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A Case Study of Two Korean High Schools

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Young Taek Kang

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Susan M. Printy
Major Professor's Signature

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BUILDING AUTHENTIC COMMUNITIES WITHIN SCHOOLS: A CASE STUDY OF TWO KOREAN HIGH SCHOOLS

By

Young Taek Kang

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ABSTRACT

BUILDING AUTHENTIC COMMUNITIES WITHIN SCHOOLS:
A CASE STUDY OF TWO KOREAN HIGH SCHOOLS

By

Young Taek Kang

The intention of this study is to explore two Korean high schools as communities within the framework of three models of community, that is, individualist, communitarian, and alternative models. Before conducting the research, I developed a framework of three models of community, informed by Western and Asian literature of community. I conducted qualitative research, adopting an ethnographic method at the two research sites. I interviewed more than forty school members, such as students, teachers, and parents, and observed classes, teacher meetings, parent meetings, and everyday lives of students and teachers.

To understand the school communities, I have investigated how the school members perceived that they were part of a community, more specifically, that there was democratic community or professional community at their schools. At Blue Mountain High School, students and parents consider their school to be democratic, although in a limited way; however, teachers do not have the same sense. At Grand Valley High School, students and teachers strongly perceive their school to be democratic; however, parents do not report much participation. Teachers of both schools hesitate to say that they are professional communities. Based on consistent reports, there is a lack of professional collaboration among teachers in both settings. Teaching, they believe, is an individual business.

To examine school communities in terms of these three models, this study has dealt with tension among values which easily happens within communities. The case of BMHS confirms the current acknowledgement that communality and caring are often in tension with individuality and justice within a community. Although BMHS has some qualities of a communitarian model, it, over all, is closer to an individualist model. The study of GVHS shows the possibility of building an ideal community within a school. At GVHS, such qualities as individuality, solidarity, caring, justice, and diversity are in harmony. Moreover, at this school, relationships among people and between people and nature are highly valued. In this vein, GVHS directs toward an alternative model of community, which integrates Western thinking of community with Asian thoughts.

I have discussed the causes of differences between the two schools. At GVHS there have been clear shared visions for justice and transformational leadership, through which vision is shaped and shared. Furthermore, spirituality has functioned as the foundation of the school visions and values and the leadership. By contrast, at BMHS the initial vision changed, leadership became unstable, and conflicts among school members appeared.

Lastly, I discuss implications for practice and policy. In addition, suggestions are provided for future studies related to this research.

Dedicated to My Parents,

Sung-Gu Kang and Oe-Taek Cho,

Wife, Misung, and

Children, Hamin and Hakyung

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1. Chapter One: Introduction

1-1. Background

School mirrors society. The successes and failures of schools, to a substantial extent, reflect the successes and failures of societies. In modern/postmodern societies such as contemporary Korea and the US, people often experience isolation, alienation, and meaninglessness. Some philosophers and sociologists believe that at the base of the social problems is the loss of community (Nisbet, 1953; Noddings, 1996; Oldenquist, 1991). So, for them, rebuilding community within society is a critical task. By the same token, educational researchers, policy makers, and practitioners are also interested in how community develops within schools. In fact, conceptualizing schools as communities, as an ideal state, has become increasingly popular in the US. The same trends are evident in Korea (Kim, Y.H., 2005; Ro, 1998; Shin, H.S., 2004; Sim, 2003; Yang, 2002). However, many studies of school community reveal that emphasis on building community within school results in negative consequences as well as positive ones. The tensions related to school communities need to be carefully explored. Examining these tensions is the focus of this research.

1-2. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine how school members, experiencing a sense of community in the schools, perceive and deal with other values often associated with schools that might not coexist easily with community, such as individual autonomy, diversity, justice, and democracy. In doing so, understanding whether and why students, parents, and teachers perceive their schools to be communities, and what facilitates and inhibits developing and sustaining school communities is necessary. Through the study

of characteristics and development of school communities, this research ultimately aims at providing suggestions for building ideal communities in schools.

1-3. Rationale of the Study

The discussions of community in educational research, policy, and practice have received special attention since the late 1980s. The discussions have been carried out around two topics, building a community within school and connecting a school to its surrounding community (Beck & Foster, 1999; Merz & Furman, 1997; Furman, 2002). Many researchers and policy makers argue that the two ideas can provide effective strategies for improving school performance, and some educational scholars maintain that embracing schools as communities is an important alternative to how schools generally function. Their arguments are on the basis of the conceptual studies of a school community (Beck, 2002; Furman, 2002; Merz & Furman, 1997; Oxley, 1997; Raywid, 1988; Sergiovanni, 1994) and the empirical studies showing positive relationships between a sense of community or school-community connections with student outcomes or school improvement (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Coleman, & Hoffer, 1987; Driscoll, 1989; Epstein, 2001; McDonough & Wheeler, 1998).

However, researchers think that community is "not an unalloyed good"; it often has "a dark side" (Noddings, 1996, p. 245). Since community is based on "sameness" of kinship, location, or mind (Furman, 2002; Tonnies, 1957), the emphasis on community sometimes leads to the suppression of individuality and autonomy (Bushnell, 1998; Noddings, 1996; Peshkin, 1986), the discouragement of difference and inclusiveness (Furman & Starratt, 2002; Green, 1993; Young, 1986), and the generation of assimilation and normalization (Fendler, in press). For these reasons, understanding the extent to

which these negative consequences are present within schools organized as strong communities is critical in educational research.

Tensions over community and efforts to solve the tensions have also been addressed in various ways in disciplines other than education, i.e., philosophy, politics, and sociology. The philosophical debate between communitarianism and liberalism occurring after the 1980s is one example (Abowitz, 2000; Lee, J., 1997; MacIntyre, 1981; Teobald & Dinkelman, 1995)[1]. Some philosophers and sociologists have attempted to develop alternative models of community, in which both individual autonomy and common good are equally valued (Bellah, et. al., 1985; Etzioni, 1987; 1993; Kirkpatrick, 1986; Selznick, 1992; Wyschogord, 1999).

Understanding negative aspects of community and developing a new model of community are extremely important in building a school community that does not damage individuality. To date discussions of tensions around school community have been actively conducted, but many of them focus on conceptual theorizing (Brint, 2001; Fleming, 2002; Furman & Starratt, 2002; Mawhinney, 2004; Shields, 2004; Shields & Seltzer, 1997; Shin, H.S., 2004; Strike, 1993; 1999a; 1999c; 2003). The notions of "democratic community" and "community of difference" reflect current efforts to address the tensions related to school community. There are not many empirical studies which have tried to explicate how schools as communities deal with tensions inherent in communities, i.e., whether and how schools harmonize communality with diversity or

[1] This debate has influenced educational scholars. *Peabody Journal of education* 70(4) deals with this issue.

care with social justice (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Kratzer, 1996). Moreover, research investigating schools as communities in Asian countries is rare (Le Tendre, 1999).[2]

1-4. Significance of the Study

My study has significance for educational theory and policy in three aspects, as follows. First, this case study examines schools as communities in a holistic approach. Numerous previous studies of school community have focused on separated issues of community. To be sure, they often deal with a sense of community as experienced by students, the professional learning community of teachers, or the democratic community of school members such as students, teachers, and parents (Beck & Foster, 1999; Merz & Furman, 1997; Furman, 2002; 2003). This categorization is useful for exploring each topic of school community. However, all the topics are intimately intertwined in a real school, and thus comprehensive study of a school community is necessary to understand a school community as a whole.

Second, this case study examines two different school communities in Korea. There can be found a number of studies on community within Korean schools (Bae, S., 2002; Hur, 2005; Kim, Y.H., 2005; Ro, 1998: Seo, 2004; Shin, H.S., 2004; Sim, 2001; 2003; Yang, 2002; Yeo, 2002). Some of them are interested in conceptualizing desirable models of school community in a Korean context, and others focus on special characteristics of alternative schools; there are a few empirical studies of the development of community in the schools (Kim, Y.H., 2005; Seo, 2004). Given that many students and teachers in Korea are suffering with severe competition and isolation (Sim, 2003),

[2] However, there are a number of research studies of community participation in schools and community development in Asian countries (e.g., McDonough & Wheeler, 1998; Rugh & Bossert, 1998; Sinclair & Lillis, 1980).

studying how to build strong community in schools is urgent. My research sites have contrasting contexts. One -- Blue Mountain High School[3] -- is a relatively new, small alternative high school located in a rural area, and the other -- Grand Valley High School -- is a college-preparation school with a long history. In this regard, my study will provide significant implications to policy makers and school administrators with intentions to build a school community.

Third, this case study tries to interweave Western concepts of community with Asian thinking. I deal with Korean schools in terms of the categories of school community created by American educational researchers. These conceptual models of community which emerge from my study will be derived from both Western and Asian philosophy. My study reveals the features of school community in a Korean context so that it contributes to generating the knowledge of school community in light of Western and Asian perspectives.

1-5. Research Questions

The overall intent of this dissertation study is to explore two Korean schools as communities within the framework of the three models of school community. This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1) How and to what extent do students, parents, and teachers experience a sense of community characterized by qualities such as intimacy, belongingness, interdependence, and care?
2) How and to what extent do teachers perceive their schools as professional communities? Do they experience collaboration aimed at improving students' learning and development among teachers?

[3] This name is a pseudonym. In this dissertation, all names of schools, cities, and persons are pseudonyms.

3) How and to what extent do students, parents, and teachers perceive their schools as democratic communities? Do they significantly participate in decision-making processes of schooling?

4) How do students, parents, and teachers perceive and deal with tensions derived from the school communities such as contradictions arising from value for sameness or for diversity, for caring or for justice?

1-6. Definitions of Terms

1) Community: This term is used broadly as the association of people. I use the same term, community, to indicate two different kinds of community in this study, that is, school community and local community. When I refer to school community or community in school, the notion of community assumes that school stakeholders are community members who share affective experiences of intimacy, belongingness, and caring.

2) Sense of community: When a community exists, the community members experience a sense of community. The sense of intimacy, belongingness, interdependence, or care is evidence of the sense of community.

3) Authentic community: It is an ideal type of community that includes general characteristics of community such as the sense of belonging, interdependence, or care, and also overcomes general limitations of community such as exclusivity, intolerance, or coercion. In addition, encouragement of diversity and enactment of social justice are key features of an authentic community. The word of genuine community is used interchangeably.

1-7. Delimitations

First, I will not discuss why building a strong community within a school is so significant and why individuality, diversity, justice[4], and democracy are key values to schools. These are my presuppositions in this study.

Second, I will not study participation of members of the local community in school. Although this is a very important topic in school community research, my study focuses on building community within school. However, since I believe that a school seeking an authentic community has concern for enacting justice in the surrounding community, I will partially discuss the connections between school and community in reference to my research problems.[5]

Third, I will not focus on discussing the relationship between community and student learning. Even though student learning is the key of schooling, this study mainly deals with school culture and organizational structure related to building school communities.

1-8. Outline

In this chapter, I have discussed research questions, purpose, backgrounds, rationale, and significances of this study. This research investigates two Korean high schools in terms of conceptual models of community, informed by Western and Asian literature. The next chapter deals with the theoretical foundations on which this research is conducted. I construct three models of community by reviewing Western and Asian philosophical, sociological literature. I also discuss the three main areas of school community literature, that is, sense of community, professional community, and democratic community.

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[4] Here, justice is broadly defined as fairness.

[5] School communities are embedded in local communities. While the connection between school and local community is not the focus of this study, I will be sensitive to the effects of external connection on the development of community within the school. It is possible that these connections will be more important than I anticipate.

2. Chapter Two: Literature Review

2-1. The Desire for Community

With the major exception of Dewey (1916; 1990), the discussion of "community" in education is relatively recent. In contrast, studies of community in other disciplines such as philosophy, theology, and sociology have a long history. A number of great thinkers -- from ancient Chinese philosophers, Confucius and Mencius, to Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, to modern social philosophers, Hegel and Marx -- took great account of community (Kim, S., 2002; Kirkpatrick, 1986; Selznick, 1992; Sorokin, 1957). Reviewing the studies of community carried out by philosophers and sociologists provides a theoretical framework to my research of school community.

Before discussing some models developed by social thinkers, I need to review briefly why major philosophers and sociologists consider the notion of community to be significant. In other words, what is the rationale of humans' desire for community? The desire for community has been discussed in various ways, which can be organized into two categories, that is, community as an aim and as a means. Some philosophers and sociologists view the need for community as a fundamental desire of human beings (Buber, 1958; 1970; Oldenquist, 1991; Bellah et al., 1985). According to them, human beings are able to be genuine humans only through mutual relationships with others in community. On the other hand, some social scientists consider community as a useful vehicle for solving social problems (Braatz & Putnam, 1996; Coleman, 1985; 1990; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Putnam, 1995a; 1995b)

Martin Buber (1958), an influential religious philosopher, says that creating a genuine community of human beings has been a primary aspiration of human history. Human beings, Buber (1970) says, pursue the community so as to experience actual,

communal life and mutual relationships as I and Thou. Only in the relation of I-Thou, do humans meet one another in "mutual effect that is neither connected with nor colored by any causality" (p.51). A social philosopher Andrew Oldenquist (1991) claims that alienation, which is a serious social illness of modern people, correlates to the loss of community. When people live in a community and experience it, they can have social identities and cooperative endeavors for common goods. Without these, people often feel isolated and alienated. Sociologists Robert Bellah and his colleagues (1985) question whether modern individualism, which is the dominant culture in the U.S., can really sustain genuine individuality. They maintain that an individual should exist in deep relation to community; from this view, individual freedom is placed in the context of religious and moral commitment. According to them, individuals who are socially responsible to their community can nurture both public and private life, sustaining the dignity of an individual.

In addition, some social scientists such as James Coleman and Robert Putnam set forth a utilitarian approach and claim that living in a "functional community" or "civic community" is "easier" because people are more likely to gain mutual benefit through social trust and integration, active cooperation, engagement, and intergenerational ties. The ability to secure benefits by virtue of membership in community, what they call social capital, contributes to developing democracy and economy (Putnam, 1995b), improving student achievements (Braatz & Putnam, 1996; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987), and lessening educational inequality (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). In sum, Putnam and Coleman view community as a means for human well-being, whereas Buber, Oldenquist, and Bellah consider building community to be an aim for human life.

2-2. Three Models of Community

2-2-1. Individualist/Liberal Model

How one sees community is substantially connected to metaphysical assumptions regarding persons and their relations. In a Western tradition, liberalism/individualism and comunitarianism are two major perspectives. The individualistic assumption is that persons are fundamentally and naturally independent and isolated from each other and capable of rational choice for pursuing their own interests (Beck & Foster, 1999). Persons' associations would come into existence "only through the voluntary contract of individuals trying to maximize their own self-interest" (Bellah et al., 1985, p. 143). Since a community in this perspective is derived from social contracts of atomistic individuals seeking their interests, this model is called an atomistic/contractarian one (Kirkpatrick, 1986).

Thomas Hobbes and John Locke argue that the purpose of society is to protect individual interests, primarily property, based on the assumption that persons are "essentially isolated, individual, self-interested entities who must contract for relationship" (Kirkpatraick, 1986, p. 23). The notion of this individualistic model is congruent with the concept of gesellschaft spelled out by Tonnies (1957). In gesellschaft, every rational association with others is based on a set of contracts among the members. Every member strives for his/her own advantage; individuals affirm the actions of others only as long as they can further their own interests.

The experience of alienation is identified as central to life lived in a utilitarian contract-based society. Living in an atomistic society alienates us "not just from each other, but more importantly, from our own essential nature" (Kirkpatrick, 1986, p. 52).

"Loneliness, impersonality, and the self-defeating quest for privacy" (p. 52) are other negative phenomena that we can easily encounter in such a society. Excessive individualism results "not only in undercutting the community, but also in diminution of the self" (Etzioni, 1987, p. 153). Therefore, in search of privacy in order to develop self-interest and exercise freedom of choice, people "become more and more vulnerable to conformity and determinism by others and by the state" (Kirkpatrick, 1986, p. 53).

2-2-2. Communitarian Model

The communitarian assumption about people is that they are social, cultural entities in their relationships. Communitarians claim that the wellbeing of individuals and their association is intimately connected to the health of the community (Beck & Foster, 1999). Communities where people experience a strong sense of connection provide "ideal contexts for the flourishing of persons as individuals and within relationships" (p. 340). This model can be called an organic/functional model of community in the sense that an appropriate metaphor of this perspective is bodily organs, which are essentially interdependent and functionally related to each other within a larger organism (Kirkpatrick, 1986).

Hegel describes reality as "a single whole composed of lesser wholes organically related to each other and to the larger whole of which they were parts" (Kirkpatrick, 1986, p. 62). This understanding of reality comes to be the foundation of an organic model of community. Hegel and Marx assume that organic communities have "a kind of ontological reality that drives, defines, and gives meaning to human life" (Beck & Foster, p. 341). Thus, they both assert that people's full and genuine lives are realized only when they acknowledge their organic relationships to a community. This organic model is

compatible with the notion of gemeinschaft. Following Hegel, Tonnies (1957) states that a community can be organic as far as it is "related to the totality of reality and defined in its nature and movements by this totality" (p. 35). According to Tonnies, gemeinschaft should be understood as "a living organism," - in contrast with gesellschaft, "a mechanical aggregate and artifact" - so that it is "a genuine, lasting form of living together" (p. 35).

Communitarian perspective leads to persuasive discourses of our time's dilemma such as alienation and meaninglessness, whereas it also causes a number of critiques (Brint, 2001; Fendler, in press; Kirkpatrick, 1986; Noddings, 1996; Young, 1986). Intolerance, parochialism, coercion, exclusivity, and totalitarianism are charges often leveled against communitarianism. Noddings (1996) warns of possible dangers of a community vulnerable to fascism and other totalitarianism in that a strong community seeks unity and self-sacrifice. She suggests that Adolf Hitler also emphasized unity and self-sacrifice in the community. Kirkpatrick (1986) points out the potential exclusivity of gemeinschaft. In the gemeinschaft people are likely to feel "the walls of natural distinctions and boundaries closing in" (p. 74) because human relationship in it is based on the proximity of blood, location, and mind. The bonds of the relationship might be "too narrow, too biological, to account adequately for that dimension of human intentionality and freedom" (p. 74). Young (1986) suspects that the ideal of community has "the same desire for social wholeness and identification that underlies racism [,] ethnic chauvinism [, and] political sectarianism" (p. 2). She argues that the endeavors of a community to create totality "[create] not one, but two: inside and outside" (p. 3), and thus cause exclusivity and devalue difference.

2-2-3. Toward an Alternative Model

I have discussed individualist and communitarian models of community derived from the philosophical and sociological literature. This discussion has relied on Western perspectives. In order to discuss the third model, I need to review Korean and Chinese literature on community. The third model of community derives from both Western and Asian philosophy. Asian[6] concepts of community generally are neither liberal nor communitarian in the sense of Western perspectives. Of course, there have been individual-centered philosophy and community-centered philosophy in Asian countries. Out of two major traditional Chinese philosophies, Taoism is somewhat like individualism, and Confucianism is near communitarianism (Kim, S., 2002, Shin, H.S, 2004). However, comparison between Asian and Western notions is not easy. As Shin, Y. (2004) asserts, modern Westerners tend to have a "substance-centered paradigm," but Asians have a "relation-centered one," (p. 23). In other words, individual substance is reality and a basic entity of the universe for modern Westerners, whereas substance exists only in relation with other substance for Asians. Consequently, Taoism and Confucianism are different from individualism and communitarianism. To be sure, Taoism emphasizes individual freedom and the avoidance of social constraint, but more importantly contextualizes human in a deep relationship with nature. For Taoism, nature is more than a physical entity such as a river or mountain. It is fundamental cosmos and harmony in the universe (Shin, Y. 2004).

Confucianism is the most influential philosophy and dominant ideology in traditional Korean and Chinese societies. According to Confucius, human beings have to

[6] To be exact, "Asians" here mean East Asians who share the tradition of Confucianism. They are Korean, Japanese, and Chinese.

exist in social relations, and loving people (仁 in Chinese)[7] is the essence of humanity (Kim, S., 2002). Mencius, another key master of Confucianism, maintains that the five ethics of the five human relationships such as king and officers, father and son, husband and wife, brothers, and friends are fundamental to humanity. He teaches that righteousness (義 in Chinese) should be the basic virtue of people, and the righteousness is against individual selfishness and desire and is embodied in community (Kim, S., 2002). According to both Confucius and Mencius, family is a primary unit of community. They believe that the ideal society becomes a family-like community.

Mozi, another major philosopher in China in the fourth century B.C., argues for the solidarity of community based on loving each other. Social justice is an essence of his notion of community. Put succinctly, according to Asian thought, people should seek to build a community where one, above all, helps other persons to enhance his/her own personality because he/she essentially exists in the relation with other persons and nature (Shin, Y., 2004).

Hegel thinks negatively about the Chinese model of community. He believes that China is based on the way of family-like connections so that the development of the country would be limited to natural, emotional motivation (Lee, D., 2002). According to Hegel, in Chinese humanity of family, there can rarely be found individual autonomy and independence. Instead, "enforcement of rules, obedience to existing hierarchy, and following emotion are predominant" (Lee, D., 2002, p. 91). Hegel's criticism of Chinese thought is restricted to his knowledge of the humanity in ruling codes, not of the

[7] 仁 has various meanings. Here the interpretation as 'loving people' is derived from the chapter "Anhyun" of the Discourses of Confucius. 仁 indicates two persons as follows: 仁 = 人 (person) + 二 (two).

humanity in Chinese philosophy (Lee, D.). Although it is partially correct that Confucianism as the ruling ideology tends to ignore individual autonomy, individual willingness and mutual respect are valued in Confucianism (Shin, H.S., 2004).

Given the understanding of the two Western models and Asian concepts of community, I attempt to develop an alternative model of community. Many western thinkers and researchers have discussed the third model or alternative position that embraces the virtues of the two models (Bellah et al., 1985; Brint, 2001; Etzioni, 1987; 1993; Kirkpatrick, 1986; Selznick, 1992). Selznick (1992) calls the third model "communitarian liberalism" (p. xi). A true community in this perspective presumes "diversity and pluralism as well as social integration" (p. xi). He suggests that the model of community should be based on the reconciliation of two competing sources of moral integration: civility and piety. According to Selznick (1992), "civility governs diversity, protects autonomy, and upholds tolerance," whereas "piety expresses devotion and demands integration" (p. 387). Etzioni (1987) names such a position the "Open Community" or the "I & We." In the Open Community both individual members and the community have the same fundamental moral standing. Bellah and his colleagues (1985) also argue that the alternative model needs to, "without destroying individuality, serve to limit and restrain the destructive side of individualism" (p. vii).

