and identifying with each other in a common undertaking. Specifically, collegiality is found where there is a feeling of intimacy and closeness based on a sense of shared common experiences, shared fate--what is good for one is good for all--and shared understanding of appropriate behavior. Gross (1958) indicates that "colleagueship implies a deeper relationship: members of colleague groups are bound together by a strong sense of esprit de corps" (p. 224). This deeper sense of relationship between colleagues is built on shared attitudes, norms, and the formation of informal and formal associations (Bucher & Strauss, 1961; Cogan, 1953; Freidson, 1984). The degree to which there is group consciousness and integration of culture is one criterion used to measure the professionalism of a vocation (Cogan, 1953). Thus, collegiality is based on the development of a culture that everyone shares and on the strength of the bonds that hold the group together within the culture. The term "culture of collegiality" is used in this study to define this sense of collegiality.

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[1] A less robust definition is that persons are colleagues in name only -- coworkers or formal members of an occupation. The dictionary states a colleague is "a fellow worker in the same profession" (Neufeldt, 1988:274). Thus, teachers are colleagues. They are coworkers and have formal membership in the teaching profession based on specified criteria (i.e., college course work, state licensure, and district contract.

Three norms are suggested as important to the "culture of collegiality."[2] The first is the norm of selflessness. As described by Wilensky (1964), this norm pertains to a professional's devotion to the client's interest more than to personal interests or commercial profit. This is considered the service ideal and is found even in non-professional organizations such as clerk-customer relations. The second and third norms focus specifically on collegial relations. These norms include maintaining professional standards and recognizing the competence of colleagues. Specifically, the norm of professional standards means persons should honor the technical competence of other formally qualified persons within the same group, avoid criticism of colleagues in public, and condemn unqualified practitioners. The norm of colleague competence is having awareness of personal competence, having an awareness of and honoring colleague specialties, and referring clients to more competent colleagues when necessary.

When all three norms of collegiality are found, then the essential conditions of professional collegiality are present. For example, the norms just described facilitate on collegiality include such things as collegial control of members (i.e., governance), the development of a shared mission and shared values for work, the enforcement of shared norms of correct behavior, and a shared technical language. These characteristics of collegial relationships are developed during the socialization process and maintained through relationships (i.e., face-to-face interactions) during professional work.

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[2] In general, norms are presumed to be beliefs about how members of a social group should act. These beliefs are widely shared by the members and/or believed to be so shared by the members. Commitment to a norm implies the person both holds the belief and also believes that most others hold the belief about the way members of the profession should act (Glidewell, Tucker, Todt, & Cox, 1983).

Research using the sociological approach to study collegiality within the teaching profession suggests that collegiality among teachers is limited. Lortie's (1975) classic sociological study of schoolteachers, for example, investigated teaching as a profession and more specifically teachers' professional collegial relationships. His findings suggested that collegiality was almost nonexistent among teachers -- teachers worked in relative isolation and had little sense of shared meaning or collectiveness with other teachers. This finding was based on two important characteristics of collegiality -- socialization of members into the professional culture of teaching and the development of a technical culture of teaching.

First, Lortie suggested that socialization into the occupation of teaching was minimal, as shown by his finding that teachers had little sense of shared experiences, fate, or understanding of appropriate behavior. He explained this finding by reference to two features of the professional training of teachers. First, practice teaching occurs over a short period and is usually supervised by a single teacher. As a result, teachers learn on the job with little time to interact with others. Also, the beliefs, values, and attitudes appropriate to teachers are not well defined during the induction period. Thus, teachers are not enculturated into "occupational unity."

Second, Lortie found little evidence of a shared technical culture among teachers, that is, no shared technical language or shared and "generalizable body of knowledge and practice" (Lortie, 1975:79). Lortie argued that these elements of collegial culture failed to develop in schools because organizational structures of bureaucratic control and the cellular formation of classrooms inhibited collaboration about work among teachers. Lortie's (1975) study suggested that teachers have limited professional collegiality due to

the nonexistence of a shared culture and a limited formal knowledge base. Furthermore, the prevalent organizational structures currently found in schools suppress professional collegiality among staff members.

Lortie's (1975) sociological perspective on collegiality called attention to the contextual features that surrounded professional collegiality, including the cultural aspects of organizations, clients, and socialization into the occupation. Because professionals frequently work in bureaucratic organizations, these contextual features become important to the collegial relationships of the professional members. Recent sociological literature discusses this phenomenon. Freidson (1984) suggested that collegial relations often became more formalized within corporations. Additionally, professional collegiality could diminish within bureaucratic organizations as tensions arose around the issue of collegial control versus bureaucratic control. Thus, in bureaucratic settings like schools, tensions occur between the profession and the organization as to which group (profession or bureaucracy) creates and maintains various controls over work (Freidson, 1984).

Summary of the Sociological Perspective

The sociological perspective on collegiality focuses on the culture shared among a vocation's members. This culture is seen as consisting of shared values, norms, experiences, and meaning. The strength of collegiality is determined by the extent to which socialization creates among members a singular view of work and how members are to relate to one another. The norms of collegiality suggested as essential to professional groups evolve from these shared understandings. As a result, the sociological definition of collegiality is occupational unity expressed as a culture within

an occupation. The sociological perspective suggests that the socialization of individuals into teaching and the organizational context of teaching are the main reasons for the limited professional collegiality found among teachers (Lortie, 1975).

Organizational Perspectives on Collegiality

In this section, the organizational perspective on collegiality is developed by reviewing some of the recent literature on school improvement. Much recent research in this area seeks to discover organizational characteristics that can improve schools. Collegiality in this literature is often seen as an important organizational characteristic of effective schools (Brookover et al., 1979; Cohen, 1987; Edmonds, 1983; McLaughlin, 1987; Richardson, 1990; Rutter, M., Maughan, B., Mortimore, P., Ouston, J., & Smith, A., 1979). As a result, attention is paid to the design of organizational interventions that foster increased collegiality among teachers. These interventions attempt to change the culture of the school generally or to change the governance of the school.

Two specific lines of research in this tradition are reviewed here: effective schools research and efforts to professionalize the occupation of teaching. Each of these lines of research presents a different definition of professional collegiality among teachers, but each has the same goal -- to improve schools through organizational change -- and each relies on the same assumption -- that schools as organizations, and not teachers as individuals or districts as total units, should be the target of change.

The school improvement literature focuses on the school as a "social system" (Bidwell, 1965; Parsons, 1959) and "stresses the interrelatedness of practices and roles, and the interdependence of persons and structures in school organization" (Little,

1981:25). The concepts of interrelatedness and interdependence highlight the social organization and structure of schools as workplaces. It is this social organization in which professional collegiality takes place. Sykes (1990) suggests that schools as organizations, not the profession as a corporate group, should be the focus of efforts to improve collegial relationships because each school maintains an individual culture and organization. An underlying assumption in the school improvement literature is that the cultivation of high levels of professional collegiality occur as staff members reach consensus on school organizational issues, policies, philosophy, and goals (McCormack-Larkin & Kritek, 1982).

Effective Schools Research

The effective schools research seeks to identify school characteristics that make a difference in the education of disadvantaged students. As such, the school is taken as the relevant unit of analysis in order to find organizational characteristics important to successful student achievement. Five characteristics of schools have been discussed consistently in reviews of effective schools research.[3] For the purposes of this review, the focus will be on the research findings that give meaning to teacher professional collegiality.[4] These findings concern the school culture or school social organization and

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[3] There are many reviews of the effective schools research literature (Good & Brophy, 1986; Kyle, 1985; Loucks-Horsley & Hergert, 1985; Purkey & Smith, 1983; Rowan, Bossert and Dwyer, 1983). For this reason, a complete review of all research completed is not given here.

[4] At this time, no effective schools research has been found that used high school level organizations. However, Bryk and Driscoll (1988) present a very persuasive argument about high schools as communities that has much in common with the effective schools research reviewed here.

focus on high staff expectations and morale, clear school goals, and a strong sense of community (Cohen, 1987; Purkey & Smith, 1983). Norms, attitudes, shared beliefs, and values of participating staff are important to creating a cohesive school community. Within such a community, the independence of teachers' work, based on varied personal beliefs, is assumed to be reduced as a cohesive community is developed. The empirical study of effective schools by Brookover et al., (1979) is most important to the concept of shared teacher expectations and school social climate (Purkey & Smith, 1983). This study of 68 Michigan public elementary schools was designed to better understand organizational characteristics that differentiate more effective schools from less effective schools. The researchers theorized that student achievement would be affected by the school's social system, which was seen as composed of three interrelated variables -- social inputs, social structure, and social climate. After using questionnaires to measure norms, values, and beliefs concerning student achievement, motivation, ability, etc., Brookover et al., (1979) concluded that social climate was a large contributor to the between-school variance in student achievement found in their study. In this study, characteristics of the school social climate found to be most important included: 1) teachers' beliefs that all children can and will learn; 2) teachers' expectations that all children can learn appropriate patterns of behavior; and 3) common norms focused on high performance levels. The conclusion reached by the authors was that when teachers hold similar beliefs, have similar academic standards, and work toward similar goals, student achievement improves.

The research of Brookover et al., (1979) implies that collegiality evolves as teachers develop common goals and objectives. Furthermore, it assumes that there is

little tension between the goals and objectives of teachers and those of organizations. This perspective on collegiality differs somewhat from the sociological perspective, however. For example, there is no talk in the effective schools literature of "brotherhood" or norms concerned with mutual respect among colleagues (i.e., recognizing competence), although there is some discussion of norms of selflessness and maintaining standards. In addition, the culture of collegiality is seen in effective schools research as being formed within the school because of the focus on organizational goals. The result is that the culture of collegiality may or may not be shared by professional group members beyond the school organizational setting. This suggests that collegiality can be strengthened by transforming current organizational features that allow teachers to maintain individual goals, values, and beliefs. Using this research, many school systems have initiated programs in which school staffs work as groups to develop school mission statements, goals, and student outcomes. These formalized understandings are used to guide the work of the staff and to alter the loose connections of teachers by forming collegial teacher groups that have clear and shared beliefs, norms, and values.

The result, as suggested by effective schools research, is that collegiality can be based on the development of common organizational goals, objectives, missions, and beliefs. Teachers who exhibit similar and uniformly high expectations for students, similar views of student ability, and similar school goals for students are seen as collegial. To the extent that these ideas are held in common, cultural collegiality is developed, but because the culture is formalized by means of local organizational understandings, this definition is dissimilar to the sociological definition. The sociological definition suggests that members are socialized by the professional community to "believe" all members will

believe and behave appropriately. In the effective schools approach, socialized "belief" is developed organizationally through formalized mission statements, goals, and outcome standards designed to guide behavior.

This perspective on collegiality is currently being used in school improvement programs. The main purpose of such programs is to reduce the individual autonomy found within schools by developing social controls that encourage teachers to work toward the same goals and objectives. Therefore, effective schools programs create, through formal means, a school community based on formal academic goals and objectives that govern faculty behavior (Cohen, 1987). This idea of governance is also found in the professionalization of teaching literature.

Professionalization of Teaching

The view of collegiality found in the professionalization literature focuses on collegial governance. Bidwell (1965), for example, suggests that schools are more than formal organizations with the basic characteristics of bureaucratic organizations. Schools also have a tendency toward debureaucratization due to the "inherent bureaucratic conflict of authority based on expertise and on legal criteria" (p. 1012). Authority based on expertise leads to professionalism and to attempts by teachers to acquire control over various aspects of their work. Legal authority involves the authority of administrators to manage schools.

Professional authority is often seen as a form of autonomy, but autonomy can be either individual or interdependent. Presently, teachers appear to have a great deal of individual autonomy. That is, teachers have great personal control over instructional practices within the classroom. Interdependent autonomy, on the other hand, would be

based on shared decision-making across classrooms and at the school level. Currently, interdependent autonomy appears to be minimal to nonexistent in American public schools. Moving to an interdependent form of autonomy would involve teachers in more sharing, collaborating, and group decision-making about classroom work and school-wide issues. This is the concept of autonomy found in the literature on teacher professionalization.

Schiffer (1980) suggests that giving teachers greater control over school governance is one way to increase teacher autonomy and professional collegiality. She describes this control as the "principle of colleagueship."

> The principle of colleague authority is the principle that much, if not all, authority should be in the hands of the school faculty. The school should be a self-governing community in which the faculty group has major control over policy, and the individual teacher has major control over what takes place in the classroom (p. 95).

Autonomy in Schiffer's (1980) definition is both interdependent and individual. Interdependent autonomy is collegial group control over school level policy, while individual autonomy is the exercise of personal judgment about classroom practice. In creating teacher autonomy, Schiffer warns against teachers becoming separated from the social context. Autonomy is not defined as isolation, but "a force that binds people together [so that] sharing of ideas and experiences and communication between and among teachers, administrators, and parents" results (p. 117). This definition assumes that teacher autonomy is possible and in fact achievable. But autonomy is a relative attribute given to a group or individual based on trust and rationality (Wilensky, 1964). Schiffer does not suggest how this trust and rationality is achieved in this radical view of professionalizing the vocation of teaching.

Currently there are efforts to incorporate teacher autonomy within school improvement programs. Most efforts are not as extreme as Schiffer's total control of school policy. Hallinger and Richardson (1988) describe models of shared leadership in which teachers are involved in school-wide decision-making but with varied levels of input and in varied areas of school governance. These models are conceptual in nature and based on reviews of research, reports, and proposals. They include: (1) principal advisory councils; (2) instructional support teams; (3) school improvement teams; and (4) lead teacher committees. These models suggest varying degrees of teacher autonomy in certain areas of school governance.

Sykes (1990) brings to the discussion of teacher professionalization a more conventional approach to professional authority. He suggests that an "image of professionalism that emphasizes elite status, private power, social distance from clients, and single-minded pursuit of careers will not serve teaching" (p, 84). But the underlying attributes of collegiality are appropriate for a new conception of the profession. Furthermore, professionalism as a theme for school improvement and restructuring is a necessary complement to other initiatives.

Sykes (1990) describes principles useful in the formation of school-level professional communities that emphasize collegial relationships. The first principle suggests that a culture of collegiality be developed to guide the work of the school community. Socialization into this culture is encouraged by yearly reviews of school mission statements and outcome reports (i.e., school improvement proposals and evaluations) and by setting goals and targets for teachers that assist in establishing universal norms for the community. Second, faculty working collegially should

participate in the construction and coordination of the curriculum. Third, teachers should develop a broader knowledge base so they can interact collegially with groups inside and outside the school about the practice of teaching.

Autonomy within this conception of professionalization shifts from individual (private) to interdependent (public). Teachers as a collective unit would have a voice in determining the direction of the school community. Consequently, restructuring of the occupation of teaching involves empowering teachers by giving them more control over standards of practice and norms of conduct. The emphasis on norms and standards is different from Schiffer's (1980) concept of school-level authority -- setting school policy. Sykes (1990) focuses on the cultural aspect of professionalism -- behaviors and attitudes -- and suggests a formal structure be defined. In this way, collegiality is maintained within the group. For without cultural aspects of collegiality (i.e., shared beliefs, values, and attitudes), the formal structures or programs of schools become merely political in nature (Bess, 1988) -- individuals working for personal interests. This breakdown of collegiality to a political state is possible when the norms embedded in a culture of collegiality disintegrate -- people lose the belief that colleagues are equal in competence, authority, power, and shared interests (Freidson, 1984).

A study by Blase (1987) illustrates the political (i.e., self-interest) orientation of teacher relationships in an examination of political interactions among teachers in a high school. Blase found that teachers often developed a political stance in their interactions with others based on differing norms, values, and beliefs. Moreover, he argued that this political or self-interest orientation influenced the direction of faculty interactions and governance. In this case then, norms, beliefs, and values developed in schools, but these

were not collegial as defined from the sociological perspective because they were based in self-interest rather than shared beliefs.

The professionalization literature also discusses the effects of organizational context on the development of collegiality. This literature focuses on diminishing bureaucratic patterns of authority and increasing collegial authority by changing the governance structure of schools to give teachers more decision-making authority in the development of school-level policies. Furthermore, this literature suggests other changes in the structure of schools that are needed to encourage the development of teacher collegiality in schools. For example, Hargraves (1984) indicates that collegiality cannot occur without important changes to teachers' roles. He suggests that the following changes would increase teacher collegiality: (1) reducing work loads so teachers have time to devote to decision-making activities; (2) developing out-of-school visitations; (3) using working hours for in-service training; (4) moving to school-centered, not teacher-centered, innovations; and (5) broadening the concept of teacher experience beyond the confines of the classroom. In this view, teacher collegiality and teacher autonomy would develop as teachers move away from focusing on classrooms and developing shared cultural valuation of other experiences.

Thus, as suggested by the professionalization literature, teacher autonomy and teacher decision-making are approaches to improving school organizations. In this literature, professional collegial relationships become a vehicle to gaining teacher autonomy. Teachers working together cohesively and collaboratively gain control over multiple aspects of their work. However, terms such as "values" and "beliefs" are missing in most of this literature (an exception is Sykes [1990]). Instead, this literature

focuses mostly on changing the organizational structure of schools away from patterns of bureaucratic decision-making and toward patterns of collegial decision-making. Hargraves (1984), for example, focuses on structural changes in the role of teachers and argues that such changes are needed to support the development of collegiality in schools.

Summary of the Organizational Perspective on Collegiality

Collegiality as defined in the organizational literature is different from the sociological perspective. Even though the effective schools literature preserves the norms of selflessness and standards, the norm of recognition of others is not found. This norm is important if trust is to develop. The professionalization of teaching literature describes collegiality in terms of autonomy within the school bureaucracy. Inherent in all organizational literature is the concept that cultural aspects of collegiality need to have a formal structure so an organizational culture developes. Such activities as creating shared mission statements, standards, goals, and giving teachers more decision-making authority in school-level governance are suggested as ways to acquire this structure of collegiality. For this structure of collegiality to develop, changes in various aspects of the organization are necessary. The effective schools literature stresses the social control of teachers through formal means. The professionalization literature stresses professional control and governance over the work of schools. In other words, teacher collegiality will evolve only as organizational structures make appropriate changes. But the reverse is also true. Organizational structures will change as teacher professional collegiality develops. This assumption is the basis of the next section, which looks at literature concerning teacher work and teacher change.

Teacher Work and Teacher Change Perspectives of Collegiality

In this section a third perspective on professional collegiality is discussed by reviewing the literature on teacher work and teacher change. Central to these literatures is the assumption that "teachers' involvement with one another as colleagues is fundamentally bound up -- for good or ill -- with their orientation toward their work as classroom teachers" (Little, 1990:510).

In defining collegiality, this perspective focuses heavily on classroom work. Yet the term collegiality means many things within this focus. Little (1990) argued that the "recent academic and professional literature subsumes a wide array of teacher-to-teacher exchange under the broad terms collegiality or collaboration" (p. 511). Alfonso and Goldsberry (1992) defined collegiality as

> ...a relationship characterized by collaborative efforts to accomplish common goals. Collaboration implies both mutual involvement in identifying and selecting specific objectives and mutual responsibility for designing, implementing, and evaluating strategies to achieve these objectives (p. 95).

Little (1987) described collegiality as "colleagues talk[ing] to one another about teaching often, at a level of detail that makes their exchange both theoretically rich and practically meaningful" (p. 503). Specific topics included: 1) planning and preparation; 2) evaluating topics, methods, and materials concerned with teaching; and 3) observing and teaching one another about new ideas and practices.

Important to both of these definitions is a focus on advancing teacher understanding and practice of teaching by working closely with peers. Furthermore, these definitions suggest relationships that are continuous, face-to-face, under public scrutiny, and collective in the identification and implementation of instructional, curricular, and

management goals and objectives. In creating such definitions, the assumption is that there are norms and beliefs guiding the collegial/collaborative relationships and that these norms and beliefs focus on interdependence and collective autonomy.

Until recently these norms and beliefs were viewed as "a thing" that was or was not present. In other words, unless teachers were "fully involved" in these collaborative activities they were not collegial. Little (1990) now suggests that collegial relationships may vary along a continuum from weak to strong dependent on the frequency, amount of involvement, and depth of usefulness to the practice of teaching. In other words, to think in terms of "degrees of normness" may make "it possible in research to investigate whether, in what form, and to what degree norms 'exist', instead of taking them for granted" (Jackson, 1966:36). The term "forms of collegiality" is thus one way of describing varying degrees of collegiality on the continuum (Little, 1990). The forms suggested by Little (1990) include: storytelling, aid and assistance, sharing, and joint work (listed from weak to strong).

> These are phenomenologically discrete forms that vary from one another in the degree to which they induce mutual obligation, expose the work of each person to the scrutiny of others, and call for, tolerate, or reward initiatives in matters of curriculum and instruction (Little, 1990: 512).

This section uses these forms to organize research literature concerning teacher work and teacher change. Using the continuum concept, this review starts with the most independent form and moves toward the most interdependent form. To the four forms Little (1990) suggests, a fifth form is added -- social support (Blase, 1987). Contextual features that appear to influence the form and the form's impact on the practice of teaching are also discussed.

Collegiality as Social Support

Social support is the weakest form of collegiality. Social support develops as teachers come to accept the vulnerability, insecurity, and fallibility of the vocation. This acceptance requires a social context in which one is accepted and supported so that the pain and frustrations of work are reduced. Although most recent literature focuses on collegiality as cognitive development, social support is also suggested as important (Bolin & Falk, 1987). This type of support focuses on sharing, understanding, and bonding with others. In Blase's (1987) study, teachers talk of praise, recognition, therapeutic advice, gratitude, and empathy as forms of social support. Bolin & Falk (1987) define teacher collegiality as friends who listen and share conversations about the work of teaching, about how students differ over various time periods, about developments in traditions, and about the conflicts between students and traditions, and between students and school rules. Colleagues are group members who help in the narration of the group story, so the members can more readily recognize changing values and meanings. Social support also emphasizes ritual and continuation of traditions. The basis of social collegiality is trust and rapport as they relate to the interaction between the attitudes and beliefs of the individual, and those of the social organization. Therefore, social support develops an individual's consciousness of self within the larger system.

Little (1990) suggested that norms of independence, presentism, and conservatism are pervasive elements in social support because there is no real focus on the practice of teaching in this form of collegiality. A school's staff can be described as "close", but when "close" is understood as large doses of camaraderie, sympathy, and moral support, the emphasis is on social and interpersonal interests. Hence, teachers can have a social

support system without having a shared belief about the practice of teaching. This phenomenon is not unrealistic in the vocation of teaching. A teacher's vocation is described as a lonely, private, and isolated affair perpetuated by contextual features of time schedules, batched student groups, and egg-crate physical arrangements (Lortie, 1975, Sarason, 1982).

This is not to say that teachers do not form groups within schools. Teachers create groups because this is a natural form of social organization for people. However, the basis for the group formation is to gather moral support so the private work of teaching continues. Cusick (1983) found teachers to be friendly and cordial but distant in terms of professional matters. Specifically, teachers do not talk much about classroom matters with other teachers. Cusick suggests that teachers develop individual approaches to teaching based on personal values.

Gold and Miles (1981), while researching an attempt to implement open education at one elementary school, reached a similar conclusion. The teachers in this study implemented an open education program and came under siege by the school board and community. These teachers created an internal support system that was a defensive reaction to the hostile groups. This support system did not extend into classroom practices but was used to gather support against complaints and frustrations the external groups voiced.

Woods (1979) extended the concept of social support by suggesting that humor is an important element in staff room settings. "It is a supremely important part of school life, allowing the restoration of a perspective more in line with preferred identities" (p. 236). Specifically, through humor, teachers are able to relieve tension, gain support,

evaporate conflict, jealousy, envy, or hatred, and gain self-esteem, status, or power. Woods also indicates that there are times when humor does not work. At these times the social support system of collegial relationships is in danger of deteriorating.

In conclusion, social support as a form of collegial relationships is an important means by which teachers come to terms with both contextual and vocational features of their work. When teachers laugh about these matters, they relieve frustration and gain a better perspective. At other times they form groups to protect themselves from outside pressure, and/or maintain traditions and rituals. Most importantly, teachers seek out and associate with other teachers so that they do not feel alone psychologically and morally. Inasmuch as some social support involves story-swapping about the practice of teaching, social support as a form of collegiality to some extent overlaps with the storytelling form of collegiality.

Collegiality as Storytelling

Storytelling as a from of teacher collegiality is somewhat more focused on classroom matters and is used to cultivate information indirectly. By exchanging stories about the work of teaching, teachers can search for specific ideas, solutions, or reassurances without approaching another teacher directly. In other words, teachers keep casual acquaintances and enduring friends distant from their work in the classroom. Teachers do this to reduce the strain on friendships possible if social relations are carried into the classroom and the practice of teaching. Thus, the use of sporadic and informal story-swapping does not hinder the social support form of collegiality.

Storytelling, like social support, maintains the isolated, privatized, and idiosyncratically specialized practice of teaching that has been recorded over the decades.

The norms of individualism, presentism, and conservatism continue to maintain group relationships. Because teachers have only snatches of time, they develop scant knowledge of other teachers' practice. Stories are used to gain information indirectly without specifically requesting help. These indirect forays to gather knowledge are useful as a means of gaining information without having personal knowledge scrutinized. Furthermore, storytelling is beneficial if it helps create a shared technical language or if it reveals knowledge of intent or practice useful to change in current work. In this way, storytelling is useful in building a common culture based on shared understandings of work. But to the extent that stories are "litanies of complaints," little of practice is learned, analyzed, or invented.

Stories also serve other purposes. Hammersley's (1984) study of secondary school staff-room talk indicates that teachers, by way of story telling, gain valuable information about students, common problems/issues, and/or upcoming activities that could impact their actions in the classroom. Hammersley suggests that storytelling is not only used in classroom practice but also serves as a rhetorical function (i.e., the talk protects teachers' professional identities when threatened by student actions). Furthermore, there is a collective self-protection within the teacher group that serves to maintain current practices and relieve pressure to change.

In conclusion, teacher work research suggests that storytelling is a means of gaining information indirectly without jeopardizing personal values, status, or social relationships in the eyes of other teachers. The current context of schooling, in which students are batched and moved between teachers who work in relative isolation from each other, reinforces this form of collegiality. Self-protection is maintained by way of

not revealing practices and not discussing change. Teachers use storytelling as a way of becoming informed about clients and events that may impact practice. Teachers also use storytelling to reinforce the concept of self-preservation in light of difficulties that arise. As teachers gain in self-confidence, they become more direct in their search for ideas, information, and reassurance. They therefore move beyond storytelling into aid and assistance.

Collegiality as Aid and Assistance

Aid and assistance as forms of collegiality are the giving and getting of help for the purpose of finding out information about some aspect of teachers' work. Most aid and assistance is found as an informal event, but there are programs that are specifically based on this concept. Thus, aid and assistance are suggested as important means for teachers to develop and learn about the practice of teaching.

Teachers usually turn first to their peers for aid and assistance (Lortie, 1975). In doing so, teachers are careful not to interfere in other teachers' work. Teachers will give and request aid, but they adhere to established structures (boundaries) for engaging in this form of collegiality so they are not left open to judgment and criticism about their competence in practice. Therefore, engagement in this form of collegiality is not as plentiful because teachers must try to manage interactions so they do not jeopardize their self-esteem and professional standing. The result is that interactions focused on the practice of teaching are infrequent, completed in a piecemeal fashion, and lack the in-depth discussion that may be necessary for follow-through. In this way, the aid and assistance form of collegiality may serve only to confirm current practices. It may not change practice due to the limited depth, detail, or contextual sensitivity needed for

follow up and/or application of knowledge to practice.

Research on "mutual aid" as a form of collegiality is found in two varied literature areas -- formal programs and informal interactions. There is an extensive literature on formal programs such as clinical supervision and mentoring that encourages teacher collegial relationships (Cogan, 1973; Goldhammer, 1969; Lovel & Wiles, 1983). The difficulty with these programs is that they are conducted in a hierarchical arrangement. For example, mentoring programs are based on the expert-novice relationships, which does not lend itself to mutual responsibilities. Many clinical supervision models are used for evaluation purposes by administrative personnel. Since these programs do not address peer-to-peer relationships, they are not discussed here.

Within the formal program literature, there are studies that use a similar structure to the clinical supervisor model but focus on teachers working with teachers (Goldberry, 1980; McNergney & Carrier, 1981; Roper, Deal, & Dornbush, 1976; Smyth, 1983). For example, McFaul and Cooper (1984) completed a case study of twelve teachers in one urban elementary school. They found that even though teachers were able to execute the clinical process, the conceptual and analytical focus of the intervention was weak. In fact, "teachers appeared to honor an unwritten agreement that no one would be made uncomfortable in the [clinical] process" (p. 7). Thus, norms of independence, presentism, and conservatism were maintained. Incongruent aspects of the school context also appeared to substantially effect the implementation of the program. Specific contextual features having an effect on the depth and quality of teacher interactions included: 1) the isolation and fragmentation of staff (i.e., building architecture, time schedules, teacher subgroups by years of teaching, ethnicity, type of instructional approach, etc.); 2) the

stratification of teachers by the administration (i.e., a pecking order); 3) the standardization of curriculum and pedagogy as imposed by policies; and 4) a reactionist approach to decision-making (i.e., little long-range planning due to client mobility, fluctuating policies, inconsistent administrative actions, and unanticipated interruptions). Hence, the organizational environment and prevailing norms and beliefs may affect the outcomes of the formal program.

The research concerning informal aid and assistance is not as plentiful, but it is very important to this study of collegial relationships. A study completed by Mager, Myers, Maresca, Rupp, and Armstrong (1986) found that teachers who changed subject area, grade level, schools, or status were likely to ask for aid and assistance. In following 24 teachers from varied grade levels over a one year period, Mager, et al., (1986) found that teachers' requests for aid and assistance were more episodic than sustained. They requested help only when a specific need arose and then only if expertise was available. In this study, the aid and assistance given by teachers focused on specific information concerning the work of teaching (i.e., curriculum, materials, information, advice on teaching, etc.). However, there were also times when aid was more a form of social support.

Zahorik (1987) also explored teacher collegiality as it happens naturally within elementary schools. In interviews with 52 teachers in six elementary schools selected to represent varied school organizational arrangements, Zahorik found that teachers spent an average of about 63 minutes each day talking with peers. Of this time, 65% (41 minutes) was focused on teaching, learning, and other educational matters. As to aid and assistance, teachers indicated they got help an average of eight times a week and gave

help an average of ten times a week. Most teachers (75%) indicated that collegial interchanges were with teachers at the same grade level. All 52 teachers indicated that school colleagues were their major source of help because this help was readily available, immediate, and provided information about specific problems. By categorizing question responses, Zahorik found that teachers talked most (70%) about materials, discipline, activities, and individualization that focuses on a group of students or a particular student. The remaining 30% of talk covered a variety of topics more central to the practice of classroom teaching, such as methods, objectives, lecturing, questioning, reinforcing, evaluating, and organizing. Teachers reported that they did not talk about these topics as much because they felt knowledgeable in these subjects and/or because they saw teaching as personal and private, idiosyncratic, and intuitive. Contextual features influencing collegial help included school SES (Social Economic Status) and school organization. These contextual features did not influence how much help was received (i.e., analysis indicated teacher exchange of help was uniform across the six schools), but they did influence the categories in which help was received. In low SES schools, discipline help was more frequent, while in higher SES schools, materials and individualization help was more frequent. In traditional schools, help in the form of materials was more frequent, while in schools having team arrangements, individual help was more frequent. Teacher experience as a contextual feature was not related to mutual aid -- all teachers, novice and expert, were equally involved in this form of collegiality.

Zahorik's (1987) study suggests that teachers do regularly engage in aid and assistance. This engagement is brief. It centers on specific problems, is completed within a narrow range of teachers, and focuses on topics that are somewhat removed from the

personal practice of teaching. In this way, the norms of individualization, presentism, and conservatism are continued. However, because aid and assistance occurs around topics related to teaching, the collegial relationships developed in this form of collegiality are more interdependent than in the social support and storytelling forms. School organizational features and clients also influence the topics but not the frequency of aid and assistance. Zahorik also suggests that due to the presence of the privacy norm and the shallowness of the conversations, aid and assistance are unlikely to lead to profound changes in the practice of teaching.

In conclusion, aid and assistance as forms of collegiality are limited, sporadic, shallow, and usually focus on topics other than the practice of teaching, (i.e., on students, materials, issues, etc.). Because asking or receiving help makes public one's personal beliefs, practices, and knowledge, teachers create structures that act as guidelines for appropriate behavior within this form of collegial relationship. These structures are related to and help maintain the traditional norms of independence, presentism, and conservatism. Contextual features also impact aid and assistance in that teachers are constantly dealing with present conditions that include organizational features, clientele, policy practices, and interactions with administrative groups. Zahorik (1987) suggests that due to both the continuance of traditional norms and contextual features, there is little hope that the practice of teaching will change dramatically by use of aid and assistance as forms of collegiality. This same conclusion is found in studies of formal programs of peer collaboration (Goldsberry, 1980). However, when mutual aid focuses on sharing of materials, this form of collegiality begins to approximate sharing as a form of collegiality.

Collegiality as Sharing

Sharing as a form of collegiality is the sharing of materials and methods and/or engaging in an open exchange of ideas and opinions about teaching. This form of collegiality expands the collective pool of technical information among teachers. In this way, individualized practices become more public because in making ideas and intentions known to others, teachers expose their practice and communicate their expectations. This visibility provides opportunities for all other colleagues to learn about one's practice.

As collegial relationships move toward interdependence on the continuum, sharing can become more powerful than aid and assistance in developing a collective pool of information. The difficulty is that sharing can also be reduced to the level of aid and assistance depending on the cultural norms of the group. Currently, sharing as a form of collegiality is discussed as a part of other forms of collegiality. For example, Zahorik (1987) classified sharing of materials as the most frequent form of aid and assistance because the sharing of materials that he observed did not increase the collective technical knowledge base among teachers. Instead, teachers simply followed norms of independence to maintain privacy of practice. However, if the underlying cultural norms of sharing support interdependence, then sharing can lead to an open exchange of ideas and opinions. Thus, the outcomes of sharing as a form of collegiality depend on the cultural norms guiding teachers' work.

Rosenholtz's (1989) study of the teachers' workplace is an example of fluctuations within the sharing form of collegiality. In this study, Rozenholtz asked teachers in 78 elementary schools if they shared and what they shared. The results suggested that teachers defined sharing as story sharing, instructional material and idea sharing, and

instructional problem-solving. Specifically, in schools where teachers were more isolated, stories were used for sharing. In collaborative schools, teachers shared materials and ideas, and engaged in instructional decision-making activities. Rozenholtz's findings indicate that the contextual variables of shared goals, shared decision-making, and teaming influence the extent to which sharing as a form is more interdependent. Rozenholtz's findings further show that the way sharing as a form is used directly affects teachers' learning opportunities, which, in turn, affect work practices. For example, in collaborative schools where teachers used collegial sharing to work together on instructional materials and ideas, and on instructional problem-solving and planning activities, teachers learned more about teaching from each other and used this new knowledge in their practice. On the other hand, in isolated schools where teachers used collegial sharing as an aid to gathering materials, teachers learned less about teaching and used less of this knowledge to change practice.

In summary, the sharing form of collegiality can expand the collective pool of information among a group of teachers if the sharing is purposeful in nature and if cultural norms encourage sharing. On the other hand, sharing can also include more independent forms of collegiality. Apparently, sharing either gains or loses strength depending on the organizational culture in which it is found. As suggested by Rosenholtz (1989) and Zahorik (1987), underlying cultural norms are a powerful determinant of how sharing takes place. Besides the cultural aspect, Rosenholtz (1989) suggests that other contextual features influence the form of collegial relationships. These features include teacher attributes such as certainty of practice, purpose of work, beliefs about students and teaching, and organizational arrangements such as clear understanding of school

mission and goals, and team teaching. Neither Rosenholtz (1989) nor Zahorik (1987) find clients to be an influence on collegial relationships (i.e., teachers in both high and low SES schools appear to collaborate equally). As for the impact of sharing on the work of teaching, Rosenholtz (1989) indicates that teacher learning opportunities improve as teachers engage in more intense sharing of materials and instructional decisions. This form of sharing suggests joint work as a form of collegiality.

Collegiality as Joint Work

Joint work as a form of collegiality is defined as teachers sharing the responsibility for their teaching practice. This is a form of collaboration that resembles truly collective action because it involves contributions from all participants in order to complete the work of teaching successfully. The joint form of work is stronger than other forms of collegiality because it works to improve or change present practice and to influence future directions of the group. Thus, learning and change are important qualities of joint work.

To become engaged in joint work, teachers have to overcome negative perceptions of reduced independence, loss of individual latitude to execute personal preferences, and loss of private autonomy. When teachers view joint work positively, they can "engage in direct commentary on the moral, intellectual, and technical merit of classroom practices and school level programs or policies" (Little, 1990:522). Teachers who truly engage in joint work are respected for their knowledge, skill, judgment, competence and commitment -- the norms of collegiality found in sociological literature.

Recent teacher change literature suggests that joint work often occurs within subgroups within the school rather than within the school as a whole (Scott, 1988). This

concept of subgroup action is much different from the concepts found in the organizational literature. In the organizational literature, emphasis is placed on schoolwide activity. But there are four reasons why joint work often occurs within subgroups. First, there can be a number of groups within a school engaged in joint work (for example, departments or teams), and each of these subgroups can have varying agreements as to educational matters and use norms of collegial interaction and interpretation that differ widely. Second, groups can develop based on a shared perception of the school's culture or cultures, and these groups can have differing professional beliefs and practices. Third, teachers may hold memberships within multiple subgroups within the school organization. This is not uncommon at the high school level, where teachers often belong to one or more departments depending on teaching assignment, are members of school wide committees, coaching staffs, etc. Fourth, there may be differing collaborative relationships due to naturally occurring arrangements and/or formal organizational arrangements. The Rosenholtz (1989) and Zahorik (1987) studies are examples of naturally occurring arrangements that viewed teachers in traditional settings. These studies suggest there is little joint work among teachers in traditional organization structures. Most research concerned with joint work focuses on two newer organizational arrangements -- team teaching and staff development.

Team teaching. Team teaching programs, which involve organizational restructuring of students and teachers, emphasize teacher professional collegiality as joint work. Cohen and associates (1976, 1979, 1981) have completed extensive research on teacher interactions within elementary-level team teaching settings. In a longitudinal study of team teaching, 1973-1975, Cohen focused on teacher interdependence and

collegiality. Three findings are very important in this study. First, teachers developed more complex collegial relationships when more highly differentiated instructional materials were incorporated into instructional practices. In other words, as teaching became more complex, teachers worked more closely together. Second, architectural arrangements affected the intensity of teacher collaboration, with open space arrangements increasing joint work more than traditional egg-crate arrangements. Third, teams were fragile and unstable. Most teams focused on scheduling and management issues rather than on issues of teaching.

Bredo (1977) also researched relationships among teams of elementary school teachers. He concluded that joint work was most intense when teams were small, members were of equal status, and members had equal influence over each other. Findings further indicated that the degree to which members were interdependent varied and that on the whole, interdependence was limited. Hence, the teams in his study, like the teams Cohen (1976) studied, did not reach the full level of joint work suggested by the definition. These teams had infrequent relationships or used a structured scheduling and coordination approach to joint work.

Bishop (1977) took a different approach to the study of joint work in collegial relationships. In a comparison of two elementary school organizations -- self-contained and team work arrangements -- he examined three types of associations: 1) friendship; 2) work-related discipline; and 3) work-related instructional programs. Bishop found that teachers participated in multiple groups but did not mix friendship groups and work-related groups. He also found that team teachers spent more time on work-related issues than self-contained classroom teachers but that friendship associations were strong in

both organizational structures. Third, he suggested that relationships in all three types of associations were weaker in self-contained than in team classrooms. Lastly, working in team teaching settings had no relationship to the work orientations of the teachers. Teachers in team settings continued to look to themselves and their students for their rewards and satisfactions. In addition, teachers working in team situations tended to talk more about work-related matters, but the talk was of a structural sort and helped to maintain the individual autonomy found in previous forms of collegiality.

Staff development. Little (1982), in a now classic study of staff development implementation, suggested that there are underlying cultural norms that are essential for staff development programs to impact teachers' learning and improvement. In an extensive study of collegiality in six urban schools (three elementary, two junior high and one high school), Little explored teacher collegiality as a result of formal staff development programs. Little was most interested in schools as workplaces and looked for organizational characteristics conducive to continued learning on the job. Two norms seemed to differentiate more successful schools from less successful schools in her study. More successful schools had teachers who embraced the norm of collegiality (i.e., teachers working together) and the norm of continuous improvement (i.e., expectations about the business of teaching). Little's (1987) research suggests that joint work as a form of collegiality is possible, but is rarely sustained where formal structures, competence, and the commitment of members do not support it.

Grimmett and Crehen (1989) and Ponzio (1987) have also completed research on professional development programs designed to stimulate teacher partnering and thereby improve teaching. Both studies indicate that teacher partnering can enhance inquiry

about professional practice, but only to a certain point. Grimmett and Crehan, for example, suggested that partnering led to the joint work form of collegiality only when teachers trusted partners enough to help evaluate teaching practices, draw conclusions, and reframe the context so problems could be addressed (Little [1981] also reached this conclusion). Ponzio (1987) suggested that teacher partners frequently did not engage in joint work because they often drew personal conclusions without reliance on a partner. Ponzio argued that this result may have occurred because "the program staff who generally promoted the idea that responsibility for any conclusion drawn and changes in teaching behavior ultimately rested with the individual classroom teacher" (p. 37). This, of course, is another example of the norm of individualism. In summary, both of the studies just described suggest that joint work is most likely when the normative environment of schools encourages collaboration. Such norms must foster a sense of equality and trust between partners.

Little (1987) suggests that a variety of positive outcomes are a result of joint work. First, joint efforts have helped to improve student academic outcomes (Little, 1981; Bird & Little, 1985; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, & Smith, 1979). Second, there are benefits to teachers in the form of instructional range, depth, and flexibility (Cohen, 1981); influence and respect (Bredo, 1977; Meyer, Cohen, Brunetti, Molnar, & Lueders-Salmon, 1971); and career rewards and daily satisfactions (Little, 1981). Third, there are three benefits to schools: 1) joint work helps to coordinate the daily work of teaching across classrooms; 2) joint work fosters the examination and testing of new ideas, methods, and materials that are important to meeting the ever-increasing demands placed on schools; and 3) joint work can ease the strain of staff

turnover found most frequently among beginning teachers (Little, 1987).

In summary, the research reviewed in this section suggests that joint work, as a form of collegiality, is based on teachers taking joint responsibility for their teaching practice. Research on teaming and staff development suggests that joint work is undertaken and intensified as teaching becomes more complex (i.e., when highly diversified methods/materials are in use or when organizational arrangements bring people in close proximity to one another). Even though collegial influence increases as teachers engage in joint work, interdependence may not increase unless traditional norms of independence and privacy are altered. The most influential form of joint work involves interdependence among teachers and can only be reached when traditional norms are exchanged for norms of collegiality and experimentation.

Besides altering cultural norms, successful joint work depends on a number of other contextual conditions. Support and governance must be altered so that teachers focus on the cognitive aspects of teaching and less on organizational and managerial aspects. Organizational arrangements need to be aligned with the program so the context reinforces and supports cultural norms necessary for joint work (i.e., interdependence).

Also important to the understanding of joint work is the group structure. Joint work is usually found in small groups within the school community. These groups may organize by informal arrangements but most often are organized by external programs, an approach that frequently leads to contrived collegial relationships. Informal arrangements rarely lead to joint work that is meaningful and extensive due to a variety of contextual features. Furthermore, teachers belong to multiple collegial groups based on different forms of collegiality. Specifically, teachers seem to keep friendship groups separate from

work-related groups. The result is that a single teacher's involvement in multiple work groups can differ in intensity and duration across the different groups he or she is involved in.

Summary of Workplace and Teacher Change Literature

In the literature on teachers' workplace and teacher change, collegiality is defined broadly to include a variety of forms including social support, storytelling, aid and assistance, sharing, and joint work. While seemingly distinct, these forms in actuality meld together into a continuum that ranges from weak forms (i.e., social support) to strong forms (i.e., joint work). Three factors are important to understanding these various forms of collegiality.

First, a culture of collegiality is present in all groups. This culture is usually based on traditional teaching norms of individualism, privatism, and conservatism. Only when cultural norms change and new norms arise do teachers move toward more interdependent forms of collegiality. Among the norms that enable teachers to engage in interdependent forms of work are the norms of collegiality and experimentation discussed by Little (1981). These norms are similar to those found in the sociological perspective on collegiality, which holds that underlying beliefs and shared values are important to the development of effective professional groups. Furthermore, as discussed in the organizational literature, it may be necessary to formalize the structure of collegiality in order to provide teachers with guidance concerning interdependent working relationships. Such formal arrangements can nullify traditional cultures and structures of collegiality based on norms of independence and help produce the cultures and structures that encourage interdependent joint work.

Second, teachers belong to multiple collegial groups of varied size. For example, research suggests that teachers separate friendship groups from work-related groups. Within work-related groups, teachers engage in a variety of forms of collegiality depending on the purposes for which a group is formed. All groups come together around personal and group beliefs. Thus, the beliefs that teachers have about collegiality can affect the nature of collegial relationships that develop within a school.

Third, contextual features other than culture and formal structure can influence the form of collegiality teachers use. For example, school SES appears to affect the form of collegiality in schools, with teachers in low SES settings talking more about discipline and students than teachers in high SES schools. In addition, teachers' personal beliefs about students, teaching, and subject matter, as well as status of a teacher and a teacher's assignment can affect collegiality.

In conclusion, the body of literature on teachers' work and school change suggests that stronger forms of teacher colleagueship reduce teacher isolation, improve instructional techniques and curricular materials, and increase job satisfaction (Alfonso & Goldsberry, 1982). Moreover, as Little (1987) suggests, these changes may improve student outcomes. In order to create settings where interdependent collegial relationships are strong, restructuring the school's culture and organization is necessary.

Toward an Understanding of Collegiality

This chapter suggests that a thorough understanding of professional collegiality involves understanding three interrelated dimensions of this form of social action -- the culture of collegiality, the structure of collegiality, and the behaviors associated with

collegiality. These elements are described below.

Culture of Collegiality

Culture as defined here is ideational, a collection of ideas existing in the minds of organizational members. These ideas can be clear or amorphous, but are aggregated across workers and serve partially to guide behavior. The cultural of collegiality is a "concept reflecting the content and strength of prevalent values, norms, attitudes, behaviors, and feelings of the members of a social system" (Payne, 1971). The culture of collegiality focuses on the deep levels of values and beliefs shared by members of a collegial group (Schein, 1985). Thus, members adhere to the culture in varying degrees.

To participate in the culture of an organizational group, each member must know the culture. To be a functioning member is to be able to decode the cultural meanings and shape them into efficient guides to daily behavior. Persons can be socialized into an organization's collegial culture, but unless the culture is shaped by both the group and the organization, the behaviors could be detrimental to the work of the organization. The more enculturated into an organization individuals are, the less their personal or idiosyncratic values, beliefs, and dispositions influence behavior. Thus, culture is important to the functions of life and work in groups and in organizations (Deal & Kennedy, 1982).

Within any organization there are varying cultures. Within the high school organization these cultures may be based on departmentalization, teaming, varied programs or nonacademic interests (i.e., coaches, club sponsors, committees, etc.). These varied collegial cultures develop, however, only when individuals trust in the goodness of others and are willing to act on that belief. Bess (1988) suggests two dimensions of this

trust -- individual/organization balance, and self/other balance. The individual/organizational balance implies that "there is no necessary conflict between individual and organizational goals" (p.92). The self/other balance is "the belief that there is no necessary conflict among individual goals" (p.92). Thus, a culture of collegiality impresses itself on both the organization and the individuals within the organization.

Structure of Collegiality

The second element of collegiality concerns the control that members of a group have over their work environment and peers. In recent educational literature, terms such as empowerment, control, autonomy, and decision-making are discussed as elements of effective schools. In the organizational literature, structure is typically defined as the pattern or design by which organizations are divided and integrated (Bess, 1988). In other words, collegiality as structure is associated with modes of control that link units of the organization both as individuals and groups. Thus, institutions having collegial structures "are typically believed to conform to a recognizable pattern of authority to regulate the activities of their members" (Bess, 1988:99). For the purpose of this study, the term "etiquette of collegiality" is used to describe this pattern of authority.

As used here, the etiquette of collegiality refers to more than a set of rules or patterns of authority that give teachers participatory rights in school decision making. The mere presence of participatory rights does not alone ensure a structure of collegial control (Bess, 1988). As has been suggested, when teachers gain decision making rights, relationships may become merely political in nature. The etiquette of collegiality goes beyond this individualistic idea and is instead based on a shared culture of collegiality

that controls the behavior of members (Sykes, 1990). Therefore, collegial etiquette is the organizational manifestation of cultural collegiality. It both symbolizes the culture and gives visible evidence that the culture can be maintained.

For collegial etiquette to be legitimate, organization members must believe that organizational goals, expectations, and controls are rational and meet organizational as well as individual needs. In other words, "rationality means not only the perceived reasonableness of the system to accomplish organizational objectives of efficiency and coordination, but its correctness as a political statement that will attend to individual needs of equity and justice" (Bess, 1988:91).

Behavior of Collegiality

The behavior of collegiality refers to the actions and interactions among faculty and between faculty and others as these are guided by both the culture and etiquette of collegiality. As suggested above, the culture of collegiality is the nexus of beliefs and values guiding collegial etiquette in an institution. Collegial behavior is the complex of actions taken by a professional group engaging in various institutional roles and refers to patterns of relationships and interactions among colleagues as they perform various functions. In conceptualizing the behavior of collegiality, descriptions of peer relationships will bring forth "forms of colleagueship" such as sharing, story-swapping, aid and assistance, and joint work.

Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed three perspectives concerning collegial relationships. Each perspective explained a different definition of colleagueship based on one element of

collegiality -- culture, etiquette, and behavior. Furthermore, this research suggests there are degrees of colleagueship that are dependent on a number of factors including: 1) organizational culture; 2) contextual features; and 3) the work of teachers. In studying collegiality, various researchers have developed one or two of the collegial elements, but no studies of collegiality have described all three elements of collegiality that occur within a bureaucratic organization. Furthermore, in developing an understanding of collegiality, many researchers narrow the focus and concentrate on only one form of collegiality, such as joint work or aid and assistance. The present study furthers research on collegiality by using the three elements of collegiality discussed above to describe professional collegial relationships within two high school settings. This study also explores how these relationships are affected by the context in which they occur. Finally, the study describes the impact of naturally occurring collegial relationships on teachers' work. Therefore, this study pursues the following questions in order to generate hypotheses about professional collegial relationships at the secondary level:

1. How do teachers in urban high schools perceive professional collegial relationships?

2. What varied forms of collegiality do secondary teachers engage in during their work within these schools?

3. What contextual features of the workplace do these high school teachers see as influencing the phenomenon of professional collegial relationships?

4. In what ways do teacher professional collegial relationships influence the work of these teachers?

5. What similarities and differences concerning the phenomenon of teachers' professional collegiality are found between these sites?

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study is designed to better understand teacher professional collegial relationships, contextual features surrounding these relationships, and the consequences for teachers' work. This chapter presents the research design and methodology used by this investigator in the collection and analysis of data.

Selection of the Sample

Selection of Sites

This study was conducted in two urban, desegregated, comprehensive high schools (called LaSalle and Monroe) located in a single school district in Michigan.[1] The design of the study holds constant district-level context but allows examination of how variations in school context affect collegiality. The two schools included in the study are "average" urban comprehensive high schools based on a data analysis conducted by the Center for Research on the Context of Secondary Schools (CRC) (CRC Teacher Survey Data Report, 1991). That is, measures of school climates, classroom instruction,

[1] To maintain confidentiality pseudonyms are used for all names, locations, and programs. As much as possible, identifiers with courses taught are also removed to further maintain anonymity of persons teaching specialized courses.

professional growth and development, department climates and policies all tend to be near the average of what is found in United States high schools generally.

The sites were also selected based on their four-year involvement in a district-sponsored school improvement program that encouraged teachers to work on a school wide basis to further the educational programming and context of the school. The school improvement program is similar to a new state directive that encourages site-based governance in schools.

To understand the sites chosen, a brief description of the district and the two schools is included. First the district is described and then the two schools.

Falls Park School District. Falls Park School District is located in one of the larger urban centers of a midwestern state. The city of Falls Park dates to the era of stage coaches, during which time it was a stop on the westbound stage line. The oldest section of town has many renovated homes dating back to the late 1800's, but there are also several modern downtown office towers. The main source of business is light manufacturing and service industries. There are also a number of higher education institutions in the area, many of which are affiliated with religious groups.

Falls Park district has approximately 31,000 students attending 43 elementary, 5 middle and 4 high schools. The students represent five major ethnic groups--Asian (2%), African- American (37%), Hispanic (7%), Native American (1%), and Caucasian (53%). A majority (55%) of students comes from economically-disadvantaged homes as indexed by the federal lunch program count in the Fall of 1990. Like most urban districts, student attendance and dropout rates are a concern. Over half of the students in the district missed more than 10 days of school during the year of this study and approximately

13.5% of the students dropped out of school. The educational program of the district is conducted by 2300 professionals (K-12 teachers, community education teachers, management and support personnel) and 1800 support staff members (paraprofessionals, office personnel, and personnel with transportation, maintenance, and operations functions).

Falls Park school district, like most urban districts across the nation, is having financial difficulties. District leaders struggle each year to provide a quality education program even though funds continue to decline.[2] Because the district must go to the community each year with millage proposals, much time is spent educating the public about the district's needs. In recent years, millage proposals have been difficult to pass. This results in continuous layoffs and recall of district personnel. In order to avoid layoffs, teachers much have at least 16 years seniority. During the year of this study, teachers with seniority of 23 years were put on layoff notice and not recalled until after a second millage vote passed. As a result, in the past few years teachers start each school year unsure of what they are teaching, where they are teaching, or whom they are teaching.

Despite this organizational chaos, the district continues to implement reform proposals to improve the educational process for students. In the mid 80's, under the direction of a very progressive superintendent, the district implemented many features of

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[2] Revenues reported by this district during the summer of 1991 were $147,500,000 of which 48.9% came from local property taxes, 30.5% from state aid payments, 7.5% from federal supplements, 13.1% from other local miscellaneous payments. Expenditures were distributed to instruction (55.9%), Instructional Services (15.6%), Operations and Maintenance (10.3%), Administrative Services (5.3%) and other (12.9%)--pupil transportation, capital outlay, fringe benefits.

the effective schools approach to school improvement. Three features -- student standards, collaboration, and instructional methodology -- directly impacted the high schools and the work of high school teachers in the district.

First, the district increased student standards by increasing high school graduation requirements. These new standards required students to pass four years of English, three years each of math and social studies, two years each of science and health/Physical Education, one year of fine arts/foreign language, and one semester each of computer technology and career planning. To enact these requirements, the district established a core curriculum taught within a three track system. The curriculum within each track was standardized across the district so students transferring between schools were in approximately the same place in the curriculum no matter what school they attend. Students were also required to pass the district's five graduation competency tests based on the standardized curriculum. The tests were in the areas of reading, mathematics, writing, reference skills, and life skills and were administered in grades 9 - 12.

Second, the district developed a "collaborative approach" to school improvement within the district through the development of School Improvement Councils (SIC) in each school. At the time of the study, teachers were thus involved in school governance and the school improvement process. Each school was required to develop a mission statement, goals, and create programs that focused on school improvement. Collaboration with local businesses was also endorsed for the purpose of gaining community involvement. Finally, collaboration between district level administrators and school administrators was implemented. District level administrators were assigned a school or schools to further the school improvement process. Time was spent discussing

pertinent student data (i.e., course grades, test scores, attendance, etc.) with the school administrators. This information was then used to develop school improvement programs.

Third, with grants from local businesses, the district implemented an extensive professional development program for teachers. In this program, teachers learned about effective teaching, Mastery Learning, peer coaching, cooperative grouping, student mediation, etc. Grant money allowed the district to release teachers during the school day, or receive compensation for after school time or summer institutes. Teachers attending staff development programs became mentors in their schools and were expected to help other teachers learn and implement the concepts in their classrooms.

In conclusion, Falls Park School District is not unlike many other urban school districts. Even with financial shortfalls they are working to educate students. Their approach has been to develop programs that rely on the concept of teachers working collegially as the means of improvement and change.

LaSalle High School. At the time of the study, LaSalle High School was in the process of transition. For some time, the school has been perceived by the community as the best in the district. However, since desegregation, the image of the school from the teachers' perspective had changed. This was due to a change in students and a continual change in superintendents and school administrators.

Within the past ten years preceding the study, student enrollment at LaSalle had dropped by more than half from a high of 2100 to 1050 students. The student population also changed, moving from a majority white, upper to middle class student population to a middle to lower class student population. Table 1 gives student demographic

Table 1

Student Ethnicity and Gender Information
For LaSalle High School[a]

	Ethnicity				
	American Indian	Asian/ Pacific Islands	Black/ Not Hispanic	Hispanic	White/ Not Hispanic
Total Number of Students	10	19	421.5	27	609
Percent of Students	01	02	39	01	56

	Gender	
	Male	Female
Total Number of Students	530.5	556
Percent of Students	49	51

[a] Based on 3rd Friday count, 1990. This information includes special education students.

information. Approximately 11% of this population are enrolled in special education. There is a relatively low drop out rate (7.9%) and a low mobility rate (10%). Informal student interviews conducted by this researcher suggest that students perceive the school as a good place to learn. There is no evidence of student gangs or violence in the school. Administrators report that during the year of this study there were only 2 fights and no drug-related incidents.

The staff at LaSalle also changed in the years immediately prior to the study. Staff turnover was approximately 30% in the preceding 6 years, mostly due to retirements, although reductions also resulted from layoffs and loss of students. Administrators further indicated that turnover in staffing was expected to continue as more staff retired. Teachers at the school were highly experienced. The mean number of years taught in the school was 9.64 (SD = 8.10) and the mean years of teaching experience in the district was 17.72 (SD 7.49). Only 6 teachers have less than 10 years in the system. Demographic information on the staff is found in Table 2.

Teachers at LaSalle were trying to rebuild the school's image by creating innovative programs. First, the staff reduced the number of academic tracks to two, regular and advanced. Second, they adopted a series of Advanced Placement courses in English and Social Studies. Third, groups of teachers designed and implemented interdisciplinary approaches to instruction in vocational education, business education and restaurant management. These innovative programs were hindered by a lack of funding and a central office vs. school power struggle. The staff labored to continue these program implementations while the district continued to reduce staff and place further requirements on the school's programs.

Table 2

Staff Gender, Ethnicity, and Education by Position for LaSalle High School [a]

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Teachers			
Number	31	25	56
Percentage	55	45	100
Counselors			
Number	2	2	4
Percentage	50	50	100
Media Personnel			
Number		1	1
Percentage		100	100
Administrators			
Number	3	1	4
Percentage	75	25	100

	Ethnicity			Total
	Caucasian	Black	Hispanic/ Indian	
Teacher				
Number	44	10	2	56
Percentage	79	18	03	100
Counselors				
Number	2	2	0	4
Percentage	50	50	0	100
Media Personnel				
Number	1			1
Percentage	100			100
Administrators				
Number	2	2	0	4
Percentage	50	50		100

Table 2 (cont'd)

	Education Degree						Total
	Bachelor	Master	Master +10	Master +20	Master +30	Doctor of Philosophy	
Teacher							
Number	16	19	9	7	5		56
Percentage	29	34	16	13	08		100
Counselors							
Number		2		1	1		4
Percentage		50		25	25		100
Media Personnel							
Number					1		1
Percentage					100		100
Administrators							
Number		3				1	4
Percentage		75				25	100

[a] This information accurate on 5-91.

Monroe High School. Monroe High School is the oldest high school in the district and one of the oldest in the state. Many well-known persons have attended the school. All community members interviewed by this researcher talked of this inherited tradition, but they also spoke with pride of the ethnically-diverse student population found in the school at the time of the study.

Like LaSalle, student enrollment at Monroe had dropped by more than half from a high of 2,000 to an average of 950 students. Approximately 14% of this population were special education students. Table 3 gives the student demographic information. Even though the student population had stabilized, there was much student mobility. Teachers and administrators indicated that over the course of a year, there was about a 65% change in the student body. A drop out rate for Monroe High School was not available, but information gathered suggested that approximately 18% of the student population left the school and could not be traced. Mobility was suggested as one reason for the high drop out figure. Over the years, there have been no racial problems at Monroe. Student interviews did suggest that there were divisions among the students based on motivation to learn -- students interested in learning versus students who did care about learning. There was no evidence of student gangs or violence in the school during the time of this study. Administrators reported that during the year of this study there were no major disturbances in which weapons or drugs were involved.

The Monroe staff changed constantly. Even though there was a stable core of teachers who prided themselves in teaching at Monroe, significant staff changes occurred each semester and year. Also, in the six years prior to this study, the administrative staff changed yearly. Due to the continual teacher mobility, no specific staff turnover

Table 3

Student Ethnicity and Gender Information
For Monroe High School[a]

	Ethnicity				
	American Indian	Asian/ Pacific Islands	Black/ Not Hispanic	Hispanic	White/ Not Hispanic
Total Number of Students	4	4	119	29	609
Percent of Students	01	02	39	01	56

	Gender	
	Male	Female
Total Number of Students	530.5	556
Percent of Students	49	51

[a] Based on 3rd Friday count, 1990. This information includes special education students.

percentage was calculated. In fact, teachers would leave only to return at a later date. Most staff changes were due to layoffs and loss of students, but there were also retirements. Teachers at Monroe were highly experienced. The mean number of years taught in the school was 10.86 (SD 8.87) and the mean years of teaching experience in the district was 17.34 (SD 9.16). Only six teachers had less than ten years in the system. Thus, a buffer group of staff came and went while the core staff remain stable. Demographic information on the staff is found in Table 4.

Teachers at Monroe were working to improve the educational environment for all students. They were most interested in creating an educational environment in which all students could learn. At Monroe, all teachers were members of the School Improvement Council (SIC). The SIC was divided into five "teams" that focused on five mission statement goals. Each team was struggling to create programs and policies acceptable to the total staff. Consensus was difficult enough within the school, but getting district support for implementation was even more difficult. The staff had implemented a new hall discipline policy during the year of the study, but they were struggling to implement a new classroom discipline program.

Selection of Teachers

Within each school, a sample of fifteen teachers was chosen from a sampling frame that included all teachers who returned the 1990 and 1991 CRC questionnaires.[3] The sample of fifteen teachers represented approximately one fourth of the staff in each

[3] Teachers participating in this study were taken from a pool of teachers who returned the CRC survey in the spring. These teachers had knowledge of the larger study and had taken time to complete the survey.

Table 4

Staff Gender, Ethnicity, and Education by Position for Monroe High School [a]

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Teachers			
Number	25	23	48
Percentage	52	48	100
Counselors			
Number	3	1	4
Percentage	75	25	100
Media Personnel			
Number	1		1
Percentage	100		100
Administrators			
Number	3	1	4
Percentage	75	25	100

	Ethnicity			Total
	Caucasian	Black	Hispanic/ Indian	
Teacher				
Number	42	5	1	48
Percentage	88	10	02	100
Counselors				
Number	3	1	0	4
Percentage	75	25	0	100
Media Personnel				
Number	1			1
Percentage	100			100
Administrators				
Number	2	2	0	4
Percentage	50	50		100

Table 4 (cont'd)

	Education Degree						
	Bachelor	Master	Master +10	Master +20	Master +30	Doctor of Philosophy	Total
Teacher							
Number	11	18	8	4	7		48
Percentage	23	38	17	08	14		100
Counselors							
Number		2	1		1		4
Percentage		50	25		25		100
Media Personnel							
Number					1		1
Percentage					100		100
Administrators							
Number		3			1		4
Percentage		75			25		100

[a] This information accurate on 5-91.

school and approximately one third of the teachers who returned the questionnaires (LaSalle had 43 possible participants; Monroe had 39 possible participants).

The fifteen teacher participants were chosen by a dimensional sampling process based on department and gender as dimensions. First, the percentage of teachers in each department size was determined. Second, gender percentages were calculated for the school. Then a sample of teachers was drawn so that department size and gender percentages were maintained. A reserve list was also developed for each department and gender within the department.

Description of sample group. Teachers were sent a cover letter and attached consent form explaining the study and asking them to volunteer to participate (see Appendix A). At LaSalle, 13 teachers in the initial sample volunteered to participate and two replacements were secured from the department reserve list. At Monroe 13 teachers from the initial sample list volunteered. One reserve teacher in one department volunteered but due to factors beyond this researcher's control there was no other teacher in the second department to replace the selected teacher. Thus, one department at Monroe is not represented in the final sample. In order to maintain an equal number of interviews between schools, a reserve list teacher was added from the English department as this was the largest department in the school.

During interviews it was determined that three teachers from each site who were not included on the interview list could add valuable information to this study. These three persons represented department chairpersons, media specialists, and school improvement council chairs. In all, eighteen teachers from each site were interviewed during the course of the study. Fifteen teachers were selected based on dimensional

sampling procedures and three were added during the study due to key positions they held in the teacher groups. Table 5 shows the comparison between the number of departmental teachers who returned questionnaires and the number of departmental teachers interviewed. The table illustrates the sample group similarities between the two sites.

Table 6 provides demographic information for the final sample of teachers within each site. The table suggests that demographically the two schools have relatively similar sample groups with the exception of ethnicity. This difference is due to the fact that there is a difference in the minority staffing between the two schools and that ethnicity is not considered a dimension of sampling. Average years of teaching experience are relatively similar in both schools (LaSalle=11.6; Monroe=12.7). Average years in the school district are also similar in both schools (LaSalle=22; Monroe=20.7). In conclusion, the sample group from each site is relatively similar except for ethnicity.

Research Design

Rationale for Research Design

This is a descriptive study. The methodology utilized is "focused ethnography." Unlike general immersion in a presumably new and unfamiliar culture, a focused ethnography assumes partial knowledge of a setting. Erickson (1977:62) suggests a "consciously directed inquiry" is appropriate. In this case, prior theoretical and empirical work guides the inquiry, the formulation of guiding questions, and the conduct of interviews. Specifically, concepts discussed in the literature review were used as a beginning of inquiry. During inquiry, further broadening of these concepts occurred.

Table 5

Teacher Selection by Department at LaSalle and Monroe

Department	LaSalle N=43 [a]	Number interviewed in department	Monroe N=39 [a]	Number interviewed in department
English/ Foreign Language	10	3 (+1)	8	4 (+1)
Mathematics	7	3	5	2
Science	6	2 (+1)	4	2
Social Studies	3	1	5	2 (+1)
Physical Education	2	1	3	1
Special Education	6	2	6	2
Vocational Education	6	2	6	2
Fine Arts	2	1	2	0
Media Center	0	(+1)	0	(+1)
Other	1	0	0	0

[a] Total number of teachers who returned 1990 & 1991 questionnaires by department.