Kirkpatrick (1986) constructs the alternative model in the most thorough way and calls it "mutual/personal model." His concept of mutual/personal model is significantly influenced by important religious philosophers, Buber and Macmurray. For Buber (1958; 1970) and Macmurray, a person is essentially not an individual entity neither a member of group, but an individual in relatedness. Macmurray states, "the unit of personal

existence is not the individual, but two persons in personal relation" (Kirkpatrick, p. 174). In Buber's words, "through the Thou a man becomes I" (p. 141). Thus, the ideal relation, I and Thou become a mutual community. For the mutual community, openness to relationship is essential so that the community is "intentionally inclusive." A genuine "community need not consist of people who are perpetually together; but it must consist of people, who ... have mutual access to one another and are ready for one another" (Buber, 1958, p. 145). In the mutual model of community, a person would be fulfilled in mutuality, which is "a genuine desire to be with and for the other person" (Kirkpatrick, p. 181). The notion of person spelled out by Buber and Macmurray is in accord with the Asian concept of person that I discussed earlier.

Korean scholars, such as Park, Y. and Seo, also pursue the alternative model or position beyond the individualist and communitarian models. Park, Y. (2000) argues that communality and individuality can coexist when communal values are shaped through reflective and free dialogue carried out by the community members. His discussions partially depend on Habermas' communication theory and also utilize an Asian idea to articulate the alternative position. He suggests that the phrase "Be in harmony, but not in sameness (和而不同 in Chinese)" issued by Confucius implies unity embracing differences (p. 58). Seo (2004) develops a new notion of community from his ethnographic study on a Korean elementary school. In his idea of community, the school members understand each other's difference and shape new identities together so that they can exist as individuals and coexist with others at the same time.

The sociological theory on autonomous solidarity is also useful in developing an alternative model of community. Kang, S. (2005) claims that individual autonomy can be

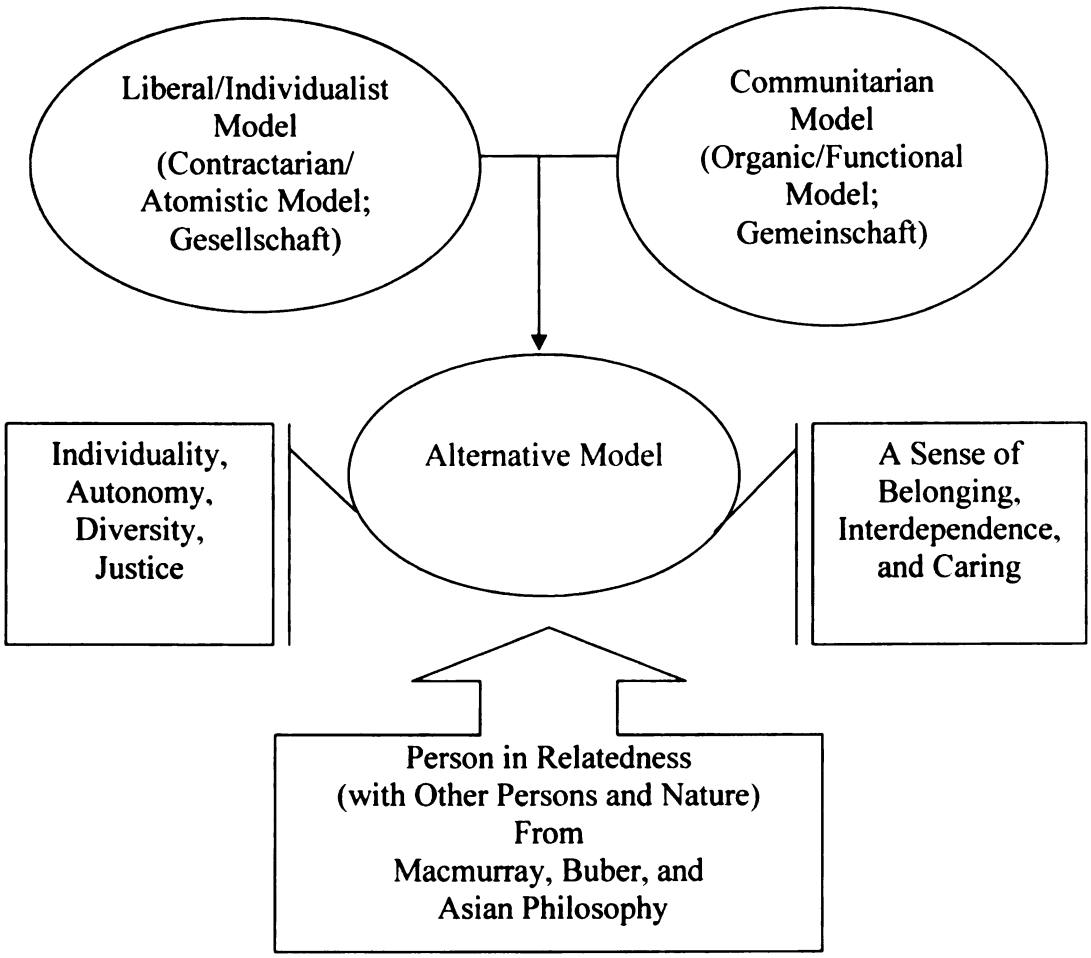
ensured even where strong social solidarity is formed and sustained. Autonomy and solidarity coexist in harmony when the mutual understanding of participants in communication and the sense of responsibility for others are secured (Kang, S., 2005).

Reviewing the philosophical and sociological literature of community sheds light on developing the conceptual frameworks of educational community. I argue for an ideal alternative conception of school community. School members such as students, teachers, and parents can be meaningful beings only when they are in relation with others. In such a school community, they can experience a sense of belonging and interdependence and mutual caring, and at the same time accept their differences and diversity. The awareness of being in relatedness does not limit relationships only to members of a school community and human society. The members of an alternative model of a school community pursue building a sustainable society through the enactment of social justice and the deep relationship to nature. Figure 1 shows the relationship of the three models of community, the foundations, and characteristics of the alternative model.

2-3. School Community in Educational Literature

In this section, I review the literature of educational community in light of conceptual frameworks I discussed earlier. The concept of community in education has been studied significantly since the late 1980s. Thinking about schools as communities is not just a fad. The focus on community is a "signifier of a sea change in our thinking about the purpose of [schooling]" (Furman, 1999, p. 10). While some pieces of the literature focus on the effectiveness of school-community endeavors (Adkins et al., 1999; Adler & Gardner, 1994; Arguea & Conroy, 2003; Cibulka & Kritek, 1996; Epstein, et al., 1997; 2001; Hiatt-Michael, 2001; Ladd & Hansen, 1999), substantial documents

Figure 1. Three Models of Community



of the school-community literature challenge the current dominant mentality of education, and pursue alternative concepts of schooling (Foster, 1986; 2004; Furman, 2002; Furman & Starratt, 2002; Furman & Gruenewald, 2004; Kratzer, 1996; 1997; Noddings, 1988; 1992; 1996; 1999; Sergiovanni, 1994; Shields, 2004).

The literature of school community can be divided into two categories: "School as community" and "school-community connections" (Beck & Foster, 1999; Merz & Furman, 1997; Furman, 2002). The first division focuses on community within school. A sense of community, professional (learning) community, and democratic community

are examples among main concepts of this category. The second division is concerned with the relationship between school, family, and the surrounding community. According to Merz and Furman (1997), this category includes parent involvement, coordinated agency services, and shared governance. In this study, I focus on community within school. The connections of school, family, and surrounding community will be discussed only when they are concerned with understanding the community within school.

After discussing the three topics of school as community, I will review the literature of leadership in association with community. Some researchers have argued that leadership plays a key role in building and sustaining school communities (Sergiovanni, 2000; Starratt, 1991; 1993; 1995; 1996).

2-3-1. A Sense of Community and Professional Community

It has been claimed that the metaphor for a school should be changed from "organization" to "community" (Foster, 2004; Furman, 2002; Merz & Furman, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1994). In educational literature, the notion of organization shares much with the individualist model of community that I discussed in the previous section. Because metaphors shape our understanding in a distinctive yet partial way (Morgan, 1986), our thinking of schools as organizations has made rational, bureaucratic, and impersonal characteristics of schools largely unquestioned and unchallenged for a long time (Furman, 2002). When we see schools as communities rather than organizations, relationships and a sense of belonging become primary values of schooling. Some educational scholars focus on the centrality of relationships in education (Noddings, 1986; Shields, 2004; Sidorkin, 1999). Based on the relational ontology, they argue that relationships make up the essence of human life and must not be pushed to the periphery of schooling (Shields, 2004).

Community is often articulated as an affective experience of belonging and trust, rather than a specific social structure (Furman, 2002; Tonnies, 1957). In this regard, where students and teachers cannot experience a sense of community, a community does not exist. The benefit of a communal orientation has been well documented both in conceptual discussions and empirical research (Battistich, et. al., 1995; Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Coleman, & Hoffer, 1987; Driscoll, 1989; Kratzer, 1996; 1997; Merz & Furman, 1997; Osterman, 2002; Phillips, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1994; Shouse, 1995). In the 1980s, a sense of community, or communal characteristics in schools, received special attention in relation to the growing research of school effectiveness. Many researchers found that effective schools have communal school organizations (Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Coleman, & Hoffer, 1987; Driscoll, 1989; Kratzer, 1996; 1997). Those who research the correlation of the sense of community and student outcomes agree that the experience of a strong community is associated with positive attitudes and behaviors toward self, others, and academics (Battistich, et. al., 1995; Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Coleman, & Hoffer, 1987; Driscoll, 1989; Kratzer, 1996; Osterman, 2002).

In the communal schools, teachers as well as students experience a sense of community in reference to connectedness, trust, and collaboration. A great number of researchers focus on the linkage of communal characteristics and teachers (Driscoll, 1989; Little, 2003; Louis & Kruse, 1995; Scribner, Hager, & Warne, 2002; Westheimer, 1998). When school faculty seeks to make a commitment to the continuous development of their expertise through communal efforts, the faculty forms a professional community. Teachers who experience their schools as professional communities are likely to have

higher teacher efficacy, satisfaction, enjoyment of work, and student learning outcomes (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Driscoll, 1989; Louis & Kruse, 1995). Most researchers agree that teachers' shared norms and beliefs of the purposes and practices of schooling are key features of a professional community. Louise and Kruse (1995) argue from their research that "a shared normative and value base paired with reflective dialogue" (p. 206) forms a significant foundation for building and sustaining a professional community. Other researchers claim that academic and social collegiality and collaboration among teachers are important dimensions of effective communal schools (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Driscoll, 1989). Louise and her colleague (1995) suggest that collegial relationships need to be characterized by "mutual learning and discussion of classroom practice and student performance" (p. 33). According to Driscoll (1989), teachers working in communally organized schools see their efforts linked not only to the progress of individual students, but also "as part of the mission and scope of the entire community's work" (p. 144). In such schools a collegial network emerges that provides social and technical support systems for teachers. The philosophical and pragmatic elements of the communal schools promote higher senses of teacher efficacy and satisfaction.

Scribner et al (2002) require attention to the micro-political dimension of professional community. They argue that building shared identity rather than collective identity, emphasizing professional autonomy, and paying attention to individual needs are necessary conditions of strong professional community.

While professional community is a very useful idea to school reformers, it seems that the notions of professionalism and community are, in some senses, not harmonious

with each other. Professionalism is often considered to be "a technical activity involving the delivery of expert services to clients" (Sergiovanni, 1994, p. 140) in a bureaucratic society. The delivery of services is governed by rules of professional conduct, and the relationships between experts and clients are impersonal. In this regard, professionalism is more likely to be a feature of gesellschaft rather than gemeinschaft. Thus, some researchers suggest that the technical competence and the moral dimension should be equally emphasized in a professional community (Bryk et al., 1993; Sergiovanni, 1994). Moral responsibility is derived from "a commitment to values that constitute the professional ideal for any given practice" (Sergiovanni, 1994, p. 141).

I have reviewed the literature of a sense of community and professional community. Many researchers discuss these issues based on the dichotomy of gesellschaft and gemeinschaft introduced by Tonnies (1957). When school becomes a community like gemeinschaft, students and teachers in the school are more able to experience affective satisfactions and improve their works. However, some educational researchers worry about the negative side of the school community concerned as gemeinschaft resulting from the boundaries of the community. Exclusivity, intolerance, and coercion are negative aspects frequently mentioned. Three types of gemeinschaft - kinship, neighborhood, and friendship - that Tonnies suggested are essentially based on sameness of blood, place, and mind. Thus, the notion of community as gemeinschaft conceives the potentiality of exclusivity and conformity.

Iris Young (1986) criticizes the ideal of community for denying difference. According to her, the logic of category or identity creates an inside/outside distinction, keeps these borders firmly drawn, and elevates inside over outside. Furman (2002) also

contends that the notion of community grounded in modernist thinking does not fit public school contexts in a postmodern society. Contemporary public schools reflect the multilingual and multicultural diversity of the postmodern times. The assumptions that a community relies on common values, common cultural or religious background, and kinship relationships, lead to the perception of boundaries between groups of people and exclude some groups out of the boundaries.

While Young and Furman challenge the notion of community from a postmodern perspective, Shields (2002; 2004) is more interested in the issue of difference in schools in terms of social justice. Shields points out the existence of "pathologies of silence" (Shields, 2004, p. 117) as pervasive in a school community. Since teachers are uncomfortable with difference in ethnicity, class, and culture of students, they often pretend that there is no difference and fail to hear the diverse voices of students that make up their schools. When teachers are not able to overcome the pathology of silence, their school cannot be a genuine inclusive community because silence about ethnicity and class perpetuates the dominance of certain people and their culture and marginalizes many disadvantaged students.

Some case studies of school community reveal how communities within schools result in increased exclusion, conformity, and coercion (Bushnell, 1998; Peshkin, 1986). Peshkin's ethnographic study of a fundamentalist Christian school shows us a vivid example of a school community as "total institution." In the school, "[their] Truth provides a yardstick for judging" the students' entire lives (Peshkin, 1986, pp. 260-261). The acceptance of the truth is a clear criterion for distinguishing insiders and outsiders. The school retains shared values so strongly that it cannot allow the members to have

individual autonomy and it has "a strong we-they separation" (Merz & Furman, 1997, p. 14). Bushnell's case study of a rural elementary school teaches us that even a non-religious school can resemble the school Peshkin describes. Bushnell finds that the community members have strong nostalgia, which relegates the school to "the past something, like chastity that was supposedly more prevalent in a previous generation" (Bushnell, 1998, p. 179). Their cultural expectations can be used as moral coercion over individuals, denying difference, constructing boundaries, and perpetuating traditional gender roles in the school.

2-3-2. Democratic Community

In addition to discussions of a general sense of community and to more focused discussions of professional community, democratic community is an important concept in school-community literature. Although many researchers assert that democracy is a core component of a professional community (Louis & Kruse, 1995; Westerheimer, 1998), democratic community is not synonymous with professional community. By membership, democratic community is broader than professional community. In addition, while studies of a sense of community and professional community are more or less based on the communitarian model of community, the discussions of democratic community are directed toward the mutual/personal model.

A professional community lacking in virtue is apt to be undemocratic. Such a school may be controlled by the professionalism of teachers in the sense that "appeals to expertise are used to justify teacher authority over the process of education" (Strike, 1993, p. 256). Such professionalism presumes the existence of esoteric knowledge and treats students and parents as clients, instead of as community members. Since clients are not

able to participate fully in decision making, the relationships of clients and experts are unequal in status and power.

Discourse, dialogue, or communication is a fundamental vehicle for making a school a democratic community (Buber, 1970; Habermas, 1984; Mawhinney, 2004; Shields, 2004; Sidorkin, 1999; Strike, 1993). Schools can be considered as local democratic communities if everyone acknowledges that "decisions are the property of the community as a whole" (Strike, 1993, p. 266). When "open and undominated discourse" (263) is fundamental, the community is democratic; teachers are central in educational discussions, not as experts, but as holders of experience and wisdom who are primary responsible parties for the education (Strike, 1993). Both autonomy and solidarity can exist simultaneously in democratic communities because a process of deliberation is capable of producing voluntary agreement on shared norms (Fleming, 2002; Strike, 1993). Sidorkin (1999)'s vision of school is the realization of "ontological concept of dialogue" (p. 141) based on the personal/mutual model of community. He asserts that in the genuine school community students can experience the fullness of human existence through dialogue, that is, mutual relation. Shields (2004), in tandem with Sidorkin, maintains that schooling oriented toward moral purposes such as social justice, caring, and democracy requires a relational pedagogy "forged with, not for, students to permit them to develop meaningful and socially constructed understandings" (p. 115).

While some scholars such as Sidorkin, Shields, and Strike stress the processes of democratic participation, Furman and Starratt (2002) focus on the morality of democratic community. Taking account of the context of postmodern diversity, Furman and Starratt question the notion of the gemeinschaft rooted in sameness. Since schools in a

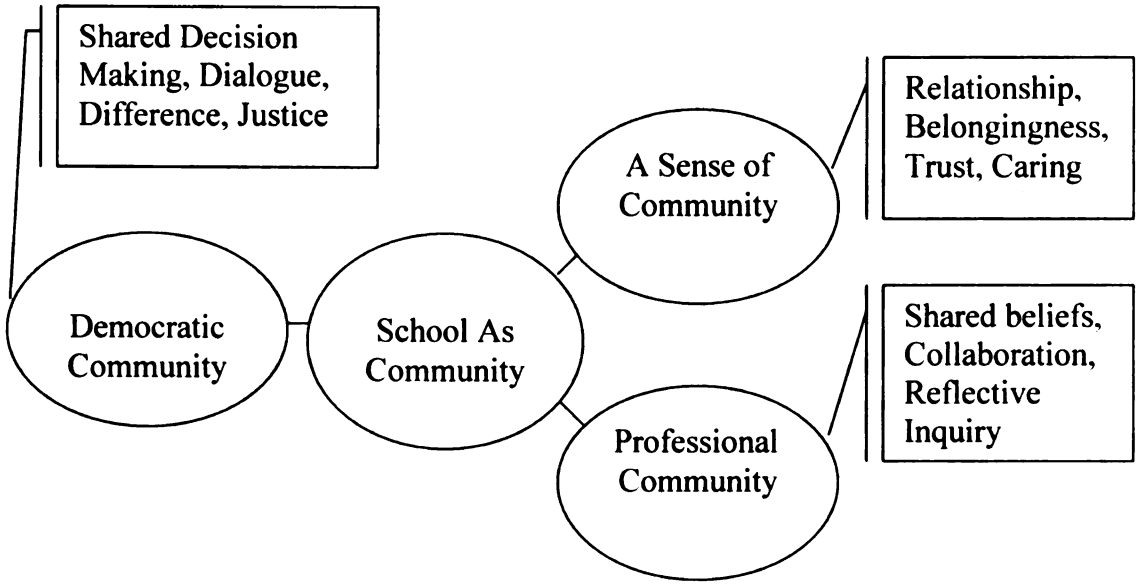
postmodern society are characterized by diversity and fragmentation, Furman and Starratt argue that schools as democratic communities should be "[communities] of difference, in which difference is celebrated but interdependence is recognized, and the common good, locally and globally, is the glue" (p. 116).

Justice also should be key morality of a democratic school community (Starratt, 1991; 1994; Brown, 2004). Given the three senses of justice, that is, procedural, distributive, and substantive justice (Bellah et al., 1985)[8], a school can pursue a democratic community, in which not only opportunities to learn but also institutional orders as a whole are fair to all students. This ethic of justice demands that the school serve both the common good and the rights of the individuals. In concluding, a democratic community encompasses "the enactment of participatory processes of open inquiry in working for the common good" (Furman & Starratt, 2002, p. 116). At the same time, it is guided by a social morality that appreciates the differences of all members and values the justice of the school and society.

A sense of community, professional community, and democratic community are three main categories of the studies of educational communities as I have discussed. Figure 2 summarizes the characteristics of the three categories of educational communities.

[8] According to Bellah et al. (1985), procedural justice is defined as "the fairness of the rules under which society operates and disputes are adjudicated" (334). Distributive justice is the fairness of the society's reward systems and distribution of goods and opportunities. Substantive justice is "a matter of the institutional order of society as a whole and its justice or fairness" (334)

Figure 2. Educational Communities



2-3-3. Community and Leadership

Some educational scholars elaborate on the roles of leadership in creating and developing school communities (Foster, 1986; 2004; Sergiovanni, 1996: 2000; Starratt, 1991; 1993; 1995; 1996). They are concerned with building a moral school community and contend that leadership plays a key role for the community. Transformational leadership is a significant idea in regard with building a moral school community. Transformational/transforming leadership was initially discussed by Burns (1978) and has developed in a school context by a number of educational researchers (Brown, 2004; Foster, 1986; 2004; Grogan, 2004; Marks & Printy, 2003; Meyer, 2005; Printy, 2005; Shields, 2004; Starratt, 1996; Yoo, 2005). According to Burns (1978), transforming leadership challenges persons to engage with others "in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (p. 20). So, the

leadership is moral, not moralistic, in the sense that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and follower.

Some scholars develop the notion of transformational leadership on the basis of critical theory (Brown, 2004; Foster, 1986; 2004; Hoffman & Burrello, 2004; Shields, 2004).[9] Foster (1986) defines leadership to be "conscious of conditions and conscious of change" (p. 188). Leadership focuses on releasing persons from prisons of ideology and providing vision of a just, equal social order. So, for Foster, leadership is "the process of transforming and empowering" (p. 188). Shields (2004) also argues that transformational leadership should seek social justice and democratic community through transforming not only practices of schooling but socially constructed and persistent understandings.

Starratt (1991; 1993; 1995; 1996) builds the concept of transformational leadership in a more systemic and broader way. He maintains that the task of leadership is to establish a larger ethical school community. Starratt (1991; 1996) suggests the ethics of critique, justice, and caring as a multidimensional foundation for reconstruction of a moral school community. The ethic of critique poses the fundamental ethical challenge to the leadership, and the ethic of justice may offer a blueprint for reconstructing the social order it is criticizing. The ethic of caring makes it possible to determine claims in conflict. Therefore, leadership needs to embrace these critique, justice, and caring ethics for building and administering a moral school community.

Some educational researchers call for attention to the issue of spirituality in the research on educational leadership (Furman, 1999; Meier, 2005; Starratt & Guare, 1995). Spirituality, leadership, and community building are considered to be inextricably linked.

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[9] Shields (2004) uses the term "transformative" instead of "transformational." According to her, transformational leadership focuses on "the collective interests in of a group or organization," whereas transformative leadership is "deeply rooted in moral and ethical values in a social context" (113).

Spirituality in the educational literature is generally defined as "a sense of connection or relationship with something greater than oneself, whether a sacred entity or a transcendent sense of purpose" (Furman, 1999, p. 11). Given that "spiritual persons tend to bring that depth, sensitivity, and reverence to all or most of what they do," genuine leadership implies spirituality (Starratt & Guare, 1995, p. 192).