Note: Numbers in parentheses are teachers added during the study.

Table 6

Teacher Demographic Information for the Sample Group within each Site

	Gender		Ethnicity		
School	Male	Female	Caucasian	Black	Hispanic
LaSalle	10	8	14	4	0
Monroe	11	7	16	1	1

	Level of Education				
School	Bachelor	Master	Master +10	Master +20	Master +30
LaSalle	3	6	2	3	4
Monroe	3	7	3	2	3

Findings resulted in the development of hypotheses about the phenomenon under study. To develop the research design in this study, three specific concepts or areas of interest were examined. To understand each area of interest, theoretical dimensions were developed. These dimensions are explained below.

Dimensions of teacher collegiality. This study concerns teacher professional collegiality. There are three guiding questions or areas of interest that focus this study. These areas of interest are: 1) teachers' perceptions of collegial relationships; 2) contextual features surrounding collegial relationships; and 3) the impact of these relationships on teachers' work. The case studies, empirical research, and theoretical literature concerning the phenomenon of teacher collegiality suggest that within each area of interest there are important concepts that need to be explored. For the purpose of this study the term dimensions is used. Dimensions are a way to partition an area of interest into concepts or units that can be measured by defining the dimension. The specific measures when viewed together give meaning to the dimension and thus to the area of interest.

In this section, the three areas of interest along with the dimensions and their specific measures are reviewed. By attending to the literature concerning collegiality, the dimensions and measures are developed to permit past research to help guide the development of the interview instrument and the analysis process. The dimensions included here are not all inclusive of possible dimensions and measures for the phenomena of collegial relationships.

The first area of interest concerns teachers' perceptions of collegial relationships. Research suggests that three dimensions of teacher collegiality offer the best description

of how teachers understand collegial relationships. These dimensions include culture of collegiality, etiquette of collegiality and behavior of collegiality. As found in Chapter Two, all three of these dimensions are necessary to develop an understanding of collegiality.

To measure the culture of collegiality, I analyzed the beliefs and values espoused by teachers in interviews. Beliefs are statements about reality which people accept as true (Doob, 1994). Beliefs are also the framework that guides perceptions. Values are convictions about what is good/bad, appropriate/inappropriate, right/wrong. Kilby (1993) suggests that values are conceptions of what is desirable or worthwhile. They are abstract concepts about behavioral preferences. Some research discussed in Chapter Two focuses on norms, but norms are based on standards of desirable behavior and help to guide behavior in specific situations. Values, on the other hand, are more abstract and influence norms (Doob, 1994). In this study, the measure for culture of collegiality is based on the beliefs and values this sample group of teachers perceives to be their reality and that are accepted as true, real, desirable, or worthwhile.

The etiquette of collegiality was measured by information about collegial etiquette that teachers reported in interviews. Collegial etiquette concerns the unwritten code that members of an organization follow so that certain things deemed likely to injure others are not forthcoming. This code is based on the values and beliefs held by the group and rules that the group develop from their culture to guide their behavior. Collegial etiquette concerns subjects deemed appropriate or "off limits" when interacting with peers, ways of behaving in groups and in the work setting, and formal and informal control of the environment.

The behavior of collegiality was measured by gathering data from teacher interviews about the forms of collegiality (i.e., social support, storytelling, aid and assistance, sharing, joint work), patterns of group memberships, and frequency of interactions among teachers. In other words, the behavior of collegiality is indexed by the actions and interactions among a group of people that is guided by cultural beliefs and values about collegiality and the etiquette of collegiality.

The second area of interest in this study is the context of collegiality. Four dimensions are suggested as important here. The first dimension, teacher demographic information, is measured by analyzing data concerning ethnicity, gender, years of teaching experience, years in building, former teaching location, staff mobility across departments, and teacher stability in the school. The second dimension, organizational arrangement of teachers, is measured by examining the organization of teachers in the work setting (departmental, teaming, committees, other activities), scheduling of work, physical arrangement of the staff, and building and department size. The third dimension, school governance, concerns school policies about teachers' work and students, and the School Improvement Council. To measure teacher work policies, data was gathered about assignment to space, course assignments, teacher load, and committee assignments. To measure student policies, data was gathered about policies concerning attendance, tardiness, discipline, homework, and testing. The functioning of School Improvement Councils as governing bodies was assessed by gathering information about the formulation of school goals and mission statements, the match between the personal goals of teachers and school goals, and the effectiveness of the School Improvement Council. The fourth contextual dimension is clients. This dimension was measured by looking for

statements that relate collegial relationships to student characteristics such as ethnicity, track, SES composition, student mobility, dropout status, and attendance.

The third area of interest involves the connection of collegial relationships to the work of teachers. There is only one dimension in this area of interest -- the relationship of collegiality to work. To measure this dimension, I examined how collegial relationships influenced teachers' morale, learning, and/or efficacy. Interviews were reviewed for statements that reflected the connection of teacher collegial relationships to the practice of teaching.

These areas of interest, the dimensions within, and the measures used to understand them, provided a guide for the development of the interview instrument and an analytic framework for developing hypotheses concerning the phenomena of teacher professional collegiality within and across the two high schools.

The Research Instrument

A semi-structured interview was used as the basis for gathering data in this study. The interview data was supplemented with documents and interviews completed in the larger CRC study. In order to reduce researcher bias, all interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Rationale. The interview guide used in this study followed the format of the larger CRC project and survey instruments used in other research on this topic (Little, 1981; Zahorik, 1987). The nine item interview guide had a semi-structured format with open-ended questions that allowed for some deviation from the guide through probes for further clarification (see Appendix B). This form of interviewing "helps to bring out the affective and value-laden aspects of respondents' responses and to determine the personal

significance of [respondent's] attitudes" (Selltiz et al., 1976:318). It is also appropriate for retrieving information about complex subjects (Borg & Gall, 1989; Selltiz et al., 1976). Open-ended questions are used for purposes of creating "a framework of reference for respondents' answers, but put a minimum of restraint on the answers and their expression" (Cohen & Manion, 1989:313). Borg and Gall (1983) suggest that semi-structured interviews are "generally most appropriate for interview studies in education. [They] provide a desirable combination of objectivity and depth and often permit gathering valuable data that would not be successfully obtained by any other approach" (p. 442).

Although semi-structured interviews have many desirable features, several sources of error in the interview process must be considered when developing interview questions (Borg & Gall, 1983). The first source of error pertains to the interviewee and his/her reaction to the interviewer and interview guide. Suspicion, lack of motivation, desire to please, or wanting to look good are all sources of potential error. The second source of error is the interviewer's predisposition. The predisposition includes being uncomfortable with the interviewee, allowing personal opinions to lend meaning to what is said, failing to develop rapport with interviewee, and having pre-expectations about answers. The third source of error involves the procedures used to conduct the study that includes explanations of what the study is about, gaining cooperation from informants, length of the interview and location of the interview.

The following techniques were used to compensate for the three sources of error. Interviewee error was reduced by having participants volunteer and by asking them to relate specific instances of collegial occurrences during the interview. Interviewer error

was reduced by viewing each interview as a new story and taping interviews for further identification of sources of error. To reduce the procedural errors, interviewees were thanked before time, given the opportunity to choose their time and date, interviewed in their rooms, and given the opportunity to interview by phone which only one interviewee asked to do.

The interview guide and protocol were developed and then pretested in a school similar to the two in this study. The pretest assessed item clarity and language, evaluated item construction, checked opening orientation, and developed this researcher's experience with the instrument (Boyd & Gall, 1983). The pretest participants were asked to indicate misunderstandings they encountered in the interview. Thus, pretesting entailed not only completing the interview, but also receiving feedback on difficulty in understanding questions and framing responses. Revisions of the interview schedule were made based on information gained from the pretest.[4]

Interview guide format. Questions on the interview guide cover the three parts of this proposed study. Question one asks for general demographic information deemed appropriate but not overlapping information received in the larger CRC study. Questions developed for understanding teachers' perception of the meaning of collegiality include 2,3,4,5,6,8, and 9. Questions concerning the context in which collegial relationships occur consist of 2,6,7,8, and 9. Questions focused on the outcomes of collegiality involve

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[4] This author recognizes the staff at Dover High School (a pseudonym) who volunteered to spend a prep period completing the interview, and two hours after school discussing the interview questions, this researcher's clarity and composure, and the topic of teacher collegial relationships. Their help and interest was greatly appreciated. Furthermore, during the time of question development, Kathy Sernak and James Spillane, Graduate students on the larger CRC study, helped refine questions used in this study.

4, 5, 6, and 9. Overlap in these categories is created by the use of probes. These probes were used when further information and/or clearer information from the interviewee was needed.

An important purpose of the interview guide was to gather information about collegial relationships as they occur in different groups. As the research literature suggested, collegiality has been defined as broadly as whole occupations (the profession) to smaller work groups (teams). In creating this interview guide, these varied groups were included. Questions 2 through 5 focus on smaller groups. Question 6 and 7 discuss school wide groups. Question 8 investigates work teachers engage in outside the classroom such as coaching, clubs, and/or school improvement projects (Lieberman & Miller, 1984). Question 9 is about collegial relationships within professional groups beyond the school.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was completed by use of qualitative methods described by Miles and Huberman (1984). Qualitative data is found as words rather than numbers. This form of data is attractive because it gives rich descriptions and explanations of local phenomenon. But analysis of this form of data is difficult because methods of analysis are not well formulated. Some researchers believe that qualitative data analysis is an "art" that uses intuitive approaches to data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1984:16). In fact, there are few detailed descriptions of the process of data analysis reported in published case studies or reports. Even when extensive explanations are presented, the lack of common language and the labor-intensity of the analysis process creates ambiguity. The

result is that qualitative research needs explicit, systematic methods for drawing conclusions.

In this section, the qualitative method of analysis used in this study is explained as clearly as possible. This analysis consisted of three concurrent activities--data reduction, data displays, and conclusion drawing/verification (see Miles and Huberman, 1984). Unlike quantitative analysis, qualitative analysis is a continuous, interactive enterprise. The process is cyclical among the three activities. Analysis in this study was completed by using a coding system approach. Because of the volume of data available to this research study, data reduction by use of coding was deemed most appropriate. Coding systems were used for purposes of focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data into organized units in such a way that final conclusions or hypotheses were possible (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

In this study the data were first coded or organized by using the three areas of interest and the underlying dimensions discussed above. This procedure reduced large amounts of data into manageable components so further clarification and abstraction of meaning could be completed. Coding was completed separately for each individual. This allowed for later site-level analysis to be performed for use with the fourth research question concerning similarities and differences between schools. Coding was completed by reading the interview and placing code numbers and letters in the margin. For example the code 1A was used for the first area of interest, first dimension, culture of collegiality.

The coded data were then transferred to an individual interview worksheet (Appendix C). This worksheet was created by use of the areas of interest, the underlying

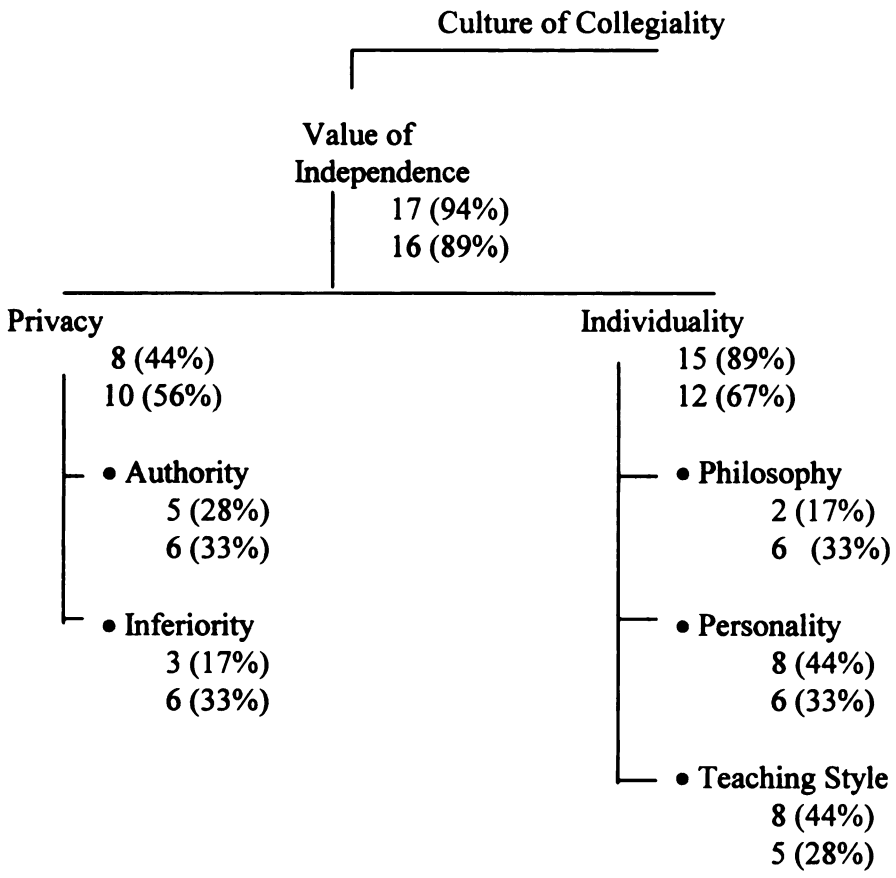
dimensions, and the measures for each dimension. This worksheet's purpose was to help sort interview data for further analysis. The worksheet helped to reduce and organize interview data onto four pages. Phrases and statements along with page numbers were recorded on the worksheet. Thus, when reference to original interviews was necessary it was easily made. Further coding was completed after grouping together all statements across individuals by the specific dimensions and their measures. Miles and Huberman (1984) use the term pattern coding to describe this form of coding. Pattern coding is the process of clarifying and abstracting meaning from data by identifying themes and sub-themes within the data. By having all data for a specific measure placed together, themes start to emerge and data conclusion drawing/verification occurs. Coding at this level groups phrases and statements by themes such that patterns developed. In order to group interview data by dimensions and measures, tables, matrixes, and network displays are created. These displays help to organize and assemble large amounts of information so the data is read for themes. It also permits conclusion drawing and action taking by reducing complex information into selective and simplified Gestalts.

For the purpose of displaying the results, typologies are used. Typologies are a display that organizes data such that levels of meaning are developed. Specifically, in this study typologies are used to illustrate themes, sub-themes and meanings which teachers' language suggest. Typologies also present quantitative information by way of numbers and percentages that indicate the proportion of the sample represented in each theme and sub-theme. This use of numbers and percents is not meant to shift attention away from the substance of the qualitative word descriptions. It is used to suggest the strength or weakness of the concept in relation to other themes and sub-themes.

"Essentially, words and numbers keep one another analytically honest" (Miles & Huberman, 1984:55). When identifying themes in qualitative analysis, researchers isolate happenings that occur a number of times and that are consistent in a specific way. To say that a theme is important, significant or recurrent is to say counts have been made.

In pictorial form, Figure 1 represents a portion of the typology concerning the culture of collegiality dimension. Specifically, this figure presents one theme that emerged from the data analysis. This typology also illustrates the sub-themes and meanings within this theme. These sub-themes and meanings help define the theme and suggest areas of strength and weakness.

In conclusion, to generate meaning from the interview data, an approach described by Miles and Huberman (1984) was used. Coding in this approach was systematic, but allowed for intuitive thinking to be simultaneously completed. Coding was completed by first separating teacher statements by area of interest and dimension. After organizing common data across interviews, pattern coding was used to identify common themes and sub-themes. Typologies, network displays, matrixes and tables were useful ways of displaying findings. Conclusion drawing/verification was continually used while coding to help develop hypotheses about the phenomenon of teacher collegiality within these two school settings. Number counts were made to better understand trends, verify or refute hypotheses, and to keep this researcher analytically honest. Intuition and plausibility were incorporated into the analysis as part of the three integrated analysis activities. For purposes of this study, an overview of the qualitative data is first described by using typologies and then further described by quotations so nuances are understood.



[a] The numbers represent LaSalle first and Monroe second.

Key: • Designates a meaning for the sub-theme.

Note: Each n and percentage indicates the proportion of LaSalle and Monroe teachers (base of 18 for each site) represented at each level of the typology.[1]

Figure 1

Example Typology by Site of Teacher Self-Reported Value of Independence [a]

[1] A teacher was counted only once at each level regardless of how many statements of that type the person made. The range of discrete statements per teacher was 1-9. Statements tended toward single classification, except where a single statement was composed of two parts and classified separately.

Chapter Summary

This chapter addresses the methodology and analysis procedure used in this study. In the first section, the process for determining the sites and sample group was presented. Dimensional sampling was used to select thirty of the thirty-six sample group teachers. Six additional teachers were added during the study.

A qualitative methodology was used to complete this study. Considering the literature review, three areas of interest and their conceptual dimensions were defined in order to guide the development of the interview guide and data analysis. Analysis was completed by use of Miles and Huberman (1984) coding system. The use of coding techniques allowed for data reduction, display, and conclusion drawing/verification that led to hypotheses concerning the phenomenon of teacher collegiality.

The findings are presented in three chapters. Chapter four introduces findings about individual teacher perceptions of professional collegial relationships. Chapter five discusses contextual features that affect collegial relationships. Chapter six describes the affects of collegial relationships on the work of teachers.

Chapter IV

TEACHER PERCEPTIONS OF PROFESSIONAL COLLEGIAL RELATIONSHIPS

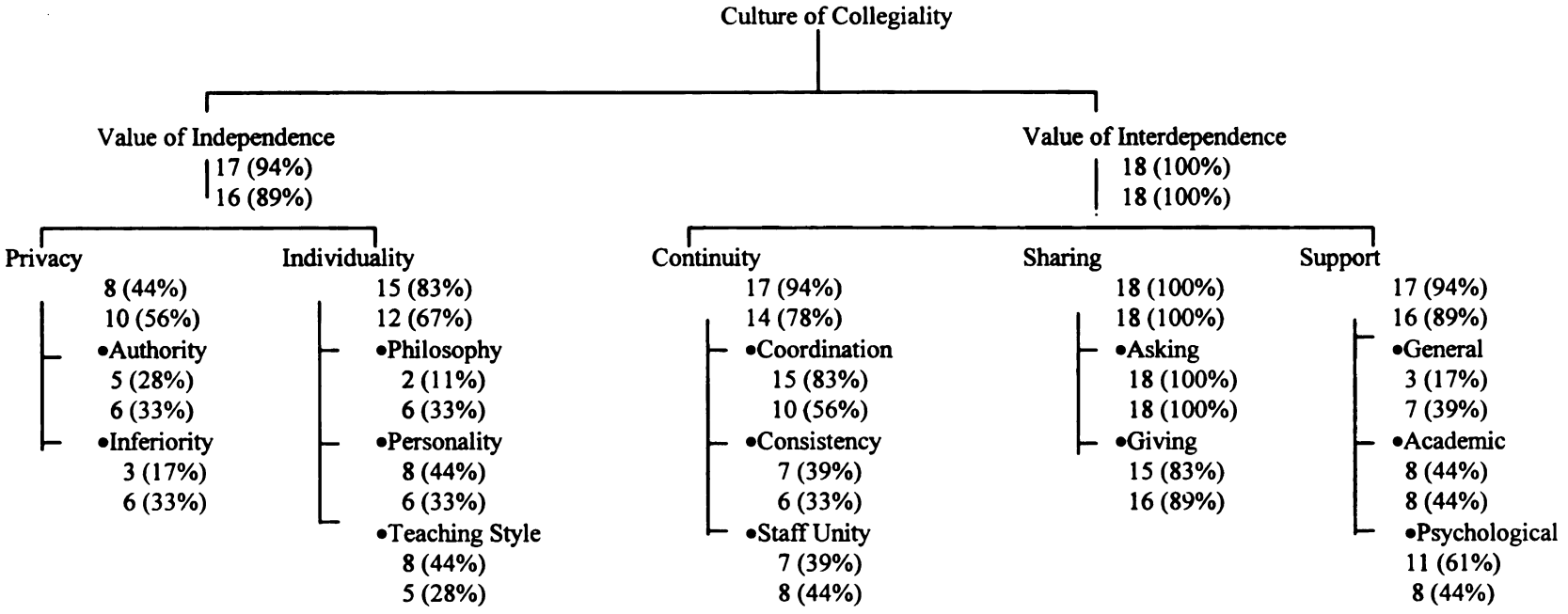
This chapter discusses teachers' perceptions of two important dimensions of collegiality -- the culture of collegiality and the etiquette of collegiality. The chapter also describes how teachers decide about who they will form collegial relationships with. The data analysis suggests that these decisions are shaped by three factors: the culture of collegiality in a school, the etiquette of collegiality in the school, and the personal characteristics of teachers. At the individual level, teachers make complex decisions about potential colleagues using these dimensions. The three factors shaping colleague choice seem relatively straight forward, but in actuality are related in complex ways. The complexity of this choice process results from the fact that teachers put more or less emphasis on different factors depending on external features. Specifically, each teacher develops an understanding of the collegial culture in the school, internalizes the cultural etiquette, and defines a set of teacher characteristics that they deem important for potential colleagues to have. The determination of potential colleagues is then based on how the perceptions are melded together with external factors. This chapter is organized around the three factors that affect choice of potential colleagues and are individualized by each teacher. The first section describes the culture of collegiality as perceived by this sample of teachers. The second section discusses the etiquette of collegiality that

teachers describe. Section three examines the personal characteristics suggested and implied as important to collegial relationships.

Culture of Collegiality

Interview data suggest that the sample of teachers studied here developed a collegial culture that helped guide their professional collegial relationships. Generally, two values were important to this culture: independence and interdependence. The value of independence stressed the desirability of working alone in the classroom without having colleagues interfere, and focused on aspects of teachers' work that remained external to collegial relationships. The value of interdependence, by contrast, stressed the desirability of being connected to others. This value was the foundation of collegial relationships.

These values of collegiality were discussed by all of the teachers in the study. Figure 2 presents the sub-themes and meanings associated with teachers' discussion of the two values. As the figure shows, all teachers in the sample discussed the value of interdependence and nearly all discussed the value of independence. Within these discussions, multiple sub-themes emerged. For example, when talking about the value of independence, teachers talk of "being the captain of their own ship" and "having a personal teaching style." Figure 2 suggests that there was little difference between the two schools in terms of the values of collegiality discussed. In both schools teachers discussed the themes and sub-themes shown in Figure 2 in similar ways and with similar frequencies.



[a] The numbers represent LaSalle first and Monroe second.

Key: • Designates meaning of sub-theme
Note: Each n and percentage indicates proportion of LaSalle and Monroe teachers (base of 18 for each site) represented at each level and dimension of the tree above [1].

Figure 2

A Typology by Site of Teacher Self-Reported Values of Collegiality [a]

[1] A teacher is counted only once at each level (regardless of how many statements of that type the person made). For example, when a teacher reported he was in control of his classroom, used a personal teaching style, coordinated curriculum with another teacher, he is counted under each value, each sub-theme, and each of the three meanings. He is not counted twice if he makes two statements about control of classroom. The range of discrete statements per teacher is 1-9.

Value of Independence

More important than how many teachers discuss the values, is the meaning of the talk. In discussing the value of independence, the teachers focused on classroom practice and more specifically on how they engaged students in learning activities. The sub-themes of privacy and individuality suggest different ways of interpreting independence.

The privacy sub-theme focuses on having control and authority over a specific space or knowledge. Authority is how teachers talked about having control and remaining private. Control over space was found in teachers' talk of how the classroom is their "territory" or "ship" and how other teachers "do not mess with it too much." Randy's statement about the privacy sub-theme emphasizes that classroom practice is independent of collegial relationships.

> I think it is the matter of territory, this is my room, this is my domain, and I do my job in here and it is just like I tell my students this is mine. To think of somebody even coming in and taking over my class, it is like it belongs to me, so I feel like that's what the other guy must be thinking... because it seems like I'm kind of edging in on his territory and maybe making him feel uncomfortable.... But there is just something about, I think, that this is that person's territory and you can know that things are going wrong in it, in a teacher's room. You can know this without a doubt and still you leave that territory to him. You know, you still say well it is his room, he has got to deal with it. You know, so it is the same thing when they are doing something good, you know. (laughs) Leave this territory alone.

Inferiority is the second meaning associated with the idea of privacy. This meaning refers to teachers' knowledge base or lack of it. Some teachers suggested that the practice of teaching is kept private because of lack of knowledge and because public teaching might make them feel inferior to their peers. They fear "having somebody say, well gee, why don't you know that." One teacher states, "I think most teachers here don't feel like they are successful.... and consequently I think there is a reluctance to openly talk

about it for fear of criticism or acknowledgment of failure, that kind of thing." Inferiority is also perceived more negatively as a way of getting others into trouble.

> I think most of them have the feeling that somebody's gonna go squeal and if they aren't doing the things right, and then the principal comes and they're gonna try to tack them to the wall. I know what that feeling is because I had a principal that tried to do that.

In other words, the privacy sub-theme centers around maintaining power over clients and teaching knowledge. When it comes to what happens inside the classroom these teachers agree that "Everybody pretty much stays out of each other's hair around here I think."

A second sub-theme associated with the norm of independence focuses on teacher individuality. The teachers in this study defined individuality by talking about how each teacher has a personal philosophy, a teacher personality, and/or a personal teaching style. Teachers talked about having a personal philosophy to explain their independence. "I incorporate those things that I think fit in with my philosophy and with my personality." "I think they teach in terms of their philosophy of education." Furthermore, teachers suggested that having different philosophies is acceptable and that philosophical differences would not hinder collegial relationships.

> I had one teacher tell me just last week.... We were having a talk in the hallway and we are good friends, very good..... and ah, he was talking about how it shouldn't make any difference if a [department] teacher can't [do something], as long as he can teach a kid how to [do something]. See I'm a little different from that. And we have a different philosophy and he knows it and I know it and we talk about it frankly and we were very open on it.

The second way that teachers in this sample defined individuality was by talking about personalities. Teachers' perceptions of some peers included terms such as "loner," "aloof," and "pessimistic." These teachers were not discussed as colleagues, but as other teachers in the building. Mainly teachers talked about their own individual personality.

They saw themselves as individuals with individual personalities who did not want to be like other peers.

> Most of what I do can't be duplicated anyway because, again, it has more to do with me as a person and what my personality is as opposed to, you know. I mean I have a method to my madness but someone else doing that would be an affectation. Just as if I were trying to do something exactly the same, it would be an affectation as well.

> I guess that's where the individual differences start to come into it. I think everybody in this school, in particular, they have their own style, there is a lot of unique people here. I don't want to be like the guy next door, okay, and I don't think the guy next door wants to be like me.

Personalized teaching styles were a third meaning teachers associated with individuality. Imitation and conformity were not qualities that teachers worked to achieve. Belief in individual teaching styles allowed teachers to make sense of how they went about their work differently from others. It was also useful in maintaining independence from others as far as classroom practice. Two quotes illustrate this point.

> I'm a firm believer in teaching styles and personalities and ah, you know, I wouldn't suggest anyone tries to emulate me and I certainly am not going to try and imitate anybody else, because you know, you have to sort of strike your own bargains with your kids and live with those bargains. Sometimes they are not always the choices you'd like to have.

> I do not interfere with other teachers and I do not interfere with teachers in regards to their teaching methods.... The way they teach and I teach probably are two different things.... I don't want to create any animosities among other staff members.

The value of independence helps to explain how some aspects of teachers' work become external to collegial relationships. Teachers go about their teaching practice without interference from others and without having to conform to specific ways of working with students or teaching practice. Teachers value their independence for a variety of reasons as suggested here. Thus, the practice of teaching (i.e., that which takes

place in the classroom between the teacher and students) remains private and individual. Craig -- a teacher at Monroe -- summed up the value of independence by suggesting that even though this value separates teachers, when it is held by all teachers it supports collegial relationships. Specifically, when all staff value independence, no one oversteps "territorial" boundaries. Therefore, the value of independence allows the staff to develop collegial relationships based on other aspects of their work.

> I don't know if you've gotten a sense or not that the people here operate, so many of them operate to the tune of a different drummer. The fact that we all kind of march along and hear different beats is also something that brings us together. If Carson is a little wacky or if Cosmo is a little bit strange, Or Buckley has his crazy puns and jokes. And whatever I do....if we are all different in that way, in our different ways, then we also recognize that that difference is a strength, which also unites us.

Value of Interdependence

The teachers studied here also valued membership in collegial groups. Here, this is called the value of interdependence because teachers suggest that collegial relationships form when teachers "need each other." In fact, collegial relationships are necessary in the daily work of teachers. The value of interdependence allowed teachers in this sample to meet a variety of professional needs. As a result, every teacher in the sample made statements concerning the necessity of being interdependent. Figure 2 shows three sub-themes associated with the interdependence value -- continuity, sharing, and support.

In the continuity sub-theme three different meanings are discussed by teachers -- coordination, consistency and staff unity. In all of these meanings, there is a common view that collegial interactions help to reduce the complexities and uncertainties inherent in high school teaching and therefore make the work of teaching less difficult and trying. For example, Donald -- a teacher at Monroe -- stated: "[it is] better to know what is going

on then to have to deal with what comes through the door."

Coordination as a meaning for continuity focuses on curriculum and programming. Teachers talked of "making sure we are all at the same place at the end of the semester" and "help[ing] each other when planning programs or trips." Coordination is seen to produce continuity within the school and across schools. The emphasis on coordination found among teachers in this sample results from the contextual features of these high schools -- most notably, student mobility. Most of the teachers talked of "checking" with another teacher about course curriculum "to make sure we are about in the same place" because

> ... we have to consider that we have a very transient population. I'd say that's our number one problem. We have kids coming and going almost daily and it's hard and even though they end up in another public high school in the city, we would like them to be about at the same place where they left and if we don't all follow a certain pattern, they're going to be off... we have lots of change, even within our [school] by semester. We never used to but now we do because we have so many graduation requirements and so few kids we don't have the flexibility we used to have, and so when that's the case, uh, there's just so many teachers to go around and so you must stay together...in other words [students] don't even have to change courses but they'll change teachers because something else might only be offered third hour. Algebra, let's say algebra four or something. And so this kid has to take that at that time so now he can't have me anymore third hour, he's got to have Mr. Jones or something. You know, and then it throws everything else off... it's kind of confusing and it's time consuming to start all over with half a new group or more. It's not the easiest....

One teacher suggested that more coordination was needed, but this was not a common belief among teachers in this study. This teacher's idea was to focus more on the practice of teaching.

> See, I think we should go more towards a codified, some sort of coordinated presentation for materials in terms of timing, in terms of tests, that type of thing and there are the people who resent that in terms of giving up their individual freedoms but I don't know if that's such a bad thing. I think it'd be better to have some sort of standard people can

adhere to and allow for personal variances.

Teachers in this study also discussed coordination of programs within departments and across the school. Within the department, there was talk of creating a structure "so that we are not constantly repeating the same grammatical things. You know you do verbs, nouns, adjectives, prepositions, every year." Coordination at the school level involved the development of school wide programs. Charles Leggett, for example, explained the coordination necessary to prepare for a special assembly.

> Dwight was supposed to run [the assembly], but he had another meeting he had to go to, a conference out of town. So he was doing parts of it and I was working with him on parts of it. We got it done and anybody walking in wouldn't know there were any problems, but we worked real hard to get that thing set up in like three days...

Consistency, the second meaning teachers used to describe continuity, referred to school-level policies and programs. Specifically, teachers valued collegial relationships in which they developed a shared understanding of how the group -- whether small or large -- addressed school-level contextual features consistently. Two statements are presented as examples of consistency. In the first example, Clayton Buckley reports being unsure about whether he is completing school-wide detention paperwork correctly. He did not want students to find inconsistencies between staff so he went to another teacher who was doing it differently.

> I've looked at some situations with respect to school policy and there seems to be a discrepancy between the way that I handle something and the way someone else handles it -- according to the paper work anyways. So I'll go and check and say "am I off base or what's the story here". Quite often I'll just find out that we're handling the paper work in a different way or whatever.

A second example involved teachers consistently working to improve student behavior in the halls. As a staff, the Monroe teachers discussed the problem of bad language and

developed a policy designed to improve student conduct in the halls. Basically, all teachers agreed to be in the halls during passing time and to tell students when they were using inappropriate language. With the backing of the administration, the teachers were able to improve hall conduct.

> We had a problem this year with inappropriate language in the halls and we talked about that several times....I think it helped people who were not necessarily going along with the [student] behavior, but were not intervening and telling the kids to watch your language. It sort of gave them some support in doing that. Like I'm not going to go up to a crowd of kids and say 'I don't want to hear you say this' without knowing that other people feel the same way and knowing that if it came down to it, we could take them to the office for discipline or whatever. So I think that helped in that it has improved a lot...The kids are becoming more aware too, they will see an adult present and they will really watch what they are saying.

Staff unity is the third meaning related to continuity. This meaning was discussed by a smaller group of teachers than the other meanings of coordination and consistency. When discussing staff unity, teachers talked of building consensus among the total staff, working together to improve instruction, and developing social relationships through social activities. The idea of staff unity called attention to what was not currently happening in the schools, but what teachers would like to see happen. In other words, the teachers who discussed staff unity wanted to see the staff bond more closely so there would be continuity within the school. They believed that teachers who are united as a staff create better educational settings for students. Working together to solve problems and interacting in a collegial fashion was important for those who discussed staff unity.

> I don't see any real unity in the staff as to where we're headed, and I think that's another thing that we want to address here. You know, where are we really trying to go?... Yeah, and until that is defined, you are not going to have a unified staff - I think, and maybe I'm off base at saying this -- you come to some decision as to where you are headed and those who are not in agreement with that decision should go elsewhere, because you won't get there if you don't have consensus.

Teachers also talked about staff unity in terms of social activities. These teachers indicated that there was little staff unity even at the social level.

> And the social aspects of it. I don't know if we are involved in the way we should be. Maybe we should have a Christmas party and do some of the fun things for ourselves and for the faculty that we try to sometimes do for the kids.... I think we need to do more things as a whole. These things are harder and harder to do and I don't know why.

Sharing is the second sub-theme that emerged when teachers discussed interdependence. This sub-theme focuses on asking and giving of information whether it be about materials, teaching methods, school programs, clients, etc. All the teachers indicated that they engaged in sharing.

In discussing the theme of sharing, many teachers discussed the process of asking for help. Apparently teachers are willing to ask for help when needed. But teachers tended to respond in general terms when asked if they would request help from others. For example, teachers said, "I'm not afraid to ask questions if I don't know something," or "Oh my gosh yes. You don't know. I'm new to this program and I've asked a thousand questions." Asking for help was not seen as conflicting with the value of independence because the requests were rarely about the practice of teaching. Moreover, teachers apparently asked for help from a stable and specific set of colleagues.

> Oh yeah, I have no problem with [asking for help]. Probably Ruby, Sonny, basically any of the teachers in the English Department because we are, it is a large department, and we are pretty honest with each other and pretty frank and if somebody can't do something they'll tell you. And if they can they will help you.

Giving help was the second way teachers talked about sharing. Figure 2 illustrates that a majority of the teachers interviewed remembered giving help during the year of the study. In explaining this help-giving, the teachers talked about materials, classroom management suggestions, and/or information about specific students. "It was on

discipline in the classroom, what would I do." "Recently Clayton and I were talking about a situation [in] which he was feeling kind of low about something and he said, well what would you do....this was with a student who he didn't think that he was reaching."

School context variables strongly affected the nature of sharing in these schools. In particular, many teachers requested help from others because of scheduling and staffing changes.

> This fall, the teachers who had been assigned to teach the course I'd been teaching last year all came to me, all these men... And they all came and said, oh, help, how do we do this?... So I gave them Xerox copies of all my stuff and just told them how I had run the course and several times since they ...[have come back with questions].

Five teachers indicated that no one asked them for help during the year of the study. Of these five teachers, three taught specialized courses with advanced students. "I'm the only one who teaches [this course] and no one else...No one else wants to discuss what I'm doing in [this course]. Most people don't know anything about [this subject]." The fourth teacher was new to the program and only in the school half time. Duncan, the fifth teacher, talked about how he worked alone.

> Well, because of the changing world. Carol left and I inherited her two [course] classes....The [course] is a new prep for me so everything I've got except for the textbook is basically new. I've had to put it all together myself and [another course] I haven't taught that for two or three years so the whammy of having to do a lot of preparation each night and the extra class is physically wearing me out....[Duncan has no prep hour].

A third sub-theme related to the value of interdependence is support. Thirty-three of the teachers stated that they thought colleagues gave them support. The specific interview question asked, "Do you think that the people in these groups give you support?" The response was followed by a probe that asked for examples of what support meant. Teacher responses suggested three meanings. The first meaning contained

general responses. These responses included statements like: Support is "having someone there when you need them." "They give vocal support like you're doing a good job." "If I go to them for anything -- tests, moral support -- they would do it." For example, Charles suggested that support means collegial backing when presenting an idea. "Well, in a meeting if we talk over something and we say this is the way we want to, you know, approach the administration or something on an issue, then I feel I have their support." Randy response to this question was similar.

> Oh yes, definitely. When you need them they are there. You can count on them. Just recently with the counselors, I received in a two week period of time...six new students who are new to Falls Park, or new to [the school]...and they transferred in the middle of doing a research report and I'm wondering now why am I getting all of these students. So I go straight down and it was cleared up very quickly.

Being there and helping was what these teachers suggested when they talked about general support. Having people back you up was what support meant to these teachers.

> What I feel by support is that I feel that they give honestly, they give me their honest opinions about things, whether that is to agree or to disagree and that if they say something, they're willing to back that up with action by standing up and saying [so]....

Academic support was the second meaning teachers gave to the sub-theme of support. Here, teachers suggested that they received support that pertained to classroom work. Teachers talked about needing ideas, materials, or supporting colleagues in front of students. For example, collegial support was seen as "encouragement and [being] very candid. They'll say, well, I don't think this will work and this type of thing." It is having someone who "will follow through and back me up" when there are problems with students. "Supporting each other as far as backing each other up and how they approach discipline and their teaching style and stuff like that." Teachers also talked about support

as being there when you have a new subject to teach. "If it's a new subject, something that I never taught before, I would go to some of the teachers that have taught it and just get some information..." Thus, teachers suggested that academic support was being there for others and helping them with things that are more directly related to classroom practice.

Psychological support was the third meaning discussed by the teachers in this study. Teachers suggested that support was very important to help them reduce stress and increase morale. Teachers turned to their colleagues for psychological support. They needed to know that what they were doing was OK because the work of teaching is stressful, complex and continually changing. "I think it is important to have somebody there.... It's just nice at those times when there is someone else around who you can ask are you having trouble with those kids or is it just me." Psychological support is helping colleagues overcome the emotional aspects of the work of teaching. "If I have a frustration or a problem I could talk to any number of those people and they could make me feel better and I hope I can do the same for them."

> The thing that I think is most crucial is that if I'm feeling frustrated or I'm feeling inadequate or whatever, I could talk to any of those people, any one of them and they'll make me feel better about what I'm doing here and feel better about myself.

Within the interdependence value, support as a sub-theme is necessary to these teachers in their work. Support helps teachers deal with a variety of emotions -- frustrations, uncertainty, stress, inadequacy -- which are inherent in the work of teaching. Turning to colleagues to gain assurances, encouragement, and further their knowledge reduces tensions and anxiety so they can continue with their work.

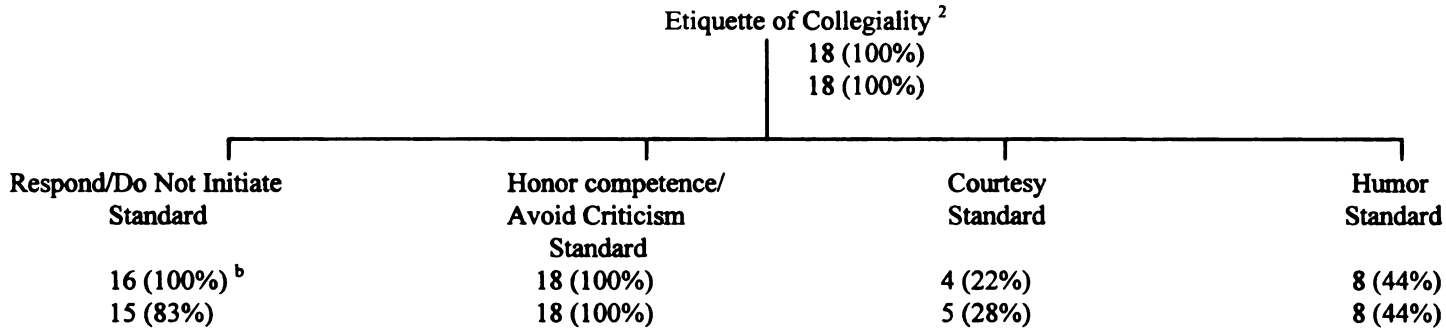
There are no differences between the schools as to the sub-themes and meanings that describe the values of independence and interdependence. As Figure 2 illustrates, similar numbers of teachers in both schools discussed these two themes and sub-themes. Furthermore, teachers used multiple sub-themes in their talk. Finally, all teachers felt that both cultural values were important to the development of collegial relationships.

Etiquette of Collegiality

Etiquette refers to the unwritten code of conduct that teachers used during collegial relationships. In this study, teachers linked collegial etiquette to the values of collegiality such that collegial etiquette reinforced the values of independence and interdependence. The specific nature of collegial etiquette was flexible and depended on the collegial relationship. This suggests that there is not a simple set of rules, but rather flexible standards that change depending on the circumstances. For example, one teacher stated "It depends on the issue and it would depend on the person. There are some people, who I feel are more approachable than others and more open...." The etiquette of collegiality, then, is like a rubber band that is stretched to meet the needs of the user. At some point collegial etiquette can reach its limit and collegial relationships break.

In this study, teachers' talk suggested that there were four sub-themes associated with collegial etiquette. These sub-themes appear to describe standards of propriety, that is, criterion established to judge the content, extent, value, or quality, of a collegial practice (Neufeldt & Guralnik, 1986).

Figure 3 illustrates the four standards that were found in this study. This figure presents the number and percentage of teachers in each site who made statements about



[a] The results are presented for LaSalle first and Monroe second.

[b] Sixteen teachers were asked questions regarding this standard.

Note: Each n and percentage indicates proportion of LaSalle and Monroe teachers (base of 18) represented in each theme.

Figure 3

A Typology by Site of the Sample Group Self-Reported Etiquette of Collegiality [a]

[2] A teacher is counted only once in each theme (regardless of how many statements of that type the person makes.) The range of discrete statements per teacher is 1 - 3.

each standard. Analysis of the data indicated that teachers in both sites used the same standards and that similar numbers of teachers made statements concerning these standards. Furthermore, most teachers used multiple standards simultaneously to judge the propriety of collegial practices.

Four concepts are important to understanding how teachers in this study discussed the etiquette of collegiality and used this etiquette to make decisions about potential colleagues. First, each teacher described the etiquette of collegiality in ways that were consistent with the values of collegiality previously discussed. Second, teacher statements suggested that the standards were flexible. Third, when someone did not comply with a standard they were removed from the list of possible colleagues. Fourth, teachers used multiple standards when they talked of making decisions about whom they would engage in collegial interactions.

The first standard discussed here is the respond/do not initiate standards. This standard describes how teachers approached "being there for others." In this study, teachers talked mostly of being there when asked. The standard is "do not impose yourself on others, but if they ask be available." Six teachers (17%) in the sample indicated that they freely gave advice and helped at anytime without having a teacher first request it. Twenty-eight teachers (78% of the sample) used qualifiers when discussing the respond/do not initiate standard. These qualifiers included statements about not imposing self or tempering statements. "I try to make myself available. I try to offer suggestions but I don't try to impose myself because I just don't think that that's my place." "I'll have to temper that. Well I would say, 'what did you think about, or one time I tried such and so,' or something like that, but that's probably as far as I would venture."

> If it wasn't asked, I guess I'm just not that kind of a person. I just couldn't go up to somebody and just give them advice on something 'cause I don't think I would like for somebody to do that to me, you know.

These examples suggest the boundaries teachers place on collegial interactions. The boundaries establish a limit to how far teachers can venture towards infringing on other colleagues' work.

If potential colleagues do not comply with the respond/do not initiate standard, they are removed from the possible list of colleagues. For example, two teachers talked about non-compliance to this standard. One teacher told why he stayed away from another teacher. The second teacher told why others stayed away from him.

> I was having trouble with the video camera, when I was teaching oral communications. I video taped the students and was told that [another teacher] had borrowed the camera over the summer to take pictures of his kids and so he knew about the camera. So I asked him if he would come down to my classroom and tell me what, I thought it was just one little setting I wasn't getting right and he refused to come help me. Oh, yes. So I just, I mean, that's one person I stay away from.

> I'm kind of an aloof sucker. I am. I think the faculty sees me that way. Plus I think a gym teacher, who in the heck would ask a gym teacher anything.... Even though I am an academician. I am a very intelligent person. They sure as heck couldn't come to me and ask for advice.

Most teachers who violate the standard of responding but not initiating fail to honor the "respond" element of the standard. Terms teachers used to describe these violators were aloof, outcasts, unfriendly, not helpful, and not knowledgeable. The result was that those persons were removed from the potential list of colleagues.

A second standard of etiquette is the honor competence/avoid criticism standard. This standard reinforces the value of independence by allowing each teacher to teach independently --"to do their own thing in their own way." The standard also encouraged avoidance of criticism by "not booing teachers down for opinions", "listening without

judgment", and "not taking personally any talk." Teachers also put qualifiers on the honor competence/avoid criticism standard. For example, they said they would listen but did not have to accept what was said, arguing that teachers "may teach in any way they want as long as it doesn't interfere with my teaching."

Making opinions known was an important part of the honor competence/avoid criticism standard, and etiquette required teachers to allow other staff members to feel free to give opinions. Within the sample of teachers studied here, all but one teacher felt free to make their opinions known. One teacher talked about staff meetings at Monroe.

> I don't think that I have seen anybody who was reluctant to say what they think at one of these staff meetings.... Well, they get frustrated with the guy that is talking about something that is not supposed to be talked about, now, but they allow it, yeah. Nobody hoots them down and says sit down, shut up, you know, anything like that.

Teachers who violate the honor competence/avoid criticism standard do such things as "downgrade a teacher in front of students" or "butt in when not wanted." Derek explained how one teacher violated this standard in commenting on a new classroom management program that the staff would soon vote on.

> And then all of a sudden, one of the teachers, very unprofessional, started running me down in front of her kids....because that[new discipline program] was against what she wanted and so on and so forth and I just confronted her and I told the kids, I said, hey. She doesn't have anything to say about it because she has one vote, I have one vote and I said, she doesn't like the way I teach, I said that's too bad because, I said, you're here. You have to perform. I give the grades.

One difference found between the two sites concerns where opinions could be expressed. Teachers at Monroe frequently expressed opinions in large school group settings (61%) rather than in small groups (33%). "I just usually shout them out. I mean, I'm not usually too hesitant to give my opinion." Teachers at LaSalle indicated that they turned to small groups (67%) and rarely used school-level groups (22%). LaSalle

teachers in this study talked of the networking system that allowed peers to understand personal views. Furthermore, the LaSalle sample suggested that they share opinions only with "certain people [they] trust." "I would go towards individuals or small group and then work behind the scenes [to make my opinions known]." Thus, personal characteristics of teachers are involved in the development of collegial relationships and are intertwined with the etiquette of collegiality.

A third standard of collegial etiquette is the courtesy standard, or treating others as one would wish to be treated. Teachers indicated that they did not do things to peers that they would not want done to them.

> I don't allow students to go into other peoples' classrooms to get books, materials or anything like that....I don't want that to happen in my room and therefore I won't make somebody else go through that.

Nine teachers talked about the courtesy standard with statements very similar to this one. These statements did not suggest that there was any flexibility in how this standard was implemented. Thus, this standard appeared to be more rigidly applied than others.

The final standard of collegial etiquette -- the humor standard-- was discussed by a smaller number of teachers than the other three standards. Teachers who mentioned this standard argued that work was less tense when there was humor and laughter. These teachers felt it was important to have a laugh at work. However, humor could never be allowed to hurt another staff member. One teacher explained the humor standard as:

> There's a lot of teasing and a lot of garbage that goes on. Somebody is class clown, you know what I mean. There's always somebody pulling jokes. I mean but there's nobody gets hurt, it's just good clean fun. That's kind of nice to have on the staff.

Humor helped to relieve the tension of teachers' work. "Good clean fun" was the boundary of acceptable humor and the staff did not step over it. Dex White talked about

humor in the following way.

> Well, I think it's somewhat needed just to do with the setting we're in and the problems we face so we joke about everything. There are very few things that are sacrosanct that are not joked about. If you can't handle being made a joke of occasionally, you don't belong in this building, because if you can't laugh at yourself, you're in deep do-do here.

The Personal Characteristics of Teachers

The third factor shaping teachers' decisions about whom to choose as colleagues is the personal characteristics of teachers. As teachers talked in interviews, it was evident that they had a set of personal characteristics that they thought were important for collegial relationships. Although teachers did not overtly list these personal characteristics, the valued characteristics of peers became evident when analyzing the interviews. Some statements were general in nature while other statements were specific. One teacher suggested that selection of potential colleagues was based on instinct.

> ....there are certain people I feel I could confide in, other people I don't think I would. Just a gut feeling, nothing you could pin down. Just, you know, you make certain decisions based upon instinct and that's what we base them upon.

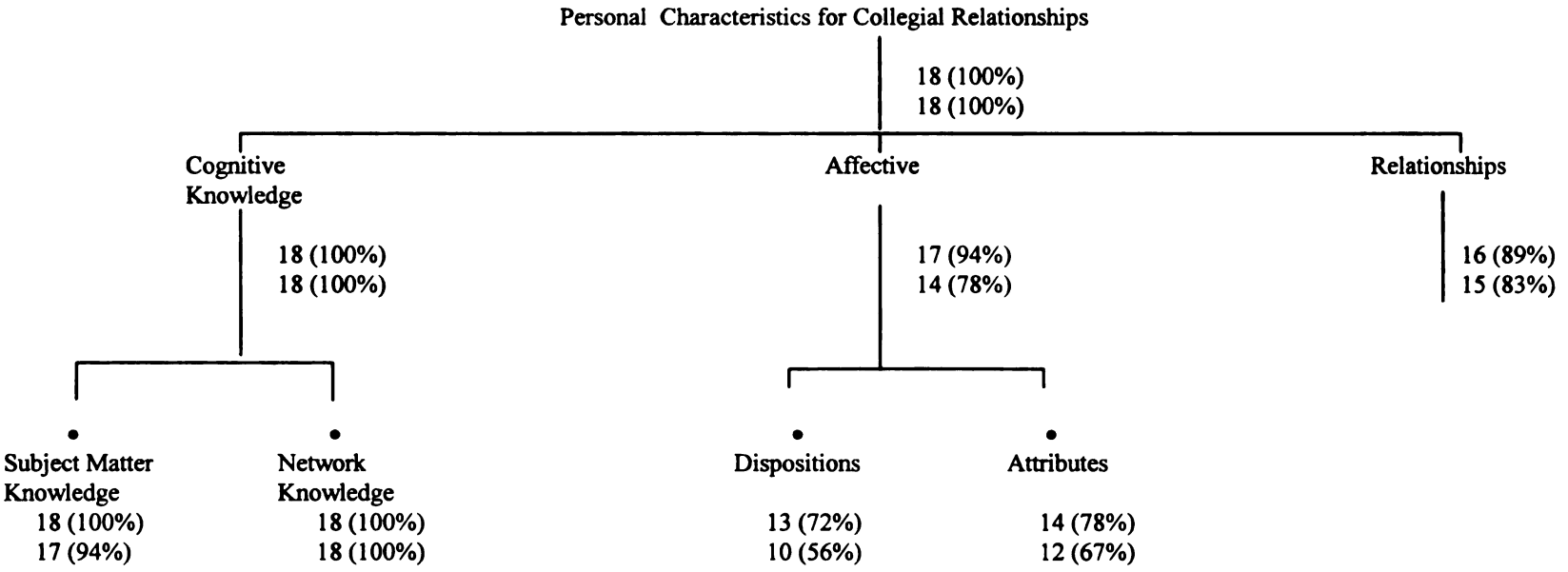
Many teachers in the study, however, were more specific about peer characteristics. In this section, these personal characteristics are discussed. Four themes are used to describe the personal characteristics valued by teachers when choosing colleagues. These four themes include cognitive knowledge, affective traits, external relationships, and demographic features. The cognitive knowledge theme concerns subject matter knowledge and contextual knowledge. The affective characteristics theme includes peer dispositions and attributes. External relationships describe peer relationships beyond the school. These relationships include spouses who teach, teachers as close friends, and

professional organizations. The demographic theme includes gender, ethnicity, years teaching, and staff mobility and stability.

Figure 4 portrays the first three of the four themes. The fourth theme, demographic characteristics, is best illustrated in table form. Teacher talk suggested that personal characteristics were important to them as they made decisions about whom to engage in collegial relationships. All teachers included talk about these characteristics. Figure 4 indicates the number of teachers who made comments concerning colleagues in each of the three themes. All teachers in the study used multiple themes when talking about colleagues and why they turned to them. Also, there were no large differences between the sites in any of the themes or sub-themes.

Teacher talk suggested two sub-themes associated with the cognitive theme of personal characteristics. The first sub-theme was subject matter knowledge -- both content area knowledge and instructional knowledge. Teachers in this study described how they turned to teachers in the same department and/or teachers who taught the same subject. Thirty-one teachers indicate that they frequently talked with colleagues who had a similar knowledge base. "Generally we stick within the math department and we just generally talk about where we're at and what we're doing...We don't talk subject area to the whole staff. Ah, subject area is pretty much within the group." "Well in terms of the department, the support is knowledge of the fields, the science related subjects and sharing of those ideas on how to teach a subject and also knowledge of where the equipment is and that kind of stuff."

Teachers who did not indicate that they talked about course content most frequently taught isolated courses. These teachers felt cut off and had to turn to people



Key: • Designates a sub-theme
Note: Each n and percentage indicates proportion of the sample's teachers (base of 18 each school -- LaSalle first/Monroe second) represented at each level and dimension of the tree above.[3]

Figure 4

A Typology of the Personal Characteristics Reported as Important for Collegial Relationships

[3] A teacher is counted only once at each level of the tree (regardless of how many statements of that type the person made). The range of discrete statements per teacher is 2 - 5.

outside the school.

> If there is more than one teacher involved as is the case in biology. I know the biology teachers do share materials back and forth. Now that doesn't happen in physics because there is only one teacher teaching it. Although I know he has gone to a lot of institutes and so forth and I have done the same thing in chemistry and so that for Raymond and myself, that would be our only source of sharing since there is no one else on staff to share with.

The second cognitive knowledge sub-theme was networking knowledge. All of the teachers in the study talked about networking with other peers in the building. Teachers networked with people who had information or who could help get information to others. These people were not necessarily in the same department or subject matter areas. Network topics included knowledge of school programs, current issues, or student information. For example, Randy discussed how she wanted to get more information about the SIC program.

> Yeah, we talk about that and I talk to Stan Jones a little bit. He's not real happy with it. I've got to hear more about it. I've got to hear more of the specifics. Um, I don't change quickly, you know, it takes, it is just that I'm just too old I guess....We talk and hash that out back and forth.

The theme of affective characteristics included the sub-themes of disposition and attribute. Disposition is defined as having a tendency or bent of mind. Teacher statements such as "his ideas are usually the same as mine" or "he was thinking the same thing and we started talking" are examples of the disposition sub-theme. Attributes are characteristics or qualities in an individual that teachers liked or valued, such as "trust", "honesty", "respect", "good listener" or "there when needed." Examples of teacher statements include: "I found out in the past, I can trust what they are going to say." "They know me, they listen and we can kind of bounce ideas off of each other." "They're people that I value, you know, their opinion more than others."

External relationships, the third theme of personal characteristics, were also discussed by teachers as a way to explain the cases of collegial relationships that reach beyond the school. For example, some teachers were married to teachers on the staff or to teachers in the district. One teacher married to a staff member stated, "A lot of our conversation is school and it's interesting conversation even though you hate to take work home with you." Teachers talked of how they were close to colleagues and did things outside the school. "Randolph and I do a lot of things socially together including worshipping together so we're pretty close. Reuben is my other confidant in the building ....he and I are 'best friends.' So we converse often." This teacher indicated that they met at work, "right here at the school.... I'll bet you all of us go back beyond 23 years of being together.... When we were younger we did stuff together. I mean athletically." Some teachers made time for social activities with staff by engaging in non-work activities. "I [Reginald] see Steve a lot of times, we play basketball in the mornings so I see him a lot there." Otherwise, Reginald and Steve do not have the opportunity during the day. Teachers also worked together on programs. "So we've become friends because of common activities and we are very close friends because of that....Yeah, well Roderick and I handle the detention center together. Well that came after the friendship had developed."

Professional organizations were also a place to develop collegial relationships beyond the school. Of the 36 teachers in this study, 14 (39%) were not members of any professional group beyond the local union, while 22 (61%) teachers did belong to at least one professional group. Of these 22 teachers, 14 (39%) teachers indicated that they attended meetings -- varying between infrequent to regularly. Only three teachers had

close ties to professional groups. Reasons for having close ties included "being able to talk to people of the same content area", "having a shared understanding", or "having common experiences." Sadie talked about how her close ties to a professional group were based on social support.

> I belong to an organization .... which has over 100 members and they are almost all teachers.... and my other friendships and a lot of my social activities come from that group. We take a .... retreat together for a week and we have workshops. We have one this Saturday. That organization I've been a member of now about four years and it's really changed my relationships with other teachers, has really changed as a result of that groups.

Teachers also turned to professional groups to further develop cognitive knowledge. Ralph Sanderson, for example, noted that he had to turn to an outside group in order to gain knowledge about the subject he taught.

> I'm the only one who teaches [this subject]....No one else wants to discuss what I'm doing in [subject]. Most people don't know anything about [this subject] but I'll go to a meeting with [subject area] teachers. That's entirely a different story.

The fourth theme was demographic characteristics that seem to be important to decisions about potential peers. The teachers in this study suggested that they talked with many teachers. But when asked directly, they indicated that there were colleagues they interacted with more frequently. Using this list, demographic information about collegial relationships was developed. This information included gender, ethnicity, years teaching experience, relationships from other schools, professional organizations, staff stability and staff mobility.

Findings indicate that for the teachers in this study, closest colleagues were not always in the same department, but they were often in the same building (LaSalle=11 [61%] & Monroe=9 [50%]). A smaller group of teachers indicated that they talked most frequently with teachers in their department (LaSalle= 5 [28%] & Monroe=7 [39%]).

The special education department was especially close in both schools. These teachers were close colleagues for many reasons.

> Just the fact that it's special ed. and that we have just a common inter-woven unit within special ed. We all have the same students and we have all basically gone through the same programs and I think that's probably what brought us all together. That's one of the main reasons why I don't transfer to another place because I think the people within the special ed department, particularly Sue Gargan and a few of the other teachers, we all kind of relate very, very well together. And since that occurs, it's so easy to get along and work, so I think it's an excellent working relationship.

There were four teachers who indicated that they did not have a close colleague at the school (LaSalle=2 [11%] & Monroe=2 [11%]). These teachers made statements such as "I'm basically a stay-in-my-room type person" or "people here are basically loners I think...." One teacher reported that he converses with no one and that "for that reason I do not like it here."

Using the list of persons each teacher indicated they talked with the most, gender and ethnicity information were developed. Table 7 shows the results of the analyses[1]. Teachers for the most part engaged in collegial relationships with teachers who were of the same gender and ethnicity. As teachers talked of their collegial relationships, it became evident that men related to men and women to women. Close collegial groups were of one gender and usually one ethnicity.

Years of teaching also appeared important in collegial relationships. In analyzing the data, a span of two years was considered the "same" age and colleagues beyond the two years were placed into the categories of younger or older. Approximately half of the

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[1] For teachers who did not indicate a close colleague, other teachers in the school that they talked with were used for developing gender and ethnicity information.

Table 7

Demographic Characteristics
Concerning Collegial Relationships

	Gender			Ethnicity		
	Same	Mixed	No information	Same	Mixed	No information
LaSalle	17	1		15	2	1
Monroe	15	2	1	15	2	1

	Years Teaching Experience			
	Younger	Same	Older	No Information
LaSalle	2	9	3	4
Monroe	2	11	4	1

	Colleagues Former Location		
	No Comment	Not Colleagues	Are Colleagues
LaSalle	12	3	3
Monroe	17	1	0

	Professional Organizations *			
	Member	Not Member	Attend	Not Attend
LaSalle	11	7	7	10
Monroe	10	7	5	12

* The professional organization question was not asked to one teacher.

	Staff Stability		Staff Mobility	
	Stable	Not Stable	One School	Two Schools
LaSalle	16	2	15	3
Monroe	17	1	17	1

teachers in the study had close collegial relationships with peers having the same years of teaching experience. The teachers who engaged in collegial relationships with younger or older peers did so for other reasons. For example, one teacher in a core curricular area worked very closely with a teacher in vocational education. These two teachers did not have similar years of teaching, but did have a similar philosophy and vision of the educational process.

Collegial relationships also appeared to form primarily among teachers in the same school. Excluding the five teachers who never worked in other schools, most teachers made no comments about staff members from other schools being current colleagues. Four teachers made statements that they knew a peer from a former school, but they did not indicate that they engaged in collegial relationships with them in this school. Only three teachers stated that they maintained collegial relationships with colleagues from other schools. All three maintained these relationships because the colleague was in the same department.

Staff stability also affected the development of collegial relationships. Very few teachers changed departments or content areas. The three teachers who recently changed departments indicated that they maintained collegial relationships with peers in their former departments. For example, Sadie stated:

> I've finally begun to carefully talk and ask questions [to two teachers next door] since I've been in this classroom as of January.... As I explained with Alice Filias, we were both teaching [the same course]. Okay. And we became friends through that. We are totally totally different people. As human beings, we have, we're very, very different in lifestyles, totally different but we seem able to be close friends and real supportive of each other anyway....We just had a chocolate malt after school yesterday and we talk about curriculum. We began our friendship because we both taught the same course and we tried to communicate and share speakers and things like that. [Now] we talked about problems with students. We

> named certain students and in a couple of cases, we had them in common....One thing she said last night was that the students had worked real well in her class that day and she mentioned that her classes were noisy but they were working and they were on task and that she likes to do group work.

Itinerant teachers represent a special case in the study of collegial relationships. Apparently, teachers who traveled between buildings had little time to interact. They found themselves not communicating.

> I was going to JC during this time. I missed the connecting of people and finding out what was going on and I've kind of felt like I was out of the grapevine and that is not so much being in a grapevine, but just being a part of the place. I kind of lost that sense of, a little bit of a sense of community. I wasn't anything anywhere for anybody. It is very, very difficult I think to be in and out of a place because you don't, you miss a meeting or you miss, there is always something going on that you are not going to be involved in.

The three itinerant teachers indicated that they maintained colleagues in one school, but not the other.

> Basically I go in and say good morning to people and I go in and teach and then [leave]. My room is in the basement down in the corner. There's some other people down there, but my room, because of it's position it's kind of isolated....Yeah, isn't that funny? Here I've been here for a whole year and I don't even know her name. [The teacher next door.]

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed teachers' perceptions of two important dimensions of collegiality -- the culture of collegiality and the etiquette of collegiality.

In the first dimension, culture of collegiality, the teachers in this study suggested they developed a collegial culture generally based on two values of collegiality -- the value of independence and the value of interdependence. The value of independence focused on maintaining control over classroom practice (what took place in the classroom

between the teacher and students). Teachers in this study described control by referring to privacy and individuality. Privacy allowed teachers to maintain authority and control over their classroom practices and teaching knowledge. Individuality allowed teachers to maintain different philosophies, personalities, and/or teaching styles. The value of interdependence focused on how teachers perceived collegial relationships to develop. Specifically, teachers developed collegial relationships when help was needed. Help was defined by the teachers in this study to mean continuity, sharing, and support. Continuity emphasized coordination, consistency and unity. In other words, the development of similarity between colleagues on such matters as scheduling, pacing, curriculum content, programs, and views about schoolwide issues. Sharing focused on giving and receiving help in the areas of curriculum, materials, students, or school wide issues and policies. Support concerned being there for colleagues -- helping, giving assurances, boosting morale, lifting spirits, giving encouragement -- when they needed to deal with psychological and academic situations that were inherent in their work. Thus, professional collegial relationships were valued by the teachers in this study because these relationships could reduce the complexity and uncertainty of working in high schools, could help to maintain a schoolwide semblance of order, could help to develop stronger staff bonding, and could reduce the stress, frustrations, complexity and continually changing nature of the work.

The second dimension discussed in this chapter, etiquette of collegiality, refers to an unwritten code of conduct. The sample suggested that the etiquette of collegiality was linked to the values of independence and interdependent such that the code reinforced the school's collegial culture. Furthermore, the collegial etiquette described by the teachers

in this study was flexible and dependent on specific collegial relationships. However, colleagues were sanctioned if they did not comply with the individual's or group's defined etiquette of collegiality.

Through data analysis, four sub-themes were suggested as being associated with the etiquette of collegiality. These sub-themes appear to describe standards of propriety used during collegial relationships. The respond/do not initiate standard described how teachers approached being there for others. Specifically, teachers talked of being there when needed but not initiating help. The honor competence/avoid criticism standard gave credence to the norms of privacy and individuality found in the value of independence. Basically this standard reinforced individualism and maintenance of differences found among the teachers in this study. The courtesy standard focused on fair treatment of colleagues -- do onto others as one wants done to themselves. The humor standard described the need for a laugh, but not at the expense of another staff member. This standard was useful to reduce tension, frustration, and stress found in the work of teachers.

This chapter also described personal characteristics of teachers that were used during the decision making process to determine potential colleagues. Four themes emerged from teachers' talk -- cognitive knowledge, affective characteristics, relationship characteristics, and demographic characteristics. Basically, teachers looked for potential colleagues who had the following teacher characteristics: 1) subject matter knowledge or networking knowledge they needed; 2) similar beliefs, values, and qualities of trust, respect, and support; 3) qualities important to friendships beyond the work place; and 4) similar demographic characteristics such as gender, race, years of teaching experience,

and same school work place.

The use of these personal characteristics suggests the individualization that occurred in making decisions about potential colleagues. Specificially, each teacher used personally held beliefs, values of collegiality and understandings of the etiquette of collegiality along with their personally developed characteristics of teachers to determine potential colleagues. This became a complex process as teachers melded together and gave more credence to some features over others.