Yoo (2005)'s study on school leadership is also useful in understanding the dynamics of a school community in Korea. He discusses the relationships among transformational, transactional leadership, procedural, distributional justice, and trust through a structural analysis. According to him, transformational leadership has a positive impact on shaping trust and improving justice within a school community.

2-4. Community in Korean Schools

2-4-1. Community within a Typical Korean High School

This case study deals with two Korean high schools, which are quite different from other Korean high schools in many aspects. To understand better the case schools, I need to describe briefly features of typical Korean high schools. Today preparing students for college entrance exams is the most crucial task for many Korean high schools. Most students go to private institutes or cram schools (Hak-Won in Korean) and/or take private tutoring after school. It is widely considered that high schools sending their students to competitive colleges are good schools. So, programs and activities of high schools are developed and practiced to meet the narrowed educational aim. Schools' structures and culture are also shaped in relation with college entrance exams. In this respect, the

purpose of the Korean high schools is thoroughly instrumental. They have lost many sound aims of schools and are subject to college entrance exams.

Efficiency is one of the most important values in a market system, and competition is considered to be the best way to meet efficiency. This principle of the market is widely accepted in educational circles today. Severe competition among students and schools has occurred as a result of effortto achieve the aim of college entrance. Many Korean high schools compete to be good schools. The new policy of college entrance[10], which will be applied from 2008, compels the high school first year students to go into warlike competitions. In consequence, the keen sense of competition among students is near to being immorally expressed at some high schools. Some students hide other students' books or tear their notebooks to keep them from getting good test grades (Lim, J., 2005; Shin, H.C., 2005). Strong competitive relationships of students erode community within schools. Modern Korean schools are generally considered to be weak communities because of their strong bureaucratic features (Sim, 2003). In addition, the serious competition among students makes the school more like a business company rather than a community. Consequently, students are not able to experience intimate relationships, lack the sense of belongingness, and suffer with severe stress and alienation (Sim, 2003). The heartbreaking news that more than two hundred teenagers commit suicide per year in Korea is closely related to their suffering at the schools (Koak, 2005). Recently Korean students acquired top rankings in the international comparative tests, such as PISA and TIMMS, at the high expense of their sufferings resulting from the loss of community within schools.

[10] Relative evaluation and consideration of the grade system of high school records are main characteristics of the new entrance policy.

Teachers also sense a lack of communality within schools. Among teachers who teach different or even same grade students and subjects and who belong to different or even same departments and generations, professional communication and collaboration rarely happen (Ro, 1998). That is, teachers often prepare and teach their classes individually. The relationships between teachers and principals are hierarchical, and principals consider themselves to be bosses rather than helpers or colleagues (Ro, 1998).

2-4-2. Alternative Schools in Korea

One of the research sites of this study is an alternative high school. So, here I need to review briefly the history and situation of alternative schools in Korea. It is not until the 1990s that the discussions of alternative education and schools began to receive much attention in Korea. In the early 1990s, some after-school and camp programs designed for alternative education were offered to k-12 students. The first alternative school was established in 1997, and six alternative schools were first authorized by the Education Department of Korea in 1998. BMHS is one of the six schools. Alternative schools have grown rapidly and come to 26 authorized schools and more than 100 schools including unauthorized ones in 2005 (Lim, T., 2005).

The backgrounds of alternative school movements are related to the crisis of Korean schools in two ways. First, many students and parents strongly criticize the systems and climate of the schools for failing to take care of students properly. They point out that the schools focus only on preparing college entrance exams and then cause severe competitions among students. Consequently, a number of students drop out of schools and even commit suicide every year due to their severe pressures. Second, some people are suspicious of the more fundamental limitations of schools. Korea adopted

Western-styled school systems in the early twentieth century. Since modern schooling is based upon "a rational/technical/instrumental set of assumptions" (Furman, 2002), it cannot help but meet limitations in a postmodern, knowledge-based society. Some Korean educators contend that schooling paves the way for the destruction of ecological environments and alienation of individuals.

Alternative schools pursue not only overcoming the problematic systems and climate of Korean schools but also developing ways for an alternative life. Now there are four patterns of alternative schools in Korea, such as free schools, ecology schools, schools for students at risk, and schools seeking their own philosophy (Lee, J.T., 2002). While these schools pursue various aims, most alternative schools commonly stress values such as the ecological way of life, a sense of community, and individual autonomy. Many alternative schools have been founded and supported by religious institutions and people. Generally alternative schools have much autonomy in administering schools, e.g., developing curriculum and recruiting principals, to achieve their educational aims. Yet, since many unauthorized schools cannot receive financial supports from the government, they suffer with financial difficulties.

2-5. Implications for the Case Study

I have reviewed the literature of community in philosophy, sociology, and education. Philosophical and sociological discussions shed light on individualist, communitarian, and alternative models of community. These three models provide a conceptual framework for understanding a school community. I have argued that the alternative model can be an ideal notion of a school community. To speak more specifically, a school should attempt to become a genuine community, in which school members

experience a sense of belonging, interdependence, and mutual caring and also allow individuality, diversity, justice, and inclusiveness. The educational literature of community r the three strands of the study of school as community – sense of community, professional community, and democratic community. Given these previous studies, I will investigate two Korean schools in three spheres as follows: 1) the sense of community perceived by school members, 2) professional learning community of teachers, and 3) democratic community of students, teachers, and parents. Although such values associated with community as individuality, solidarity, diversity, caring, and social justice may be studied at the three spheres, in this research I discuss them in a separate section. I collected data related to a sense of community and the three conceptual approaches related to education. I then interpreted the data according to my proposed models of community.

2-6. Outline

In this chapter, I have reviewed the philosophical and sociological literature of community and educational literature of school community. I have developed three models of community and outlined three main areas of school community research. These models and categorization constitute a conceptual framework for this study. The next chapter deals with the method of this research. I discuss the rationale of adopting a qualitative research method for this study. After that, I elaborate on the research sites, data collection, and data analysis. Lastly, I discuss the trustworthiness of this research design, which is a corresponding concept of validity for quantitative research, and ethical considerations.

3. Chapter Three: Method

3-1. Rationale for Qualitative Case Study

My research is about understanding the characteristics of the school as community. What is going on in the school related to community and why the school does or does not become an ideal alternative community are key questions of this study. To answer these questions, I adopt a qualitative research method and take the case study approach to two schools in Korea. Case study usually aims at examining some relevant "how" and "why" questions about the relationship of events (Yin, 2003). Since the characteristics of the school as community have to be explored in natural settings, not contrived ones, I choose a qualitative approach (Creswell, 1998).

Here I need to discuss more about what type of case study is suitable to my research questions. Stake (2000) distinguishes two types of case study, that is, intrinsic and instrumental case study. Intrinsic case study is to undertake study for better understanding of the particular case, not for some understanding of an abstract construct or theory building. On the other hand, an instrumental case study is to investigate a particular case "mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization" (Stake, 2000, p. 437). In my case study, because an issue or framework is given, and two cases are selected as instances drawn from a class, my study approximates an instrumental case study (Bassey, 1999; Stake, 2000). However, this case study has also intrinsic interests in cases in the sense that the understanding of the two schools is my primary aim of this study, and other concerns cannot be studied at the expense of this aim.

For case study, researchers often aim at not only showing particularity of the case but also searching for generalization (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). However, for qualitative

research, the notion of generalization is differently defined from positivistic perspectives, for instance, logical or formalistic generalization. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest the terms of transferability and fittingness, instead of generalization, based on the idea of Cronbach. When considering local conditions, under which study is undertaken, Cronbach says, "any generalization is a working hypothesis, not a conclusion" (Cronbach, 1975, p. 125 cited in Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 123). In sum, the tension between the study of the unique and the need to generalize is necessary for case study.

My primary goal is to understand the particularity of the two schools. I place my "best intellect into the thick of what is going on" (Stake, 2000, p. 445) to know the characteristics of the two schools as communities. At the same time, I try to understand the two schools in order to generate the knowledge about the ideal models of school community and processes of building community in schools. In doing so, my intellect needs to be observational and reflective (Stake, 2000).

3-2. Research Sites

I adopt a "two-case" case study rather than a single case study, following Yin (2003)'s recommendation. The "two-case" case study rather than a single one can give better answers to the question of how a genuine school community has been developed and sustained in various circumstances. So, I chose two schools which pursue a strong community in school, but in different situations.

Choosing sites for study is essential for understanding critical issues that I want to explore. I have selected two schools as research sites, as Stake (2000) suggests. Stake contends that balance and variety are key criteria for the selection of a case. This principle of selection is similar as the strategy of maximum variation sampling (Creswell,

1998). My first case, Grand Valley High School (GVHS), is a middle-size, college-preparation school located in a small city. It has a long history and a Christian tradition. The second case, Blue Mountain High School (BMHS), is a small alternative boarding school in a rural area. It began only eight years ago and has a Catholic affiliation. The two schools are different in the sense of the length of history, size, location, and the aims of the schools; they are similar in the sense of the characteristics oriented toward a strong community.

Although it is not intentional, both schools are religiously affiliated private schools. The situation of private and religious schools in Korea is totally different from that in the US. In a Korean context, private schools are similar to public schools in terms of curriculum, funding, and management. In Korea, the number of students attending private high schools is around fifty percent of all high school students, and religiously affiliated schools are twenty five percent of all private high schools. Most public and private high schools regardless of religious affiliation adopt similar curricula and textbooks. Almost all private schools are financially supported by the Korean government. Students living in large cities decide their schools according to their addresses, regardless of private or public and religiously affiliated or not. Thus, Korean private schools are called quasi-public schools (Yum, 2005). However, as BMHS is an alternative school, the school has more autonomy in administrating school as I discussed in the previous chapter.

The steps taken to select the schools follow:

(1) I requested several educational scholars and some educators, who are knowledgeable about educational communities in Korea, to recommend research sites. Candidate schools would have strong communality orientation.

(2) I reviewed the web-sites of the schools they recommended. I found that the schools intentionally seek to build strong school communities

(3) I emailed the administrators of four candidate schools to participate in the study. Two schools agreed to my invitation.

(4) I confirmed that some mass media reported that the two schools were good examples of high schools in Korea that pursued strong school communities and educated students properly.

3-3. Data Collection

Data collection of qualitative research consists of a circle of interrelated activities aimed at gathering good information to answer emerging questions about research design (Creswell, 1998). These activities include locating sites, gaining access and making rapport, sampling participants, collecting data, recording information, and storing data. The process of the activities is not linear but circular. That is, researchers may choose any entry point in the circle and repeat the process in order to answer revised questions.

For data collection, I stayed at the research sites for two months in June through September 2005. Although I collected data by visiting the websites of the school before and after the term, most data was collected during my stays at the schools. In this section, I describe the process of sampling participants and collecting data.

3-3-1. Sampling Participants

As I have discussed, sampling for qualitative research is not so much random or representative as purposeful or theoretical, because qualitative research does not aim at facilitating logical or formalistic generalization, but generating "the information upon which the emergent design and grounded theory can be based" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 201). Moreover, because qualitative sampling considers "informational redundancy," not statistical confidence level, its procedures "depend on the particular ebb and flow of information as the study is carried out rather than on a priori considerations" (p. 202).

Here I discuss participants in interviews and observations conducted in the site schools. For selecting interviewees, I asked the school representatives to recommend participants and I made arrangements for those interviews to occur. When asking people, I considered a variety of participants such as new and veteran, male and female teachers, parents and students living in the local communities and elsewhere. I interviewed around 20 people such as administrators, teachers, parents, and students at each school. Interviewing students and teachers is especially important because the persons are most sensitive to the characteristics of communality of the school. The sense of community may be perceived and felt differently by administrators, teachers, parents, and students of the schools. In addition, I interviewed a few community members at a site to confirm the information gathered. Consequently, I interviewed 3 administrators, 6 teachers, 7 students, 3 parents, and 1 community member at GVHS and 2 administrators, 7 teachers, 6 students, and 2 parents at BMHS. Of course, I had many informal, casual interviews with students, teachers, parents, and other people. I observed all kinds of activities related to schooling including classes, teacher meetings, parent meetings, extra

curricular activities, informal gatherings, and activities from everyday lives, as long as participants consent.

3-3-2. The Researcher's Typical Day at a Research Site

I stayed in the school dormitory during data collection at GVHS and in a teacher's home and the inn near BMHS for that part of the. Following is my typical day at GVHS.

I wake up at 7:00 am. I cannot help but listen to the radio that the supervisor of the dormitory turned on loudly. I go to the school cafeteria. I eat breakfast at 7:30 with students. At 8:00 am, I attend the teacher meeting at the meeting room, which usually lasts 10 to 20 minutes. After observing the meeting, I come to my assigned work space, which is in the teachers' large office. In the morning, I read a book of qualitative research methodology and documents or books regarding GVHS, observing teachers' lives in the office. Sometimes I transcribe interview audiotapes and type the scripts at the meeting room or library. I eat lunch at 12:00 with teachers. I often talk with teachers. In the afternoon, I observe classes by permission or have interviews with teachers. Once in a while, I visit the houses of parents or community members located in Grand Valley for an interview. Classes end at 5:00 pm, except on Friday. Then, I come back to my room in the dormitory and take a shower. At 5:30, I eat dinner at the cafeteria. I have casual interviews with students during almost every dinner. After dinner, I take notes of the informal interviews in my room, observe what students have done for their free times, and take a walk around the campus. At 7:30, most students go to the main building for study. I take a rest at my room, reading books and surfing the internet. Sometimes I talk with the dean or supervisor of the dormitory. At 11:00 pm, students come back to the dormitory and clean the building. I watch them clean. I go to sleep at midnight.

3-3-3. Collecting Data

I employed ethnographic strategies to collect data. Both observations and interviews are key methods for data collection. The other data collection methods such as analysis of documents and physical artifacts are adopted to confirm and supplement the data collected through observation and interviews (Yin, 2003). The anticipated connections of my research questions with sources of data collection are described as in Table 1.

Table 1. Matrix of the Connections of the Research Questions with Sources of Data Collection

	Observation				Interview				Analysis of documents and artifact
	Class	Staff	Parent	Everyday*	F	S	P	C**	
Q.1 Sense of community	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Q.2 Professional community	X	X		X	X	X			X
Q.3 Democratic community	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Q.4 Tensions		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

* Class: Classes including extra-curriculum activities, Staff: Staff meetings including informal meetings of faculty, Parent: Parent meetings, Everyday: life during recess and after school.
** F: Faculty (teachers and administrators), S: Students, P: Parents
C: Community members
X indicates that each question can be answered by each data collection source.

3-3-3-1. Interview

It is claimed that interview is not only a tool of data gathering but also an "active interaction between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based

results" (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 646). For such an interview, interviewers are not seen as neutral, "invisible" entities, but as active participants in interactions with interviewees. In the same vein, interview is seen as "a form of discourse" between two parties or as "a linguistic event in which the meanings of questions and responses are contextually grounded and jointly constructed" (Schwandt, 1997, p. 75) by interviewers and interviewees.

Given these concepts of interview, I as an interviewer tried to take some part in the interactions or the discourse. To do so, I mainly used unstructured, open-ended interviews or semi-structured interviews rather than structured interviews for my research. Unstructured, open-ended interviews allow flexibility and responsiveness to issues emerged as the interviews proceed (Schwandt, 1997). It is also claimed that unstructured interviews are more appropriate options in the context that "the interviewer does not know what he or she doesn't know and must therefore rely on the respondents" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 269).

Gaining trust and establishing rapport are significant for unstructured interviews. The credibility of the data and findings depends upon the extent to which trust has been established (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Since gaining trust is a "biographically specific" and "developmental task," (p. 257) an interviewer needs to seek to build trust with each interviewee on a day-to-day basis. The interviewer also needs to see the situation from the interviewee's perspective to establish rapport.

I carried out interviews after a one-week observation and participation at each school because I needed to be familiar with the climate of the schools and establish rapport with the school members. Interviews consisted of face- to-face, one-on-one

formal interviews and informal interviews. Individual formal interviews with adults lasted around 50 minutes apiece and interviews with students took 30 minutes. Although all formal interviews followed the interview protocols (Appendix 5, 6, 7), they needed to be flexible and responsive to the issues that interviewees raised as I mentioned earlier. Most interviews with faculty members and students were carried out at the school building such as the meeting room, teacher offices, teacher lounge, or benches on school grounds. I had interviews with parents and community member of GVHS at their homes. I audio-recorded the individual interviews, but in one case I took field-notes for the interview instead of audio-recording because the respondent asked not to be recorded. Informal, casual interviews were conducted everywhere. I had a good number of informal interviews with students mostly at the school cafeteria. I talked with some faculty members at their homes and with some visitors and workers at the schools. In the case of informal and casual interviews, I took field-notes from memory when I returned to my room.

My interview questions are organized around four categories, that is, a sense of community, professional community of teachers, democratic decision making, and tensions related to school community. Even though I prepared specific interview questions before beginning interviews, sometimes the interview questions changed and became more specific as the investigation moved because interviews for qualitative study can be "negotiated texts" (Fontana & Frey, 2000).

3-3-3-2. Observation

Observation has been a fundamental base of all research methods in social science (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000). Researchers using observation as a significant

research method traditionally have tried to maximize observational efficacy and minimize observer bias. However, it is now rarely believed that researchers can take observation at a distance from their subjects. Scholars increasingly concentrate on observation as "a context for interaction among those involved in the research collaboration" (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000, p. 676) rather than as method. Therefore, I as a participant observer tried to enter "dialogic relationship" with the members of the schools (p. 678).

My participant observation ranged across a continuum from observation to participation. I liked to experience the full range of school activities as "participant as observer" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) because I wanted to understand in depth the culture of the students and teachers as well as the structure of the school from my perspective as a former high school teacher. I also needed to observe and take notes from the back of classrooms and meetings as "observer as participant."

Since I stayed for a month at each GVHS and BMHS and lived with the students and teachers as ethnographic researchers often do (Bae, S., 2002; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992), I anticipated finding their real voices and experiences as well as their thoughts regarding school as community. For instance, because my research sites were private faith-based schools, it was possible that teachers and administrators might have been reluctant to talk negatively about their school or supervisors to others even though they might have complained to themselves. Moreover, since teachers tend to consider a researcher as an outsider or a person related to the school board in a Korean context (Bae, S., 2002), it is difficult to hear true voices from teachers or administrators. Therefore, the establishment of trust and rapport among researcher and subjects is critical.

I had observations of eight teachers' classes, several worship services, yearly assembly for reviving faith, club activities, teacher meetings on everyday mornings, and everyday lives of students and teachers at GVHS. I also watched video-taped spring and fall festivals. At BMHS, I observed six classes of common subjects and several special subjects, Catholic mass, various activities, a parent meeting, teacher meetings, a teacher seminar, the summer conference for professional development, and everyday lives of students and teachers. I also watched some video-taped television shows about BMHS.

3-3-3-3. Analysis of Documents and Artifact

Analyzing school bylaws, curriculum plans, school brochures, student-produced news letter, writings on the web-sites of the schools, and books written by faculty members was used in order to achieve validity and trustworthiness of the data for this research. The descriptions of the location and architectural design of the school buildings were also helpful to understand the schools' community-oriented characteristics.

3-4. Data Analysis

Data analysis is "the process of organizing and storing data in light of increasingly sophisticated judgments" (Glesne & Peshikin, 1992, p. 129) so that researcher can make sense of what he/she has done. Data analysis must begin at the very first phase of data collection because continuing analysis can facilitate "emergent design, grounding of theory, and emergent structure of later data collection phases" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 242). Writing memos and reflective passages, developing analytic files, applying rudimentary coding schemes, displaying data in tables, figures, and flowcharts, establishing patterns of categories, interpreting themes from the patterns, and developing

naturalistic generalizations are data analysis procedures (Creswell, 1998; Glesne & Peshikin, 1992; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

During and after collecting data at the sites, I wrote memos on the data and tried to categorize data and then find themes from the categorized data. Since interview questions are organized into four categories, that is, sense of community, democratic community, professional community, and tensions in community, the data resulted from the interviews can be easily grouped. I also organized other data collected by observations and document analysis into the same four categories. After that, I found themes from the categorized data at each school. For instance, interdependence, belongingness, meaningful relationship, and shared vision were the themes of a sense of community at GVHS, and intimacy, caring, trust, and close relationship were the themes at BMHS.

Since I adopted "two cases" case study, I first conducted a "within-case analysis" and then a "cross-case analysis" (Creswell, 1998, p. 63). To be sure, I tried to provide a detailed description of each school and themes within the school. These detailed descriptions are in Chapter Four. After that, I compared and analyzed the similarity and difference of the themes derived from the two schools. In the final interpretive phase, I discussed the principles derived from the cases, in reference to "natural generalization" (Stake, 2000) or "transferability" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). These comparisons and discussions are in Chapter Five. The coding lists of the data collected at the research sites are in Appendix 2.

3-5. Trustworthiness of Research Design

For qualitative study, trustworthiness and authenticity rather than validity and reliability are the standards upon which the quality of the study is likely to be judged (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I followed the two procedures to establish the trustworthiness and authenticity of my study.

The first and most commonly used strategy is triangulation. I made use of multiple data resources, such as interview, observation, and analysis of documents and artifact, to provide corroborating evidence. I also tried to triangulate perspectives to the same data set (Yin, 2003). For instance, teachers, parents, and students might corroborate each others' comments, though they also might differently interpret even same data.

Secondly, clarifying researcher bias is a significant way to enhance trustworthiness of qualitative research, though it is often overlooked (Creswell, 1998). I mention my understanding, assumptions, and prejudices of the schools so that the readers can understand my position and biases that may impact the study as follows:

1) Understanding or prejudice of the schools may influence the study. When I came to the school, I had much information of GVHS. I heard that the school had a great spirit in the early times but recently its spirit has deteriorated. So, I did not have high expectation of the school. Such prejudice may influence the research of the school. I did not know BMHS at all before I began the study. Since a professor of education who is an expert of school community recommended the school, I had high expectation of the school. When one has a high expectation, he/she may be more easily disappointed.

2) How the school members treat the researcher may influence research. The administrators of GVHS provided the researcher with a large dormitory room to stay and allowed him to use freely other facilities. On the other hand, the administrators of BMHS

did not allow him to stay in the dormitory and only allowed him to use school facilities in a restricted way.[11]

3) The personal predisposition of the researcher may have an impact on collecting and interpreting data. Since the researcher attended and worked as a teacher in the schools which value courtesy and order, he may have prejudice of the school which stresses freedom and autonomy.

4) The researcher was a seminary student before pursuing the doctoral degree in education. This background may have impact on viewing schools affiliated with religions.

3-6. Ethical Considerations

One key element of ethical considerations for researching with human beings is obtaining informed consent from participants (Creswell, 1998; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Rudestam & Newton, 2001). Even though informed consent cannot generate an equal relationship between researcher and participant, it can contribute to the empowering of the participant (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Informed consent needs to make participants aware that participation is voluntary and whether there are benefits to be expected and potential risks. For my research, I sent the written consent form (Appendix 3) to possible participants and the parental informed consent form (Appendix 4) to the parents or guardians of the student to participate in the study.