The decision making process was further complicated by the fact that contextual features also impacted decisions. Contextual features found in this chapter included student mobility, curriculum sharing, class scheduling and staffing changes. The result was that in the process of developing collegial relationships the teachers in this study turned to a stable and specific set of colleagues usually found in the school. Thus, being an itinerant teacher or changing departments impacted the development of collegial relationships. These findings were similar across both schools. The only difference between the two schools was in the location of where information was shared. Reasons for this difference were not discussed by the teachers in this study.

In conclusion, this chapter developed teacher perceptions of important factors used to understand the phenomonon of collegiality and to shape the choices and decisions teachers make about potential colleagues. In the next chapter, external features such as the contextual factors mentioned in this chapter are examined for how they affect the decisions making process and the development of collegial relationships.

Chapter V

OTHER CONTEXTUAL FEATURES AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF COLLEGIAL RELATIONSHIPS

This chapter presents findings concerning dimensions other than those discussed in Chapter IV that influence teachers' professional collegiality. Specifically, within the school there are features that are present that teachers perceive as important to professional collegial relationships, and they take these features into consideration as they make decisions about engaging peers in collegial relationships. For the purpose of this study, these features include issues present in the school, forms of collegiality available, and other contextual features. Specifically, issues are the content of the interactions professionals discuss. Forms of collegiality shape how collegial interactions are conducted. Lastly, other contextual dimensions, such as the organization of the school, school governance, and students affect the development of collegial relationships. This chapter presents the results concerning how the phenomenon of teacher professional collegiality is affected by these dimensions of school context. Each feature is discussed separately.

Issues

For the purpose of this paper, issues are problems, topics or subjects that propel teachers to engage in collegial relationships. In other words, issues are what bring people together to interact. Issues, therefore, complicate decision making about possible colleagues. As teachers talked about issues, four themes emerged.

First, teachers' attention to issue was rooted in self-interest. That is, teachers became involved in issues based on personally held beliefs and values or needs that they had. "I think basically it is self-serving the topics we do talk about." In other words, teachers made decisions about what issues were important and then found colleagues with whom they could interact about these issues. Donald, for example, stated that he did not join some collegial groups because the issues discussed were not of interest to him.

> ....everyone else really is social and political and everything else. They tend to gather in other places in the morning...That's a little too intense for me. Too many conversations about too many things that I don't care about.

At LaSalle, a group of teachers from across the content areas developed a new program because of personal needs. Raymond Devereux explained how the issue emerged.

> I had a desire to get kids involved in making equipment. Is how it started out. And this idea that you're in physics, maybe you wanted to do a little engineering, right , and he was -- it was just kind of funny because he was thinking the same thing and we started talking and I said, 'gee I'd like to have my kids come down' and he said, 'I was going to talk to you about having kids come down and do this.' And that's how I got involved in the Polytechnic Training Program. Because he knew that I was really interested in that type of thing. So it was through the development of the Polytechnic Training Program that we developed that relationship.

Raymond and Shawn developed the conceptual framework for this program and recruited teachers from the math and English departments to join them. Randy states:

> Basically the need for a program that would service kids who were obviously not college bound, but at the same time needed some direction that they could put their fair energies into. They weren't the bottom bunch who were sort of like the drug users and the school skippers, but they weren't the college bound kids either. And they basically were a good group of kids and if you could just direct them. And they needed some teachers for that.... And he came to me for English. In fact, I forget, something happened that I was angry at him about and in speaking and in trying to get over this upset, he said by the way, have you thought about being and I said, well I don't know. He said well it would be nice and we could work and do and I said oh no, so he talked me into that.

The Polytechnic Training Program group grew to five teachers who worked very closely with a group of students. They meet weekly to develop the curriculum and confront issues that arose in the program.

Teachers in both sites made statements that "issues" were directly related to the decisions about collegial interactions. For example, when asked whom a teacher would go to if needing help, teachers made statements such as "It all depends on what the problem would be. If it was a discipline problem, I'd go to one of the administrators." Thus, issues of personal interest founded in personal beliefs and values were an important dimension in making decisions about which colleagues from the potential colleagial group teachers one would approach.

Second, issues were rooted in commonplace contextual features of schooling. Issues which were important to a majority of teachers in both schools, for example, included: students (LaSalle=17 [94%], Monroe=15 [83%]); discipline program (LaSalle=16 [88%], Monroe=12 [66%]); school programs and policies (LaSalle=17 [94%], Monroe=16 [89%]); teaching methods (LaSalle=14 [78%], Monroe=12 [67%]); curriculum materials (LaSalle=17 [94%], Monroe=16 [88%]); curriculum pacing (LaSalle=15 [83%], Monroe=11 [61%]); learning activities (LaSalle=16 [89%],

Monroe=14 [78%]); and SIC (LaSalle=16 [89%], Monroe=18 [100%]). These are all issues that arose naturally as part of teachers' work. But, even though these issues are common to all teachers, teachers' personal needs are what make issues more or less important. That is, events, topics, or subjects become an issue only when teachers' personal values, beliefs, or needs are not satisfied. For example, Dorothy's need to create a stable classroom environment brought the issue of classroom interuptions to the attention of the SIC committee.

> A staff member came to me today who is on the SIC committee and asked if he could have a copy of [the log of interruptions being kept to share with the SIC]... I'm driven crazy as all teachers are by lists of students who get excused from class and I've been keeping track all year...and the other day I got my 19th sheet from the choir department for excusing these kids from class and I just about blew my stack... maybe having some hard evidence that interruptions and students being pulled from classes is indeed a serious problem... might lead to something.

Teachers also indicated that some issues were off limits. In other words, they did not discuss them because they would alienate peers. These included the smoking lounge, class schedules, teaching content, and teaching practices. "I don't like to bring up anything about classes that I teach because I think some of them are upset because I have all the honors classes."

> We know that there are some things that you just leave alone. For Rodney White for example, he is a very grammar, grammar, grammar, grammar person and....This is his heart, you know...And he gets very offended [when confronted about teaching it].

Third, teachers were interested in multiple issues simultaneously. Specifically, teachers had continual dialogue about multiple issues with multiple groups. By developing a networking map to track whom teachers interacted with about what issue, the concept of multiple issues emerged. For example, one teacher explained the various collegial groups he belonged to and the topic of conversation in each group.

> In the morning I start off with Dwight, Duncan, Derek and Clifford. That's in the morning. And then the middle of the morning it is with Summer and Delia. Proximity, proximity, yeah [their rooms are next door]...Lunch hour it is Dirk, Dex, Cyril,Cornelius. And after that almost no contact. After the lunch hour there is no contact. It is a matter of trying to get things done for the rest of the day... [morning] I used to have [room 2000] and the lounge is [2002] and since I've been here, there has always been sort of an old-timers club there. [lunch]...there is a lot of valuable information going on up there, I think. If it wasn't worth my time, I wouldn't be there, but especially since I teach basic, I have four basic classes and you know, I have a lot of trouble with the kids. There are a lot of kids that are in trouble and do cause trouble and everything else and so it is kind of important for me to keep my hands on who is doing what.

Randy, another teacher, indicated that "teaching is so important, I think that all of our topics of conversation focus around materials, ideas, what to do, what did you do, how did it go, those types of things 'cause you have such a limited amount of time with which to work with..." Beyond these "teaching" needs, there are the school-wide conversations. Randy also talked about the school-wide topics.

> ...we had a meeting last week and I think we all felt like we were sort of floundering and not knowing where we're going to go and maybe needing to zero in on a couple of things and let the rest lie for awhile. That's where the discipline work came up and then some work that's being done on teaching of study skills as a possible target area. You get five committees, you're going in so many different directions and no one really knows if you're accomplishing anything and it's really hard to measure success.

Important to the theme of multiple issues is that while many of the issues are based on personal needs, at the time of this study there is one major school-wide issue in each building. The teachers called these "the issue of the day." This issue focused on a school-wide topic and was of concern to all staff. In both schools the "issue of the day" happened to come from SIC and focused on changing teachers' work. There was much discussion about this issue and where each staff member stood on it. Specifically, LaSalle's SIC suggested that the school create a 7th period, shortening student contact time so staff collaborative planning time could be created. Raymond explained why this

planning time was needed.

> We have to at least attempt to do something, right. What we want to do is provide time for the entire staff to participate in decision making about how this school is going to be changed and function and run and made better.

Teachers in this study were either strongly for the plan, strongly against the plan or had a wait-and-see attitude. The effect this plan had on instruction and student contact could directly impact the twin values of independence and interdependence discussed earlier. Specifically, under the plan, teacher interdependence would increase markedly. Some teachers wanted to use this opportunity to

> ... address some of the issues that can't be addressed at the district level because they don't know what's going on out here....eventually we're going to eliminate the middle track all together. There will be no general education. You're either college prep or you're in technical prep which is geared toward sending kids to college or vocational [school]. There are a lot of other things that have to go along with that and we want to be in a position to make some of those decisions as a staff and start coordinating what's going on as well as dealing with the day to day issues.

But there were teachers who had difficulty with change. Randy talked about this issue and how change was difficult. "I've got to hear more about it, specifics. I don't change quickly, I'm too old I guess. Fifty one minutes of class, that rubs me and 4 minutes of passing." Sabrina indicated that change was difficult for the staff.

> Well, there are a lot of staff members who look at the SIC team as being real out of touch with reality. Primarily because we pursue ideas about doing things another way and a lot of people are very pessimistic that anything different will ever work or that anything radical will ever make a difference.

Teachers against the proposed changes focused on how it impacted their work in the classroom. By reducing class time and creating time for teachers to discuss issues, collaborative planning would alter the personal balance teachers had established between the values of independence and interdependence. For example, the "forced" collegiality

created by the new schedule would not necessarily create collegial relationships. Roger, for example, talked about how he would maintain his values in the face of new arrangements.

> What's going to be my contribution to this so called study, that 40 minutes a day that we're gonna be available? I said, I'm going to avail myself to the kids who want to work in fitness.

Roger will make available programs for students and not join in the collaborative planning program.

At Monroe the school-wide "issue of the day" was the drive to create a consistent classroom discipline policy that all teachers would follow. Dorothy explained the proposed policy.

> We discussed part of our proposal for the building which consisted of a list of rules and steps that teachers are to follow when dealing with discipline in their classrooms and we were seeking input both positive and negative regarding the rules and the list of consequences that we proposed teachers use. The heart of the discipline program is that teachers and administrators will be consistent when dealing with students so that no one teacher is the horrible one on the staff because he or she deals or is perceived to deal more harshly with a student nor is one administrator viewed as being easy or less tough because we all will operate under the same set of consequences and guidelines.

This issue affected the value of independence. Duncan explained the issue very well.

> I think they're really paranoid about the discipline thing and as far as publicly discussing what they do or don't do. I think that's a hidden agenda that's not brought out but it's very difficult to find a teacher that will discuss openly what they do or do not do in their classroom....we're trying to get a consensus, because everybody handles discipline somewhat [differently] and we've got so many self-righteous people I ever saw walk out of the woodwork. We never have any discipline problems in my classroom.... Don't get in my life because it's going okay and nobody knows about it and I think this is really quite intimidating to a lot of people to publicly bring up those kinds of issues.

Again the issue directly impacted the classroom practice that was the basis for the value of independence for the teachers in this study.

As teachers engage in collegial interactions about issues, they apparently turn to peers who have similar perspectives. Thus, personal needs concerning an issue may lead persons to choose peers who may not normally be in their potential colleague group because they have the same view about an issue. The discipline program is an example of how a new collegial group of teachers arose and worked together. Dorothy, Duncan and Derek were not in the same department, were not in a common location, did not share students. What they did have in common, however, was a personal need to improve student behavior. These three teachers were the driving group that studied and learned about a new school-wide discipline approach and conducted staff development for the school to initiate further support.

Interestingly, both of these school-wide issues were brought to the surface as a result of individual or small collegial group interests. At Monroe one teacher stated, "I am piloting a program called the Realistic Student Behavior Program and I made a presentation in the Fall and am currently chairing a committee to plan and improvise this for next year." At LaSalle, Roland indicated that the 7th period is an outgrowth of the Polytechnic Training Program.

> I think there are a few people on this staff that are just trying to make a name for themselves... it's a power base.... I think this is basically an outgrowth of the Polytechnic Training Program. I think that they think that their ideas will work for everybody and they are trying to push them down everybody's throat is what it amounts to.

Fourth, issues and collegial groups change over time. Issues wax and wain. New "issues of the day" replace issues that are either resolved or dropped. For example, SIC programs changed the "issue of the day" frequently.

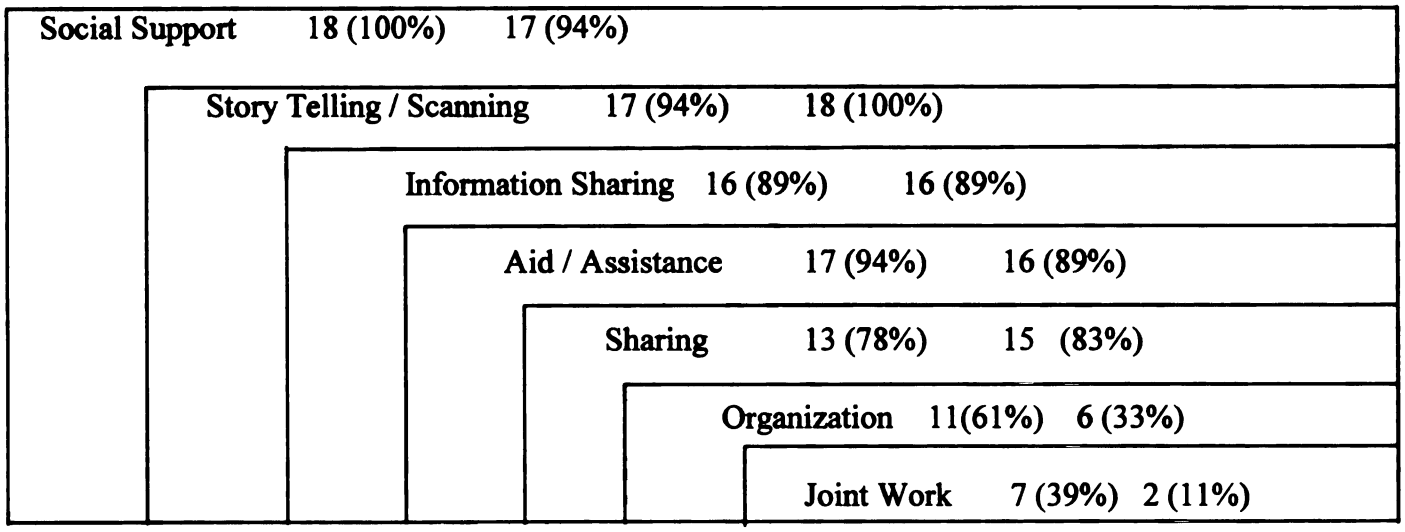
Right now the discipline proposal for the realistic student behavior program pilot

for next year, that's been a huge topic of discussion. Probably two months ago, a SIC committee came up with a study calendar to give to students on which they would record homework assignments and there was a lot of negative response to that."

Forms of Collegiality

Forms of collegiality, which can be defined as patterns of collegial interactions, also affect the choice of colleagues. As discussed in Chapter I and II, previous research has described five forms of collegial interaction. By using a continuum from independent to interdependent, the forms indicate whether collegial conversation and activity is more or less interdependent and based on classroom practice. Some forms of collegiality allow teachers to maintain independent values while other collegial forms allow teachers to work more interdependently. For the purpose of this study, these forms are useful for understanding the connection of collegiality to teachers' work.

In developing an understanding of forms of collegiality, networking maps were used to establish the types of conversations teachers had when engaging colleagues in conversations. Figure 5 gives the number and percentile of teachers who made statements relevant to the various forms of collegiality. This figure uses the continuum from independent to interdependent to suggest arrangement of the forms. The following facts are derived from this figure. First, more teachers were engaged in collegial forms that maintain the value of independence. Specifically, all teachers engaged in the social support form, while only nine teachers engaged in the joint work form of collegiality. Second, this sample engaged in multiple forms of collegiality simultaneously. The range of use of different forms for a given teacher was four to seven. Third, two new forms



[a] The numbers and percentages represent LaSalle first and Monroe second.
Note: Each n and percentage indicates number and proportion of LaSalle and Monroe teachers (base of 18 for each site)represented at each form[1].

Figure 5

A Typology by Site of Teacher Self-Reported
Forms of Collegiality [a]

[1] A teacher is counted only once in each form (regardless of how many statements of that type the person made). The range of forms used is 4-7.

were added to better understand the type of interactions used by this sample of teachers. These are information sharing and organization.

The information sharing form of collegiality includes topics about students, information about programs, and school activities. This form of collegiality is factual as compared to story telling. Even though this form of collegiality gives aid/assistance to teachers, it is centered on school level issues, not classroom aid/assistance. In other words, information sharing is about what is going on in the school or with special programs. Reginald explains a special program for students having academic difficulties. The "2 Point" program matches new students with upper class students so they receive help with schoolwork. The teacher gathers information about how the students are doing from other teachers.

> What we do is we identify incoming 9th graders with low grades from the middle schools and pair them with upper classmen, to try to get their grades up there, at least a 2.0 or as close as possible.... I've gone to a teacher and found out about a student. To see how he was doing.... how his work is in the class, if he's improving."

Teachers also gather information about schedules for extra curricular student group activities so they can adjust their classroom work schedule. Teachers do not like interruptions. Information sharing as a form of collegiality helps to reduce the stress and tension brought on by interruptions.

Organization as a form of collegiality is placed closer to interdependence because the issues discussed focus more on classroom practice or a specific group of students. This form includes discussions about pacing, curriculum development and delivery, organizing programs, and checking on consistency of policy implementation. Organization is important because of student mobility, multiple teachers teaching the

same course or sequential courses, co-student activity advisors and/or the district curriculum plan. Teachers are very specific that organization reduces difficulties in their work. Dex White, for example, described why coordinating his pacing with another teacher was very helpful.

> I work real close with Clayton Buckley....[and] Dan and I work with [another subject] very closely together. Pacing, content, and areas of emphasis so we have similar approaches we're talking about similar materials. Just makes sense, practical. If you're gonna have students that are a fairly mobile group and if they're mobile within the building, it's nice to transfer from one person to another and still be within the same areas, talking about the same types of things.

Not developed in Figure 5, but an important finding concerning forms of collegiality, is the concept of membership in collegial groups. Specifically, memberships in collegial groups changes depending on the form of collegiality. Membership changes in four ways. First, the size of the group changes depending on the form. Groups formed around the more independent forms of collegiality have larger numbers of colleagues. When teachers talk about social support forms of collegiality, they point to groups like "the breakfast club" or the morning group. Membership decreases as teachers talk about forms that are more interdependent in nature. For example, organization of course groups usually number two or three teachers who are teaching the same course or sequential courses.

Second, the actual members of collegial groups change as the forms of collegiality change. In fact, teachers reported that they used different forms of collegiality to engage different peers in collegial relationships. For example, Dex worked closely with Clayton Buckley and Dan because he was teaching two courses that they also teach. The interactions between these colleagues focused on pacing and materials that fall into the

organization form of collegiality. For social support, Dex joined a larger group of teachers in the faculty lounge, and neither of these teachers was present in this group. At lunch he met with Dirk, Donald, Cyril, and Cornelius. This group was engaged in storytelling and information sharing forms of collegiality along with social support. After school, or sometimes before school, he played basketball with another group of colleagues. They did this to gain social support.

Third, teachers could belong to multiple groups when more independent forms of collegiality were involved, but as they engaged in forms of collegiality that were more interdependent, the number of groups was reduced. Dex's example follows this pattern. He engaged in three collegial groups that were more independent, but in only one group that was more interdependent.

Fourth, teachers used multiple forms of collegiality in any one group but the number of forms varied depending on the purpose of the group. Specifically, teachers engaging in joint work used all forms of collegiality, but teachers engaging in social support groups seemed to use story telling and information sharing forms of collegiality but did not venture into more interdependent forms within the large group setting.

A major difference in the forms between the two schools is found at the organizational and joint work level. More teachers at LaSalle were engaged in these forms of collegiality than at Monroe. The reason for this is related to teacher staffing. First, LaSalle was a larger school and more teachers shared courses or student extra-curricular activities. Thus, they tended to make sure they had common pacing, course materials, scheduling, planning of programs, etc. Second, teachers at LaSalle had or were in the process of developing programs based on team teaching or special curriculum.

Polytechnic Training was one such program. Most of the teachers who worked closely together did so because of curriculum and/or students. Furthermore, for the most part these teachers taught or worked outside the basic four curricular areas. Special academic programs at LaSalle included a commerce and industry program, vocational technique training program, special education program, and health program. The teachers in these programs team taught, developed and coordinated curriculum, and/or worked closely together. But even these teachers did not engage in joint work for the improvement of their classroom practices as suggested by previous research. They did gain "insight into each others work" and worked together collegially for a purpose. One teacher in the commerce and industry program explained team teaching this way:

> We are truly team teaching.... In most of the schools where they do this program and team teach they are in separate rooms and the rooms have connecting doors. They will work together planning, coordinating, the implementing, the integrating of the course but they will teach their separate areas. In other words, this person will be assigned to teach all the accounting. This person will be assigned to teach all the computer. And when the student does that one hour a day, they will go to that room. We are doing that but not as structured because we have all three rooms going at the same time with kids filtered throughout, doing all different things and all those different subjects [at one time] [The facility for this program is one large area divided into three sections]. The three of us filter through the three rooms so we are always together. We have assigned each one of us an [subject] area that we will say, 'Oh, this is, so and so is handling this area. This is what you're going to start. Go over and she'll get you started on such and such.' However, if she's not there, then I have to wing it and I have to go ahead and get them started and so forth. We've had to do that. Eventually we hope to know all the areas. So, we wanted to team teach in that, we have a person assigned to each area. They're the advisor, they're the specialist in it. But we wanted also to be able to do it so we could help any kid anytime. I know that goal is a pretty far fetched one right now. It seems like that's a lot. It's going to take us a while to learn all the materials and the software. But with helping each other and just being there in the same geographic location, we're falling into it. We're forced to have to learn how to do some of these things. Right now we have arranged our prep hour at the end of the day.... We divide it up somewhat. We naturally do that because we have our own specializations and we are dividing up. But we made sure that in dividing it up, that, as an example the three of us.... I have two areas

> that I'm assigned to and one of those areas will be with Rosemary and one will be with Rosetta.... So we are working with the other two in some capacity.... Like I'm not just taking all of the office and doing it by myself. Rosemary likes office too, so we're sharing that and we do it together. I don't really care for the computer area that much so I'm helping with the beginning area with the person who's doing the advanced area....we're working together real closely and not segmenting out. We've gotten to the point where we almost can think or know what the other person is thinking....I have found in team teaching that I can feel it. I am growing and maturing so much because I am finally realizing that I have to trust another human being to help me. I have to trust another human being to grade my papers where before I knew they couldn't grade them as well as I could. I know they're going to miss mistakes....But I'm willing to recognize the fact that that's not that important.... For us to do what we want to do, we can't do it by ourselves. And also, we have to show the kids that we can work together as a team because out there in the business world, that's it.

Joint work is also found in extra curricular activities such as student council, two plus program, athletics, SIC. One teacher explains the honor society program.

> I work with Ramona and worked well together but there are, you know, honors society, to get that induction ceremony [completed takes a lot of organization],...It worked out fine. Everything, everything worked out just fine and so now that the induction is over with, we need to get our people back together and pick officers for next year....

Other Contextual Features

Three other contextual features of schools appear to shape collegial relationships in schools: organizational arrangements, school governance, and students. The role of each in shaping collegial relationships is described here.

Organizational Arrangements

Organizational arrangements concern scheduling, how teachers are grouped, and the physical arrangement of classrooms in the building. Specifically, teachers talk about time, peers in close proximity, and/or where they are located in relation to others in the building. Teachers suggested that these features were taken into consideration as they

developed collegial relationships and interacted with their colleagues. When this information was combined with teacher perceptions about collegiality, issues, and forms of collegiality, the process of developing collegial relationships appears even more complex.

Interview data suggested that collegial relationships were affected by the school day schedule. Scheduling allows teachers to meet before school, during the five minute passing periods, lunch, preparation hour and after school. Collegial interaction during the teaching period is relatively rare due to the traditional teaching arrangement. Only two teachers worked together in the same classroom during a one hour period. JoAnne Clark's interview indicated that there was minimal discussion between her and her co-teacher during the hour. But they did engage in the joint work form of collegial interactions to some extent before and after the hour. JoAnne indicated that she and her colleague talked about what they were going to teach and how the hour went.

> No, no, we decide on , we, you know, have it planned out who is going to teach what particular day or what particular unit that we are working in.... At first it was a little difficult for them [students] to come across with her and I've had these kids for a couple of years, so they were used to me and know what to expect from me and we had to make a setup so they wouldn't think that she was under me. You know, that we both were equally important here and the little while I worked with her, then I started leaving her is charge in the classroom.... It is like, I mean even if it is her time to carry out the plan, we can always interject information, you know, and it is not offensive to one or the other....

Four teachers had student teachers, and these teachers suggested that they interacted with the student teachers at times other than during instructional period.

Table 8 gives results for this sample group's responses concerning times they engaged in collegial relationships. Before school was a time suggested by sixteen teachers as a good time to meet. These teachers talked of their breakfast groups and

Table 8

Time Logistics of Professional Collegial Interactions [a]

	Before	Passing	Lunch	Prep	After
LaSalle	7 (39%)	16 (89%)	7 (39%)	0 (0%)	4 (22%)
Monroe	9 (50%)	11 (61%)	12 (67%)	1 (06%)	5 (28%)
Other Statements Made [b]			7 (19%)	8 (22%)	16 (44%)

[a] Each n and percentage indicates proportion of teachers represented at each time period.

[b] These statements concern the time period but indicate no collegial relationship is taking place.[2]

[2] Teachers make statements such as eating alone, leaving school immediately or attending formal meetings. These statements indicate a time period but are not counted for this study which is concerned with informal collegial relationships.

lounge groups. The five minute passing time was most frequently suggested as the time during the day that teachers interact. "My neighbors, of course, out in the hallway, I see more often just because during the break between classes we are there." "I talk to the people in my hall of course when we are doing hall duty between classes." "We just happen to be, in the ...department, we're located in a particular part of the building and we're always outside our door and we will communicate with one another."

Lunch period was also a time period when many teachers engaged in collegial interactions.

> We meet for lunch every day in a little room. We have a little lunch group. We never go to the faculty lounge because it's just the bitch room basically. So, there are three of us. There used to be five but our lunch period didn't mesh this year. So, there's three of us....
>
> They just happen to have the same lunch, you know that your friendships sort of wane and ebb and flow depending on what lunch hour you end up with every year. You know, there are some years when depending on the lunch hour, you know, I choose to eat alone and get my work done. It all depends on who happens to draw that particular lunch.

Two teachers had lunchroom duty and developed a collegial relationship because they were working together.

> ...often times [there is] a lot of extra time that we stand around and communicate.... We compare notes about what he teaches and some of his requirements that he has for his students and then we compare them. Most often it's about particular students -- social and emotional type of stuff that we compare notes on.... That has been kind of interesting.

Seven teachers indicated that they did not engage in collegial interactions during lunch. Part time teachers traveled during this period to other assignments. Four teachers (i.e., two from each building) said they ate alone.

> Usually when I get up into this classroom, I'm usually here and every now and then I'll go down and we'll say something in the hall between classes but most of the time I'm right here and the kids just work until I get finished and then I go

home.

> I used to [go to the lounge]. This year I haven't so much, no. I just feel like, I guess, I want to be more to myself. No one is really in there that, you know, it is like a lot of men in there and they are talking men talk or something and so I just [don't go].

Prep period is the least frequently mentioned time for engaging in collegial interactions. In fact, most teachers in this study stated that they used this time for classroom preparation. Of the nine teachers who made statements about prep period, only one teacher stated that it was used for collegial interactions. "A variety of things. Sometimes social, sometimes the curriculum, sometimes it's bemoaning administrative decisions. It varies. The people with whom I share my prep period of course." Seven teachers suggested prep periods were for doing class preparation work. "The free time we have is prep time and I usually use every single minute of it either grading papers, doing a bulletin board or going to the library to get materials or whatever." However, one teacher, Shawn Leman, suggested that the lack of a common prep period hindered good collegial interactions in the Polytechnic Training Program. He mourned not having it because during the first year of the program, the group had a common planning period and met frequently. Due to scheduling during the year of this study, the common planning period was not possible.

> What's happening in the program is it's waning. Ok, it's up for grabs whether it survives. Yeah, and it's basically because we feel we're not -- the meeting time -- ok. We need the time to get together. We need to be able to do that on a regular basis or this sucker's not going to go. In fact, I already told them downtown that I don't want to do it next year unless we have a common planning period, or else it's a waste of time. Because it is unique, and what's unique about it is you have the teachers from other disciplines who are working together in a holistic approach and it definitely, it reinforces, I mean you have some bonding taking place with the teachers. You have a vested interest now because you're obligated to one another and you have a responsibility to one another to keep your end of the

bargain....

The result was that collaboration and colleagueship declined. This group of teachers was finding it very difficult to meet without the common planning period. They were frustrated about the current program development and coordination. They felt collegial interaction time was needed to prepare outcomes, plan curriculum, and organize pacing.

After school time was also used infrequently for collegial interactions. Fourteen teachers talked about formal staff meetings, departmental meetings and SIC meetings. These statements were not included as the teachers were not engaged in informal collegial interactions during these meetings. Two teachers said they left early for other jobs. Nine teachers made statements about "seeing colleagues" after school. Some left the building to unwind, while others talked to teachers near their room.

> We usually meet on a regular basis once a month, sometimes out after school hours and it is kind of like we kind of unwind and talk about the problem that goes on with students and how staff relationships or whatever is going and we basically are the only ones that will end up being convenient enough to show up....

Within the discussion of time, teacher classroom assignments appear to directly impact collegial relationships. Specifically, teachers talk with peers who have rooms nearby. Furthermore, some teachers do not like to travel far from their room during the day because of the physical layout of the building. "I'm kind of in a remote area of the school" -- four blocks and three stories away. LaSalle's staff was housed by departments while Monroe's staff had no formal arrangement for classroom assignments. Teachers suggested that the more senior staff got larger rooms or rooms of their choice. But the social studies' department was working to have rooms close together. "We tried to do that so we could share globes and maps and materials and it would be easier for me, because that is one of my jobs to get around to them and see that they have the materials."

Thirty teachers made statements concerning location in the building as important to the development of collegial relationships (LaSallle=14 [78%]; Monroe=16 [89%]). Statements included "Basically, people right here -- department teachers only because we are housed together." "There are people on the staff that I've never talked to in eleven years outside of hi, bye, see ya later, ah, that type of thing. Ah, it is just that, you know, maybe they work in different areas of the building." "People who work on the third floor tend to stay on the third floor. We don't really have a common meeting area where everybody goes."

> I used....to see him all the time, but Dirk now is on the third floor and that has been a, ah, awful barrier. It's so darn difficult to get up and down the stairs time wise....

School Governance

Research suggests that school governance arrangements can increase teachers' professional collegiality. Programs designed to develop common beliefs and values focus on teachers working together to improve the school environment by the development of programs and policies. In this study, statements related to school governance were examined for connections to teacher professional collegial relationships. The themes of school policy and the SIC emerged from the data analysis as important themes related to collegial relationships.

The policy theme involves two important ideas. First, colleagues in these schools appeared to focus on policies directly related to students rather than policies related to teacher work conditions. Thirty-four teachers said they talk about student discipline, attendance, tardiness, testing, and/or homework policies almost every day. Teachers rarely discussed policies concerned with work conditions such as room assignments,

schedules, or evaluations. Only four teachers made comments about these topics, and they never turned into issues among the staff. In all four cases, these teachers talked only with one other teacher. "One of our members did get pink slipped and was very upset about that. And we did talk about it for a few minutes." "I don't like to bring up anything about classes that, you know, that I teach because I think some of them are upset because I have all the honors classes. Yeah, and so I don't bring that up." One teacher said that talking about the smoking policy was not appropriate because to do so would cause hard feelings in the building.

> I remember when it first started and it [policy] said if any one teacher in that building complains, they can cancel the whole building and it is a no smoking building period.

The second theme that emerged in the interviews was teachers' perceptions that policies were not followed by peers or administrators. And when policies were not followed, they became school issues. Teachers talked about the "issue of the day" and how collegial relationships developed based on beliefs, values and feelings about policy implementation. For most teachers, the perception was that others did not follow through on reinforcing the written policies or that policies changed very quickly.

> A SIC committee came up with a study calendar to give to students on which they would record homework assignments and there was a lot of negative response to that.... Because they perceived it as how dare you tell me to do something with my students, even though it was a vehicle by which the students could record information and they [the staff] had asked for it. It was not received well and so there was a lot of discussion....
>
> The triple goose coats in the cafeteria and in classrooms have created a double pronged offense to some people because they are easily used to store stolen items with their puffera of pockets and they also actually, for months continuous wear tend to reek. And there are teachers who have as many as five Airwicks in their room just to fight that odor and then there are those who say but my materials are just walking out of the room and they are places where kids can store weapons

> and it's just not safe. So the rule was imposed that kids could no longer wear coats in the classroom. That's all well and good except that our heat is sporadic at best and sometimes it's warm and sometimes it's cold. And the kids are not fond of being cold in the classroom. And so the rule was rescinded after being in place for, what was it, I think all of a week. And of course any disturbance in the routine and what is expected and not expected drives the kids crazy and it creates a whole furor of discussion and debate among the faculty and the students.

These two quotes illustrate how teachers' collegial relationships developed around student policies, especially policies that directly affected teachers' personal needs, values, and work.

School Improvement Councils (SIC) are a second theme in the school governance dimension. In both schools, the bureaucratic governance structure was reduced in order for teachers to have a voice in the development of school policy and school improvement. To understand how this governance program was related to teacher collegiality, two features suggested by research were analyzed. These features are a shared mission statement and goals, and control over policy making at the school level. These two features result in teachers' perceptions of collegial relationships as an outcome of SIC.

It appears that teachers have different ideas as to the value of school mission and goal statements. Interview data suggests that teachers knew there was a school mission statement, but no teacher felt much enthusiasm for it. "I would have to read it off the wall." "Yes, that's the mission statement which I can't regurgitate to you off hand. There are five goals...." "We have a mission statement, so nebulous it is ridiculous." The mission statement was posted in every classroom in both schools. Teachers referred to this poster when indicating how they know about the school mission. Specifically, the staff did not really think about it. It was basically a document developed to meet criteria. "I think too often we are concerned with covering our tracks. Covering our bases or

CYA, to be concerned about what the school's mission really should be. To prepare these kids for independent, productive lives in society." Delia said completing the mission statement was nonproductive.

> We started it three years ago. I guess I'm a little more for direct action. If something is broken you need to try to fix it. We spent a year getting the gol darn mission statement dug out, worded, argued over. Now we got the blasted thing in.... to me it seems like a lot of fooling around. Again, some people are so big into let's get all these objectives written and let's pile all this paper work and let's write this and let's do this and meanwhile you know the school's going to hell in a hand basket."

Despite these feelings, a comparison of teacher goal statements with school goal statements showed that twenty of thirty-four teachers (59%) expressed personal goals that were similar to school goals. When asked, teachers stated their goals clearly. Basically, these teachers said they "want students to learn something". "By the time you are done with high school, there shouldn't be any doors closed to you because of what you didn't learn and what you didn't take.... And so my goals are to encourage students to reach a standard that would allow them to be successful in any class in the future." "I want them to be able to think." "If I can get them enthusiastic about learning and thinking, I think I've accomplished it." Even though these teachers had similar goals, they felt they used "different ways of arriving at the same goal..."

Further analysis indicated that seventeen teachers at Monroe had at least one personal goal similar to the school's goals, while only three LaSalle staff had goals similar to the school goals. The structure of the SIC at each school may be one reason for this difference. All of the Monroe staff were involved in the development of the five school goals, while only a portion of the LaSalle staff is involved.

Interestingly, even though Monroe teachers are committed to at least one school goal, problems with teacher commitment to the school goals occurred in both schools. In other words, professional collegial relationships were not developing around school goals developed by school improvement committees. "It [the SIC] is supposed to draw us together so that we work together and we have the same goals in the classroom, but we always have the individualist that says that they won't do it." Teachers expressed discontent with peers on the SICs and with the products of these committees.

> It's one of those things that's very frustrating because everything is so, it gets to be, like you're on there with Pollyanna and I mean, a good number of the people are like that. Oh, wow, yes, and let's do this and let's fill out some more forms and let's do this and so fortunately, there are a couple of us on there that, you know, say listen, the corps stinks and so that, but it's getting to be very very difficult.
>
> Well I don't know if they are talking more in a positive way about it, ah, how has it affected relationships you say? You know, it has been divisive in a certain amount of, in a certain way, I think. People have taken stands and lined up on either sides of things.
>
> There is the perception that there are a few people who are attempting to ram a particular proposal down the throats of the rest of the faculty and unfortunately, of the members of that team, I would say half do not have the respect of their fellow teachers....
>
> I was on the committee until ... this school year.... I couldn't see where we were going. It was kind of a special interest group. Now that I'm not on it I realize what other people were saying in that their, who knows what they're doing. I don't think there is any purpose to it. I think it's window dressing.

The second feature of school governance cited in research literature concerns teachers' control over school-level policies. In this study, no teacher believed that the school staff or SIC had control over school-level policies. In fact, some teachers did not believe anyone had control over anything at the current time.

> ... And at this point I think you could have quite a voice in this place right now. It seems like principals are saying, staff it's up to you. Going back twenty years or

> what ever, the principal was the guy who ran the school. And I don't feel that the principals are running the school anymore at all. I don't know who's running the school. I think the [SIC] is trying to run the school, and I think that is by design....
>
> I think that the SIC originally started out and had some fairly good intentions and now without somebody picking up the reins and Clifford is a wonderful person and he, but he can't do it because he is not in a position to tell me what to do. He is another teacher, he is a colleague. And there is nobody to pick up the reins and say look, these are the three or four things that we really want to attack and we are going to do them. So right now, everybody is saying well I don't know. It is kind of waffling back and forth, it is kind of like an amoeba....

Teachers were skeptical about the purpose of the SICs and what impact they were having over school-level policy. They had seen the SICs do very little over the past three years. "I don't think there is any purpose to it [SIC]. I think it's window dressing."

The teachers talked about how they could work on an idea and write up a policy but that it got "shot down" from some group. Shane described his work on a student attendance policy and how the administration did not accept it.

> I had an idea and I talked to key people, ran it through them and they said sounds good, and so then I went to the SIC and ran it through them. And they said it sounded good and so then I wrote it up as a proposal. The staff voted on it on the last meeting of the school year last year and we sent it downtowm who shot it down. It turns out that many other people have come up with this same idea and at the last meeting, ...we discovered that other schools, other districts were doing somewhat similar things...came out with it this year and it turns out to be almost word for word the proposal that I issued.

Shawn described the new seventh period plan as being shot down by many different people.

> I'm not sure if - my gut feeling is that there's teachers that would prefer this thing to be shot down from downtown. There are some that everything that happens they definitely feel it's being manipulated by someone downtown. And we're having a very difficult time meeting with people from downtown. There's one administrator that doesn't even return phone calls, when he said, "I'm an advocate, I'll be here, I'll be here to help you", you know, the checks in the mail, I'll love you in the morning concept? You know, that same old thing.

In summary, this sample of teachers did not believe the SICs were improving teachers' collegial relationships. In fact, a majority of the teachers thought there was no impact or a negative impact. Fifteen (42%) teachers made statements concerning negative effects, including terms like divisive, no interest anymore because nothing happens, a waste of time. In describing a lack of effect, seventeen (47%) teachers made statements such as "[there is] not much effect one way or other. We get along well." "People react to each other as they normally would." Only four (11%) teachers suggested that there were positive things about the SIC. One teacher stated, "It is positive, it is really positive because we are now working within groups and trying to come about with some things that are for the students."

Students

The third contextual dimension deemed important to understanding professional collegial relationships is students. Students are the reason schools exist. As such, students are what bring teachers to the school. To understand how this dimension relates to collegial relationships, the interviews were analyzed for statements that indicated that teachers developed collegial relationships based on students. The themes of student mobility and sharing of specific student groups emerged as themes in teachers' talk about professional collegial relationships.

Student mobility impacted only those teachers who taught sections of a common course. For example, two teachers who taught Algebra I suggested that they interact because students moved between their sections at semester end. In this study, only these two teachers said that student mobility among teachers was the basis for developing collegial relationships. "...Sonny Rogers and I work together -- this has kind of evolved,

it's kind of neat because he's the one who also has the other ....class."

> Just makes sense, practical. If you're going to have students that are a fairly mobile group and if they're mobile within the building, it's nice to transfer from one person to another and still be within the same areas, talking about the same types of things.

No other teachers made statements that suggested that they had developed collegial relationships based on student mobility.

Sharing groups of students was discussed by five teachers in this study. "Sharing groups" refers to how students are arranged in the building. Three of the five teachers who talked about sharing students were special education teachers. They talked about how it was important to know how students were doing across the curricular areas within the department. Sharing of students in special education seemed to be a very strong basis of collegiality for this department. "It's real important to communicate constantly because we're all seeing the same students and so we're always making decisions about behaviors, academics, skill center, those type of decisions that we're all really involved in." "... we compare students, how their performance [is] because depending on who you are, they are different in each classroom and we come up with ideas...." Other programs that shared students (such as the Polytechnic Training Program) also had close collegial relationships. Charles Leggett, a member of another department, said that teachers within his department focused on students because they were shared. In this department, teaching sections of common courses were almost nonexistent.

> We talk about the kids too. Because a lot of us do have the same students, you know, a lot of students that say take Dwight's ... class and then come right in here and take my ... class or something. So we do have, our school is small now, so we do have a lot of the same kids, almost at the same time. If not, certainly within a semester.

Interview statements suggested that students may be related to teacher professional collegiality, but only minimally. Special student groups or the arrangements of particular programs seemed to foster some collegial relationships based on students. Furthermore, teachers did generally discuss students or seek specific information about students when needed, but these reasons are not generally the basis for developing collegial relationships in most cases. Instead, most teacher statements mentioning students pertain to meeting personal teacher needs, improving instruction, or discussing student policies. All teachers made statements such as, we "talk about general characteristics of students." "A lot of curriculum related things and, of course, problems with discipline in class." "Students and the actual execution of policy, policies established by the district and/or the administration and, of course, the staff and personal things." But the flow of particular students among teachers was not an important basis for the development of collegial relationships.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented findings about three contextual features that affect the development of collegial relationships. Specifically, the three factors included issues, forms of collegiality, and other contextual features. These factors helped determine the purpose of the relationship, the process of interacting, and the colleagues available.

Issues or the topic of conversation brought teachers in this study together. Four themes emerged from data analysis as to the affect that issues had on the development of collegial relationships. First, teachers attended to issues only if there was self-interest -- the issue impacted personal beliefs, values or needs. And, depending on the issue,

decisions about who to approach were made. Second, issues rooted in the commonplace of the school arose naturally as part of the teachers' work and were of interest to groups of teachers. However, care was taken when an issue impinged on the etiquette of collegial standards and offended a colleague. Third, teachers engaged in collegial relationships about multiple issues simultaneously. While some collegial groups were small, there seemed to be an "issue of the day" important to all teachers. In this study, the "issue of the day" impacted the values of collegiality. As teachers made decisions about their views on issues, the choices of potential colleagues were affected because these teachers turned to colleagues who held similar views. Fourth, issues changed frequently as did collegial groups. The outcome was that issues rooted in self-interest and personal needs directly related to the work of teachers were an important component of the decision making process used in the development of collegial relationships.

The second factor, forms of collegiality, also affected the development of collegial relationships. The forms of collegiality determined how relationships were conducted. As teachers reiterated collegial conversations about various issues, four common themes emerged. First, all teachers were engaged in forms of collegiality that were more independent such as support, story telling, and information sharing, while very few teachers entered into more interdependent forms such as organization and joint work. Second, teachers in this study used multiple forms of collegiality simultaneously in multiple groups. Third, two new forms of collegiality (information sharing and organization) were suggested as being separate from other forms of collegiality. Information sharing focused on giving and getting factual information rather than story telling. Organization as a form of collegiality concerned issues closer to classroom

practice such as pacing, curriculum development, or specific groups of students. Fourth, membership in collegial groups changed depending on the form of collegiality. Specifically, the form of collegiality seemed to affect membership size, number of possible groups, and the number of forms used within the collegial group. Thus, the teachers in this study used information about collegial form structure along with information about issues when making decisions as to how collegial relationships would procede. In that teachers used various forms of collegiality, there was a difference between the two schools. Teachers at LaSalle used more interdependent forms of collegiality than teachers at Monroe. School size, and the creation of special programs for groups of students were suggested as reasons for the difference in the number of teachers who used more interdependent forms of collegiality.

The third factor, other contextual features, also was important to how collegial relationships developed. In this study, three specific contextual features were found -- organizational arrangements, school governance, and students. Organizational arrangements, the first feature, focused on time and proximity. Master schedules and classroom assignment directly impacted who was available at any given time. Collegial groups changed based on changes in schedules and the distance between work locations in the building. School governance, the second feature, concerned how school policies and School Improvement Councils affected the development of collegial relationships. First, issues that arose in the school appeared to focus on policies related to students rather than to teacher work conditions. Furthermore, teachers in this study perceived that policies were not followed. Thus, collegial relationships developed around policy implementation. School Improvement Councils were found in this study to impact the

development of collegial groups but not as suggested by former research. Teachers in this study held negative feelings towards the SICs and for that reason they developed or joined collegial groups to gather support for their views. The third feature, students, appeared to have minimal impact on the development of collegial groups. Specifically, the only teachers in this study who felt the development of collegial groups were based on students were in special programs such as special education or the Polytechnic Training Program.

In conclusion, the results indicate that the phenomenon of teacher professional collegiality is affected by features of the school context. Specifically, issues, forms of collegiality, and other contextual features directly affected the development of collegial relationships and further complicate the decision making process used to determine potential colleagues. Having an understanding of the multitude of factors -- both normative and organizational -- used by the teachers in this study when developing collegial relationships is helpful when examining the relationship of collegiality to teachers' work. In Chapter 6, the concept of how professional collegiality affects teachers' work is discussed.

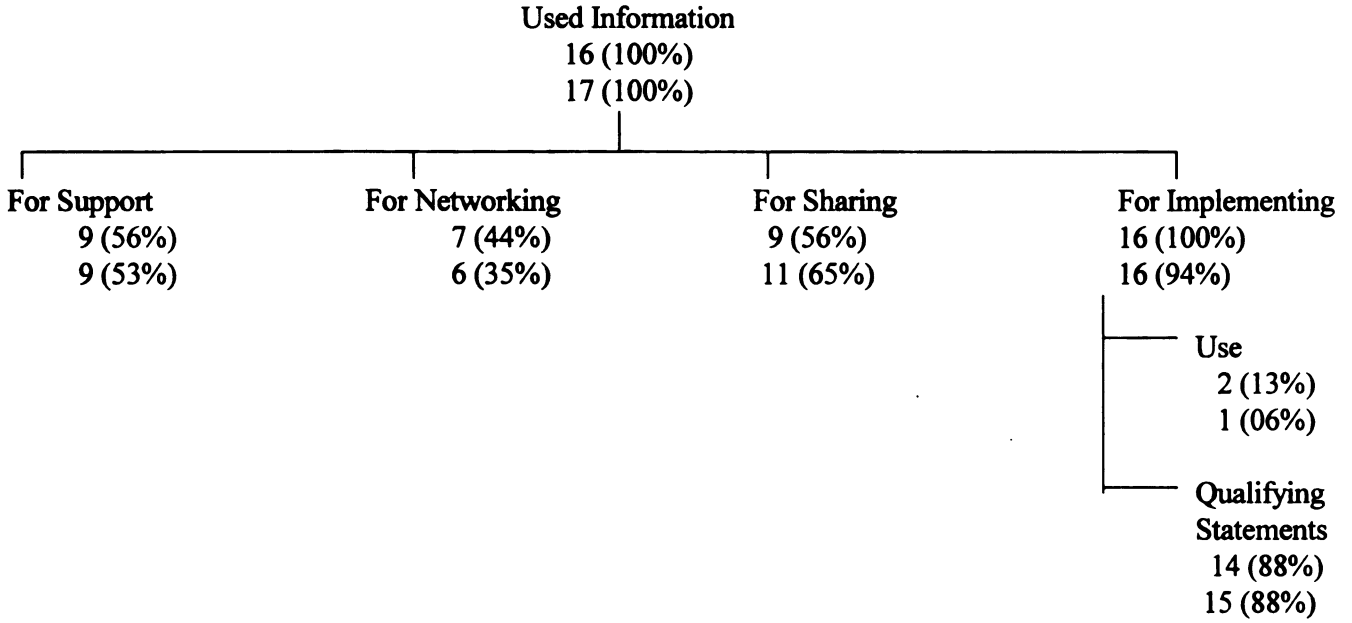
CHAPTER VI

RELATIONSHIPS OF PROFESSIONAL COLLEGIALITY AND TEACHER WORK

This chapter discusses the relationship of professional collegial interactions and teachers' work. Specifically, this chapter examines teacher talk about how information gathered from collegial interactions affects their work. Chapter II suggested that collegial interactions might help develop a shared understanding of the profession, develop a common goal for improving the educational process for students, and assist in on-the-job continue learning and the development of new instructional approaches. Whereas Chapter IV and V described teachers' perceptions of normative and organizational features of collegiality, this chapter explores how collegiality affects teachers' work

One interview question specifically asked teachers what they did with the information gained by participating in collegial relationships. The teachers described four ways (themes) they used information received during collegial interactions. The four themes include the concepts of supporting, networking, sharing and implementing. The result of collegial relationships is found in how the teachers in this study used what they gathered in their work -- the behavior of collegiality described in Chapter II.

Figure 6 presents the four themes pertaining to the use of information from collegial relationships. The number and percentages represent the number and percentage



NOTE: Each n and percentage indicates the number and proportion of LaSalle (16) and Monroe (17) teachers represented within each theme of the tree. Three teachers were not asked the questions on use of information.[1]

Figure 6

Typology of Information Use Gained
from Professional Collegial Relationships

[1] A teacher was counted only once at each level and dimension (regardless of how many statements of that type the person made). For example, when a teacher reported he used information to know what was going on in the building and to experiment with some one else's approach, the teacher was counted under networking and implementation. If this teacher made a second statement about using materials given to him, he was not counted again under implementation.

of teachers making statements within each theme. In answering the question about how they used information, all but one teacher said they used the information received in their work. However, twenty-nine teacher statements about information use included qualifiers. The themes of supporting, networking, and sharing have relatively equal numbers of teachers making statements, while the implementing theme has a much higher number. The range of responses among teachers is one to four themes. Furthermore, there is little variation between the two schools within each theme. Thus, teachers in both schools discussed various themes in similar ways and in similar occurrences.

Supporting

Supporting is the first theme suggested in the interviews. Collegial support is used for emotional well-being. Teachers said that teaching was stressful, uncertain, demanding and intense. Therefore, they felt that emotional release was important to the continual demands they confronted. Collegial relationships that fostered support helped these teachers to refocus, to make life easier, and to receive an emotional boost. "Just to make life a little easier, I think, and just to make the job less stressful. If you're kind of on top of it, and have a whole lot of support from a whole lot of different people, I just feel it's to your advantage instead of complaining about this or that, just not going anywhere." Being there for others was a value to which these teachers strongly adhered and the respond/do not initiate standard reinforced it. Support was defined as having colleagues there to listen, make suggestions, or help relieve the stress and frustrations of the job. These teachers said they turned to colleagues with questions, concerns, and because they needed to understand that they were not alone in their work.

Psychological support appears to reduce the tensions that enter into teachers' work. Psychological support gave teachers "... a shoulder to cry on once in awhile, yeah." The reduction of frustrations and tension allowed teachers to return to their work more at ease with themselves and knowing they were not the only teacher to encounter similar problems.

> You know, so for instance if you talk about a problem, you air it and you let off steam...Okay, that would be one thing. You might get moral encouragement to face the things that you have. Or it is also kind of encouraging in a way to know that your problems are not necessarily unique.

Venting frustration to colleagues, for example, helped Sadie move on and gather new ideas. "Talking about what works and what doesn't work. Venting frustrations. Sometimes that venting leads you to clear up some things and go on from there with new ideas and new ways to do things."

These teachers also suggested psychological support validated their practices. Teachers came in contact with problems daily, and made decisions about these problems. Colleagues became sounding boards to verify that they were not the only one encountering difficult or different situations and that they were handling these problems appropriately.

> ....the person who you are speaking to is kind of a sounding board and you get a feeling of whether you are doing something good. Um, they might even suggest to you something that they are doing and a lot of times I've had teachers that will say I always feel better after I talk to you because I thought that I was the only one having that problem.

This psychological support gives teachers assurances and a broader perspective on their work. "Sometimes you are doing things and you are wondering if you are the crazy one. You want assurances, I suppose, that you are not." Support also helps teachers refocus or look at their difficulties in a different way. "If I'm upset by something, they are

supportive in the sense of giving advice, making me see things in a more balanced perspective. Calming me down. Just emotional support." Collegial relationships that promote psychological support help teachers reduce frustrations, tensions and uncertainty that is a part of their daily work.

Humor was important to psychological support. Humor gave an emotional release. Teachers sought colleagues or joined collegial groups so they could engage in humor.

> Clayton is very supportive because he just is an emotional release for me. He can come in here and we can laugh and hoot and holler and he leaves in 20 minutes and it is, you are not exactly ready for the next group, but it is certainly better than sitting in here mulling over them and feeling sorry for yourself and feeling a little bit of self-pity and all that. That last hour was awful...you know. He comes in and says yeah my last hour was awful too and say well, maybe it's not me, maybe it is something else.... So it is psychological help.

In both schools, teachers spoke of collegial groups that met for the purpose of engaging in humor as emotional support. At LaSalle there was the Breakfast Club. They met on payday Friday's for breakfast. "Sometimes more than that if we need the therapy, but it's kind of a laugh and scratch session." The Breakfast Club was described as "mental health... because you laugh and you can't take anything seriously...." There were regulars in this group.

> The ones you can depend on showing up. We have invited others but for one reason or another, they haven't shown up. It's a group that's known each other for a long time and it's a group you can trust and probably all have the same bitches. For the most part they are serious about what they do and they're not just blowing in the wind when they talk about education. They've been in the pit. They've been in the trenches.... [The conversation is] "pretty much a light breakfast type conversation. It might be, well the big thing, if anybody gets their name in the paper...It's to mock, like if you take yourself really seriously, you're going to get eaten up. It has a tendency to humble you.

Another member of the Friday Breakfast Club stated, "It is therapeutic....It is a big catharsis for everybody. I mean we really lay it all out and come back refreshed."

Humor was also talked about as a way to reduce the tension and frustration that occurred frequently.

> There's a lot of joking going on. I think it's somewhat needed just to do with the setting we're in and the problems we face so we joke about everything. There are very few things that are sacrosanct -- that are not joked about. If you can't handle being made a joke of occasionally, you don't belong in this building. Because, if you can't laugh at yourself, you're in deep do-do here. Yeah, just part of everyday sanity of surviving.

Networking

The term networking describes the second theme teachers discussed. Networking is defined as gathering information about school issues and about colleagues' opinions on issues, students, programs, school activities, department reports, etc. Teachers suggested two purposes for networking.

First, networking allowed individuals to understand where peers stood on various issues of importance to them. "...to get input on the pulse of how everything is effecting them. How other things are effecting them. How they have adjusted." Through networking teachers understood "...the pulse of the school." Teachers gained an understanding of peers and their views. "... They will be very candid. They'll say, well, I don't think this will work and this type of thing. They'll give me their negative and positive feedback and it gives me a chance to then decide whether or not I'm going to try it." Dick stated, "I do bounce ideas off other people and I try to find out what they are feeling and how they react to certain things, you know, to formulate my own opinions."

In other words, these teachers gained an understanding of peers and their views during collegial interactions.

Networking allowed teachers to make decisions about the issues of the day. The seven period day and the school-wide discipline program, for example, illustrate how teachers came to understand the views of the various collegial groups through networking. Raymond talked about the various groups that formed within LaSalle around the seven period day plan.

> You have groups of people who are like on the SIC, and you have people who want to get something done, and you have some people who are, while they support you but they don't want to put any time into it. Then you have people who think we are foolish for putting our time into it because nothing may come out of it... [and then there are those] who have, what I would consider to be a negative attitude about what is going on.

Because teachers had to commit to this plan in writing, there was a great deal of discussion. But discussion was difficult for teachers located in isolated areas of the school. Simon, for example, was physically separated from the staff. "I'm kind of in a remote area of the school." He stated,

> I've had no input from anybody. I don't know what the pulse of the school is. The last meeting I went to when it came up...I was shocked to see the number of people who were against it. And who the people were that were against it.

Thus, teachers seem to rely on collegial relationships as a way of understanding the issues in the school and the opinions about the issues.

Second, teachers said that networking allowed them to make better decisions about their work. In particular knowing about school wide programs, policies, and general information appeared important. Teachers' work was made much easier when they had knowledge of school events. For example, "I like to know what's going on in the building. To be informed." Specifically, networking allows teachers to be prepared for

"what comes through the door" instead of being surprised. The more knowledge teachers have about "the life of the school," the better prepared they are for making decisions that impact their daily work.

> Oh, to get, a feeling for what is going on in the building. Sometimes you get the little insights on the fire drills or maybe what is going on with the new discipline policy or the building improvement team or how is Johnnie doing in science, math, English and social studies....

Statements concerning networking were basically general in nature. But they did suggest the importance of having information. Donald, for example, said that networking had a value to his work. It helped him be aware of what was happening.

> Well, it is shop talk. I mean that's all it is is shop talk. It has a basic value in my job. I mean I want to know what is going on. I want to know what is coming around the corner before it gets here and you know, whether it deals with some policies or whether it deals with a kid who is coming in half cocked or with a problem and you know, I think basically it is self-serving the topics that we do talk about.

A few teachers made statements that were more specific. These statements concerned specific issues such as students or departmental meetings. For example, Dwight talked about having a problem with a student who was normally good in his classroom. After talking with another teacher about the student, he was considering changing his mind about writing a referral.

> I don't know, ah, if it pertains to a real serious discipline problem, they had it the same day, hey, maybe a referral you didn't feel originally was necessary and perhaps after talking with another individual, perhaps you should do a referral on a person.

Two department chairs made statements indicating that department meetings were a time to network. They talked of sharing information and giving colleagues time to discuss issues. "As chair, I go over who is going to be in what things and who should be there and if they need help and you know, how they're doing and all that sort of thing."

Ruby discussed how teachers were surveyed and given time to discuss issues of importance to them.

> And the last two meetings that I had, I put out a notice before the meeting asking them if they had issues that they would like to address on the agenda, and these two meetings ran like two hours each....But people gave me back these slips and they want to talk about this and they want to talk about that, so whatever they want to talk about I, you know, give them that part of the meeting that they can address these things.

Sharing

Sharing is the third theme related to the effects of collegial relationships on teachers' work. Collegial relationships are developed based on sharing. Sharing is defined as gathering knowledge that relates to classroom practice. The teachers in this study reported that collegial sharing of information about what happened inside the classroom and in student activities/clubs was important to their work. In fact, collegial interactions that focused on professional information gathering were seen as a part of teachers' work. "To become a professional you have to develop as an individual. Which to do that takes you outside of your classroom, and then ultimately it comes back to influence your classroom, OK." Thus, teachers who interact with colleagues about classroom materials, common pacing, curriculum coordination, methods of instruction are developing professional knowledge useful to their work in the classroom. Specifically, teachers in this study said they engaged in sharing relationships because these relationships made the work of teaching easier and furthered their professional knowledge. "I hope that I use them [sharing ideas] to better myself and to try new and different ways of working with the kids."

When teachers talked about making their work easier, they often referred to contextual features affecting their work. Inside the classroom, teaching responsibilities are made easier as teachers work together to locate new materials, share materials, and develop common pacing systems. Preparing for three different courses daily and having new students arrive at the classroom door hourly is made easier by sharing and coordinating with peers. Consequently, contextual features of teaching common courses, having to teach new courses each year or semester, and students were reasons given for sharing with colleagues.

Teaching common courses, the first contextual feature, was discussed by three different groups of teachers. These teachers said sharing materials and common pacing helped to make their work easier and more successful. Clayton and Dex talked about how they developed a collegial relationship based on sharing. Clayton states,

> "I talked with Dex about what we're doing in [math] and basically how we were going to split up the sections....We do that [talk] just about every day. It's just to make sure that even though we know what the scope and sequence is and we know basically what's on the horizon, it's good just to check because there are so many interruptions around here that you just don't really know if that's indeed what you did. I could be saying tomorrow in fourth hour I'm going to do this and what happens is that everybody's been dragged out and brought some place else and what happens with that.... So it's good to check every day. That's what we find and it's nice because we're both on the same floor and we usually get here about the same time.

Dex described the scheduling change at semester and why it was important to have a common course between the two teachers. He stated:

> Well, basically this year Clayton Buckley took second semester [math] and so I met with him. I told him how far I'd been and in terms of pacing so we give the test. We try and give the same test as well so there's more of a continuity. Same exam so there's no excuses. Well, so and so said this. So and so didn't do that. It just seems to make more sense.

New teacher assignments were given as the second reason for developing collegial relationships with peers. Many of the uncertainties and difficulties in teaching an unfamiliar course were reduced by developing common pacing, similar curricula, and shared materials and ideas. Collegial relationships with peers in the department made teaching less difficult. Working together and interacting about their work helped to make what was done in the classroom more successful. As one teacher stated: "It helps me analyze my own course of action. Two heads are better than one. That certainly helps. If it is a matter of sharing teaching techniques it is useful."

Dex also talked about the continual change in course assignments that he experienced over the past three years. During these years he taught in three different departments. In each case, the assignment was given at the last minute and the course was unfamiliar. In the year of this study, he taught in yet another department. Dex said, "Dan teaches five hours of [a specific subject]. I teach one so therefore it was totally senseless for me to try and develop a whole new program my first time through the course." Instead, Dex used Dan's curriculum plans and adjusted them to his teaching style.

Teachers also talked about sharing with new teachers who entered the building.

> Rebecca Day when she first came in, I gave her all my ideas at the beginning of the year. Rena Denton, when she came in I did exactly the same thing also. I gave her ideas on what to use, what were successful and so forth. She had a difficult time because the kids were not doing their work. But you know, it's just the sharing of ideas and using them in the program and vice versa. I can take some of their ideas and I'll continue it or try it with another subject.

The third contextual feature discussed by the teachers in this study was students. Teachers in special programs worked closely in order to promote continuity and

consistency for students within their programs. Two examples of this are from the AP program and the special education department.

> Sunny Rogers, he's the one who also has the other 11th grade AP class. Uhm, well, we had one of the same classes, and it's been the case now for a couple of years and so we've gotten into the habit of going back and forth and kind of, 'where are you and I'm doing this and what are you doing' and then we work around using the -- sharing some of the materials. To work that out together. We talk about some of the assignments, some of the writing assignments and we will, he shares his videos with me and if I have, I'm on the look out for like teacher guides and aides for units that I know that he does. Then I pass them over to him and we worked on the same kind of exam last time, uh we shared information that last couple of times for the exam and so in effect we really wrote part of this exam for the same course and felt that we had covered enough of the same things that we could use that in a .... Which is kind of good to keep it on target.
>
> I would say that we have regular meetings twice a month and then most informally we'll sit after school and discuss. It's real important to communicate constantly because we're all seeing the same students and so we're always making decisions about behaviors, academics, skill center, those types of decisions that we're all really involved in.

Learning was a reason suggested by teachers in this study for sharing even though it was not a contextual feature. Specifically, learning through sharing ideas and materials was useful to their work. Teachers talked about being curious about new ideas and seeking out information that might help them. They engaged in collegial interactions to develop knowledge and improve their work. "One of my personal goals is to be a better teacher every year that I'm at it. So I'm always trying to pick up new stuff from whomever."

> I always want to see if there's something that I can do better. So I like to present ideas. Maybe there's some way I can fine tune it or maybe I can say, give an idea and someone says, well, that's neat but I tried it this way and get a new idea so even though I think I'm pretty good at what I do, that doesn't mean that I've ever reached the end because I'm never going to do that. I can always be a little better and that's a lot of why I talk and present ideas and get ideas.

Reaching out to colleagues for help apparently produced learning and professional

growth. Teachers spoke of seeking out information when someone was experimenting with a new idea. Teachers were curious and wanted to "keep up" with what was going on around them. Even if they did not use an idea, they at least had an understanding of what was happening.

> I'll go around and look at things that if I hear somebody is trying something out. As least acknowledge it to myself and say this might be something I could use. I'll pilfer any paper I can find that anybody is using. Any form or anything and I'll adjust it to make it work for me....I'm doing it for my own selfish reasons in the sense that I'm still waiting and I'll probably have to wait until I retire to have it all together.

> I refine my tests. I refine some lecture procedures. For instance, I might talk to Clayton about something. Well, how do you present this or I wasn't too happy with the way I presented it. Can you give me some suggestions on what you do? That type of thing.

> It might be if somebody would ask a question or need your help so you respond or it's a reverse, I may need something or have something in mind, or it might just be some observation or you're aware that somebody's doing something a certain way so you check it out. Out of curiosity.

Implicit in this learning-by-sharing is the theme of sharing discussed in Chapter IV. When information is learned, teachers share it with their colleagues. "Well anything that I get that I think will be helpful to my department, I go over it immediately. You know, at least people become aware, if they all know it. That's fine if they want it OK....I don't just keep it to myself as a secret." These teachers specifically said they share what they have learned with their colleagues. They do not hold back information. They do what they value -- they value sharing of knowledge and so they do it in practice.

> I learn a lot and then I'm going to pass this stuff on, my notes and other materials and things that I've learned, to the ninth grade teachers teaching world history.... so, you know, even though we are older and been around probably you might say well we won't need anything else, but we do keep up with things.

Implementation

Implementation is the fourth result of teachers' collegial relationships. Interview statements suggested that teachers did use information they acquired from colleagues in their work. Teachers implemented information for the purposes of experimenting with their practice or for improving their work. However, in talking about implementation of new ideas, most teachers made qualifying statements. Specifically, teachers appeared to implement only what they decided was worth implementing.

Twenty-nine of the thirty-two teachers used qualifying statements when discussing implementation. These qualifying statements suggested that teachers made choices about what information was useful. Their choices were based on a set of criteria. "I filter it through and use what would pertain to me and simply disregard the rest."

In this study, both general and specific criteria were found in the interviews. General criteria were not explained in the interview. "I use as much as I can." "Pretty much, I just take what I want and throw the rest of it out."