Confidentiality is another significant element for ethical research. I use pseudonyms for the research sites and the participants to be interviewed and observed.

[11] At BMHS, although there was a vacant room in the female dormitory, the administrator did not allow the researcher to stay there. The administrator said that the room was for a female. There was also a vacant room in the male dormitory. Yet, the school did not provide the room to the researcher. The administrator said that the room was for Catholic priests.

Since one of my research sites is a very small size of school community, some readers may possibly identify certain individuals, even with the use of pseudonyms. In that case, to protect their privacy, I changed descriptive characteristics of the individuals (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) or indicated as a risk that their identity may be known in the written consent forms. To secure confidentiality of the data, I transcribed the recording scripts by myself and stored the data in my home cabinet and at my computer with passwords. Reciprocity is also an important ethical consideration. Reciprocity in research can be defined as "the exchange of favors and commitments, the building of sense of mutual identification and feeling of community" (Glazer, 1982, p. 50 cited in Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 122). I as a researcher try not to view participants as means to collect data to meet my ends. By listening to participants carefully, instead of giving remuneration, I can give them a sense of importance. By asking questions important to them and providing the opportunity to reflect on the questions, I can also assist them to understand themselves better (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

3-7. Outline

In this chapter, I have discussed the method of this study. I described the processes of selecting the research sites, collecting the data, and analyzing the data. Trustworthiness and ethical considerations of the study were also discussed. In the next chapter, I spell out the results of the data analysis. The features of the two schools are described in terms of four main categories, a sense of community, democratic community, and professional community, and tensions within community.

4. Chapter Four: Results

4-1. Grand Valley High School (GVHS)

4-1-1. The Outline and History of GVHS

When the researcher passes by a small signboard that says Grand Valley High School and enters the school, he meets a typical school campus of Korean high schools. Two squared buildings stand around a square-shaped sandy soccer field. The building that the researcher can see straight in a distance is the main building where there are classrooms and teachers' offices (Figure 3). The building standing at the left side is the male students' dormitory (Figure 4). As the researcher walks to the main building, he finds an old small building between the main building and the dormitory, which is an auditorium. Beside it, there is a two-story building. The first floor is a cafeteria and the second floor is the female students' dormitory. Although this school is older than fifty years, there are not many trees and flowers, so the researcher feels a sense of bleakness on the campus.

It is somewhat distinctive that GVHS has no school gates and walls at the back side, unlike most other Korean schools. So, it is difficult to distinguish the school campus from the local community. Almost every evening, some people living in the local community walk around for exercise on the soccer field. Two architectures that represent the school stand at the front of the main building. The bronze statue of Mr. Park, the former principal standing at the right side points toward the sky with his right finger (Figure 5). A big stone in which the school motto is inscribed stands at the left side. The motto is Proverbs 1:7, "Fearing God is the beginning of knowledge" (Figure 6).

As soon as the bell rings to indicate the end of classes, students begin to walk together out of the main building. The empty campus changes into a lively place with

Figure 3. GVHS Main Building

Figure 4. GVHS Male Dormitory Building

Figure 5. Mr. Park's Bronze Statue

Figure 6. GVHS Motto Stone

cheerful laughs and voices of the students. They politely bow to the researcher, a strange visitor, when going to the dormitory building together. In the male students' dormitory building, study rooms and rest area are in the first floor, and bedrooms are in the second and third floors. Bedrooms (Figure 7) array side by side and in the rooms closets are the only furniture and washed clothes are hung on the hanger. Despite a relatively large room, ten high-schoolers make the room tight. However, the students do not care about the situation and go to the shower room that students living in the same floor use together, singing in good spirits.

Figure 7. GVHS Dormitory Room

GVHS was founded at the rural area called Grand Valley in 1953 and met difficulties from the beginning. Mr. Park, who had just returned to Korea from the U.S after earning his theology degree, became the third principal of the school in 1956. He established spiritual and physical foundations of the school. "Nurturing democratic

citizens based on Christian mind" was his firm educational aim and became the school's goal. He built school buildings with assistance from international agencies and foreign individuals. He stayed at the school building with students and taught them at the classrooms. He worked himself to death in 1976. GVHS came to gain nationwide reputation in 1990s owing to the sound foundation that Mr. Park set up. Now it is considered that GVHS is an exceptional, good model which achieves two educational objectives, i.e., character formation and higher student achievement that most high schools hope for.

Today Grand Valley is a small city which has a population over 80,000. GV is located at the southern area, and it takes three and half hours to travel from Seoul. It was an isolated town because mountains surrounded the city, but now it has become an important city because some main offices of the Kyung-Sang Province moved here. GV has a long history and in GV civil movements for improving democracy such as YMCA have been active. GV has a reputation as a city of education, thanks to the contributions GVHS has made to it.

At GVHS, 406 students are enrolled and 30 teachers and staff work. Students living in large cities like Seoul have no choice to enter schools located in places where the students do not live. In some small cities like Grand Valley, schools recruit students, considering the students' applications. The enrollment policy of GVHS has changed according to the Kyung-Sang Province Educational Office's policy. Only students living in Kyung-Sang Province had applied to GVHS until 2004, and thus GVHS accepted second and third year students from the province by their GPAs at the middle schools.

However, because GVHS became an Autonomous School[12] in 2004, the school recruited first year students nationwide.

It was quite difficult for high schools in small cities like Grand Valley to recruit good students. So, the teachers of GVHS were used to visiting middle schools to recruit good students. However in recent years, thanks to the good reputation of the school, as many as five times the number of incoming class apply to the school. In the case of the first year students, the school gave privilege to the students living in Grand Valley and thus firstly selected twenty percent of each incoming class from local students. The school selected eighty percent of the students outside of Grand Valley. So, out of 122 freshmen, 25 students came from Grand Valley, 57 from Kyung-Sang Province outside Grand Valley, and 40 from cities outside Kyung-Sang Province such as Seoul and Busan. Consequently, GVHS became a unique school where students having very various backgrounds have lived and studied together. There are some second and third year students who originally lived in provinces other than Kyung-Sang Province but moved into Kyung-Sang Province in their third year of middle school in order to enter GVHS.[13]

Dormitory life, Christian spirit, and coeducation are apparent characteristics of GVHS that its students and teachers frequently mention. As a teacher says (Gi 23), dormitory life shapes community within a school, whereas Christian faith provides the community with the spirit. Many high schools in Korea, especially most private schools are either for male students or female. GVHS has adopted coeducation from the

[12] The Ministry of Education in Korea adopted the Autonomous School policy in 2002. Autonomous schools can have autonomy in setting and operating curriculum and can recruit students from nationwide.
[13] According to a second year student, around 30 students actually came from places other than Kyung-Sang Province.

beginning. Now the ratio of male to female is around two to one because of the size of the dormitory building.

4-1-2. Sense of Community

4-1-2-1. Students

It seems that the students at GVHS have felt a sense of community to quite an extent, unlike students at other high schools that I discussed in the chapter on the literature review. Above all, the researcher finds that the students experience a strong sense of connectedness or interdependence among students. Five students whom the researcher interviewed say that one thing they have learned importantly at their school is making good relationships with other people. Students having different backgrounds come to understand each other and learn how to care for others, through living and studying together in the school. A first year female student says, "Students try to make our school one family" (Gi 03).

Most students have several special relationships with other students, for instance, class-mates, room-mates, club-mates, and sisterly relationships. Sisterly relationships are a unique system for female students at GVHS. At the beginning of academic year, all female students decide their partners in sisterly relationships by lot. The female freshmen have "older sisters," from the junior and senior classes. Older sisters take care of their younger sisters. Sometimes, students go to restaurants outside the school with classmates, roommates, club mates, or sisters. When freshmen or juniors encounter difficulties at their study, they ask their seniors, and then seniors answer kindly (Gi 02). These various relationships enable students to have interdependence with other students. Nevertheless,

several students feel uncomfortable with seniors. A male freshman complains that seniors force their juniors to bow to them and make a monopoly of certain places like a fancy bench (Gi 01). Yet, generally it seems that most students make good relationships among juniors and seniors like real brothers or sisters.

Students have experienced interconnectedness with teachers as well as with other students. Many students say that teachers at GVHS treat them very nicely. Protecting individual autonomy of the students is a significant reason why students like the teachers and the school. Students say that corporal punishment and violent speech from the teachers hardly happen at their school, unlike other Korean high schools. The degree of intimate relationship between students and teachers depends on teachers. Relatively younger or single teachers try to establish closer relationships with students. One homeroom teacher of a senior class brought all members of his class, i.e., 32 students, to the restaurant outside the school to treat them to healthy foods. A homeroom teacher of a junior class said to the researcher. "Yesterday was my birthday. The students of my homeroom class and club presented me a wonderful birthday party at night. I was surprised. It was great. I am thankful to my students. I love them" (Gf 2, p. 5).

The close relationships among students and between teachers and students often continue after graduation. Two graduates whom the researcher interviewed said that people who shared a same dormitory room had regular gatherings and took trips together during vacations every year (Gi 07). Many alumni of the same class at GVHS attend regular reunion gatherings. A graduate who graduated five years ago said that he emailed his teacher once a month and asked the teacher for advice when he met difficulties (Gi 11).

The intimate relationships among students cause strong senses of belongingness to the school. A senior student says that he has experienced belongingness through participating in the school activities such as festivals and camping (Gi 06). The sense of belongingness to the school contributes to the pride in their schools. Thus, students think that they have to behave better because they are GVHS students (Gi 04). The sense of belongingness to GVHS also does not decease after students graduate. During the researcher's stay at the school, a number of graduates visited the school. So me of them brought food and talked with teachers. Some visiting graduates stayed at a teacher's home because they lived in different cities. When I asked why graduates often visited the school, they answered that the school was like their home. According to two graduates that the researcher met, they have stronger identity as GVHS alumni than as SNU (Seoul National University) students (Gi 07).[14] Three other graduates also said that most GVHS alumni had a strong sense of belongingness (Gi 11).

4-1-2-2. Teachers

The sense of community is experienced by not only students but also teachers and administrators. A new teacher who began her job this year says, "I thought that institution like church was community, but after I came here, I'm thinking, a school can be community. Here students, alumni, teachers, and parents have a strong tie. Teachers care for me far more than I expected." (Gi 21) Teachers at GVHS form a strong teacher community. Twenty out of the twenty seven faculty members have worked at the school for more than twenty years. Half of the teachers are the alumni of the school. Most teachers live near the school and know where the other teachers live. All teachers, except four homeroom teachers of senior classes, have their seats in a large teachers' office. In

[14] SNU (Seoul National University) is the best university in Korea.

the mornings, teachers talk to each other regarding sports game, politics, or people, while having coffee (Gf 2, p. 6). Often the office becomes a casual party place for teachers to enjoy food. Sometimes the teachers bring food from home or buy food to cerebrate some occasions, and graduates who visit the school also bring food. On weekends, teachers often meet together for their hobbies, e.g., tennis or mountain climbing.

However, some teachers say that the climate and relationships among teachers have changed. A teacher who had worked for thirty years says, "We called the teacher community GVHS family until 1980s. If new teachers joined us, the principal and teachers really welcomed and took care of them. We always provided a welcome party for them" (Gi 24). Recently, the school adopted a new policy for hiring new teachers. That is, during new teachers' first year at the school, they are considered temporary teachers. Nobody knows whether the teacher would become a member of the school faculty. According to the teacher, "there exists distance between existing teachers and new teachers" (Gi 24). In addition to the new policy, there was another factor to threaten the close relationships among teachers. That is the Teachers' Union. There was a historic tragedy regarding Teachers Union in the late 1980s in Korea.[15] GVHS also experienced the same difficulties. The difficulties caused a deep gap between the union teachers and non-union teachers at GVHS (Gi 24; 25).

Despite such factors inhibiting the sense of community among the teachers, the reason that GVHS can be a strong community of teachers is that most teachers have shared visions and values of the school. A principal and a vice principal have a clear vision of the school, which is related to the school aim, "Nurturing democratic citizens

[15] In late 1980s, the authoritarian government prohibited the Teachers Union and fired 1,500 teachers against people's will because of their membership of the Union.

based on the Christian mind." Most teachers share the vision although they express it in different ways. "Individual autonomy," "social justice," "light and salt,"[16] and "respect human beings" are the phrases that they mention. These values, they agree, are based on the Christian belief. A vice principal says, "There needs to be something to unite teachers generally. I think that the Christian belief is the case for this school. Most teachers have worked here for a long time at the cost of themselves because of their faith" (Gi 32).

The sense of community that the school members at GVHS have experienced is associated with various factors of the school. Among them, dormitory, extracurricular activities, school choice, and the former principal are significant. I will discuss each topic one by one.

4-1-2-3. Dormitory

If GVHS is a strong school community, one of the powerful factors in shaping the community would be students' dormitory lives. Although the dormitory is optional, more than eighty percents of the students live in the dormitory. Some students whose houses are near the school or some seniors who want more time for studying live outside the dormitory. Now 260 male students and 100 female students live there, and a dean of the dormitory, a male supervisor, and a female supervisor work for them. Students have classes from 8:00 am to 5:00 pm at the school building. After classes, they come to their dormitory, take a rest, have dinner, and play games together for a while. At self-study time, from 7:30 pm to 11:00 pm, students are supposed to study at classrooms or study rooms of the main building. They come back to the dormitory at 11:00, clean the room,

[16] "Salt and light" described in Bible represent people who work for others and benefit them at the cost of themselves.

and talk together. Some students who want to study more go to the study rooms on the first floor.

Students living in the same room come to have very close relationships, because they study, eat, and sleep together at the same small place for one to three years. The researcher often sees that roommates eat together at the school cafeteria. He also watches that roommates celebrate a student's birthday at the cafeteria before having dinner. The parents of a senior student visited the school for a birthday party for their son and brought all members of his dormitory room to a restaurant outside the school after class (Gf 2, p. 10).

Of course, not all students at boarding schools experience a strong sense of community. Whether students feel it or not depends on the culture and climate of the schools and their dormitory to some degree. Freshmen say that they felt uncomfortable at the dormitory in the beginning of academic year. Teenagers raised in large cities often have their own room at home, but at the dormitory ten male students live in one room, and even fifteen female students live together in their room. In this situation, students cannot but experience inconvenience. Nevertheless, students at GVHS say that they have learned more important things through living in the dormitory. A female freshman says,

> I'm a person from Busan, and so have characteristics of Busan persons. Other students have their own characteristics of their cities. I come to understand through living at dormitory that we are different. I have learned how I have to live together with different persons (Gi 02).

A graduate whom I interviewed says similarly.

> I am the only kid at my home, and so I had difficulties with the dormitory life at the time of my first year. But from the second year, I'd learned how to live together with other persons. I learned something that I didn't know when I was alone. I came to know the joy that I could experience only when I was with my friends (Gi 07).

It is clear that as the students live in the dormitory longer, their thinking of the dormitory becomes positive. It is a good example to show that GVHS is a strong school community.

Although the facilities and buildings of the dormitory are not good, compared to other schools' dormitory, most students like their dormitory lives. Moreover, dormitory functions as a key center to forge the school community. The meaning or role of dormitory is connected to the spirit and tradition of the dormitory. The dormitory of GVHS seeks to be "not just a place where students eat and sleep, but the learning place where they practice the knowledge and virtues that they have learned in classroom" (Gi 31). A teacher, who was a dean of the dormitory for four years, says,

> Working at the dormitory was very dynamic. Nurturing the power of humanity through life was my aim as a dean. When some students' belongings were stolen, I fasted from eating because I wanted to strengthen students' consciousness. I also led the candle processions with the students on the soccer field on winter nights to provide them with time to reflect themselves (Gi 31).

4-1-2-4. A Variety of Extracurricular Activities

1. Club Activities

GVHS is famous for energetic, various extracurricular activities, unlike other academic high schools. These activities consist of club activities and yearly special events. All students become members of twenty two clubs, e.g., drama, school newspaper, animation, history study, traditional music, soccer, basketball, and so on. They have official club activity time at 5:00 pm through 6:00 pm on Fridays. Some clubs also voluntarily have activities on Saturdays. During summer vacation, club members often go camping. When the researcher stayed at the school, the club time on a Friday was once cancelled because of heavy rain. Some students missed the club time a lot. At 5:00 pm on next Friday, the school campus became bustling with life. The students of the clubs of newspaper, traditional music, and guitar are especially pleased to do their activities. Some club activities revolve around the leading teacher, other activities around graduates, and still others are organized by students themselves. Some senior students stay in their classrooms to study more or take a rest. Club activities enable students to make close relationships with other students and teachers. The members of a club prepare the birthday party for their leading teacher after school.

2. Festivals

Above all the most famous yearly events are the festivals in spring and fall. The spring festival continues for three days without classes. All students participate in the games of the ten kinds of sports, ten kinds of arts, and ten kinds of traditional plays. Some teachers and graduates come and join the games. While the spring festivals center on sports games, the fall festivals are organized around art. The drama competition occurs on the night of the first day of the fall festivals, and the choir competition on the second day. Some parents visit the school to attend the festivals.

GVHS has two key principles in preparing and organizing the festivals. The first one is students' autonomy, and the second one is togetherness. Students are responsible for everything regarding the festivals. They plan, prepare, and lead all events. Teachers just help them. All students are encouraged to take part in the festivals in various ways. Most students become players of the games. A few students who really dislike sports or other activities become messengers. They report messages from the headquarters to their teams. At GVHS, festivals are not for some talented people, but for all. "Festival must be joyful, and joy becomes alive with life when it shares. In order to share joy we need to learn living together" (Gd 2).

The researcher watched the video of the festivals. The following are some of the field notes after watching the video.

> I can feel the heated air of the students at the spring festival. Unity through sports and excitement through cheering. Students completely blow off their stresses through dancing according to the lively sounds of the gong and drum at the last day's "togetherness festival" (Dae-dong-je in Korean). At the fall festival, it seems that esthetic atmosphere students produce is full of the school campus. The school of the vitality of youthfulness in spring becomes the school of the esthetic emotion in fall. The students' talents are fully expressed (Gf 2, p. 53).

Many teachers and students said to the researcher that he needed to see the festivals to understand their school fully. Unfortunately, the researcher missed the festivals.[17]

[17] The researcher came to the school in early June and thus he already missed the spring festival. So, he decided that he would visit again to see the fall festival. However, he missed it too because he stayed at the second research site, BMHS at that time. Two schools are located in different rural areas. It is very inconvenient to go and return by public transportations.

Students often mentioned the festivals. They are proud of their school in that students, not teachers, lead the festivals. They learn making collaboration to solve problems and come to have a sense of belongingness to the school through festivals (Gi 06).

3. Other activities

In addition to club activities and festivals, GVHS has two days of camping and the first snow day ceremony. In early summer, all students and teachers climb the mountains and go camping. They learn about relationships with other people and nature through cooking, camping, campfire, and climbing mountains. The first snow in winter is cerebrated by an outing to the mountain near the school farm instead of studying. They enjoy snow fighting and playing with rabbits. These events provide the students, especially students raised in large cities, with precious memories (Bae, P., 2005).

Some students complain about too many occasions because they cannot concentrate on studying. However, even the complaining students admit that they can have interconnectedness and belongingness through these events. The school, by these various activities, intends to provide the students with opportunities to learn autonomy and to make meaningful relationships with other students, teachers, and parents (Gd 1, p. 42). A teacher, who is an alumnus of GVHS, says that such special occasions enable all school members to balance intellectual and character education and to reduce tension and relax. A sophomore says in the newsletter,

> I was very selfish at my middle school times.... [But] through experiencing spring and fall festivals and camping, I have learned that I sacrifice myself for *our* class and team and become oneness through denying myself. Moreover, I have learned that I prepare something for *us*

in hidden places, wipe off my tears that I drop during preparing, and wipe away the tears of other students in difficulties with my hand (Gd 4, p. 9).

4-1-2-5. School Choice

GVHS is a school that many students want to enter. While students at schools located in large cities have to enter their schools by their location, the students at GVHS chose their school and were accepted out of an application pool five times greater. It seems that school choice of the students may be a cause of the strong sense of community. When the researcher asked about the reasons for choosing GVHS, students answered variously as follows:

"I didn't know the school. My parents suggested it to me."

"GVHS is a boarding school. I wanted to live in the school dormitory."

"Because GVHS is a Christian school."

"I heard that GVHS was a prestigious school."

"I heard that GVHS was not a common school. It is different from many other schools."

A teacher at GVHS surveyed the same topic in 1992. The result is in the Table 2.

Since the reasons why students selected GVHS are various, it is hard to say that the students' school choice is directly connected to their sense of community. However, it is evident that the school choice influences the building of community within the school. The students at GVHS are screened by the school. In a Korean context,

Table 2. Reasons Why Apply for GVHS

(%)

Reasons	Students	Parents
Educational values	28.5	17.5
High rate of college admission	28.3	43.5
Home-like atmosphere and coeducation	23.4	7.1
Christian school	12.4	15.6
Leveled Classes by achievement[18]	7.4	22.1

(Bae, P., 2005, p. 266)

schools like GVHS should use the GPA from middle schools as the criteria for screening. So, we know about high academic achievements of the entering students of GVHS but do not know about their character. However, many students with whom the researcher talked said that the students at GVHS had good personalities. Because of their good personality, students were likely to make intimate relationships with each other. A teacher said that GVHS could be a good school because the school accepted good students (Gf 2, p. 5).

4-1-2-6. The Former Principal

Dormitory, various extracurricular activities, and school choice are significant factors in shaping the school community. In addition to these obvious and external causes, there is something hidden, which still powerfully influences the school. It is the legacy of Mr. Park, the former principal. Mr. Park was officially the third principal at GVHS, but he

[18] GVHS adopts leveled class system. At most Korean schools, students take same classes regardless of their ability. For example, students having higher achievements and lower achievements take same math class. Yet, at GVHS, they take different leveled classes of mathematics and English.

was the founder of the school in a real sense. He had worked as principal for twenty years and died from overwork in 1976. His sacrificial work during the years became the foundations of this school (Gi 32). Now he is standing as a bronze statue in front of the school building and still speaking to the students mainly in two ways.

The first way is through the visions and values of the school that he had set up. After Mr. Park's death, two successive principals, his son and then his student, have administered the school according to Mr. Park's teaching and developed the values of the school. The educational values and traditions of the school have deeply been rooted in the whole schooling throughout the principalship of Mr. Park and his successive principals. Today most teachers and students share the visions and values of the school. Students at GVHS are used to calling the values the GV spirit. The GV spirit can be found in "Ten Commandments for Selecting a Job" (Table 3), which is hanging on the wall in the auditorium (Gi 27). The commandments were made by the two successive principals, based on Mr. Park's teaching. Some people see the spirits of service, pioneer, and sacrifice from the ten commandments (Oh, 2004). Yet, Mr. Park II, one of the two principals, asserts that the commandments mean more than those spirits. He says, "The purpose of the ten commandments is for students to feel something, not to interpret it exactly.... We have to pass through Jesus' cross. Unless we experience and shoulder the cross, truth cannot be internalized." (Gi 27) All students acknowledge the commandments, but some students do not think seriously about those. Some students say that they are unrealistic. Nevertheless, it seems that many students have the teaching of the commandments in their mind. One graduate states,

Table 3. Ten Commandments for Selecting a Job

1. Choose a job for which salary is low.
2. Do not choose a job that you need, but do choose a job that needs you.
3. Choose a job in which opportunity of promotion is rare.
4. Do not choose a job that is already established completely, but do choose a job like wilderness where you have to do everything.
5. Do not choose a job that everyone desires to get, but do choose a job that nobody wants.
6. Choose a job regardless of its social status.
7. Choose a job for which you cannot expect social respect.
8. Go to peripheral, not center.
9. Choose a job that parents, wife, and fiancé are strongly against.
10. Go to the places that expect suffering, not glory.

> I did not feel something special by seeing the poster of the commandments when I was at the school. I was extremely surprised when I visited the school after graduation and saw the poster. I recognized that I had forgotten the [GV] spirit and came to remember it again. The commandment suggests symbolic meaning for the direction toward which I have to live. Other graduates often take the picture of the poster when they visit the school and put it on the web-pages. I think that other graduates have similar thinking as mine (Gi 07).

The ten commandments were a way in which the two administrators understood the spirit of GVHS in the 1970s. There is another way in which a student understands the GV spirit

recently. When the researcher asked "what is the GV spirit?" a teacher and a student answered that an address spoken by a student at the commencement properly encompasses the spirit. Mr. Park II agrees. He says that Jae-Won's address spoken at the commencement (Table 4) excellently represents the spirit of GVHS. The point is that most teachers and students share the vision of the school, and a strong sense of community within the school have been formed and developed through the shared vision, which was found by Mr. Park.

Table 4. Kang, Jae-Won's Answering Address at the Commencement 2003

The bridge that the builder graduated from GVHS builds will not easily collapse. The crops that the farmer from GVHS produces are eaten safely. The doctor from GVHS cherishes above all human lives. The judgment that the judge from GVHS pronounces is trusted. The buttons of clothing that the worker from GVHS makes will not easily come off. The teacher from GVHS is entrusted by people with their children. The officer from GVHS never receives bribes. The reporter from GVHS never reports falsehood. The historian from GVHS is thirsty for truth. The GVHS has provided us with strong enthusiasm to overcome everything. We love our school very much so that it becomes our forever home in hearts. The school has presented us with a beautiful vision which is worth embracing until the end of our lives. We will be light and salt in this troubled world...

The second way is through a number of people working at GVHS who were deeply influenced by Mr. Park. Two successive principals, Mr. Park II, Mr. Park's son, and Mr. Lee, Mr. Park's student, have worked as principals each for fifteen years. They were teachers of the school under the leadership of Mr. Park. After Mr. Park's death, they tried to understand the essence of what Mr. Park had taught and proceeded to develop it. The ten commandments are one of their endeavors. GVHS became a

nationwide prestigious school under the leadership of the two principals. Mr. Cho, a vice principal, says that the two principals have done successfully what one giant, Mr. Park, did (Gi 32).

Around half of the teachers at the school are alumni of GVHS. It is a very special case in Korean high schools. Many excellent graduates decided to become teachers of GVHS because of their principal, Mr. Park. It was very difficult to recruit teachers of schools located in rural areas like GV in the 1960s and 1970s. Mr. Park often mentioned the difficulties of recruiting teachers in his book. The students who studied at that time knew the hard situation. So, when Mr. Park asked graduates at or after colleges to come to the school, they willingly came down and taught the students. Teacher's salary was relatively low, and GVHS sometimes could not give a salary. Yet, most alumni teachers who came to the school at the time earned degrees from competitive colleges. That means that they could have taken better paying jobs elsewhere. Since they were heavily influenced by Mr. Park at their high school years, they could not help but accept his suggestion. Mr. Jang, one of the alumni teachers, says the following.

> When I was a student at this school, I decided to contribute to this school. I had received much from this school. Mr. Park contacted with me when I was a middle school student. I had "individual relationship" [as I and Thou] with him. I had received scholarship from him when I was a college student. I had received both financial and spiritual support from this school. So, I thought that I had to contribute to the school financially or as a teacher. At that time it was hard that this school recruited teachers. So, I became a teacher of this school (Gi 24).

The alumni teachers learned from Mr. Park that love and dedication could change students. They have tried to follow him as teachers. Some teachers who have never met Mr. Park also talk about him. A non-alumnus teacher who has worked for fifteen years says,

> I didn't want to be a teacher. I thought that a teaching job was menial work. So, when I became a teacher, I wanted to work as teacher just for a while. Yet, working here, my thinking was changed. I was so impressed to see the attitudes and life style of the teachers at this school.... I heard from the alumni that Mr. Park did everything in the beginning of the school. I think, he was not a democratic person but shared with students everything he had and showed a sacrificial life himself. I believe, all these things became GV spirit. This school community has developed based on this spirit (Gi 33).

4-1-3. Democratic Community

4-1-3-1. Students

Many students believe that GVHS is democratic. They mention several factors in association with democracy of the school, for instance, student council, a suggestion box, festivals, educational values of the school, and teachers' attitudes. "Nurturing democratic citizens based on the Christian mind" is the aim of the school. "Autonomous education" is one of the main educational methods stressed in the school. Students feel that the school values their autonomy. When students were asked about the most distinctive

characteristic of the school, they often say the school's emphasis on autonomy (Gi 01; 02; 03). They believe that emphasizing students' autonomy represents the school's democratic characteristic. This educational value is related to the teachers' attitudes to students. Students say that teachers at this school treat them nicely and listen to their voices. Such values and teachers' attitudes have shaped the democratic atmosphere within the school. Culture needs a system to support its continuity. GVHS has a system to make the school democratic. Student council and suggestion boxes are main examples.

4-1-3-2. Student Council

Most schools in Korea have student councils, but their role and importance are quite different among schools. The student council of GVHS plays a key role in making decisions of the schooling. The room of the council is near the teachers' office. In many Korean schools, student council's rooms are often located at the edge of school buildings, which means that they are not near the teachers' offices. The location and size of rooms may reflect their school values.[19] As I have discussed earlier, extracurricular activities are entirely planned and carried out by the student council. The rules of student life such as dress codes were made by the student council. A president of the council says that students need to change nothing about the rules. Both students and teachers agree that the student council is integral in the school.

The president and vice president of the council are selected by election in late July, the last week of the first semester.[20] The direct election of the presidents by all students is a long tradition of the school. Today in many Korean schools, presidents of student

[19] In Korean schools, principal's offices are often located at the center in the building and are very large and luxurious.

[20] In Korean schools, first semester begins in the beginning of March and ends in late July, and second semester begins in late August and ends in late December.

councils are elected by students. Yet, until the 1980s in most schools, class presidents were usually appointed by the homeroom teachers, and presidents of student councils were elected by only class presidents, or also appointed by teachers. In the 1970s, the Korean dictatorial government commended all high schools to make Student Organization for Protecting Country instead of student council. However, GVHS persisted to elect presidents of the council despite severe pressure from the government.

After students elect a president and a vice president, the elected presidents choose leading members of the council government, and thus around twenty students constitute the government of the student council. The council government is democratic itself. The members of the government have regular meetings and discuss any decision (Gi 04). Furthermore, the government of the council tries to hear students' opinions in order to work for the sake of students. Representative meetings and suggestion box (So-Ri-Ham in Korean) are two main routes through which the council collects students' opinions. Members of the council government and class presidents become members of representative meetings. Class presidents report the opinions of their classmates at the meetings.

4-1-3-3. Suggestion Box

A suggestion box is an extremely important way through which students and administration communicate. There are some boxes in the main building. If students want to suggest anything about their schooling, they put memos into the boxes. At the end of the month, the student council opens the boxes and reports the suggestions to the head teacher of the department of students. The head teacher responds to the suggestions, in cooperation with other teachers and administrators, and sends the responses to the

council. Then, the council puts the response papers on the walls of hallway. The researcher observed the response paper on the wall. There were about twenty suggestions, which were mostly related to facilities that students used, for instance, fixing computers, extension of library time, and extension of study time at night. In the paper most suggestions were accepted, except two. The paper included explanations why the two suggestions were not accepted. Some students were impressed by the suggestion box communication. A student said, "There was a box like So-Ri-Ham in my middle school, but that was just formality. However, here the box is very effective. Teachers carefully listen to our suggestions in the box" (Gi 01). Two female students said that they would suggest wearing uniforms.

4-1-3-4. Teachers

Where students feel the presence of democracy, so do teachers. A democratic community of teachers may be a precondition of a democratic school community. Yet, the meanings of democracy that students and teachers are thinking can be different.

To the question of whether GVHS is democratic, teachers answer yes, but with some hesitation. The school has a system for making it democratic as well as creating an equal atmosphere among the faculty. Teachers elect head teachers of departments and they decide whether they become homeroom teachers and which department they belong to.[21] Teacher meetings are a public arena where teachers and administrators discuss and finally make decisions by a show of hands. Teacher meetings have almost official

[21] There are five departments, such as academic, research, religion, student, information, in GVHS. In many schools, principal appoints head teachers, unlike GVHS. A homeroom teacher's role is very important in the Korean school system. He/she takes care of students at his/her homeroom class. His/her job includes counseling academic and nonacademic affairs, teaching students' characters, and synthesizing GPAs of all subjects. So, whether teachers become homeroom teachers is significant business. But whether teachers become homeroom teachers is often decided by administrators, not by teachers themselves.

authority to decide some issues, unlike other schools in Korea[22] (Gi 28). Teachers say that the school is open to teachers in deciding certain issues like school activities including teaching classes, but they rarely talk about some critical ones like hiring teachers and a teacher union. As a teacher says, "the school has procedural democracy, but only limited topics have been discussed" (Gi 25). Some teachers complain about this aspect of the school, but other teachers understand it because they believe that the school needs to maintain its values.

4-1-3-5. Teacher Meeting

Every morning, teachers and administrators have a teacher meeting at 8:00 am. It lasts ten to twenty minutes. All teachers take turns facilitating the meetings. All attendants sing a hymn, the facilitator prays, and teachers who have something to report say it briefly. While in many Korean schools a vice principal leads teachers meetings and administrators and head teachers usually speak, at GVHS any teacher speaks regardless of his/her position. However, it seems that GVHS is similar to other schools in that teacher meetings are often places where people report something from district offices or the school to teachers rather than where teachers and administrators discuss schooling in an in-depth manner. The vice principal of GVHS says that when the school has a significant issue to discuss, teachers and administrators discuss it for a long time after school. However, when the researcher stayed there, such a meeting did not occur. At the teacher meeting on June 14th 2005, the head teacher of the academic department reported the official documents about evaluating teachers received from the Ministry of Education (Gf 2, p. 15). Teacher evaluation is a very critical issue in Korea. Yet, teachers did not

[22] Whether teacher meetings have the right to decide is a hot issue in Korea. In most schools, teacher meetings are only for discussions and advices for administrators.

talk about it at the meeting and after school. In short, teacher meetings of GVHS have a democratic form, but the school has much work to do in order to be a democratic community in a full sense.

4-1-3-6. Parents

Two out of three parents whom the researcher interviewed do not believe that GVHS shares decision-making with parents. Parents can officially participate in the schooling through a parent meeting, Committee of School Management[23], and individual communications. However, parent meetings take place only once in the beginning of academic year, and the Committee of School Management does not work very well. Since most parents live in distant places, they infrequently visit the school. So, parents actually do not have enough opportunities to participate in the schooling. Yet, the fact that parents cannot actively participate in the school does not necessarily imply that the school is operated in opposition to parents' opinions. Many parents do not feel the necessity of participation in the school because they trust the school. They believe that teachers teach their children in an appropriate way. A mother of a freshman living in Seoul says,

> I met my daughter's homeroom teacher in the beginning of year. He was good. It seemed that he took care of the students well... Parents living in Seoul area meet together in every other month... I attended the meeting. I was impressed because a number of dads as well as moms attended the meeting. Most parents seemed to be satisfied with the school. They trusted in the school... I found that many parents believed that God led the

[23] The Education Department of Korea asked all schools organize the Committee of School Management. The committee is supposed to discuss and decide important issues. Some teacher representatives, parent representatives, and local community members constitute the committee.

> school. It seemed that they didn't need to participate in the school because the school has been operated according to faithful belief. They seemed not to have different opinions from the school (Gi 41).

Even though many parents are satisfied with the school and trust in the teachers, some parents feel regret about the absence of opportunities to participate. A member of the Committee of School Management says,

> There are no mom meetings in this school. The school just notifies about school activities to parents through papers. There are few opportunities to participate... GVHS is not open to parents because it is private. Since the school does nearly everything by itself, the committee can participate in very limited ways. We want to help the school more actively, but it is difficult now (Gi 43).

The participation of the parents at GVHS is not active because of many parents' distant location and high trust in the school. In addition, the school does not encourage its parents to participate in the schooling, which is related to the leadership of administrators of the school.

4-1-3-7. Leadership

Mr. Park II's thinking of parent participation is very firm. Mr. Lee, the fifth principal and Mr. Cho, the vice principal have similar ideas of the issue. These administrators think that parents must not participate in significant decision making of the school because their participation may confuse the school values. Of course, they encourage parents to visit the school. When a number of parents visit the school to see spring and autumn

festivals, they welcome parents. However, they do not want parents to influence decisions of critical issues of the school.

The school unwillingly organized the Committee of School Management according to the suggestion by the Education Department of Korea. Yet, the administrators do not like the organization. The vice principal says,

> It is very difficult for us to operate mechanically the CSM. When parents participate in operating the schooling and if they understand the philosophy of our school, we will not be against parent participation. But if we have to follow the same way in which public schools that have no special educational aims operate the CSM, it is very inappropriate... We can't select parents, who fully understand the school's vision, as representatives of parents. This system does not fit in our school (Gi 28).

There is a history behind the administrators' suspicion of parent participation. When the school suffered under the dictatorial government and bureaucratic district office, administrators tried to protect their students and teachers in their conflict with the government, but some parents wanted the school to continue even at the cost of sacrificing the students and teachers (Gi 29). Moreover, recently some parents requested the school to focus on preparing college exams rather than providing various activities for character formation. In the Korean context, parent participation and financial donations sometimes have negative impacts on schooling. So, GVHS prohibits donations by parents during the time their children attends the school.

However, Mr. Lee admits the necessity of the school's openness with parents. Since the situation of the school changes, the school needs to be open to parents and local community and to collaborate with them for developing the school community.

4-1-4. Professional Community

Teachers at GVHS see themselves as professionals. They think that professionalism of teachers means high knowledge and skills in the subject content, subject teaching, character formation, and administrative working. Among them, knowledge of the subject content is most frequently mentioned as teachers' professionalism. Many teachers of the school have master's degrees and have published books related to their subjects (Gi 24). Teachers say that since the students of the school are intelligent, if teachers are not professional, they cannot teach at the school. Students also agree with the teachers' opinions. Many students say to the researcher that their teachers teach very hard in the classes and the quality of the teaching is high. The researcher observes that students try to stay attentive at the classes and only a few students doze off.[24]

On the other hand, administrators evaluate the teachers' professionalism a little differently. Mr. Park II agrees that their teachers have a high level of knowledge of the subject content. However, they do not have enough knowledge of subject teaching and pedagogy (Gi 27). Mr. Lee also has a similar idea. Teachers need to study more to improve their knowledge of teaching and counseling (Gi 29). Teaching methods in many classes at GVHS are very traditional. Teachers explain, write on the blackboard, and then students listen and take notes. At a Korean language class, a teacher and students

[24] Unlike GVHS, taking nap during classes is a common problem in other schools. Reasons are two. First, since many students study until very late night, they lack sleeping time. Second, some students do not need to study at schools because they already learned from private cram schools.

study with a test preparation book. This style of class is common in Korean high schools. It may be effective for preparing college entrance exams, but it does not aim at improving critical thinking and deep understanding of concepts. When the researcher asked teachers to sit in their classes, some teachers did not allow observation, saying that they are studying with test preparation books.

Among the classes that the researcher observed, two classes were taught in different, creative styles. They are the English speaking class led by an American teacher and the Ecology and Environment class. In the English class, students participate actively in the activities. Working together, students of a group make a story in consecutive order. A student asks about the story and then the partner answers it (Gf 2, p. 1). In the Ecology class, a group makes a presentation on global warming. A student of the group shows some clips of the movie The Day after Tomorrow, and another student explains about the issue and each takes his/her turn. Other students listen and ask questions. The teacher corrects some parts that the students presented and evaluates the presentation. Most students participate in the class (Gf 2, p.2).

Teachers agree that they like to work individually with their classes. Collaboration is not the culture of the teachers regarding their classes. Nobody says that teachers should work together for planning, teaching, and evaluating classes. Class is individual, not group business as a teacher says (Gi 26). On the other side, teachers cooperate with other teachers as members of departments regarding administrative work. A teacher responds to the researcher's question, saying that the school has a good system of teacher collaboration (Gi 25). But his response is not related with teaching classes, only doing administrative duties. The researcher occasionally observed that two math

teachers talked about some difficult questions and discussed the final test. An ecology class teacher says that because his class is interdisciplinary in nature, he sometimes needs to ask other teachers. Yet, there has been no team teaching or systemic team preparation for classes.

A senior student states what he thinks of professional community of teachers, "Our teachers are very excellent persons individually but rarely cooperate with each other. The collaborations among teachers are not effective and systemic" (Gi 06).

4-1-4-1. Professional Development

The district office provides teachers with some opportunities for improving their professionalism. Yet, the school teachers do not actively participate in the programs. The most important program for building a professional community is the yearly teacher conference for the school. All faculties go to a hotel or a conference place and stay there for two days at the end of academic year. The principal, vice principal, and teachers plan and lead the conference together. The conference consists of evaluating the school activities of the year, making presentations on departments' plans for next year, and discussing significant issues. The principal speaks of the school's visions and teachers' attitudes. Teachers of the same department plan together and make a presentation. Teachers actively participate in discussions and "talk freely without restraint about diverse issues" (Gi 25). The issues that teachers and administrators deal with are school activities, recruit policy of new students, and so on. This year the school skipped the conference because the principal, Mr. Lee, retired in February 2005. Teachers missed the conference. It seems that the conference is a good opportunity for the teachers to have professional conversations with other teachers and administrators and develop a

professional community of teachers. However, even the conference does not cover the issues of teaching methods or subject content.

4-1-5. Tensions within the School Community

As I discussed in the previous section, there might be tensions within a strong community. Emphasis on commonality sometimes leads to suppression of individual autonomy. Since community often develops based on sameness of the members, it does discourage diversity. In general, care is a more important value than justice in a strong community, and the members tend to have more interests in the community rather than social justice outside of the community. So, autonomy, diversity, and justice, which are considered to be significant values of schooling, might not coexist easily with a strong school community. At GVHS, students and teachers often mention these values. This section shows how this school community deals with these tensions.

4-1-5-1. Autonomy

Most schools in Korea have lots of regulations for students. Strict dress code, hair style guideline, tardiness regulation, smoking prohibition, and self-study rules are some examples. Many students complain that they have experienced the suppression of their autonomy by teachers and schools. GVHS also has a number of regulations for students. Students can wear any clothing they like, but short pants and sleeveless shirts are not allowed. They wear free hair style, but dying is prohibited. Students are supposed to study in classrooms or study rooms of the main building at the self-study time, 7:30 pm through 11:00 pm. They are not allowed to come into the dormitory during class times and go out of the building after midnight. All students are supposed to attend the worship

services at the school once per week for seniors and twice per week for first and second grade students.

Even though some students mention the inconvenience of wearing long pants on warm days, the regulations of dress and hairstyle are not problems for most students. The researcher found that some students stayed in the dormitory during the self-study time. They used to surf on the internet or talk to each other in the internet cable room during the time. Since the researcher's room was located by the room, he could hear what they did. The researcher heard from students that some students went through the windows to get out of the dormitory after midnight.

One day, a dormitory dean walked around in the teacher office, wearing a worried look. Two teachers talked to each other about a few students who went out of the dormitory and stayed at the church throughout the previous night, and complained that the dean did not know whether students were in the dormitory. The problem came to an end without punishment of the students.

At the end of June, a more serious incident happened. Money and belongings were stolen in a dormitory room of the freshmen. Moreover, the money and belongings were in the locked closet. Sometimes small things, such as clothes, earphones, and books are lost. Yet, this case was very severe. The vice principal and the head teacher of the department of students talked with the dormitory dean. The head teacher said to another teacher that he could find the offender if he used various methods, but he preferred not to use those methods. This incident was not discussed in public like at teacher meetings. A teacher said that some students wanted to install CC (closed-circuit) television in the dormitory with money, which was paid for the dormitory dean and supervisors. The

night of the incident, the dean called meetings of the leaders of rooms. He asked students how they should deal with the incident. Some seniors said that students needed to be inspected abruptly, and another student said that this building needed CC television. Students did not engage in a serious discussion of the issues. The dean said that he would lock the doors of the dormitory during self-study time at night and asked them to follow the rules (Gf 2, p. 47).

After the incident, there were no sudden inspections[25] and CC television, but the dormitory building was locked from 7:30 pm through 11:00 pm. These two happenings show the difficulties of maintaining the school community, while protecting student autonomy. Before the incident happened, the dean of dormitory said to the researcher that he typically dealt with students who violated rules of the dormitory through dialogue rather than school regulations. He said, "Freshmen sometimes cause troubles, but when they become juniors and seniors, they hardly make problems... It is important that students autonomously try to create good traditions and hand over them" (Gi 30). After the incident, he said, wearing a troubled look,

> Many freshmen of this year lose something. A week ago, a student lost his cell-phone and I spoke to all freshmen for a long time. Thankfully, the cell-phone was returned. Yet, a worse incident happened again. I think that there are some students having a thieving propensity. This is very difficult... When students become seniors, such an event does not happen. But when students are in the tenth grade, they still have habits acquired at middle schools. It's hard to correct them (Gi 30).

[25] Sudden inspection is the frequently used method to find lost belongings in other schools.

Many teachers at GVHS share the vision and values of the school. At the same time, the teachers of the school have strong individuality. The school does not force teachers to have the same thought as long as they agree with the foundation of the school, that is, respecting individual persons based on the Christian faith. At this school, administrators do not intervene in teachers' teaching. A teacher teaches his history class in a radical view. He interprets historical events based on a strong nationalism (Gf 1, p.1). Mr. Park II asserts that in his school, coexistence of individuality is more important than persuasion through discussions, and coexistence admits various opinions of individual persons (Gi 27). So, esteeming individual autonomy leads to valuing diversity.