> You do something with it or you chuck it. You get some information and basically, the way it operates now, is you make an immediate response, "yes, I'm going to use it", and you use it right away otherwise you're going to lose it or you just can it. Mentally you put a note on it that it's not going to work right now. The problem is that I'm at the point now if I do that then I'll forget it. Even if it might be a good idea that I'm not going to use right now.

> I use it when I can. Some of it I have to stifle...Well, some of it you know, it is best to leave it where it came from and not to try and pursue it or to spread it.

Specific criteria for implementing new ideas included: 1) the idea matched a teacher's values of collegiality; 2) the idea was consistent with past experience; 3) the idea had been successfully implemented by others; 4) the idea met the needs of students; and 5) the idea was worth experimenting with.

The match between a new idea and teachers' values of collegiality refers to the values discussed in Chapter IV. For example, Delia stated that her personal philosophy and personality were important criteria that she used when making decisions about implementing new ideas.

> I incorporate those things that I think fit in with my philosophy and with my personality as a teacher. Some of the things take a more gregarious person than I am. Some of the things take a totally different kind of person. I am what I am and I have to do what will work for me within those limits, within those parameters. I can't be another person.

Meeting personal needs and values appear important to Delia. She made decisions based on personal views of her teaching style. She also established limits and parameters for herself. Ruby also talked about making decisions based on personal values and needs. Feeling comfortable with an approach was important to her.

> It's a process. Well sometimes you can actually change what you do, or you can supplement what you're doing. And sometimes you can figure, well a suggestion, sometimes you might think that would work for that person but I don't know if I feel comfortable doing that process. You have to make some choices.

The second criterion suggested by teachers was past experience. Rodney White said past experience helped him determine if the information would be useful in his work. "...I'm not one that is ready to latch onto anything, because I've been through so many. I know what would be valid. I've got a method to my madness in teaching, that I can project consequences if I were to try this."

Seeing or hearing about other teacher's success with information was the third criteria found in the interviews. Randy, for example, said that she heard about using FCA (Focus Correction Areas) and tried them with her class. She also passed the information on to another teacher who tried them also.

> Usually I try to use it. When Sonny told me about his method, the next time we

> wrote our FCA, I would say [to the class] we are going to try something new today. Before the FCA were out and we [teacher talking to a third teacher] were talking about that. I had told her, I said, I've stopped trying to grade my papers for everything. It is too hard. It is too time consuming and it makes me not want to give writing assignments. So I pick out three or four things and that's what I'm going to look for [FCA]. And she said well that sounds a lot easier, because these stacks of papers are killing me. And she said she tried it. So I know that it does get sometimes, the teachers will try those things.

Implicit in this statement is that teachers are looking for ways to make their work easier. Randy, for example, talked about how time consuming and difficult it was to grade writing assignments. Steve also talked about using information another teacher had successfully implemented. His statement implies that there is a continual dialogue about whether or not a new idea works for him. "If he tries something and it's successful, then I will use it and if it's successful then I will get back to him and say that worked neat. I like it or I'll make suggestions to him."

Meeting the needs of students was the fourth way teachers talked about criteria for implementing new ideas in their work. In particular, teachers suggested that they take students into account as they make implementation decisions. Such considerations were especially evident with special education teachers. All special education teachers made statements about taking students into account before implementing new ideas. "I usually try to apply it...in my classroom. I may have to adapt it for my students, because you know the learning styles are different and you know they are lower level." However, gathering and implementing ideas is not solely the domain of special education teachers. Many other teachers suggested that they continually interact with colleagues to find new or different ideas based on student needs. Shane, for example, explained how he implemented spot quizzes because his students were not completing homework.

> For instance, Ralph gives these little spot quizzes and they consist of about five or six questions and I thought well gee, I wasn't at the time getting that much success as far as homework and getting good grades on homework and so I thought that maybe if I substituted a couple of spot quizzes for a homework assignment, I'd cut down on the homework assignments and the spot quizzes would take their place as far as their grade in the grade book. And I thought it was a good idea, but it didn't work... Well, it might have been my style, but it wasn't the kids' style because they didn't get good grades on that either and they got worse grades.

Shane returned to his former instructional style shortly after implementing these spot quizzes. As Shane said, it may have been something he liked, but the students did not learn more. Thus, he placed his personal needs aside in order to adjust to student needs.

No matter what the criteria, teachers in this study suggested that they were always looking for new information to help improve their work. These teachers suggested that they engaged in collegial relationships "...mainly to find out what they are doing. How they are doing it, if they've come up with something interesting that I might like to try." The implication is that teachers are willing to experiment and turn to colleagues to gather this information. "I'm willing to, you know, I think I'm enough of a teacher that I can sift out what I want to experiment with..."

Experimentation, another criterion for implementation, was used to reduce repetition or improve work. Experimentation includes the use of different materials and/or instructional approaches. Derek talked about experimenting with different materials.

> I never, I very seldom teach the course exactly the same way verbatim. I'm always trying to come up with something new, something different. A different way of approaching, different type of thing. For example, what I also include for current events, of course, with the Desert Storm. I use the Time, News Week, and U. S. News and World Report. I would take excerpts out of there, run them off. Students would then have to read them and react to them and any of our students, my students that were in the U.S. History can't say they didn't know what Desert Storm was about.

Teachers also talked about experimenting with different teaching strategies or approaches to instruction. "If it is some particular method or technique that they've used in their classroom and I can find a way to put it into my classroom, I usually do that." Teachers are "on the lookout" for new "things" to implement which could be helpful to their work. They continually seek information from colleagues that they experiment with in their work. "I adapted it [research method] and used it this year with my ninth graders. That's one example of something that is something she had tried out and I used. I adapted her book report project [also]..."

At LaSalle, the teachers were implementing a new writing program. They shared information so colleagues could experiment with it also. Randy talked about how she found the information to be most helpful in her work.

> We were talking about [the writing] program. And he came in, he said I wanted to tell you this because I think you would really appreciate it. He was working on the checking of how the students peer check each other's paper and he says I think I've got a new twist. Have the student who is doing the checking be a little more responsible by doing the following. For each of the FCA, Focus Correction Areas, if they for example, say that the student has an excellent topic sentence and it turns out that there is no topic sentence at all, give them a minus one, because obviously they were not really checking for a good topic sentence. Or that the person used capitals appropriately and you find several places in there where capitals were not used appropriately minus one point, so he gets points off of his grade points, based on how well he checked the other person's paper. And so you know, I thought well that sounds great, I'll try it...and then I told him the next day I said we tried it and oh boy you should have seen them. They were hustling, and looking for those things, including sentences and transitions and whatever.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter the relationship between professional collegiality and teachers' work was discussed. Teachers' talk suggested four ways information received during

collegial relationships was useful to their work -- for support, for networking, for sharing, and for implementation. There were no differences between the two schools concerning the usefulness of collegial relationships to work.

Collegial support was the first theme discussed by the teachers in this study. They used support to reduce the stress, uncertainty, and the demands and intense nature of the work. In other words, these teachers used support for emotional well-being. Collegial support allowed the teachers to enter their work refreshed. Support was also used to validate teaching practices and broaden perspectives on current important issues.

Networking was the second theme found in the interviews. Collegial relationships based on networking were used to gather information about potential colleagues' views, beliefs and values, and/or about specific school-wide factual information for coordination purposes. These teachers used this information in making decisions. Clearly, networking was used by the teachers in this study to be better informed and have a basis for making decisions about a multitude of issues that they confronted daily.

Sharing was the third theme. Collegial relationships allowed teachers to share their work. Sharing was used to reduce the complexity and uncertainty of teachers' work, and to develop knowledge useful to their work. Therefore, sharing was useful in the work of teachers because it addressed the continual change that these teachers encountered. Changes included classroom interruptions, scheduling changes, mobility of students, and the continual change in the professional knowledge and content knowledge teachers needed for their work.

The fourth theme was implementation. Implementation was how these teachers talked of using collegial relationships in their work. Teachers implemented information

received during collegial relationships for the purpose of experimenting or improving their work. However, the teachers in this study appear to implement only what they decide is worthwhile. Thus, after receiving information, the teachers in this study used criteria to judge the value of the information and make decisions as to its usefulness in their work.

In conclusion, implicit in all teacher statements was the concept that information gained from collegial relationships was not only useful, but used during work. However, these teachers apparently used information because they wanted to. They sought out knowledge because they wanted to be better teachers, help students learn more, or make their work easier, less frustrating, or less stressful. Hence, collegial relationships allowed teachers to stay current on school happenings, improve themselves, develop consistency across classrooms, and/or make better informed decisions about issues they continually confronted. The results of this chapter, when combined with the findings from Chapters IV and V, suggest that there is an extensive collegial culture in these schools. This culture is further described in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, REVIEW OF RECENT RESEARCH, DISCUSSION, SYSTEM OF COLLEGIALITY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first section gives a brief summary of the study. The second section presents a brief review of recent research. The third section discusses the study's findings. The fourth section describes the hypotheses formulated from this study. The fifth section introduces conclusions regarding the phenomenon of professional collegiality. The final section provides recommendations for further research on the phenomenon of professional collegial relationships.

Summary

This study was motivated by the idea that professional collegial arrangements are a means of improving the effectiveness of schools and the quality of teaching. Recent research suggests that engaging in serious collaboration based on mutual examination of teaching and learning will equip schools for steady improvement of student learning, teaching, and teacher education. Professional collegial relationships are also suggested as a means for teachers to cope with the complex, non-routine work, that requires them to adapt flexibly and quickly to varied and specific demands.

This research further suggests that there is currently very little professional collegiality in public schools -- that teachers do not discuss their work and/or collaborate to solve problems. But these findings occur because researchers have tended to use a single definition of teacher professional collegiality. Missing from the research literature is a broader understanding of what current professional collegial relationships look like, what contextual features surround these relationships, and how these collegial relationships are related to the work of teachers.

This study was designed to investigate the naturally occurring collegial relationships found in two urban high schools. Several varied definitions of professional collegiality were reviewed for elements important to understanding this phenomenon. What distinguished this study from other studies was that no definition of collegiality was imposed on the data. Instead, in this study, teachers were allowed to explain their perceptions of the collegial phenomenon. It was reasoned that teachers do have professional relationships that are complex in nature. Thus, this study described the complexity of professional collegial relationships, the context that impacted the relationships, and how relationships were useful to teachers' work.

The study sample included 36 teachers from two secondary schools that were part of a larger study on secondary schools. All sample teachers were participating in the larger CRC study, and all volunteered to participate in this study.

The study used qualitative methodology. One semi-structured interview guide was the main method of gathering data. The interview guide was developed by reviewing relevant research, recalling personal knowledge and experience, and continually referring to the study's focus. Also used in this study were interview data

collected by the larger CRC secondary school study completed over a three year period.

Analysis was completed by use of Miles and Huberman (1981) analysis procedures for qualitative research. Their procedure includes coding and category development, data reduction, data displays and conclusion drawing/ verification.

Analysis of the phenomenon of teacher professional collegiality as found in this study was specifically focused on three areas of interest: 1) teacher perceptions of collegial relationships; 2) contextual features that influence relationships; and 3) how information gained from collegial relationships is used in teachers' work. Differences between the two schools in the study were also analyzed.

Review of Recent Research

Before discussing this study's findings, a brief review of the current research concerning the phenomenon of professional collegiality is in order. Since Chapter II was written in 1990, research concerning the phenomenon of collegiality has continued to develop. This brief review covers research from 1990 till 1995. Included in this review of more recent research are two of the three literatures discussed in Chapter II -- the organizational perspective, and the teacher work and teacher change perspective of professional collegiality. The sociological perspective is not reviewed as that perspective was a historical perspective in Chapter II.

Organizational Perspective on Collegiality

The organizational literature discussed in Chapter II included the effective schools research and research on professionalization of the teaching profession. Both of

these literatures continue to suggest the importance of professional collegiality. Each is briefly reviewed.

Effective schools research. The effective schools research continues to emphasize the importance of a strong school culture based on the belief that all children can learn. This culture is reinforced by the development of a shared vision and school goals (Wohlstetter & Smyer, 1994). Collegiality and collaboration have become important components of the effective schools research as they are the basis for the development of the school culture (Peterson with Brietzke, 1994).

Most recently the effective schools literature has focused on schools as communities. As such, the term is used to further the understanding of the school culture. Sergiovanni (1994b) suggested that schools as communities connect people based on commitment. "Communities are socially organized around relationships and the felt interdependencies that nurture them (Sergiovanni, 1994b:217)." These interdependencies bond people together and bind them to concepts, images, values, goals, and visions of a shared idea. Collegiality in communities comes from emotional and normative ties -- felt interdependencies and mutual obligation. As communities reinforce the underlying school's cultural, collegiality is defined as teachers having a shared vision and shared goals.

Jones and Ross (1994), on the other hand, defined collegiality in the effective schools literature as teachers empowered to think creatively and learn new ways of working. Teachers who work collegially, as decision makers and collaborators, make improvements to the school's educational program that foster student learning. Furthermore, teachers empowered to work collegially in creative ways improve student

learning by sharing information about the uniform school vision and goals that are created collaboratively by all staff.

Even though the effective schools research continues, reform agendas using this research have not been successful. Crow (1994) suggested three reasons for varied implementation of the effective schools research into practice, all of which focus on professional collegiality. First, teacher collegial relationships are difficult to develop and sustain because the common vision and goals are not clear cut and not acceptable to all staff. Second, teachers don't work together because they perceive that their peers lack expertise in making needed changes. Third, teacher stability is hard to maintain. Consequently, professional collegiality based on the concept of community is difficult to develop and maintain. In conclusion, the effective schools research recognizes the need for professional collegiality by way of including professional communities as an important characteristic to the development of shared vision and goals. But, the research finds systemic change is difficult because of the emotional and normative aspects of the professional collegiality phenomenon.

Professionalization of teaching. In reviewing recent literature concerning the professionalization of teaching, two varying ideas have developed. First, as stated in Chapter II, the professionalization literature continues to focus on school based management (SBM) programs as a means of developing teacher professionalism (Ogawa & White, 1994). The purpose of such programs is to develop a shared governance system in which teachers engage in school wide participatory management. Recent surveys suggest that approximately one-third of the nations school districts have some form of a SBM program (Ogawa & White, 1994). Program evaluations have been

difficult because SBM concepts and descriptions across schools are vague and ambiguous. Furthermore, of the four elements of participatory management (power, information, rewards, and knowledge and skills) only power seems to be emphasized -- but even power varies as to the involvement of the school district (Ogawa & White, 1994).

Research findings suggested that SBM programs did improve social and collegial relationships for those interested in school governance, but there was little potential for school improvement based on improving teaching and learning (Weiss, 1993). Fullan and Miles (1992) suggested that SBM as a reform program rarely resulted in changes to instructional skills or the school's culture. Thus, SBM programs have not entered into the more rigorous and important work of improving student learning (Kruse, Louis & Bryk, 1994; Mohrman & Wohlstetter, 1994). Mohrman and Wohlstetter (1994) suggested that effective SBM programs should foster goals for the educational process that include the establishment of a learning community where teachers are engaged in knowledge building about teaching, learning, and curriculum.

Johnson and Boles (1994) suggested that SBM programs promoting the learning community should focus on two of the other elements of decision making -- information, and knowledge and skills. In so doing, the SBM programs would foster a professional culture in which teacher discourse focuses on teaching and learning and resulting decisions would benefit students (Lieberman, 1988; Little, 1987; Rosenholtz, 1989). In order for this to occur, SBM programs should include the creation of a professional culture. This professional culture will move the SBM program further toward the school improvement that reformers suggest as being important. It is the reflecting on

knowledge that moves teachers toward collaborative inquiry -- learning and experimentation with practice -- that Little (1990) indicated is the foundation for collegial relationships and the development of teacher professionalization. Thus, programs that work to develop the professionalization of teaching through shared governance must also work to create a school culture that fosters collegiality.

The fourth element, rewards, has not been a focus of SBM programs to date. Efforts to initiate external rewards have met with resistance from various groups. Intrinsic rewards as a result of involvement in SBM programs have been suggested, but to gain these intrinsic rewards teachers need "more time for preparation, improved curriculum, and additional staff development" (Ogawa & White, 1994: 69). Furthermore, to gain such rewards, there must be a decentralization of power, information, and knowledge and skills. Consequently, these four elements are closely linked and must include all four elements if professionalization of teaching is to be truly effective.

The second idea found in the professionalization of teaching literature concerns the concept of professional communities as a form of school culture. Sergiovanni (1992) indicated that all schools have cultures but all schools are not communities. This concept of professional communities has most recently been associated with school organizations instead of the profession at large (Kruse & Louis, 1993). In using the community metaphor attention is drawn to norms and beliefs of practice, collegial relationships, shared goals, occasions for collaboration, and problems of mutual support and obligation (McLaughlin, 1993).

Researchers studying professional communities suggested five elements are necessary if schools are to be considered strong professional communities (Kruse, Louis, & Bryk, 1994). These five elements include: 1) reflective dialogue; 2) de-privatization of practice; 3) collective focus on student learning; 4) collaboration; and 5) shared norms and values. In order for these elements to exist, several conditions were suggested as necessary. These conditions were organized into two categories -- structural conditions and human or social resources. The structural conditions included time to meet, physical proximity, interdependent teaching roles (i.e., team teaching), communication structures, and teacher empowerment and school autonomy (SBM). The human or social resource conditions included openness to improvement, trust and respect, supportive leadership, and socialization.

The difficulty with creating these conditions is that people tend to focus on one condition without the other. In so doing, they create barriers to the development of a professional community (Sergiovanni, 1992). In other words, a professional community does not result when only the structural conditions are developed or when only the human social conditions are developed. Underpinning this discussion of professional community is the concept of professional collegiality. Professional collegiality will not develop when there is a focus on only the structural conditions because these conditions do not increase attention to planning and consultation focused on learning, experimentation, and trust. Because colleagues are a potentially important source of work norms and sanctions, schools need to foster professional communities that emphasize the social-normative dimension of professional practice along with the contextual features (Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994).

Researchers who have recently completed studies on professional communities at the high school level suggested three important findings (Kruse, Louis, & Bryk, 1994; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994). First, school size and the diverse work of teachers were difficulties that needed to be overcome (Kruse, Louis, & Bryk, 1994). Second, gender composition of teachers appeared to be a significant factor in the development of professional communities (Kruse, Louis, & Bryk, 1994). Schools comprised mainly of females were more likely to develop a stronger sense of community than schools that were more evenly balanced. Third, multiple communities reinforced or competed for teacher membership (Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994). Talbert and McLaughlin (1994) "expect that strong teacher communities" fostering professionalism included a common knowledge base, commitment to students learning, professional identities and commitments (p. 130). Findings in the CRC research suggested that teacher community was strongly related to shared conceptions of teaching practice and to professional commitment. Thus, collegial teachers develop relationships that focus on interdependence as suggested by Little (1990).

In summary, the recent research and literature concerned with the professionalization of teaching suggests that reorganizing schools for shared school governance will not in itself be sufficient to professionalize teaching or improve student learning. Reorganization programs need to focus on the normative aspects of the professional community. Furthermore, school size, gender, and competing communities are features that impact the development of and maintenance of professional communities within schools.

Teacher Work and Teacher Change Perspectives of Collegiality

Most recent research and literature concerning teacher work and teacher change has developed three new themes. Each theme is discussed briefly.

Teacher work. The first theme discusses what teacher professional collegiality includes and the criteria for the development of collegiality in schools. In discussing teacher collegiality, Fullan and Hargreaves (1992) suggested there were different types of teacher relationships found in schools. They suggested three forms of relationships that were not collegial -- balkanization, comfortable collaboration and contrived collegiality. Balkanization concerns the separate and competing groups that seek power and influence in schools for meeting their own needs. Comfortable collaboration is a form of restricted collaboration that minimizes the deeper, extended relationships that foster problem-solving, exchange of craft knowledge and professional support. In this form of collaboration teachers do share materials, some instructional techniques and bits of wisdom, but all forms of collegiality are focused on immediate short term issues. Contrived collegiality is a formal bureaucratic procedure to increase joint work for the purpose of planning, consultation, and working together. On the whole, contrived collegiality rarely produces substantial and productive informal linkages (Peterson with Brietzke, 1994).

The literature also gives further understanding to joint work collegiality, more recently described as professional collegiality. Sergiovanni (1992) suggested that teachers are professional colleagues when they are members of a community committed to a common cause. Furthermore, collegial teachers have shared professional values, shared professional heritage and respect for colleagues. In other words, a community of

collegial teachers is based on norms and values that define the faculty as a community of like minded teachers bonded to a common commitment. Macke (1994) suggested that the bonding is based on respect, acceptance and support. Congeniality is not collegiality in this description. Congeniality concerns friendly human relationships based on interpersonal loyalty and affection, trust and easy conversation. Congeniality is found in strong informal cultures that include social norms.

In this description of professional collegiality, there is an emphasis placed on professional communities within the school's culture. Culture is described as the structured reality consisting of beliefs, values, and norms that govern the worth of the group and how the members should feel, think, and behave (Sergiovanni, 1992). Culture in this respect represents the values that bind people together and provide a normative basis for action and hold teachers accountable for the numerous tasks involved in educating students (Grimmett & Crehan, 1992). These values are a deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs shared by organizational members. These assumptions operate unconsciously and define the organization's view of itself and its environment (Schein, 1992). Therefore, teacher professional collegiality encompass deep, personal, and enduring commitments to a professional community (Fullan, 1990). Or as Sergiovanni (1992) suggested, they are the virtues of collegiality -- the fulfillment of an obligation and the way one behaves collegially. What this means is that collegial fulfillment is the right to expect help and support and the obligation to give help and support. Collegial behavior concerns the proper professional attitude or orientation and not the behavior towards other colleagues.

In extensive research completed by Johnson (1990), factors critical to the development of collegial relationships were suggested. First, good teachers who were committed, generous, open to change, eager to learn, and could see beyond private successes and failures were a necessary factor. Second, also important were supportive organizational norms based on sharing, cooperation and congeniality -- interpersonal harmony was the norm. Third, there were reference groups to which members belonged. In large high schools these groups were not the total staff but smaller groups of teachers. Fourth, sufficient time was needed to develop trust and respect. Fifth, encouraging and accommodating administrators who promoted teacher leadership, encouraged exchange of ideas and fostered teachers working together were also necessary.

Furthermore, Johnson (1990) indicated that teachers had a role in the development of collaborative cultures because they were the ones who constituted and created the context of collegiality. But even when teacher attitudes and virtues were conducive to collegial cultures, structural barriers needed to be addressed. These structural barriers included time to interact, poorly designed schedules, randomly assigned rooms, and absence of meaningful sub-units in the school. Furthermore, to sustain collegial relationships, Dorsch (1994) suggested shared interest, democratic process of deliberation and critique, commitment to colleagues, and information/communication structures were required.

Teacher change literature. The second theme found in this literature concerns the question of researching professional collegiality in the workplace. Recently, researchers have called into question the negative versus optimistic view surrounding the norm of privatizm and norm of collegiality (Little, 1992). These researchers suggest that teacher

prerogatives are an important aspect to the study of why teachers remain independent and individualistic. The consequence of this re-evaluation is that "privacy" and "community" may not be an either/or condition but a fluid, dynamic, and situationally specific condition which needs to be better understood.

Two prominent researchers suggested very different ideas about teacher privatizm. Huberman (1993) argued that teachers are independent artisans. Therefore, organizations need to make the best use of the inevitable independence found in teaching by creating smaller community units of colleagues. In Huberman's model, the question of civic purpose, one reason we have schools, was not addressed (Little, 1992). On the other hand, Hargreaves' (1993) study of teacher planning time suggested that there was a difference between individualism and individuality (i.e., independence). In fact, he distinguished between the destructive forms of individualism and the constructive forms of individuality. Two forms of individuality, Hargreaves (1993) argued, were considered deliberate strategies teachers used to preserve and extend control over their work. These two forms included "strategic individualism" and "elective individualism". Strategic individualism concerned the ways teachers buffer the complex demands of their work by limiting interruptions and intrusions. Elective individualism focused on the individual prerogatives teachers preserved so they could fulfill their conception of the ethic of caring and responsibility toward students. In other words, teachers chose individualism and only entered into associations with other teachers based on personal beliefs and values about the work of teaching and whether associations with other teachers supported or detracted from that work. Opportunity for association was necessary but not the only condition necessary for interaction. Beliefs and values concerning teachers'

working relationships also guided interactions within the available opportunities (Hargreaves, 1993; Smylie, 1992).

These challenges to the "unrelievedly negative stance toward teachers' privacy" refocus and broaden the possibilities for understanding why teachers exercise independence and individuality in their work (Little, 1992:161). Little suggested that future research should take into account the situational variables that teachers describe as ways to account for their actions as individuals and as part of a community. Teachers' own words and actions could help to develop an understanding of the distinction between individualism and community. In completing such research, there needs to be further examination of community to better understand the formation of the group.

"Consciousness of Kind" is how Little (1992) explained the existence of community in schools. This consciousness of kind is at the heart of community and is expressed in how the members recognize one another, the social limits they place on each other, and situational factors each member perceives that indicate a common identity. Communities may be anticipated by creating boundaries and giving meaning to group membership but not fully understood by use of the nominal labels currently applied. Little (1992) suggested that further examination using different labels may be helpful. In other words, examine data for teacher talk that suggests the varied reference groups teachers acknowledge and enter. These groups may form around aspects of teaching such as students, instructional assignments, departments, or specialized subject. Or, they may form around other conditions found in the context of the school. In any case, research should look for features that help to explain the conditions of independence and community found among teachers, groups, and schools. In this way,

the phenomenon of professional collegiality can be better understood.

At the high school level, departments are one such group that has most recently been suggested as one way to understand community and professional collegiality. Interestingly, departments have not been a major factor in former research on high schools but they are the most prominent domain of potential interdependence among high school teachers (Little, 1992; Siskin, 1991; Talbert, 1993). Departments as communities are defined not as groups of teachers but subject specialists who share specialized language and knowledge. Departments have been found to be subcultures within schools that bring to the schoolwide culture varied perspectives on the work of teaching (Inger, 1993; McLaughlin, 1993; Siskin, 1991; Talbert, 1993).

Research studies focused on departments as communities described varied differences concerning collegial relationships among departments within the same school (Little, 1993; Siskin, 1991; Talbert, 1993). The nature of collegial relationships in these up close professional communities were critical to how teachers thought about their practice (McLaughlin, 1993). Teachers in the same school but in different departments developed different responses to similar students dependent on the character of the collegial environment found in the department (McLaughlin, 1993). Highly collegial departments had an expressed conception of what the department was all about -- a vision -- and how that conception impacted the work of individual teachers. These highly collegial and collaborative departments were more than supportive social communities in that they had developed norms of innovation and learning (McLaughlin, 1993). The result was that having a strong professional community was not enough to develop a learning community. Reflection, feedback, problem-solving, and democratic

decision making were necessary so the community did not stagnated (McLaughlin, 1993). Inger (1993) also suggested that department affiliated communities limited the pursuit of new curricular and organizational arrangements because the members had scant opportunities or reason to engage in meaningful collaboration with teachers in other departments. In conclusion, professional collegiality and individualism in departments have recently been suggested as one way to better understand the varied communities found in high schools and the impact these communities have on the work of teachers.

However, to study the phenomenon of professional collegiality by dwelling on closed classroom doors and boundaries of the department may not be most productive (Little, 1992). Collegial exchanges are frequent and varying, and teachers may belong to multiple reference groups simultaneously. Consequently, researchers need to look for affiliations as they arise in teachers' talk to account for the complexity found in the daily lives of teachers as they partake in individualism and communities. This emphasis on the informal nature of teacher professional interactions is important because to date research concerned with the daily lives of teachers and informal collegiality continues to be sparse (Bainer & Didham, 1993). Much of the research concerned with professional collegiality is found within staff development programs or school improvement programs (Bainer & Didham, 1993; Joyce, 1990).

Contextual features. The third theme in this literature concerns contextual features important for the development of community within schools. The first contextual feature focuses on time and the use of time. Raywid (1993) and Sidler (1993) indicated that time was a necessary factor for collaboration to take place. Poorly

designed schedules left little time to collaborate (Johnson, 1990). Hargreaves (1992) agreed but indicated that more time does not necessarily enhance the processes of association, community, or collegiality. There also must be a commitment to collaborative work on the part of teachers. The commitment may be found in programs or agendas which bring groups of people together.

The focus on programs is the second contextual feature discussed in the literature. Collegial relationships may develop as programs or agendas are initiated but only if teacher involvement fosters collegial interactions in which there is an exchange of ideas, debate over issues and techniques, or shared experimentation. In other words, community and collegial relationships may arise when teachers identify a group as a source of change or improvement, a source of help to learn the craft of teaching, a source for developing a shared technical language and deepening their understanding of subject matter and/or pedagogy within a respectful, trusting, environment. But entry into these groups and the development of collegial relationships must be voluntary (Krovetz & Cohick, 1993). Teachers need to be able to choose who to work with and what to work on. Current research on teacher change using staff development programs and/or school improvement programs reiterates what was stated in Chapter II and most successfully argued by Little (1982, 1990). Teacher collegial talk is an important component of learning and making fundamental change to instruction (Dorsch, 1994; Ellis, 1993; Joyce, 1990; Krovetz & Cohick, 1993; Macke, 1994; Sidler, 1993).

However, collegial relationships can not be forced on teachers by way of programs or other invented means. Professional collegial relationships are no different from personal relationships. People "tend to want to, and do, take a more active role in

deciding the purpose, nature, and duration of the relationship" (Cole, 1992:378). Every relationship is exclusive and rests on individualization. Attention to programmed prescriptions will not create the most conducive environment for professional collegial relationships -- attention to the school context and culture will. In other words, programs used as a managerial tool to develop collegiality and cooperation will most likely lead to teacher rejection or neutralization of the program (Smyth, 1991). Furthermore, as already suggested, in large schools especially large high schools, program agendas that focus on developing a school wide collegial environment may not be possible. Teachers are citizens whose work is idiosyncratic in nature. They have difficulty buying into broad general visions and missions. A better approach is to develop smaller communities of colleagues who share some part of the larger school culture and can make contributions based on their beliefs and values (Huberman, 1993).

To summarize, the teacher work and teacher change literature suggests there are varied forms of professional communities. Three of these forms do not lead to change or innovation that are suggested as necessary if student learning is to result. The fourth form, learning communities, focuses on teacher professional collegiality and gives further meaning to the conceptualization of professional collegiality. Second, this literature has reevaluated the dichotomy of individuality and community. The result is that researchers concerned with teacher professional collegiality need to better understand why teachers enter varied reference groups. Third, contextual features of time and programs were reviewed to understand why reforms have not been successful in creating change in schools.

In conclusion, this brief literature review suggests that schools are home to multiple and sometimes competing or conflicting cultures. Smaller microclimates seem to replace the school as the most meaningful arena for change, especially in secondary schools. Reforms should not focus on formal, structural or material aspects of the workplace, but attend to: 1) the situated norms, beliefs, and values the staff places on practice; 2) the priorities expressed by the teachers and students; and 3) the problems of mutual support and obligation. Reforms can not manage or command what happens in schools, but they can cultivate and support values and beliefs compatible with successful school environments such that learning communities develop (Little & McLaughlin, 1993).

Discussion

In summarizing this study's findings, a discussion of the three main areas of interest is completed. In this discussion, similarities and differences in this studies' findings are related to former research concerning teacher collegial relationships.

Teachers' Perception of Collegiality

The first area of interest in this study was to explore teachers' perceptions about the phenomenon of collegiality. The findings suggested that these teachers have cultivated a complex culture of collegiality within which collegial relationships develop. The complexity results from the ways teachers developed perceptions about the collegial culture in the school and incorporate personal values, beliefs, and attitudes when making decisions about potential colleagues available in the environment. Even though each individual teacher had personalized a set of values about collegiality, all teachers in the

study appeared to agree on certain basic points about the culture of collegiality. Three important concepts emerged from data analysis concerning teacher perceptions of the professional collegial culture.

First, the culture of collegiality incorporated the value of independence and interdependence. These values were complementary rather than conflicting. In this sample group, independence referred to norms of privacy and individuality as related to the practice of teaching, while interdependence referred to norms of support, continuity, and sharing which were external to classroom practice. These values were not strict guidelines, but rather flexible concepts used when making decisions about potential colleagues. Thus, each individual teacher made decisions about the amount of independence or interdependence they valued at any given time.

The second concept important to the culture of collegiality was the etiquette of collegiality found in the school's collegial culture. This etiquette of collegiality was a flexible unwritten code of conduct that reinforced the values of collegiality. Specifically, the etiquette of collegiality suggested by the teachers in this study was composed of four standards of propriety used during collegial relationships. The respond/do not initiate standard was useful as a way of being there for others but not overstepping the bounds of independence. The honor competence/avoid criticism standard reinforced the value of independence. The courtesy standard referred to treating others fairly and as equals. The humor standard described the need for laughter but not at another teachers expense. Each teacher used qualifiers to explain personal use of these etiquette standards. But there were limits to the personal interpretations of the standards. If persons did not adhere to some semblance of the standards, they were removed from the collegial group.