4-1-5-2. Diversity

GVHS is a homogeneous group certain perspectives. Half of the teachers, the dormitory dean and the supervisor, and some of the staff in the administration office are alumni of the school. Several teachers are couples. Two principals, Mr. Park II and Mr. Lee are also alumni. Moreover, Mr. Park II is the former principal's son, and a teacher is his cousin. Many students are children of alumni or teachers of this school. A majority of the students have higher academic ability and middle class family backgrounds. As a teacher says, the parents of the school are highly educated, that is, they are very interested in both their children's academic ability and character formation (Gi 33). In addition, many people affiliated with the school have Christian faith. On Sundays, some teachers and staff worship together at the school church. So, a teacher who just began her job this year says that at his school all teachers, students, parents, and alumni have a very close tie (Gi 21). GVHS seems to be a typical traditional community which is based upon the

sameness of kinship, location, and mind (Tonnies, 1957). This type of community often does not encourage diversity. However, at GVHS, this is not the case.

The researcher finds that many students and teachers of the school do not experience the repression of diversity and the sense of exclusiveness. Rather, they emphasize diversity and enjoy it. While students seem to be similar in external aspects, there are still various differences in location, family background, religion, and academic ability among students. Students came from all over the country. The cultures of various provinces in Korea differ greatly from each other. Each province has its own dialect and accent. Any Korean can recognize where a person comes from when he/she speaks. People having the same local backgrounds tend to make friendships more easily. Since Mr. Park, the formal principal, was a person who came from Jeon-La Province, he met more difficulties in operating GVHS in the Kyeong-Sang Province. However, students like the diversity of students' local backgrounds. A second grade student says that it is interesting for students to speak in various dialects (Gi 04). A female freshman says that living with students from different places is good because she can learn how to understand the differences among people (Gi 02).

Generally speaking, family background, religion, and academic ability are significant factors in making relationships among Korean students. At GVHS, there are also differences in family social and economic status (SES) and academic achievements. Most students who came from cities other than Grand Valley have middle class family backgrounds and higher achievements. They can afford the dormitory fee and high competition for admission. However, since the school accepts twenty percent of its

students in advance from students living in GV,[26] they may have relatively lower achievements and may be poor because they do not need to pay dormitory fee.[27] Moreover, some students enter the school through special considerations because their parents are pastors or missionaries in difficult areas. According to the document showing GPA range of the accepted students in 2005, 100 students out of 120 students have high GPAs, and the rest of the students scatter through a wide range (Gd 5). Although GVHS is a Christian school, the students' religions are various. Fifty percent of students are Christians, ten percent are Catholics, eight percent are Buddhists, and the rest of students have other religions or no religion (Gd 1, p. 7). There is a Catholic student club as well as Protestant Christian clubs in the school.

At GVHS, students say that they do not consider family backgrounds, academic ability, and religion in making friends. A junior student says, "Those things do not matter. Those never cause tensions among us. I sometimes ask a classmate who is smart hard questions and I explain something to a classmate who is not good at study" (Gi 04). A senior says, "Nobody excludes students because of their different backgrounds, religion, and opinions. Instead, students are more interested in such diversity... There is no collective bully (Wang-Ta in Korean) here"[28] (Gi 06). The researcher asked non-Christian students as to whether they were uncomfortable at the school because of their religion. Most students who talked to the researcher said that since the school did not

[26] The school adopted this policy in 2005. In the past the school had to accept all students based on same criteria, their GPAs at middle schools. On one year, nobody living in GV entered the school. But the school accepted 25 students in 2005.
[27] The researcher interviewed a senior's father living in GV. He has no stable job and works as a farmer and computer worker.
[28] Collective bully (Wang-Ta) is a big problem in Korean schools. Some students are excluded by all other students because of some reasons e.g., eccentric character or appearances and weird behaves. Some students commit suicide because of serious Wang-Ta.

force the Christian belief on them, their different religion did not matter. With respect to attending worship services, some students say that they can learn something from the sermons, and other students say that they are sleepy during the sermon because they have no idea about Christianity.

Teachers of the school are not much externally different from one another. Yet, most teachers have their own strong opinions of education. Teachers are variously situated on a spectrum of ideology. Some teachers in the teachers' union sometimes express their politically radical ideas. So, it is hard for them to reach consensus through discussions. However, the school has public forums to discuss freely, unlike many other schools. Mr. Lee says that when teachers encounter conflicts because of their different ideas, he let teachers talk as much as possible (Gi 29). He also says,

> What we think ideally is to find the best solution through enough discussions. However, sometimes discussion might become a fight without agreement because people are different and they have limitations. So I believe we had better choose the second best rather than pursue the best one, hurting each other's feeling. Having harmony is more important (Gi 29).

At yearly teacher conferences in February, teachers and administrators often discuss matters for a long time to decide an issue. If they are not able to reach consensus, they decide by a show of hands. Teachers and administrators have an equal vote. After the decision is made, all members accept it (Gi 22). Different ideas are always continued in the school. Mr. Park II says that different opinions are very natural, and thus we need to

allow them. He calls the situation coexistence (Gi 27). Coexistence would be a condition of justice.

4-1-5-3. Justice

When the researcher asked about justice, he defined justice as fairness. Most students say that their school is a just community because they have not experienced unequal treatment from teachers. They say that there is no discrimination by gender, appearance, academic ability, and family SES in the school. By contrast, in many Korean schools students often are shown favoritism by teachers because of their higher achievements and contributions made by their parents.[29] Students believe that the school and teachers do not receive dirty money. Yet, some students are suspicious that a few students were accepted by the school despite their relatively lower GPA because they were children of the school's teachers (Gi 02).

Teachers talk positively about their school in terms of justice. They say that teachers of the school never discriminate against students by their academic ability or family background. Rather, they show more concern to the students who are poor and have difficulties (Gi 22). A teacher says that he values and cares for weak people (Gi 25). At a morning teacher meeting, Mr. Park II prays that the school can be a community which cares and helps students who are in trouble, feel lonely, or have difficulties (Gf 2, p. 13). These teachers and administrators' thoughts about justice are shown to other teachers as well as students. The researcher asked whether there is favoritism by gender, alumni, or age among teachers. Teachers assure that there is not. Mr. Lee says that

[29] Students having higher achievements and middle or high family SES are likely to be class presidents and they benefits in various ways. Parents' contribution to schools is also important for their children's schooling. Sometimes parents give money to their teachers as appreciation or bribe. (The money is called Chon-Ji in Korean.) Chon-Ji often causes favoritism, and so it is a big problem in many Korean schools.

female teachers walk in a dignified manner at GVHS. He also says, "I don't know whether teachers who did not graduate from GVHS feel alienation. But there must be no discrimination between alumni teachers of GVHS and others. If even a little discrimination happens, we should kick off alumni teachers" (Gi 29).

A teacher claims that the school never receives dirty money for hiring teachers, admitting students, and other affairs (Gi 25). But another teacher says, "I am not sure of whether the schools deal with money justly. The school does not open this issue to us" (Gi 22). A parent also expresses a little dissatisfaction about the school in the sense that the school does not open the administrative aspects to parents (Gi 43). Several temporary workers who work for repairing the dormitory building say that working conditions are good and GVHS seems to be operated honestly (Gi 45). They also say that the quality of the meals at GVHS is the best among schools they have been to. According to a staff member in the administration office, the school provides high quality meals to their students by justly using money that students pay.

The school members value not only justice within the school but also social justice. The slogan of GVHS "light and salt" represents the school's vision to perpetuate social justice. Ten Commandments for Selecting a Job of the school encompass the spirit of social justice. Students participate in some activities for serving needy neighbors and agencies. The student council holds a charity bazaar in December and gives the collected money to people in need. The students of clubs of Christian students and social service regularly visit orphanages or homes for disabled people. There is a special club, Association of Sunday School Teachers, in the school. Around forty students of the club serve four small churches located in rural areas as Sunday school teachers (Gf 2, p. 38).

The school is developing a project in which the school makes sister relationships with schools in developing Asian countries such as Laos by the support of UNESCO. The leading teacher of the project says that the school aims to help students of the sister schools and teach his students about social justice in world (Gi 24). The school stresses preparing future life dedicated to needy people by means of practicing specific services in their student years (Gi 06). So, graduates sometimes ponder their lives in terms of social justice (Gi 07). According to a local community member,[30] when the graduates of GVHS became college students, many of them actively participated in democratic civil movements in the past (Gi 44).

GVHS contributed to developing social justice in a special way. The school hired some people, who were in difficulties because of their resistance against the authoritarian regime, as the school faculty. One of the faculty, Mr. Kang, energetically worked for his students and the local community members such as farmers. He led civil movements in GV for enhancing democracy and began YMCA in Grand Valley along with Mr. Park II (Gi 30; Gi 44).[31] Mr. Park II was also actively involved in the civil movements. He became the first chairperson of the committee of YMCA in GV. He delivered addresses at various civil movement meetings. The researcher observed that the YMCA of GV used the GVHS' auditorium to show a traditional performance on a Saturday.

Table 5, 6, and 7 summarize to what extent students and teachers experience and perceive a sense of community, democratic community, and professional community at GVHS. These are the researcher's classifications and assessments based on the evidence. I did not use a survey. I classified the school members' experiences into four groupings,

[30] He is actively involving in civil movements in GV and was a secretary of YMCA of GV. He graduated from a different high school in GV.
[31] In 1970s and 1980s, YMCA played key roles in developing democracy in Korean societies.

considering both the degree of what interviewees responded and the number of interviewees who agree or disagree. For instance, if nine respondents out of ten answer positively, it is double plusses.

Table 5. To what extent school members experience a sense of community

	Sense of community	Agree/disagree	Expressions
Students	Interdependence	++	"Our personality is developing because we live together."
	Belongingness	++	"My most important identity is an alumnus of GVHS."
Teachers	Meaningful relationship	+	"Relationships among teachers of this school are different from those of other schools."
	Shared vision	+	"This school community has developed based on GV spirits."

+ agree; ++ strongly agree; - disagree; -- strongly disagree

Table 6. Responses to question as to whether GVHS is democratic

	Agree/disagree	Expressions
Students	+	"Our opinions are willingly accepted by the school."
Teachers	+	"Teachers say their ideas without restraints."
Parents	-	"The school exclusively makes decisions without the participation of parents."

+ agree; ++ strongly agree; - disagree; -- strongly disagree

Table 7. Responses to question as to whether GVHS is a professional community

	Professional community	Agree/disagree	Expressions
Teachers	Professionalism	+	"Most teachers are professionals in attitudes and practices as teachers."
	Collaboration	-	"It is hard to find collaboration among teachers."

+ agree; ++ strongly agree; - disagree; -- strongly disagree

4-2. Blue Mountain High School (BMHS)

4-2-1. Outline and History of BMHS

The students of a class sit together at the arbor by the statue of the Virgin Mary, avoiding the glaring sunlight under the blue sky in early September. Rev. Moon, the principal at BMHS, wearing the Catholic priest's chasuble decently, walks into the crowd of students and leans upon the railing. He begins to speak, looking around the fifteen students sitting there. Chickens cackle loudly in the pen near the arbor. Rev. Moon looks at the chickens for a while and then asks the students a question: "What are differences between chickens raised in the pen and chickens raised in the yard?" Some students ponder the question and provide their opinions. This is a philosophy class of junior students (Figure 8). Rev. Moon's philosophy classes take place at various places, such as the principal's office, on the lawn, and at the arbor. As philosophy can be possible only with

Figure 8. Rev. Moon's Philosophy Class

unrestrained thinking, the philosophy class seems to show that it can be taught in every open place, out of the boundary of the closed classroom.

The campus of BMHS is so beautiful that it is hard to find such a campus in Korea. The school is located in a calm rural area, and there is rarely a home around it. The blue mountain stands behind the campus and seems to embrace the school. The silver river flows in front of the school. Such a location is traditionally considered to be extremely good in Korea. There are wide, carefully tended lawns in front of two buildings which are connected with a girdle bridge. A small pond, where two pink lotuses are floating, is placed at the corner of the lawns. The statue of the Virgin Mary holding baby Jesus looks at the pond with a smile on her face. If we go up toward the mountain for a while, passing by the arbor, we can find a wide soccer field. The campus of BMHS is quite different form other schools which often have square-shaped buildings made of cold cement. It seems that the school campus was built to make students feel at home. So, when a visitor enters the school, he/she probably can feel comfortably warm. A student who had lived in Germany said that he liked the campus because he felt the softness on his first visit to the school, unlike when he visited other schools in Korea. The male student dormitory is located on the third floor of the main building, and the female student dormitory is on the second floor of the new building. The design of the dormitory is also different from other schools. It looks like condominiums in the US. When one opens the door, he/she can see a wide living room, three bedrooms and a bathroom in the center. Three to four students live in a large room and a teacher sleeps in a small room. There are desks and closets in the bedrooms and a television in the living room. This design intends to create a homelike atmosphere, with each unit

Figure 9. BMHS Buildings

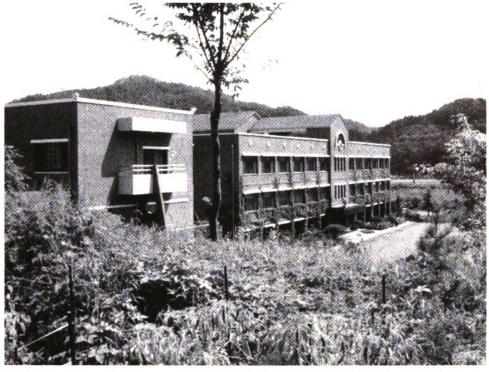

Figure 10. Pond and the Statue of Virgin Mary

consisting of around eight students and a teacher. The people at the school call the dormitory room quality-home.

At BMHS, which was designed for building a school community like home, around a hundred students and twenty teachers and staff live and study. Male students number seventy and female students thirty. BMHS began as a Catholic alternative high school in 1998. The school was officially established and supported by Catholic churches in a parish. The first principal, Rev. Moon, has been in charge of managing the school from its founding until now.

The objective of the school is to educate students at risk through careful character formation based on Christian love so that they develop right values, aptitude, and self-esteem (Bd 1, p. 99). The bylaws of the school say that the school aims at nurturing excellent, creative students who respect life and have a sense of community (Bd 1, p. 99). The curriculum of the school consists of common subjects and special subjects. Each student is supposed to take 82 to 110 credits of common and special subjects for graduation. Family relations, social service, labor, mountain climb, media education, religion, field study, study trips to China, and counseling are examples of special subjects.

BMHS adopts William Glasser's[32] theories of psychology as its philosophy and teaching methods. BMHS seeks a quality school. The school's motto is written on the wall at the main building entrance: "Quality school is built by good parents and good teachers." A school document suggests the criteria of a quality school as follows:

> First, all school problems except trivial troubles should be solved in two years.

[32]William Glasser (1925 ~) is an American psychiatrist and developer of Reality Therapy and Choice Theory. He is notable for having developed a cause and effect theory that explains human behavior. His theories are widely adopted in education.

> Second, academic achievements of the students should be at least within seventy five percentile from national exams.
>
> Third, students seek high achievements in all subjects and should not be below the minimum level.
>
> Fourth, students develop study ability and do works of high quality every year.
>
> Fifth, all students and teachers are familiar with the choice theory of William Glasser and can apply it to their study and lives.
>
> Sixth, the school should be a joyful school, and there should be no absentees. (Bd 1, p. 143)

Choice theory and reality therapy developed by William Glasser are main theories that the school often mentions. According to choice theory, people choose their behaviors freely based on their perceived values. So, whether people's behaviors are desirable or not depends on their perceived values. The theory helps people to develop their perceived value systems into a high quality so that they can always select good behaviors (Bd 1, p. 144). Reality therapy assumes that people can select more responsible and effective behaviors than present behaviors.

The BMHS has changed rapidly in spite of its short history. The school accepted students maladjusted in regular schools during its early years, but recently has accepted mostly regular, not at-risk students. In other words, mostly drop-out students became the students of the school in early years. Yet, in 2005 only two students out of forty first grade students were drop-out students. Consequently, the academic achievements of students become higher, and the climate of the school changed.

4-2-2. Sense of Community

4-2-2-1. Intimate relationship, caring, and trust

BMHS pursues a home-like school community. The policy of teachers' residence with students as well as the design of the dormitory represents such a character of the school. The principal, vice principal, and two teachers, who are Catholic nuns, live in the same buildings with students. A few single teachers also live with them, and other teachers stay in the dormitory with students every other night. However, students' experiences in the dormitory are not always aligned with the intent of the school. Most students agree that the relationships with other people are most important to them. A female junior says, "I spent almost all my energy in relationships with other students rather than in studying throughout the whole last year" (Bi 04). What students experienced from the relationships differs among the students. Some students talk positively, but other students negatively. A female senior says that she has learned the value of people from experiencing complicated relationships (Bi 01). Several students feel uncomfortable with the oppressive climate that seniors produce. Three teachers that I interviewed have observed that the relationships between seniors and juniors look like hierarchic relations existing in the army (Bi 21; 25; 27).

The relationships between students and teachers in BMHS are somewhat unique. Teachers know students individually very well because the number of students in a class is only ten to twenty and teachers stay in the dormitory with students at least every other night. Moreover, they spend much time outside the school with students for various special programs such as field studies in other countries, camping, and club activities. So,

students often say that they have close relationships with teachers. The relationships between students and teachers at BMHS are quite different from the relationships that the researcher experienced as a former high school teacher in Seoul. At most schools in Korea, courtesy is more valued than intimacy among students and teachers, and thus only a few students have close relationships with teachers. However, students at BMHS are used to taking a break and chatting with teachers in teachers' office during break times. They sometimes ask teachers to buy them some snacks. It seems that the distinction between students and teachers is unclear. A senior says that teachers are very friendly to him like friends and thinks of them as counselors rather than instructors (Bi 02).

Many students answer positively to the question of whether teachers care for students well. Some teachers try to have more time with students and provide after-school programs that students need. Ms. Cha, the vice principal, seems to know the names of all students and talks to students in a friendly manner in the hallway or in the teachers' office. She sometimes buys snacks or sandwiches for students at night. Rev. Moon tries to talk to students through mass, students and teachers meetings, and philosophy classes.

The intimacy and care are significant qualities through which BMHS can be a school community. Generally, mutual trust is another essence for school communities. However, at BMHS there exist tensions between students and administration. Many students trust the teachers to some extent but they are suspicious of administrators. Especially, most seniors show a strong distrust in the principal and vice principal. Students point out that the principal makes too many regulations and the vice principal emphasizes college entrance exams too much (Bi 01; 02). A senior says that there was a

rumor that two administrators investigated the economic status of students' family (Bi 03). The student explains to the researcher why students came to distrust the administrators. According to him, several months ago, a senior had to leave school at the request of the principal. The wrongdoing that the student committed was not serious in the view of students (Bi 03). Students were very disappointed at that time and thus all seniors wanted to quit the school (Bi 02).

BMHS is changing now. The characteristics of the seniors and freshmen are quite different from each other. Their behaviors and attitudes about studying are different. Among freshmen, there are a few dropouts, some smart students, and many students who want to study. The school tries to change the systems and rules of schooling according to the features of the new students. Senior students and administrators clash over the changes. Some seniors complain that the school increasingly regulates their autonomy and intervenes in the relationship with their juniors. Two female seniors say, "The school tries to separate us from our juniors. In the past, freshmen, juniors, and seniors lived together in a dormitory home, but now live separately. We don't have close relationships with juniors and freshmen any more" (Bi 09).

4-2-2-2. Teachers

There are nineteen faculty members at BMHS. The school encourages teachers to build a strong community. The school holds birthday parties for teachers during teacher meetings. On Friday evenings, teachers play table tennis and billiards in the school cafeteria or have seminars. Some male teachers often chat with each other, smoking in the smoking area in front of the main building. A male teacher who has worked for one

and half years says that the teachers at BMHS are like friends or family. When he had difficulties during his first year, other teachers helped him to overcome them (Bi 22).

However, some teachers feel differently about a sense of community. Four teachers who the researcher interviewed wonder whether there is a shared vision among all faculty members. They say that while they have formal meetings frequently, they cannot afford to have informal gatherings where people can relax and open their hearts.[33] According to them, it is difficult to schedule teacher gatherings because some teachers have to stay at the dormitory after school. Even in the day when teachers have no dormitory responsibility, they want to rest at their home.

Some teachers feel a gap between the Catholic and layperson teachers on the other hand, and male and female teachers, on the other.[34] For example, a female teacher complained that male teachers sometimes treat her impolitely (Bi 23). Three teachers whom the researcher interviewed said that there exists a deep gap between teachers and administrators (Bi 21; 23; 26). Due to such reasons, the teacher community lacks liveliness with which all faculty members can pursue together the aim of the school (Bi 21).

4-2-2-3. Dormitory

All students live in the dormitory. Around eight students live at a "home" of the dormitory. A teacher must stay at the home with students every other night. Classes begin at 9:00 am and end at 4:00 pm. Many students participate in the after-school programs, but some students play or chat with other students. Most students spend much

[33] In many Korean schools, teachers have frequently informal gatherings for playing sports games, having dinner, or drinking alcohol. In the case of the school where the researcher worked as a teacher, many teachers met together after school once per week.

[34] At BMHS, the principal and chaplain are Catholic priests and the vice principal and two teachers are nuns. The chaplain studies education at a university in Seoul. So, he rarely appears himself in the school. Among lay teachers, two teachers and one social worker are female.

time in the dormitory talking, watching television, and studying. Many students have difficulties living together with other students because most of them were raised in the individualistic environment of large cities. As a result of these difficulties, some students leave the school, other students just try to adjust themselves to the situations, but still other students learn something important, e.g., living together harmoniously. While the researcher stayed at the school, a freshman left the school because he suffered from a lack of privacy. A female junior said, "I had difficulties with living together. Most students were so different from me. I couldn't understand them. Now I'm used to them... I can't say that I overcome the differences. I just want to avoid conflicts with them" (Bi 04). However, some students acquired significant lessons from their experiences. A freshman said, "I have learned how to live in the community. Before I came here I used to live alone. Yet, here I can't do that. When I behave, I always think how my behavior influences others. Now I can live, honoring community" (Bi 05).

Most teachers sleep in the dormitory every other night. Two single teachers live there everyday. Some teachers often talk or play games with students in the dormitory before going to bed. However, many teachers stay in their offices until they go to sleep in the dormitory. Many teachers are uncomfortable with staying too often in the dormitory. Many teachers who are married worry about not spending enough time with their families. A teacher said that he often felt fatigue on the day after he stayed in the dormitory. A single female teacher was concerned about job security because of this dormitory policy (Bi 24). She said that it was very hard for a married female teacher to stay in the dormitory so often. It seems that the dormitory policy of teachers' residence

endangers a sense of community among teachers, contrary to what the school has expected.