The third concept concerning teacher perceptions of collegiality was that individual teachers had a set of characteristics for colleagues that they used to make decisions about potential colleagues. In this study, four characteristics were salient to teachers. These characteristics included: 1) cognitive knowledge; 2) affective features; 3) relationships beyond the school; and 4) demographic characteristics. Teachers looked for peers who had valued knowledge and similar views, who they could trust and respect, and who were of the same gender, race, and age, and who might be friends beyond the school. Teachers rarely entered collegial relationships beyond the school. Instead, shared fate and daily contacts were important to these teachers as they sought colleagues. The difficulty was that development and use of peer characteristics could be limiting. Teachers who found one or more of these important characteristics not available within the school located colleagues beyond the school. These teachers suggested that specialized course knowledge, and/or personal interests were reasons for developing collegial relationships external to the school. Mobility and stability also reduced development of collegial relationships based on peer characteristics. Teachers who moved between departments and schools found it difficult to develop trusting relationships and learn about peers' views and knowledge. However, for the most part, teacher professional collegial relationships remained inside the school.

These findings suggest that the teachers in this study have a complex perception of the phenomenon of teacher collegiality. First, these teachers value collegial relationships that focus on coordination, sharing, and support but not classroom practice. This finding is consistent with former research. Johnson (1990) found that "teachers viewed collegial interactions as an essential component of their work" (p. 155) and their

interactions were based on sharing, coordinating and supporting each other.

Second, as in the larger CRC study and also former research, the value of independence (norm of privacy in former research) is used as a means of privatizing classroom practices (Huberman, 1993; Little, 1990; Lortie, 1975; McLaughlin, 1993; Rosenholtz, 1989; Zahorik, 1987). However, this study does not see the value of independence as being iniquitous. But, as Hargreaves (1993) suggested, the value of independence as found in this study brings to light aspects of independence that help explain its continued persistence in school organizations. Specifically, in this study, the concept of independence is unpacked to understand its meaning and function in the pursuit of collegial relationships. As in Hargreaves' (1993) study, the teachers in this study described the value of independence to mean autonomy, control, ownership, the right to make personal decisions and judgments, and to exercise personal decisions, initiatives and creativity. These teachers valued individual autonomy and had difficulty in shifting to collective autonomy. Basically, the values of collegiality found in this study are an adaptive strategy self-imposed by teachers to protect personal needs. Thus, this study supports recent research by Hargreaves (1993) in which he talks about the defensible choice and a preferred way of being and working as reasons for having the value of independence.

Third, these teachers have a set of etiquette standards to help guide and give boundaries to collegial relationships. This finding is relatively uncharted in the larger CRC research and also former research on the phenomenon of collegiality. There are instances where two of the four etiquette of collegial standards are briefly mentioned in literature focused on help-giving. These discussions focus on conditions that affect

collegial interactions. For example, Huberman (1993) stated that "unsolicited offers of advice or technical assistance are widely interpreted as an expression of arrogance" (p.29) -- which speaks to the respond/do not initiate standard found in this study. Little (1990) stated that psychological and social costs -- sense of competence, status, and obligations incurred -- were conditions contemplated when making choices about seeking help or giving help. These "costs" relate to the honor competence/avoid criticism standard found in this study. Furthermore, the sociological literature in describing the norm of professional standard discusses honoring competence (Wilensky, 1964). Much of the literature directed toward the phenomenon of collegiality talks about norms of collegiality, norms of collective responsibility, norms of personalization, norms of support for collaboration, etc., but these discussions only state that they need to be present. Talbert (1993) specifically addressed school norms and structures that give support to collegial relationships, but specific etiquette of collegiality standards were not a part of the description of a highly collegial school. Thus, the concept that teachers develop an etiquette of collegiality gives further insight into the understanding of the phenomenon of collegiality.

Fourth, the teachers in this study personally developed a set of peer characteristics they felt were important when making choices about potential colleagues. Only some of these characteristics are discussed in former research. This study, like former research found that teachers turn to colleagues who have similar knowledge or knowledge they desired even if they had to go beyond the school to find it (Johnson, 1990, 1990a; Rosenholtz, 1989; Talbert, 1993; Zahorik, 1987). But mostly, like in Johnson's (1990) study, teachers found colleagues within the school. The peer

characteristics of affective features and friendships have also been found in former research (Huberman, 1993; Johnson, 1990; Little, 1993). In this study, teachers turned to peers they trusted who had similar personalities and philosophies (Huberman, 1993; Johnson, 1990; Little, 1987). Research is relatively silent where demographic characteristics are concerned. Basically, some characteristics have been briefly described but have not been researched extensively as a factor of professional collegial relationships. For example, Cole (1992), in talking about a beginning teacher, indicated that collegial relationships formed around similar age, personality, experience and teaching assignments. Little (1993) indicated that department cohesion is weakened when there are itinerant teachers or teachers are removed. The one exception is gender as a demographic characteristic. Kruse, Louis, and Bryk (1994) talk about gender differences in relationship to the development of professional collegial communities. Outside of these relatively few references, former research on the phenomenon of collegiality is silent about ethnicity, professional organizations, staff stability and mobility.

In conclusion, some of the findings in this study concerning teachers' perceptions of collegiality support former research and the larger CRC study, while other findings especially the concept of using the values of collegiality, etiquette of collegiality and other peer characteristics for making decisions are undocumented and give a new perspective to understand the complexity of collegial relationships.

Contextual Features

A second area of interest to this study was the question of how collegial relationships were affected by the general environment of the school. In this study, the

analysis of data suggested three factors related to the development and maintenance of collegial relationships. These were the issues around which teachers interacted, the forms of collegial relationships, and other contextual features of the school.

Issues. Issues are what bring collegial groups together. Four specific points concerning issues emerged in this study. First, issues were topics of conversation both individually and contextually developed. In other words, individual teachers entered collegial relationships because they had an important issue or an issue emerged from the school context that they found interesting. Second, each teacher decided to enter collegial relationships based on a personal need to become involved in a specific issue. In this way, issues were self-serving. Third, because issues more or less impacted teachers' work, teachers engaged in multiple issues simultaneously. Specifically, most issues discussed were connected to clients and/or reduction of teacher independence, both of which impacted how teachers went about work. But these teachers also indicated that there were issues that were off limits and not discussed. These included policies surrounding work conditions, or other teachers' independent work. Fourth, issues and collegial groups changed over time. Issues wax and wane based on group interest and/or ability to attain a solution.

Forms. In addition to issues, forms of collegiality guided teacher interactions during collegial relationships. Through analysis two points became evident. First, seven forms of collegiality were used by these teachers. To the five forms reported in previous research, this study adds the collegial forms of networking and organization. A continuum was developed that classified these seven forms as more or less interdependent. The analysis showed how these forms reinforced and maintained the

values and etiquette of collegiality. No matter what form of collegiality was used, maintenance of values and etiquette were required.

Second, all teachers in this study participated in all forms that were independent, such as support, story telling and networking. Fewer teachers engaged in more interdependent forms, such as sharing, organization and joint work. All teachers engaged in multiple forms of collegiality simultaneously with multiple groups of colleagues. Collegial groups using more independent forms usually had larger membership while groups using more interdependent forms had smaller membership. Furthermore, teachers engaged in multiple groups when the forms were more independent, but engaged in one group where the forms were more interdependent. Thus, there was overlapping membership in independent forms and virtually no overlapping of membership in more interdependent forms. Finally, within any one collegial group, multiple forms of collegiality were used. The number of different forms of collegiality used during collegial relationships depended on the focus of the group -- groups focused more on joint work might use all seven forms, but groups focused on support did not venture too far toward interdependent forms.

Other contextual features. The analysis also suggests that three characteristics of the general school environment are related to teacher professional collegiality. These include organizational arrangements, school governance, and clients.

Within organizational arrangements, three attributes were salient in interview data. First, scheduling or time directly affected professional collegial relationships. The main times for collegial interactions were found to be passing time and lunch time. Thus, class schedules directly related to who was available, when, and where. Second,

room assignments affected collegial relationships. During passing time, teachers talked with persons who were in close proximity, whether they were departmentally arranged or randomly assigned. In this study, proximity was an important source of collegiality. Third, the building's physical structure affected collegial relationships. Being able to get to various areas of the building allowed for relationships to develop over space. Teachers who were removed from the general building traffic found development of collegial relationships more difficult.

The second characteristic of the general school environment was school governance. Two findings appear relevant to teacher collegial relationships in this area. First, teachers implemented policies that met personal needs or implemented policies loosely so the value of independence was maintained. Second, policy development did not impact collegial relationships. In these schools, the flattened organizational structure allowed teachers to have a voice in policy development. The school improvement council (SIC) was supposed to help cultivate community collegiality by embracing organizational mission, goals and values, but findings in this study suggested otherwise. No shared mission or goals were found. Furthermore, SIC was unable to establish policies due to lack of support from administration and staff. Thus, teachers had difficulty taking governance into their own hands and creating a school wide collegial group. These teachers perceived that this externally developed program had little to no effect on collegial relationships. In fact, they suggested that it was divisive. Thus, these teachers maintained collegial relationships in spite of the SICs.

The third characteristic of the general school environment is students. Findings in this study suggested that students had little impact on collegial relationships. The only

collegial groups that formed around students included teachers who had a personal need to work with a colleague about a specific group of students. Student mobility and special programs appeared to be the only reasons for developing collegial relationships based on students. Consequently, even though students were a topic of conversation, they did not seem to be the reason for the development of most collegial relationships.

In summary, issues brought these teachers together. The issues were self-serving, multiple in number, and continually changing. These findings support former research on collegial groups (Bolin & Falk, 1987; Huberman, 1993; Little, 1990; Lortie, 1975; Rosenholtz, 1989; Zahorik, 1987). And, like former research, "collegiality stopped at the classroom door" (Zahorik, 1987:391). Collegial relationships in this study rarely included the practice of teaching, or other issues deemed off limits because they would cause conflict among group members. Thus the ascription provided by Little (1987) that collegial relationships are "fragile" was found in this study.

Second, this study started analysis of data by using the five forms of collegiality described by Little (1990) but soon added two new forms to give further delineation to the independent/interdependent continuum that has been suggested as important to understanding the demands on autonomy and initiative. This study supported Little's (1990) theory that the values and etiquette of collegiality reinforce the various forms of collegiality and that teachers use multiple forms of collegiality with multiple groups of colleagues for multiple purposes (Little, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989; Talbert, 1993; Zahorik, 1987). Furthermore, as in Johnson's (1990) study, membership to groups varied dependent on the form of collegiality in use and the purpose for the group. Fullan and Hargreaves' (1991) conception of varied communities based on purpose was also found

in this study. In fact, all four types of teacher relationships occurred simultaneously and not individually as suggested by Fullan and Hargreaves. The most prevalent were the non-collegial relationships of balkanization, comfortable collaboration and contrived collegiality. But there was also the rare case of a community working toward professional collegiality -- the polytechnique group. Fullan and Hargreaves' types of community relationships seemed to relate to Little's (1990) forms of collegiality. The result was a different approach to understanding the continuum from least interdependent to more interdependent. Thus, in looking at the interactions, Fullan and Hargreaves (1991) suggested different meanings to the interactions that occurred.

Last, contextual features affected collegial relationships. The organizational arrangements of time and location found in this study are well documented in former research and the larger CRC study (Johnson, 1990; Little, 1987; Lortie, 1975; McLaughlin, 1993; Talbert, 1993). But this study deviated from the larger CRC work in that teachers in this study suggested that proximity was important to collegial relationships (McLaughlin, 1993). The teachers in this study did not talk as much about departments as the focal group for collegial relationships. But as Little (1992) suggested, this study looked at all relevant groups. Possible reasons for the lack of departmental groups in this study could be: 1) teachers were not arranged by department in one of the schools; 2) teacher relationships were based on special programs; or 3) teachers in this study described relevant groups due to how research questions were worded.

This study's findings concerning school governance are supported by the larger CRC work on school contexts (Huberman, 1993; Little, 1990; Little & McLaughlin, 1993). Specifically, in this study, the school-wide improvement program had little to no

impact on teacher collegial relationships. If anything, the impact helped create collegial groups working against the larger school-wide program. The most recent policy discussions on developing collegial relationships in schools suggest that school level collegial communities may not create the necessary conditions for developing collegial communities focused on the practice of teaching, especially at the high school level (Huberman, 1993; Little & McLaughlin, 1993; Smyth, 1991). Little (1990), citing a particular study, stated: "The conditions and demands of specially constructed teacher collaborations may conflict with psychological orientations of teachers, the taken-for-granted social order of the school, and the customary norm of interaction within teachers' natural reference groups" (p. 530). This could very well be happening in these two schools.

Also, this study's findings concerning students as a contextual feature, is supported by the larger CRC research. Like the larger CRC study, "students were the basic referents as teachers talked about their schools" (McLaughlin, 1993:81). The findings in this study are consistent with other research that suggest teachers most often engage in collegial relationships not because of students, but "because they teach the same subject matter or the same age groups or work in the same kinds of neighborhoods ...[or] they are intrinsically interested in the tools that others have come up with in settings like their own" (Hargreaves, 1993:46).

The Relationship of Collegiality to Teachers' Work

The third research question in this study was the association of teacher collegial relationships to teachers' work. Findings in this study indicate that teachers used information acquired in collegial relationships in their work. This information included

developing support, gathering information about peers and the school context, and sharing ideas, materials and knowledge. Furthermore, teachers used information to experiment and change their teaching practice. But before implementing information, these teachers indicated that they made choices as to what information was useful. Specifically, the teachers in this study used qualifying statements when talking about what information was used in practice.

The decisions teachers made were based on their values and beliefs of independence. Five reasons for use of information found in this study suggest a focus on meeting self-interests and personal needs. First, collegial relationships reduced the intensity of teachers' work. By engaging in collegial relationships teachers were able to reduce stress and tension they encounter daily. Second, collegial relationships reduced the uncertainties of the work. These relationships created stability within a profession that continually changes. Third, collegial relationships reduced the complexity of teachers' work. This complexity involves the continual decision making process in which teachers are engaged. Gaining knowledge through networking allowed these teachers to be prepared for future decisions. Fourth, collegial relationships helped to increase the success of work. Teachers who shared materials, ideas, and information were better able to meet the needs of their students and thus feel success. Fifth, collegial relationships allowed these teachers to learn and engage in professional growth.

In summary, the teachers in this study stated that they used knowledge acquired during collegial interactions in their work. Former research concerning collegial relationships does not deny the existence of information use based on collegial interactions. The research, however, indicates that the information received is "less

concentrated and less consequential then teachers would require to reinvent their work and their workplaces" (Little, 1993:161). This study is consistent with former research in that the relationships described in this study, for the most part, constituted relatively weak influence on changing these teachers' practices. Specifically in this study, as in most former research on professional collegiality, the collegial relationships are less concentrated and less consequential to the practice of teaching, but they did influence teachers. Basically, these teachers sought out colleagues for personal needs and self-interest or as Huberman (1993) stated:

> the lure of community of peers is probably related to the sense of isolation, and of creeping infantilism in the classroom, to the support sorely needed in times of real difficulty, to the availability of other minds in moments of uncertainty, or to the pleasures of working for at least part of the time with fellow adults on projects of common and abiding interest. (p. 11)

In that these teachers sought help in the areas of support, sharing, and networking, this study supports former research that found these same areas (Johnson, 1990; Little, 1990, 1993; Zahorik, 1987). Furthermore, these teachers spoke of experimenting with the information only after they made decisions on the worth of the information. Former research in staff development suggests that teachers do not make changes readily unless the changes make sense to them (Gusky, 1986; Heckman, 1987). Thus, the teachers in these schools learn their craft largely by themselves, by seeking information they need or want, and experimenting with their practice individually in their classroom (Glidewell, Tucker, Todt, & Cox, 1983; Lortie, 1975; Pellegrin, 1976; Rosenholtz, 1989; Little, 1984).

Differences Between the Sites

Analysis was also conducted to identify differences between the two schools. Two differences were found. First, there was a difference between the schools as to how networking occurred. Freedom to make ones' thoughts known was important to the development of collegial relationships. There was more freedom at Monroe than at LaSalle. At Monroe, teachers spoke their opinions freely and let everyone know what they were thinking. At LaSalle, teachers relied on small group networking to make their opinions and ideas known among the staff. Reasons suggested for this difference concerned classroom assignments, size of the school, and the implementation of the collegial culture. In all past research concerning the phenomenon of collegiality where multiple schools have been studied, differences have been found as to the congeniality of staffs (Johnson, 1990; Little, 1982; McLaughlin, 1993; Rosenholtz, 1989; Zahorik, 1987). Most discussions have focused on the school norms of privacy versus collegiality and not on networking of collegial information.

A second difference was the number of joint work groups found in the schools. There were more groups focused on joint work at LaSalle than Monroe. The main reason for this was that smaller collegial groups with similar personal needs had taken the initiative to collaboratively develop programs that focus on a specific approach to instruction or a group of students. Findings in the larger CRC study, confirm variances between departments across schools in which collegial relationships are more or less focused on classroom practice (McLaughlin, 1993).

Summary

In conclusion, the findings from this study suggest that collegiality is a complex phenomenon that includes a wide variety of relationships focused on multiple professional matters. The flexibility of the phenomenon allows some collegial relationships to be merely supportive in nature, while others are more "soul bearing" in terms of focusing on the practice of teaching and the work that takes place behind closed doors. Having daily contact is important because it enables teachers to build trust, understand one another's beliefs, values, dispositions, etc., and have a shared fate. Teachers enter into collegial relationships based on decisions they make concerning who they approach, what they approach them about, and how they will interact. To make these decisions, teachers use information that is both individually developed and developed in the environment. Teachers feel that collegial relationships are useful in their work because they reduce the intensity, uncertainty, and complexity of the work while increasing success and learning.

The results of this study concur with former studies on the phenomenon of collegial relationships. What this study brings to the continuing discussion about teacher workplace collegiality are three ideas. First, this study unpacks the collegial culture found in two schools and suggests a set of etiquette of collegiality standards used by teachers to maintain collegial relationships. Second, this study suggests there are peer characteristics that impact the development of potential colleagues. Lastly, and most importantly, this study moves beyond former research to suggest that teachers make decisions and choices about collegial relationships based on personal values, beliefs, etiquette standards along with the issues, forms of collegiality and other contextual

features. The research literature concerning the development of and maintenance of collegial relationships, collegial communities, and school improvement have not till this time described or discussed the decisions that teachers make concerning their professional collegial encounters. The consequences of the decision-making process result in a system of collegiality within each building that provides flexibility and cohesiveness to meet the personal needs of teachers.

The System of Collegiality

The data suggests a theory concerning the system of collegiality found in these two high schools. This system of collegiality exists in both schools and is very complex. The system is based on developing and maintaining individual needs. Not found in this study is a focus on organizational needs. In this section, the system of collegiality is explained.

The findings suggest that each school maintained a number of collegial groups that, together, functioned as a collegial system. Because collegial relationships rarely extended beyond the school, the school can be likened to a highly bounded system within which a collegial system resides.

Teachers work within this bounded system. They bring to it, or learn within it, the values and beliefs of the collegial culture, including the values and etiquette of collegiality. This culture of collegiality is relatively stable. It is maintained over time because of the flexibility inherent in the culture. That is, teachers have the ability to place more or less emphasis on different cultural values and etiquette of collegiality standards at various times. Teachers also bring with them values, beliefs, attitudes, etc.

concerning personal characteristics of teachers they perceive as important for developing collegial relationships. These personal characteristics are generated and used by individuals in the system to form relationships. Thus, each individual enters the system and creates a list of potential colleagues based on perceptions of the collegial culture and desired personal characteristics of colleagues they have developed.

Issues, forms of collegiality and other contextual features are also found in the system. As issues enter the system, collegial groups start to form. But these groups are not separate and distinct. The concept of overlapping circles within circles is suggested as the structure of collegial groups. Larger circles have many members, while smaller circles have fewer members. The overlapping of circles indicates that teachers belong to more than one collegial group. The circles in this system of collegiality also relate to the forms of collegiality. Larger groups of colleagues form around independent forms of collegiality, while smaller groups engage in more interdependent forms of collegiality. Overlapping mainly occurs in more independent forms. This overlapping allows for networking within the system so everyone understands each other. In other words, teachers' views, opinions, and values flow between groups engaged in more independent forms of collegiality. But the complexity is that no one single form is used in any one collegial group. Within more independent collegial groups, members use more than one form of collegiality but usually not more than three forms. In more interdependent collegial groups, teachers can use all seven forms of collegiality.

Teachers join multiple collegial groups simultaneously based on the number of issues that are important to them. In order to join collegial groups, teachers make complex decisions about entering or forming a group based on a large amount of

information. Teachers use information about the collegial culture, potential colleagues accessible, the issue, the forms of collegiality available and deemed appropriate, along with other contextual features to make decisions on collegial relationships.

There are always multiple issues entering the system continually, so teachers continually evaluate and re-evaluate personal needs as to the importance of a particular issue. The outcome is that the issues are in constant flux. But the loosely-coupled system maintains stability over time because the system allows teachers to flow freely within it, to work on personal needs, and to maintain personally held values of what aspects of work are independent of collegial relationships. Thus, teachers enter the system and engage in collegial relationships when issues arise that jeopardize their value of independence or when they need to meet personal needs.

In conclusion, the system of collegiality is based on personal beliefs, values and ideas participants bring to the system and also learn within the system. As teachers are faced with situations, problems, and issues that enter the system, they make decisions about engaging in collegial relationships. These collegial relationships last only as long as the issue is of importance to the individual or group.

Conclusion

As found in this study, there is a difference between definitions of professional collegiality dependent on who is doing the defining -- teachers, researchers, reformers. These differences are based on how the various groups define professional work. Past research on the phenomenon of professional collegiality suggests that teachers rarely enter into collegial relationships based on their professional work -- that which takes

place in the classroom between teacher and students. This study confirms that teachers rarely engage in this form of collegial relationship. But, the strength of this study lies in the analysis of life in ordinary high schools and how teachers engage in collegial relationships that focus on a wide variety of other important aspects of work -- carrying out policy, gaining knowledge about the school, gathering information about peers, etc. To that end, this study presents a theory as to why the individualism, presentizm and conservatism of collegiality remains strong. Specifically, teachers naturally enter a complex collegial system so the work of teaching is made easier, more self fulfilling and meets personal needs. If schools are to move forward and enter into more interdependent forms of collegial work, administrators, policy makers and teachers need to understand the naturally occurring phenomenon of collegiality and use this information to nurture a different collegial arrangement within school organizations. Thus, implementation of a different system of collegiality would require an understanding of other aspects of the educational setting beyond organizational structure and contextual features.

This study suggests that policy frames centering on the formal structural, material, rule-making, and reorganized governance system as routes to better schools are questionable. Policy frames and strategies that center on situated norms and beliefs of practice may be more productive. This means that policy must come to terms with the tension between individual and community concepts, and the self-interest versus organizational interests that teachers hold. Specifically, when teachers are focused on self-interest, other-interests remain obsolete. Policies that focus on situated norms and beliefs of practice and on norms of mutual support and obligation could be more productive. Thus, a closer examination of teachers' orientation to students, teaching,

learning, and subject matter could help in the development of specific strategies to cultivate and support values and norms compatible with successful schools based on successful students. In that this study furthers the understanding of how values are maintained, strategies to alter these values may be more easily developed.

Second, policy reformers need to understand the complexity of the collegial system and how externally developed programs focused at the school level may be inappropriate. The findings in this study suggest that the use of multiple communities within the school may be a more appropriate level of reform. These multiple communities extend beyond the department level to include various sub-groups. This is not to suggest that the complexity found in the collegial system developed in this study is chaotic but is a well ordered system that works to maintain itself. By examining the system more closely, policy frames could be developed that use the strengths of the system to alter the work completed within it.

In conclusion, to implement a policy frame or strategy without understanding the inter-relatedness of the school's collegial system and the context in which it resides will result in limited change. This is because the collegial system as described in this study is complex, coherent and resilient to changes suggested for current school organizations. To develop professional collegial relationships that are long lasting, focused on the practice of teaching, used to have teachers engage in thoughtful problem solving and professional development, current institutional structures and individual teachers' ethos will need to be addressed simultaneously.

Recommendations for Further Research

In that this study of secondary schools was exploratory in nature, a number of features need further examination. The decision making process used by the teachers in these two high schools is important to understand. Specifically, the personally held characteristics of teachers that are used during the selection of potential colleagues needs further exploration. Also, the concept of using values of collegiality and etiquette of collegiality flexibly need further clarification. Lastly, there are other groups that influence the decision making process not included in this study -- administrators and parents for example. The impact of these groups on the collegial system is a question which is important to understand. Thus, further research concerning the collegial decision making process and all its components is suggested.

The idea that issues have a great influence on the development and maintenance of collegial relationships also needs further study. The interview data did not allow for extensive investigation on how issues impact the collegial system and work to alter it. In other words, probing into the teachers' stories to get further information was limited in this study. These probes would help to clarify why these issues are important, why certain colleagues are selected and what interactions are involved. These stories are also useful to further understand the interactions that occur during collegial relationships. Research based on teacher stories would help to extend the understanding of the forms of collegiality. More intense interviews and observations may give further insight into the forms of collegiality and how many forms are found in any one collegial interaction. Teacher stories that are thoroughly investigated could further the understanding of issues, forms and other unexplored features that teachers may utilize when making

decisions or solving problem in their work.

In addition, clients were not found to be an important factor in the development and maintenance of collegial relationships. The questions on the interview guide may have been such that teachers did not talk about students as a cause for the development of collegial relationships. It would seem likely that clients may impact and cause the development of collegial relationships than was found in this study.

Lastly, the collegial system theory developed in this study should be further researched to verify and extend concepts within the system. This research could be useful in producing additional knowledge concerning the phenomenon of teacher professional collegial relationships at the high school level. In this research, increasing the sample group size might help to increase the understanding of the networking map. This research could result in improving schools and teachers' work especially at the high school level. With further knowledge, the virtues that advocates of teacher professional collegiality have imbued on teacher collegial relationships may be possible to achieve.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

COVER LETTER AND ATTACHED CONSENT FORM

April 16, 1991

Dear _____,

At the present time you are being asked to complete an interview on teacher professional collegial relationships. This interview is being completed by the Center for Research on the Context of Secondary School Teaching. Approximately 1/3 of your school's staff has been selected to be interviewed during the weeks of _____.

The purpose of this interview is to understand the nature and extent of collegial relationships as they pertain to the work related activities teachers engage in during the workday. In previous interviews and surveys, teacher have stated they engage in conversations with other teachers about school related topics. What is missing from our research concerning teacher collegiality is a richer understanding of this topic. This interview is being conducted to better understand the nature of teacher collegiality in your school. As past research on this topic is limited, especially at the secondary level, there is a need for furthering our understanding of teacher collegiality.

As an experienced teacher, your comments about collegiality are very important to understanding this aspect of the context of teaching. The interview will take 35 to 45 minutes. For your convenience, we are asking that you select a time, location and date for the interview within the dates given above and place it on the attached Interview Information form. As only one interviewer will be completing this interview, an alternative date may be necessary if two persons choose the same time period.

The interview information is also being used by Barbara J. Reinken in her dissertation research on Teacher Professional Collegiality. To meet University requirements, you are asked to sign the Teacher Informed Consent form enclosed. If you have any questions or concerns, please call collect or contact Barbara while she is in the building.

Thank you for your cooperation in our continuing efforts to understand the work of teachers at the secondary level.

Sincerely,

Barbara J. Reinken
517-372-3291 (Home)

Dr. Brian Rowan
Chair Educational Administration/ Researcher for Context Center
517-355-4538

Appendix A cont'd

TEACHER PROFESSIONAL COLLEGIALITY
INFORMATION FOR INTERVIEW

Please complete the following information for scheduling of a conference and return it to the office.

_____
Name

_____
School

_____
Date of interview

_____
Time of interview

_____
Location of interview

Appendix A cont'd

TEACHERS' INFORMED CONSENT

I am willing to participate in the Teacher Professional Collegiality Study, conducted by Barbara J. Reinken. I have received a reasonable explanation of the research, its purposes, and procedures. I know that my participation will involve completing one interview on teacher collegiality.

My consent to participate is given freely and I know that I have the right to discontinue the Teacher Collegiality study at any time without recrimination.

I recognize that all results will be treated with strict confidence and that I will remain anonymous. Within these restrictions, final results will be made available to me upon request.

_____
(Signature)

_____
(date)

_____
(School)

I am also willing to allow Barbara J. Reinken to contact me at a future date during analysis to clarify any information found in the interview. I give my consent to this component of the research by furnishing a phone number where I can be reached during the summer.

_____
(Summer Phone Number)

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

PROFESSIONAL TEACHER COLLEGIALITY INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Interviewee Name _____

2. Date of interview_____

3. Time of interview _____

4. Place of interview _____
   (This information to be filled in by interviewer)

Introduction

From time to time most teachers find they engage in conversations with other teachers about school related topics. They may engage in many varied topics for any number of reasons. The purpose of this study is to understand the nature and extent of collegial relationships as they pertain to the work related activities teachers engage in during the workday. Knowledge of the nature of teacher collegiality is needed to further our understanding of the work of teachers in secondary school settings.

As an experienced teacher your comments about collegiality are very important to understanding the context of teaching. This interview will take 35 to 45 minutes. Please feel free to interrupt, ask for clarification, change a response, etc. There are no right or wrong answers. I am interested in your personal experiences and your opinions. I will be taking notes while we talk. Also, if you have no objections, I would like to tape record this interview. Your responses will be treated in the strictest confidence and you will remain anonymous in written reports of the study. Also all names, places, events, etc. are coded for purposes of maintaining confidentiality.

Appendix B cont'd

Questions:

1. To start with I would like to ask for some information.

   How long have you been teaching? _____

   How many years have you been at this school: _____

   Have you always been in this department: _____

   Have you always taught this subject?_____

   Have you taught anywhere else? _____

2. Do you have the opportunity to talk with other teachers about your work in the school?

   2.1 What sorts of things do you talk about?

   2.2 With whom do you usually talk during the day?

   2.3 Why do you talk to this (these) person(s)?

   2.4 How would you describe your relationship with this person or group? (work well together, social bonds, help with problems, etc.)

   2.5 What brought this group together and how long have you associated with the group?

   2.6 Would you say this group give you support? Describe the support they provide?

   2.7 Please describe a conversation you had recently with a colleague.

   2.8 Describe another conversation you had recently?

Appendix B cont'd

3. You indicate you talk about ____ and _____. Do you ever talk about any of these other topics? (Cross off topics discussed in question 2 and only state topics left on list. Circle those talked about and X those not talked about.)

Whom do you talk to about these topics?

Students

Discipline and class management

Testing or evaluation

Learning activities

Materials and resources

Objectives and goals of teaching

Teaching methods

Questioning techniques

Lecturing and demonstration techniques

Curriculum development

Room Organization

Classroom observations

School policies / rules

School wide programs

BIT Proposals

Other topics

Why don't teachers talk about ___, ___, and ___?

Appendix B cont'd

4. You indicated you did talk about these topics: ___, ___, and ___. Why do you engage in these topics of conversation?

    4.1 What do you do with the information you gain by participating in this conversation? (Is it helpful to you in any of the activities you are engaged in as part of your work?)

    4.2 Are there any mutual understandings within your group that certain topics are off limits for discussion?

5. In talking to other teachers about events that occur, teachers gather information about the topic under discussion.

    5.1 Would you feel comfortable in asking for information from others when you can't accomplish a task?

    5.2 Whom would you ask?

    5.3 Have you ever asked for help or advice or been asked to give help or advice? Please describe one such situation.

    5.4 Would you freely give help or advice even if not asked? Why?

6. How would you describe the staff relations in this school?

    6.1 What factors lead you to this conclusion?

    6.2 What is the faculty trying to accomplish (are there goals the staff is working toward) and what is expected of the teachers in respect to this?

    6.3 How has this been communicated among the staff?

    6.4 How often do you as a total staff or within small groups talk about these goals?

    6.5 What might a conversation sound like concerning ____ (what trying to accomplish)?

    6.6 How do you make your opinions known among the staff? Whom do you voice them to?

6.7 Are there topics you really don't talk about openly among staff members, but do talk about in private? Why?

6.8 How much voice do you have in what goes on around here? Does the staff work together collegially to improve the school?

6.9 What topics have you discussed recently concerning school level events? Do your discussions lead to changes?

6.10 What might a new staff member do that would signal to others that this person may not fit into the staff as a collegial member?

7. This school has developed an improvement plan. How has this plan affected teacher collegial relationships in the building?

7.1 Do teachers interact more frequently around matters concerning this plan?

7.2 What sorts of things do teachers talk about that are connected to this plan?

8. Are you involved in any non teaching activities at the school or district level this year (examples: advisor, coach, committees)? (If yes, what?)

_____

_____

If yes, then ask:

8.1 Do you talk with other teachers about _____ activities?

8.2 Describe one conversation?

8.3 Whom do you talk to?

8.4 How often do you talk about these activities?

8.5 Why do you talk about these activities?

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

INDIVIDUAL SUBJECT DATA WORKSHEET

File # _____

Yrs. Tg. ___ Yrs. Bldg ___ J.H. ___ Dept. _____

Culture-- norms
beliefs, values

Structure
rules

Criteria
for relationship

Goals

Forms of support

Length together

Staff relationships

Help--ask/receive

Logistics
(Opportunity to talk)

Appendix C cont'd

FORMS/STRUCTURE: Group Level

What talk	Whom	When/where	why talk

Appendix C cont'd

FORMS/STRUCTURE: School Level

What talk	Whom	When/where	why talk

Appendix C cont'd

CONTEXTUAL FEATURES

Teacher Demographics	Organizational Arrangements	Organizational Structure
Clientele	School Improvement	Other
Influence on work: in classroom	Other activities	Staff Accomplishments
Professional groups	Context	Use in Work

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