Recently administrators began to consider changes to the design and policy of the dormitory, in response to those complaints of students and teachers. Dormitory remodeling was an issue at the parents meeting on September 2005. The vice principal explained to the parents the reasons why the dormitory needs to be remodeled. She said,

> Some students leave the school, complaining about having no private places. So, dormitory needs to be designed for protecting private aspects of students. It is also said that a supervisor of the dormitory is necessary. But the current design of the dormitory is not fit for supervisor to work (Bf 3, p. 31).

She suggested a new dormitory model in which two students share a room. More than half of the parents agreed as to the necessity of remodeling. They spent much time at the parent meeting discussing what type of remodeling is proper and how they would fund the project. After the researcher observed the meeting, he wrote observation comments as follows:

> Parents discussed the issue of dormitory remodeling for a long time. Regarding the reasons for remodeling, they just listened to the explanations by the vice principal without discussions. The vice principal and parents assumed that students experienced difficulties because the structure of the dormitory. When comparing with the dormitory of GVHS, the researcher believes that they inappropriately understand reasons of the difficulties that students face. Although it may be a reason of difficulty

> for too many students to live in a room, the climate and culture of the dormitory is more important. Around ten GVHS students live in a room, but only a few students complain about the dormitory lives. The researcher wonders whether providing two students with a dormitory room is consistent with building a community, part of the aim of the school. It seems that people focus on seeming aspects whereas they miss the essence of the problems. They need to pay more attention to the culture and relationships of the students (Bf 3, pp. 31-32).

A mother of a female student is also concerned with the idea of dormitory remodeling (Bi 42). After the parents' meeting was finished, she said to the researcher that she was against the suggestion that the dormitory needs to be changed into a structure in which two students share one room. She wondered whether such a structure might weaken the spirit of community life. She contended that the school should provide opportunity of community life to the students, although they encounter difficulties.

4-2-2-4. Special Subjects for Alternative Schooling

BMHS has relatively much autonomy in drawing up curriculum because it is an alternative school. Half of the curriculum is special subjects in order to achieve the aim of the alternative school. Among the special subjects, family relationships, mountain climbing, labor activities, programs for youth growth, and study trips to China are associated with shaping senses of community. The researcher observed labor activities and programs for youth growth and heard from students about study trip to China.

Labor activity is an important program for most alternative schools. The program is designed for students to learn the value of physical labor and the deep relationship

between humans and nature. At BMHS, labor activities consist of labor and cooking for freshman, labor and planting wild flowers for juniors, and labor and understanding natural environments for seniors (Bd 1, p. 76). Students are supposed to take one activity class for an hour per week. The researcher observed the labor activities several times. Students weeded the school garden and planted flowers. Only some students did the tasks diligently with their teachers, but many students chatted with each other on the lawns. Some students said to the researcher that they did not understand why they had to take the labor class.

A program for youth growth for this year was a two-day program led by a public agency affiliated with the Department of Culture of the Korean government. The program was called "experiencing culture by youth" (Figure 11). Several experts of the agency led all activities for two days. The program consisted of three activities such as virtual studio, board games, and playing together. On the first day, students did each activity at a different site according to grade and then switch to the next activity. And on the second day, students played various performances such as playing instruments, dancing, and singing on the stage, and these performances were video recorded as in a broadcast studio. The agency uploaded the recording on the internet. Students actively participated in some activities, but reluctantly in other activities. For the section of playing together, because only a few seniors gathered, the activity hardly took place. A teacher who was responsible for this program attended throughout the activities, and the principal, vice principal, and a few teachers sometimes showed up as well. The program leader said to the students at the closing meeting of the first day,

Figure 11. Program for Youth Growth

> Hey guys, you need more sense of community. Order is necessary even while we enjoy freedom. You need to care for others… You have a strong individualistic propensity. It was most hard to lead the activity of playing together which needs your collaboration (Bf 3, p. 13).

The Study trips to China are comprehensive programs which integrate field study, service activity, and mountain climbing. All freshmen and their teachers participate in the program for eight days. The school intends for students to learn a sense of community and how to care for each other through taking the trip together (Bd 1, p. 79). Similar to field studies, students visit several places such as where the patron saint of BMHS carried out his missionary works, where independent Korean soldiers fought against Japanese soldiers in the colonial era, and where a famous Korean poet lived. On the other hand, digging up potatoes is an important task for students. The potatoes are

supposed to be sent to the North Koreans. The work is students' service activity. Climbing Baek-Du Mountain is a key activity. Mt. Baek-Du is the highest mountain in the Korean peninsula and contains important myths associated with the foundation of ancient Korea. Since it is located between China and North Korea, students can access the mountain from China. A senior says that he learned a lot rather than just had fun from the study trip to China (Bi 02). Another senior also remembers that although she did not like the food nor the facility in which she slept, the experience was valuable. She learned first-hand about Korean history through seeing historic sites (Bd2, p. 39).

BMHS has a variety of special programs as an alternative school. Every year, the school publishes a book of the activities carried out in a year. Teachers say that now the special programs settle down because they have practiced them for seven years. However, in the several special programs that the researcher observed, students' participations were not active. The researcher wonders whether students understand fully the aim of each program. The doubts of the researcher are supported by a parent. The mother said that programs done at the school did not fit the students. According to her, it seemed that students did not understand the spirit of the programs.

4-2-2-5. Shared values of the school

Alternative schools have their own special aims of schooling. BMHS also has a mission statement in its bylaws. The essence of the missions is to take care of students at risk with Catholic spirits and to nurture personalities of students through valuing students' autonomy. The espoused values are not always consistent with acting values, and acting values are often more influential than written values. How the visions and values of a

school are shared among the school members is critical in building a strong school community.

In order to examine the visions of the school, the researcher asked administrators and teachers about the aims of the school. Most faculty members agree that the school stresses character formation. However, they have various answers to the question of what specific contents of the character formation are. Some teachers are suspicious of whether faculty members have shared aims or values (Bi 25; 26). The doubts of the teachers are associated with the recent changes of the school. Most entering students in the last two years are not dropouts maladjusted to common schools, but students directly graduated from middle schools. They have several reasons to enter the school. Some students want autonomous climate and various educational programs. Other students cannot enter college-preparation high schools because of their lower academic achievements. Still other students want a Catholic alternative school. Along with this change of the characteristics of the students, some students and parents request the school to focus more on academic aspects. The vice principal increasingly emphasizes preparing for college entrance exams. Many senior students complain about the change of school values. Teachers are perplexed by the unclear ideas of administrators. Some parents also complain that the direction of the school is uncertain (Bf 3, p. 26). Furthermore, some teachers point out that recently the school has not met the Catholic spirit of the school foundation, that is, caring for students at risk (Bi 21).

In contrast to the doubts of some students and teachers, administrators consider the change of the school to be very natural. The principal emphasizes that the change has been done by social needs, not by his will. He says,

> The spirits of the foundation of the school have never changed. We did our best from the beginning. Consequently, many people pay attention to us and want to send their children to our school... BMHS is not an asylum or hospital, but a school... Our teachers have limitations. We have to do something that we can do (Bi 28).

The vice principal also asserted that the shift of the characteristics of the school was not deterioration, but a proper response to the request of society (Bi 29). She explained to the researcher that there were many students at risk whom even alternative schools could not embrace. She learned from her experiences at the school that students who abused alcohol or drugs, or had developmental problems such as autism needed doctors or specialists, not teachers. Mr. Jeong, a head teacher of academic department, expounded the change of the school, considering the perspectives of both administrators and teachers.

> As the characteristics of entering students change, the identity of the school also has changed. Students, parents, and teachers have requested the modification of the identity. The units of the special subjects decrease... I believe that the identity of a school can be and should be modified according to the notions of the school members. However, change may cause difficulties to people when preparation for the change is not proper. That is the case of BMHS (Bi 27).

4-2-3. Democratic Community

BMHS has good systems in developing a democratic community. Students, teachers, and parents are able to suggest their ideas or participate in making decisions through all-

school meetings, teacher meetings, and parent meetings. Whether and how the school members freely and actively participate in the meetings, and whether the ideas suggested in the meetings are significantly considered by administrators are investigated.

Students, teachers, and parents respond differently to the question of whether BMHS is democratic. Students answer positively. They often mention all-school meetings at which they can voice their suggestions. They say that the school willingly accepts the students' suggestions to some extent, e.g., regarding places of field trips and whether they take national pretests. A student says, "Even though there is something, which we really want, that the school does not accept, most of our suggestions are accepted" (Bi 04). Teachers agree that the school tries to listen to the students.

By contrast, many teachers think that they exercise little impact on important decisions of the schooling. They say that there are some democratic procedures in theory but the principal and vice principal, exclusively, make decisions in practice. A teacher who has worked for five years says, "This school is formally open to us through teacher meetings and so on. But our opinions discussed at the meetings have not been heard" (Bi 25). Parents also recognize that teachers play a small role in decision making of schooling (Bf 3, p. 26). A parent says that the schooling depends mainly on the principal and vice principal (Bi 41). Yet, another parent says that parents suggest their thoughts at parent meetings that occur once per month (Bi 44). According to some teachers, parents' suggestions are importantly considered by administrators (Bi 25). Some contents of special programs are decided by parents. For instances, some parents suggest places for field studies, providing cost of the activities. Even parents who complain that the school does not respond to parents' suggestions want to participate in schooling.

4-2-3-1. All-School Meeting

Every other Monday, all students and faculties are supposed to attend the all-school meeting. The meeting is scheduled from 11:10 am through 12:00 in the multi-purpose room. The researcher observed the meeting that happened on September 5th 2005 (Bf 3, pp. 17-19). Students and teachers were seated around the room. Soo-Min, the vice president of the student council, led the meeting. First, the principal addressed the students for five minutes and left after finishing his speech. After that, leaders of the dormitory homes reported very briefly whether their homes had difficulties. Soo-Min introduced a transfer student. Two head teachers explained the use of the exercise room and the academic schedule. A head teacher suggested an agenda for the discussion session, i.e., trash recycling. At the discussion session, the vice principal and several students expressed their opinions. The discussion session was accompanied by the suggestion session. For this session, many students actively participated. They suggested that the computers be fixed, the study room be used more, light off time be extended, and so on. This meeting ended with singing a school song.

The meeting has an excellent format for communicating between school faculty and students. There are sessions when administrators and teachers speak to students, and students voice suggestions to school administration. At the discussion session, all students and faculties can participate in in-depth discussions of schooling. When an agenda needs to be decided, each school member has one vote. While the meeting is externally excellent, the actual feature has some problems. First, the participation of the teachers is not active. Only seven teachers along with a principal and a vice principal attended the meeting and the principal and two teachers left early. Second, much time

was spent for the one-way communication session, that is, the principal's speech, head teachers' reporting, and students' suggestions. Moreover, students did not actively take part in the two-way communication discussion. Seniors mainly spoke, but freshmen rarely did. Third, there seems no systemic procedure through which the suggestions or ideas discussed at the meeting are accepted and carried out. Some students complain that they sometimes do not know the responses to the suggestions raised by themselves.

4-2-3-2. Teacher Meeting

At BMHS there are two kinds of teacher meetings. The first one is the morning teacher meeting. It takes place at 8:30 am every morning in a teachers' office and lasts around fifteen minutes. A teacher reads some verses of the Bible and then all members pray together according to the Catholic doctrine. After the short devotion time, a head teacher of academic department leads the meeting. Each head teacher of departments, including a senior officer of the administration office, makes a report. After that, the vice principal and principal suggest something for teachers to do. One day, a casual birthday party for a teacher was celebrated at the beginning of the meeting (Bf 2, p. 3).

The second meeting is the Wednesday teacher meeting. It begins after school at 5:00 pm on Wednesdays and lasts forty to sixty minutes. The vice principal often prepares refreshments for the meeting. The head teacher of the academic department also facilitates the meeting. All faculty members freely discuss the agenda that they proposed during the morning meeting on Wednesday. For instance, one agenda item was about the experience study. Some senior students who were already accepted by colleges did not study at the school anymore but participated in some programs outside of the school or a

few students worked to earn money.[35] Some teachers and a vice principal said that it was hard to force the students to come to the school, and suggested that their activities needed to be considered as the study through experience. The principal maintained that all students should study at the school before graduation and thus teachers must ask the students to attend the school. This agenda was discussed for a long time, but they could not bring the issue to conclusion.

The morning teacher meetings are mostly for reports, not for discussions. The vice principal, some head teachers, and a senior administration officer report something, and the principal often speaks of teachers' attitudes and responsibilities. On the other side, the Wednesday meetings were designed for discussions by teachers and administrators. This is a good system through which faculty members can build a democratic school community. However, teachers' participation in the discussion was not active even though all teachers attended the meetings. The discussion often centered on the administrators and head teachers. Some teachers whom the researcher interviewed said why they hardly spoke during the meetings. Two teachers who have worked from the early times of the school said very similarly that during the early three years, most teachers discussed a lot very actively, for instance, even until 12:00 am on one day (Bi 23; 26). However, they came to recognize that administrators made decisions according to their thinking regardless of discussions at the meetings. Some teachers discussed the policy of teachers' dormitory residence with administrators, but the policy did not change. They said that now they were exhausted. A teacher who came to the school last year said,

[35] This problem is common to high schools in Korea. Since many students at high schools study hard in order to enter colleges, after they are accepted, they find no reasons to study at the schools.

"[Teachers] have grown disenchanted, thinking that speaking their opinions will be useless" (Bi 21).

4-2-3-3. Parent Meeting

BMHS emphasizes the role of parents in educating students. The school's slogan, "Quality school is built by good parents and good teachers" shows the importance of parents for the schooling. The school has parent meetings every month except at vacation time. The meetings generally take place from 1:00 pm until 4:00 or 5:00 pm. They consist of the sessions of parent education and discussion. Parent education is often led by experts outside of the school.

The researcher observed the parent meeting that occurred on September 7th, 2005 (Bf 3, pp. 24-32). Sixty four parents attended the meeting, which is more than seventy percent of all the students' parents. Considering that most parents live far from the school and parent meetings occur every month, the rate of attendance is extremely high. The meeting on that day was scheduled to begin at 10:00 am and end at 4:00 pm. Parents who came on time cleaned their children's dormitory. At 11:00, the principal, vice principal, and representative parent of each grade had the meeting in the principal's office. At the same time, parents gathered in their children's dormitory home and discussed the agenda that the school proposed. The agenda items were the aims of alternative schooling, the educational philosophy of BMHS, and remodeling of the dormitory building. The researcher observed that twenty seven parents of freshmen discussed the agenda vigorously at a dormitory room. Some parents criticized the problems of the school, but other parents stressed their responsibilities and roles to build a better school community. After the discussion session, parents had lunch at the school cafeteria.

At 1:00 pm, parents gathered again at the auditorium. The vice principal led the first section of the whole parents' meeting. First, the principal delivered an address for ten minutes. His speech was about desirable parents' attitudes, which was like a sermon. As soon as he finished his address, he left immediately.[36] A slide show was followed. It showed activities that happened during the last semester. A senior student presented what she had learned during her time in the school. After that, the vice principal spoke to the parents. She asked parents to trust the school. She mentioned the necessity of the dormitory remodeling and the increase of dormitory fee. The senior officer of the administration office reported the financial status of the school. After the first section, the chairperson of the parent association led the discussion section. He reported what was decided at the representative meeting. Parents discussed actively the dormitory remodeling and after-school programs. The vice principal frequently answered the parents' questions. The meeting ended around 4:00 pm. After the meeting, some parents went to the teacher offices to meet their students' teachers. The parent meeting on that day was quite a long meeting.

The parent meeting at BMHS shows both the possibilities and limitations of building a democratic community within the school. First, the parents' strong interests in the schooling can serve as the foundation of a democratic community. Many parents not only attend the parent meetings every month but also actively participate in discussions. Most of them are positive and energetic in building a better school. Second, the school administrators stress the significance of parents for schooling. They set up the format of the regular meetings and provide parents with good opportunities for parent education. Whereas these two characteristics are possibilities, the following two features are

[36] The vice principal said that the principal went to a University to teach a class.

limitations. First, one-way communication rather than two-way communication is predominant throughout the meeting. The school administrators planned the programs of the meeting and proposed the agenda that parents would discuss. The principal and vice principal spoke to the parents about their views but rarely listen to parents. Second, teachers did not participate in the meeting. Parents wanted to talk with their teachers but they could not spend enough time to do so (Bf 3, p. 24). All programs were designed to be carried out among parents or between parents and administrators. No teachers attended the parents' discussion time.

4-2-3-4. Leadership

While BMHS has excellent systems for shaping a democratic school community, a number of school members such as teachers and parents wonder whether the climate of the school is democratic. It seems that the leadership of the principal and vice principal heavily influence the climate of the school. The principal and vice principal founded the school and they are only the faculty members who have worked since the foundation. They established democratic procedures in the school. They said that they valued individuality and autonomy of students and teachers. However, they were struggling with building a democratic community because they had been raised in the undemocratic environment as the Rev. Moon said (Bi 28).

Now the principal, Rev. Moon was formerly a parish priest and had taught an ethics class at a Catholic high school. He is a doctoral student in educational philosophy at a university and teaches philosophy to freshman and junior students at BMHS. He frequently refers to parents' improper attitudes about their children. He seems to believe that many parents are too interested in college entrance exams. So, he warns students and

parents to have more holistic views on schooling at the all-school meetings and the parent meetings. He thinks that teachers need to develop their minds as teachers at the alternative school, and thus often asks the teachers to have a clear educational philosophy. He frequently speaks to people, but rarely listens to them. He left immediately after his addresses at the all-school meeting and the parent meeting.

Rev. Moon has a strong identity as a priest. He expounded his thinking about his distinctive identity as a priest during the interview with the researcher: "When some school administration positions were available for me, I did not want to become an administrator at a common high school because I am a priest. So, I as a Catholic priest, decided to begin an alternative school which was consistent with the Catholic spirit" (Bi 28). Yet there is inconsistency with Rev. Moon's actions. All students and faculty members have meals together in the school cafeteria. All members take their own meals and wash their trays after eating, but only the principal is served by workers of the cafeteria with more dishes.

Ms. Cha, the vice principal, was a science teacher at a Catholic high school. She is in charge of many administrative jobs at the school. She attends all meetings, listens, and responds to suggestions of students and parents. She does not talk as much as the principal does. Yet, her evaluations of teachers and parents are similar to Rev. Moon's. She sometimes reveals distrust in parents during the teacher meetings and parent meetings. It seems that the administrator's distrust in parents is related to the frequent transfer of students. She thinks that some parents are dissatisfied with the school's less focused preparation for college entrance exams and force their children to quit the school. Ms. Cha disclosed her opinions about the teachers and parents to the researcher,

> In the past, we had teacher meetings until very late night. Yet, that was not so effective. Although we talked a lot, we rarely got good results. Parent meetings are the same cases. We cannot accept all parents' opinions because parents' ideas are not so mature. Considering the level of thinking of our teachers and parents, it is hard to practice fully democratic decision making yet (Bi 29).

Some teachers said that there existed a chasm between teachers and administrators because two administrators are a Catholic priest and a nun. A female teacher said, "It's not easy to talk with the principal. Moreover, he is a priest, which makes it more difficult." The principal and vice principal often ask teachers to "do service and sacrifice," and on the other hand, some teachers request proper compensations and democratic procedures (Bi 23).

The principal and the vice principal have many commonalities. However, their leadership style is quite different. The principal is a charismatic person, whereas the vice principal is more caring and soft-spoken. These different characters might function positively as if father and mother often do at home. Yet, sometimes a lack of communication between, and even the disharmonized leadership of, the two administrators cause confusion among teachers and students.[37] For instance, since the principal stresses character formation but the vice principal does the preparation for college entrance exams, teachers cannot easily decide between the two (Bi 23; Bf 2, p. 5).

[37] The researcher experienced embarrassment because of a lack of communication between the principal and the vice principal. He emailed to the vice principal for the study at BMHS and asked her for the principal's permission. He received permission from the vice principal. However, at the conference of professional development, the researcher acknowledged that the principal did not know about the study.

4-2-4. Professional Community

Teachers at BMHS answered negatively as to whether the school was a professional community. They believed that the professionalism of teachers had to be presented during teaching classes and counseling students. Many teachers whom the researcher interviewed said that it was hard to develop their professionalism as instructors because they had too many tasks. Teachers at the school generally teach their major subjects around ten hours per week, teach after-school programs, lead special subjects, and do the dormitory duty. Most teachers mentioned the dormitory duty as a big barrier to focus on teaching classes. A female teacher complained that the school hardly provided support systems to develop teachers' professionalism (Bi 23). Another teacher contended that for teachers to be professionals, the school should provide the teachers with professional autonomy, but the school did not (Bi 26).

The teachers at the school are relatively young. Many of them are in their twenties or thirties. There are a few teachers who have teaching experience at other high schools. So, they need opportunities to learn about teaching from other experienced teachers within and outside of the school. However, many teachers pointed out that effective communication was lacking among faculty members at BMHS. A teacher referred to the structure of the teacher offices in regard to the deficiency of communication (Bi 25). To be clear, at most Korean schools many teachers share a large office, whereas at BMHS teachers have their own spots in the classrooms which is the same as in the US. Most teachers had no connections with other teachers outside of the school because the school is located in a rural area (Bi 23; 26).

Administrators also believed that the teachers needed more endeavors to develop their professionalism and collaborations among them. The vice principal said that the amount of teachers' tasks was not too much in the sense that teachers taught classes only ten hours per week (Bi 29). According to the principal, the school provided teachers with good programs to improve their professionalism, e.g., seminars for good school and teacher conferences (Bi 28). Although both teachers and administrators admit that the school is in need of professional community, they have quite different notions about the causes of the deficiency.

4-2-4-1. Professional Development

BMHS has several professional development programs for faculty members. Seminar for a good school, spring teacher conference, and summer conference for alternative school teachers are the main programs. Seminars for a good school aim at providing teachers with an understanding of psychological theories of personality so that teachers develop teaching and counseling methods based on the theories (Bd 1, p. 45). The seminars cover the theories of Freud, Adler, Erickson, Maslow, and so on. They take place once per month. The researcher observed the seminar that occurred in September. On Friday at 5:00 pm, teachers and administrators gathered in the teacher office (Bf 3, p. 36). The vice principal prepared fruits and snacks for the seminar. Mr. Jung, a head teacher of senior classes facilitated the seminar. A female teacher made presentation about Erickson's theory for ten minutes. The facilitator made short comments. A teacher talked about self-identity of teenagers. Another teacher reported her experience related to the students' thinking and how it differed from her own. The vice principal elaborated on

the importance of emotional development of a child. The principal made last comments. The seminar ended at 5:40 pm.

Spring teacher conference takes place for two or three days in February. February is a month when an academic year ends in Korea. All faculty members evaluate the year-long activities and plan for a new academic year. A teacher said that administrators and some teachers such as head teachers usually talked at the conference (Bi 24).

Summer conference for alternative school teachers takes place for two days during summer vacation.[38] This conference is publicized outside of the school. The conference aims to provide professional development to teachers at alternative schools, especially Catholic teachers. Around thirty people, including the researcher, attended the conference in 2005. Around seven teachers of other schools and similar numbers of parents who wanted to send their children to BMHS participated in the conference. The vice principal seemed to have planned the conference, but on that day Mr. Jung chaired all programs. Most programs of the conference were lectures spoken by experts on alternative schooling outside of the school. The history of alternative schools in Korea, alternative schools in other countries, cases of other alternative schools in Korea, and the Catholic idea of schooling were main topics covered during the conference. A teacher, parent, student, and graduate of BMHS made presentations on the school experiences from each perspective. Participants listened to the speeches of the speakers for the most part, and at the late night of the first day they had a group discussion time. Some participants talked with each other until after midnight.

4-2-4-2. Social Work Office in School (SWOS)

[38] Recently several conferences for alternative school teachers have taken place in Korea. Many of them are planned and led by some alternative schools together. But this conference is hosted by BMHS.

SWOS is an important system at BMHS to build a professional school community. Recently some social work offices were housed at schools in Korea. Most social workers of SWOS belong to the Association of SWOS affiliated to the Health and Welfare Department of Korea. Yet, the social worker at BMHS belongs to the school exactly like teachers. So, teachers consider the social worker as a member of teachers and the collaboration between SWOS and teachers is good (Bi 33). SWOS aims at helping students with solving and preventing their social, psychological problems and achieving the school's aim for character formation through developing special programs (Bc 1, p. 46).

The SWOS at BMHS is located on the first floor in the new building. The tables of one head teacher and a social worker are on the corner, and a cozy sofa and a round table are placed nearby. A tidy small room labeled group counseling room is in the office. There are some board games and jenga where students play. The office is filled with balladic music. The office seems to be rest area for students. Students often come to the office, talk with their friends on the sofa, and play games during break times.

The social worker provides counseling to students. She also leads one group for educating for human rights on Fridays. Developing and leading family relationship programs, collaboration between school and local community, and sound school culture are her jobs. She said that teachers and administrator helped her well with doing her jobs so that she liked to work at the school.

4-2-5. Tensions within the School Community

The students at BMHS look free. Their behaviors and attitudes as well as outward appearances such as clothing and hair styles seem to be unrestrained. The students enjoy

autonomy at the school, but the autonomy seems to be in tension with responsibility and lawlessness. The students at BMHS are different from each other in terms of academic ability, background location, and motive for entering the school. There are also differences among teachers, for instance, religious and lay faculty and different teaching backgrounds. Therefore, autonomy and difference are significant themes which need to be discussed to understand the community within BMHS.

4-2-5-1. Autonomy

Most alternative schools cherish individual autonomy unlike other academic schools in Korea. BMHS also tries to value students' individual autonomy in some directions. First, the school provides various academic and nonacademic programs that students can choose. The students are supposed to take the same classes according to their grade level on Monday through Thursday until 4:00 pm. Yet, for after-school programs, students freely participate and choose courses. Academic courses such as mathematics, reading, English, and Japanese as well as nonacademic ones such as piano, drum, soccer, and dance are offered. Furthermore, for programs for youth growth and club activities carried out on Fridays and Saturdays, students' decisions are valued. Students choose a group activity to participate on Friday. Among the choices are studying human rights, making movie, drama, wooden craft, and cooking. Students do club activities once a month on Saturday. They can choose one among around fifteen clubs such as bowling, fishing, photography, mountain climbing, and the like.

Second, the school wants to encourage students autonomously and willingly to participate in the school activities and follow the school rules rather than force them to do so through regulations and coercion. In the early days of the school, since many students

were drop-outs and not interested in the study, the school allowed students not to participate in the classes when they reported to their teachers. The faculty believed that the students' personalities and hearts needed to be healed and educated first of all, and when their hearts were cured, they would enter the classrooms. Some students had smoking habits and were older than eighteen years old. So, the school allowed them to smoke at a certain place at the school.

The school's policy of valuing students' autonomy often causes a dilemma. Students, once in a while, confuse autonomy with lawlessness and forget their responsibilities. The researcher often observed that some students did not enter the classrooms during class times and instead walked around on campus or talked with each other on the bench. For senior classes, fewer than half of the students attended the classes. At some classes that the researcher observed, several students came in the classrooms five or ten minutes after the classes started. Some freshmen and juniors smoke in the smoking place, although persons who are younger than eighteen years old are not permitted to smoke legally.

These days the school faculty has difficulty harmonizing autonomy and responsibility. Until recent years the school emphasized students' autonomy and thus the catchword was "let's wait." Yet, the school began to change the policy. The school stressed responsibility or principle as well as autonomy. A teacher said, "In the past, imposing principles to the students is helpless to them, but now our school needs more clear principles. The situation is changed. I believe that our students are not ready to enjoy fully their autonomy. If students are given autonomy when they are not ready, their autonomy may be lawlessness" (Bi 21). Rev. Moon said, "Autonomy needs

principles. Autonomy without principle would be dangerous liberty. Although we need to help students as they wish, we, as educators, also have to assume our responsibility in teaching principles" (Bi 28).

While many students do not appreciate the autonomy that the school allows, some students use the autonomy in appropriate ways. A graduate said that after he struggled with autonomy in his early years at the school, he came to understand the importance of responsibility and living together in order to protect the autonomy of himself and others (Bd 2, p. 36). A female senior said that while she had lived in a free atmosphere in the school, she found herself and her dream (Bi 09).

4-2-5-2. Difference

Students enter BMHS with various motives. For some students, BMHS is the last opportunity school to get a high school diploma because they already quit their previous schools. Other students wanted to experience various programs that the school offered. Still other students wanted to study in an autonomous environment. So, at BMHS there are so-called students at risk, students who have experiences of studying in other countries, and students who have a strong sense of individualism. Moreover, students' academic abilities are very different from each other. Many students' academic achievements are relatively low, but some students' levels are quite high. Students' background locations are also various. Many students came from Seoul metropolitan area, some from Chung-Cheong Province where the school is located, and others from other locations.[39]

[39] Recently the school administrators try to restrict locations where applicants live. That is, the vice principal believes that if parents live in the distant places from the school, their participations would be harder. Moreover, the school has a family relation program, which requires students to go home every

Many students at BMHS experience difficulties because of the differences existing among students. Age, gender, and personality are important factors resulting in the differences. There is a strict hierarchy between juniors and seniors as in the army. Although violence has disappeared gradually, senior students still often talk to their juniors in authoritarian attitudes. For example, after school some students played soccer, while several others watched it. A senior playing soccer commanded a freshman watching it to join the game. The freshman ran into the dormitory to bring his soccer shoes, complaining to his friends. A female student complained about male students' rude behavior to her. She said that male students led everything and females had to follow them because females were in the minority at the school (Bi 04). Many students encounter conflicts resulting from personality differences. As they experience difficulties, they become used to the conflicts and try to avoid them rather than overcome them (Bi 24). While many students are struggling with the differences, several students learn crucial lessons from the experiences. A senior student said, "Everybody plays his/her role. I've learned something from even students who are really different from me and from students I don't like. I understand from my experiences that there is no one who is unnecessary in this world" (Bi 01).

Teachers refer to the differences between male and female teachers, administrators and teachers, and religious and lay faculty. Teachers often express negative feelings or experiences from the differences. A female teacher who had worked for seven years at the school said that she felt uncomfortable with male teachers (Bi 23). She experienced male teachers' prejudice against female teachers. Another female

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other weekend. So, the school would not accept the students who live in places where travel to home takes more than around three hours.

teacher said that the policy of dormitory residence endangered female teachers' job security because married female teachers might not stay in dormitory often enough. The differences between administrators and teachers were discussed in the previous section. There are two priests and three Catholic nuns in the school. Teachers often talked about the Catholic principal and vice principal. Some teachers said that since administrators were priest and nun, it was harder to dialogue with them. To be sure, they believed that the priest and nun tended to ask teachers to make sacrifices and do service rather than to adopt democratic procedures.[40]

Table 8, 9, and 10 summarize to what extent students and teachers experience and perceive a sense of community, democratic community, and professional community in BMHS.

Table 8. Whether they experience a sense of community

	Sense of community	Agree/disagree	Expressions
Students	Intimacy	+	"I will contact with the friends I met at this school during my life time."
	Caring	+	"Teachers care for us carefully but sometimes do not understand us."
	Trust	-	"Administrators are avaricious and seek a good reputation of the school."
Teachers	Meaningful relationship	-	"The relationships among teachers are not very close."
	Shared vision	-	"I'm not sure whether teachers share the aim of the school."

+ agree; ++ strongly agree; - disagree; -- strongly disagree

[40] A nun teacher's following saying shows that religious people value order and obeying more than democratic decision among their world: "We, Catholic nuns, do not decide our own will by ourselves, but obey commandments by the religious order. I came to this school willingly because my religious order sent me here" (Bi 21).

Table 9. Responses to question as to whether BMHS is democratic

	Agree/disagree	Expressions
Students	+	"It is democratic compared to other schools." "It is democratic to some degree, around eighty or ninety percent."
Teachers	-	"I give to this school bottom score regarding democracy." "I can't say that the school is an open organization."
Parents	+	"The school values the participation of parents." "Let us try to change the school."

+ agree; ++ strongly agree; - disagree; -- strongly disagree

Table 10. Responses to question as to whether BMHS is a professional community

	Professional community	Agree/disagree	Expressions
Teachers	Professionalism	-	"We need improvements in professionalism with regard to teaching subjects."
	Collaboration	-	"Communication among teachers is not so active."

+ agree; ++ strongly agree; - disagree; -- strongly disagree

4-3. Outline

In this chapter, the characteristics of the two site schools are depicted. I have described how the students, teachers, and parents experience a sense of community within their schools and perceive the schools as democratic and professional communities. In the next chapter, I compare two schools in terms of the main themes of the school community, such as a sense of community, democratic, professional community, and tension within community. In addition, I discuss two schools within the framework of three models of community that I developed. Lastly, I analyze the reasons why the two schools have been developed in a different way.

5. Chapter Five: Discussion

5-1. Comparisons

Table 11 summarizes the features of the two research sites, i.e., BMHS and GVHS in terms of three thematic categories - sense of community, democratic community, and professional community

Table 11. Summary of Two School Communities

	BMHS	GVHS
Sense of Community	- The school members often experience individual relationships, such as intimacy and caring.	- The school members experience not only individual relationships but also communal relationships such as belongingness, mutual trust, and interdependence.
Democratic Community	- Democratic systems have been well established (e.g., All-School meetings, parent meetings, and teacher meetings) - Democratic culture has not fully developed yet.	- Students and teachers experience a strong sense of democratic community. - Democratic culture has been set up in some aspects.
Professional Community	- Teachers try to improve their teaching methods, but they are not confident of their being professionals. - Collaboration is not their culture.	- Teachers perceive themselves to be professionals but do not need collaboration among teachers regarding teaching.

5-1-1. Sense of Community

Comparing to the images of high schools in Korea reported in the literature and the popular press, both BMHS and GVHS are somewhat strong school communities. The school members such as students, teachers, and parents at the schools experience a strong

sense of community to some degree. However, the study data suggests that the extent and the characteristics of community in each case are quite different. Whereas students at GVHS mostly like their school and generally express that they feel a very strong sense of community, students at BMHS have more varied comments about community. While people at BMHS often mention a sense of community focused on individual relationships, reflecting intimacy and caring, people at GVHS refer to more collective experiences involving interdependence, belongingness, and mutual trust.

Students at BMHS enjoy intimate relationships among and between students and teachers. Many students have close ties with other same-grade students and their teachers. It is noteworthy that such close relations between students and teachers are unusual in Korean high schools. It is possible that such relations are found only at tiny alternative schools like BMHS. Certainly, intimacy seems to be a distinctive feature of the school as a community. Caring is also another quality that the students often feel at their school. They believe that the teachers take care of them properly. However, their experiences of caring are limited in the sense that mutuality is lacking in these relationships. As discussed earlier, many seniors and administrators demonstrate distrust of each other. Students complain that administrators enforce more regulations, and administrators say that seniors often disregard school rules.

In contrast, school members at GVHS experience a sense of community in a broader and deeper way. The sense of community at GVHS includes both individual and communal characteristics. The relationships of students at GVHS with other students encompass more than intimacy. The students not only come to have intimate relations with other people but also have learned essential lessons from experiencing their

community life. That is, they understand that living together is difficult but valuable and that interdependence is necessary for life. Sensing the importance of interdependence, they come to acknowledge the value of other people, they find joy in communal life, and they develop their personalities. Interdependence contributes to students' sense of belongingness. They understand the value of other people and the importance of the community to which they belong. The students at GVHS are proud that they are members of the school.

Mutual trust is a significant quality of a sense of community (Sergiovanni, 1994; Yoo, 2005). Students at GVHS believe that teachers are excellent and put much effort into teaching them. Teachers also say that GVHS has a reputation as a prestigious school because of the personal and academic quality of its students. For GVHS, mutual trust seems to be the foundation of the high degree of interdependence and belongingness that the school members experience. Thus, interdependence, belongingness, and mutual trust are critical qualities for individual and communal relationships in community. People at GVHS have not only good interpersonal relationships among the members but also strong solidarity with the broader school community.

To sum up, both schools have a strong sense of community but people at GVHS experience deeper and broader senses of community than those at BMHS. At GVHS, both individual relationships and communality are valued, unlike relationships at BMHS. This difference seems to be associated with the fact that school members at GVHS have strongly shared visions. Of course, both schools have mission and vision statements. Written mottos or goals are easily found at the two school buildings. However, a written vision is not always an enacted vision shared by the members. BMHS has goals and a

vision as a Catholic alternative school. Yet, the values expressed by the principal and teachers are different, and students demonstrate an absence of a shared vision. By contrast, at GVHS administrators, teachers, and students know what they pursue. Commonly referred to expressions of their shared values, such as GVHS spirits, the ten commandments for job selection (Table 3), or public addresses (e.g., Table 4), embody the school's vision. The school culture has developed based upon these values throughout the history of the school. So today, school members come to understand the vision of the school as they study and live within the school culture.

5-1-2. Democratic Community

When a school enjoys two kinds of autonomy, the school can be a democratic community in a full sense (Lim, H., 2005). That is, a school needs to have autonomy from central offices (e.g., site-based management) and school members such as teachers, parents, and students also need to exercise their rights as key parts of the school. In regard to the autonomy from central offices, while GVHS has very limited autonomy in designing curriculum, implementing student recruiting policy, and financing, BMHS enjoys relatively strong autonomy as an alternative school. However, what the students and teachers of the schools think more importantly is whether or not they can exercise their rights as a key part within the school.

Both BMHS and GVHS have democratic structures or procedures in some sense, and many students at the schools experience a sense of democratic community. Since BMHS is a small school, students at the school directly participate in decision making of the school through the All-school meetings. On the other side, at GVHS, the student

council works on behalf of the students, and once in a while students directly suggest their ideas to the school through suggestion boxes.

While students at both schools believe that their schools are democratic to some degree, teachers and parents perceive their schools differently. BMHS sets up a democratic system for students, teachers, and parents. Teacher meetings and parent meetings are supposed to be places where teachers and parents discuss schooling with administrators. However, many teachers and some parents rarely say that those meetings are the appropriate arenas for democratic decision making. The school has external structures for teachers and parents to participate in operating the school, but the top-down leadership style of the administrators often inhibits the system from functioning properly. Parents hardly complain that their school is undemocratic, but the teachers often do. Certain influential parents actually have some impact on deciding school activities. Although many other parents admit that they do not influence making decision, they understand that the school tries to value the parents' role in schooling.

GVHS also has some procedures through which the school can be a democratic community. Teachers elect head teachers and they discuss various school issues with administrators at the teacher meetings. Even though these procedures are not as many as at BMHS, the administrators and teachers often effectively make use of them. Consequently, teachers believe that they are significantly involved in operating the school. In contrast with teachers, parents are not encouraged to participate in the school discussions. Whereas some parents want to be involved more actively in schooling, most parents just appreciate the school faculty for educating their children. It seems that parents' trust in the school makes it unnecessary to participate actively in schooling, as a

point made in research on effective Catholic Schools in the US (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993). In their comprehensive study on Catholic high schools, Bryk and his colleagues (1993) found low levels of participation by parents in the governance of the schools because "the foundation of the relationship between parents and Catholic schools is fiducial, predicated on trust between professionals and parents" (p. 307).

BMHS and GVHS have their own strengths and drawbacks in building democratic communities within their schools. BMHS has well-established systems for building a democratic community. Students, teachers, and parents all officially have rights to be involved in the schooling. They actually participate in the meetings, which take place quite frequently. The suggestions, however, do not seem to work effectively. Teachers rarely show up at the All-school meetings and parent meetings. Even when teachers do attend, they speak their opinions reluctantly partly because of a lack of trust in the administrators. Teachers' distrust and administrators' top-down leadership style make one-way communication dominant at the meetings. Consequently, many teachers, some parents and students are not satisfied with the democratic features of the school. The case of BMHS shows that it is hard to build a democratic community only with good systems when democratic culture, such as trust and participation, has not been formed sufficiently.

The case of GVHS presents a very different feature of a democratic school community. GVHS has some specific structures related to building a democratic community, e.g., student council, teacher meetings, and suggestion boxes. These systems are quite common at other high schools in Korea. Nevertheless, many students and teachers at GVHS perceive their school to be a democratic community, whereas many

other high school members do not. As a student of GVHS says, each system or structure at the school, such as teacher meetings, suggestion box, or student council functions properly. "We had similar systems like here in my middle school. But they did not work very well. They were just formality. In contrast, here student council and suggestion boxes are really different. These are extremely important for us" (Gi 02). GVHS has built a democratic community within the school in spite of having no unusual structures or systems because democratic culture takes root in the school, based on mutual trust among the school members formed throughout the school history.

5-1-3. Professional community

The idea of professional community is not familiar to the teachers at either of the schools. The teachers mainly talk about professionals as teachers or professionalism, not professional community. They believe that teachers have to be experts on subject contents, teaching methods, and character formation. Yet, their emphasis is slightly different. Teachers at BMHS equally stress subject contents and character formation including counseling, but teachers at GVHS place more emphasis on subject contents. This difference seems to reflect the different characteristics of the students or mission.

While teachers at GVHS are confident that they are professionals, teachers at BMHS are not. Administrators at both schools say that their teachers need to learn more to be professionals. They point out that the teachers lack the knowledge of pedagogy. Most teachers at GVHS teach their classes in a very traditional way, which typically means teacher- and lecture-centered teaching methods. Of course, in some cases, such methods can be effective. However, the traditional methods are so predominant at Korean schools that they cause a number of negative consequences. It is widely

criticized in Korea that the traditional teaching method fails to nurture students' creative, critical ways of thinking. It is just like "an act of depositing" at bank in some senses as Freire (1997, p. 53) says. Teaching classes with test-preparation books, sometimes found at GVHS, is a modified example which adopts the traditional teaching method. At such classes, students are only interested in finding the right answers to the questions in a limited time. They usually cannot afford to think deeply, creatively, and reflectively.

Even though teachers at GVHS know the limitations of the traditional method, they rarely try to change it. Most teachers are accustomed to teaching in such a way and they believe that it is effective in preparing students for college-entrance exams. As the vice principal of GVHS says, educating for achieving the school's goal, that is, nurturing democratic citizenship based on the Christian belief, often conflicts with teaching students in preparation for college exams. The principal at GVHS hopes that classes taught by teachers are more aligned with the school's spirit or vision rather than the preparation of college entrance exams. Only a few teachers try to achieve the goals through improving teaching methods. They adopt methods of group discussion, team projects, and presentation by students at their classes, which are not yet popular in Korean high schools. However, their endeavors remain individual tasks and do not become collective concerns.

At GVHS, pedagogy or teaching method has not been a critical issue for teacher meetings or yearly teacher conferences. Since most teachers think that the work of teaching is the teachers' individual business, systemic collaboration among teachers related to teaching classes seldom happens. A few teachers attend professional development meetings or teacher study groups outside the school. GVHS teachers'

individualistic orientation to teaching seems to be a barrier to growth of their professionalism. In order to make the classes livelier and to teach democracy and justice more effectively at classes, teachers need to shape a professional learning community that focuses on improving teaching and learning through reflective discussions and collaboration among teachers.

Teachers at BMHS teach classes in a little more unconventional way. Since the school is an alternative school, teachers have more autonomy in developing new teaching methods and subject contents. A music teacher teaches rhythm through making students create music with various rhythms. A language art teacher plans to visit a local rural town with his students in order to collect myths and legends. Many teachers try to have students actively participate in the classes. Such efforts of the teachers often have been done individually. Based on the absence of significant elements of professional community - shared norms and values, focus on student learning, reflective dialogue, and collaboration (Louis & Kruse, 1995; Louis, Kruse & Marks, 1996) - the community of the teachers at BMHS can hardly be called a professional community. "Nurturing shared identity sown out of professional autonomy" (Scribner et al., 2002, p. 52) and calling for attention to teachers' individual needs are critical in building a strong professional community.

5-1-4. Summary

The analysis of the data of the schools shows that a school can be a democratic community based on school members' strong senses of community but it may not be a professional community. The analysis also reveals that perception and experience of a school as community can be different among school members such as students, parents,

and teachers. More importantly, even where school members experience a strong sense of community, the characteristics of the sense are quite different according to schools. Such different features of community are discussed with respect to school community models in the next section.

5-2. Models of School Community

Many educational researchers and reformers maintain that making educational policy and running schools based on the understanding of school as community is an effective way to achieve schools' goals. Moreover, such an approach challenges the recent educational mentality which overemphasizes instrumental, technical features of schooling. However, as I discussed earlier, seeing school as community does not always result in positive consequences. Some researchers point out that stressing communality once in a while leads to coercion, exclusivity, intolerance, and the like.

To date the studies of school community done by educational researchers often depend upon the dichotomy of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft spelled out by Tonnies (1957). This study tries to develop more thoroughly the theoretical foundations of school community, beyond the dichotomy, by reviewing the notions of community discussed by Western social thinkers and in Asian philosophy. The data derived from the two Korean high schools show that how actual school communities can be understood in terms of the models of community based on Western and Asian thought.

The models are individualist, communitarian, and alternative models. The individualist model is shaped by a contract which represents the individual interests. This model places more emphasis on individual relationships formed to help members achieve

their goals than on communal solidarity. This model, considered a type of community, fails to overcome alienation, a problem associated with individualism. The communitarian model seeks communal solidarity above accomplishment of individual interests. In this model, community is not a means to achieve individual goals; rather communal relationship and cohesion is an aim in itself. Individuals are valued as members of community. When communality is overemphasized, individual autonomy of the community members may be suppressed. Moreover, the community may be exclusive and have no concern with social justice outside of community.

In the alternative model, a person is neither an individual entity nor just a part of a group, but is considered to be a relational being with people and nature. Thus, in terms of this model, individuality can be fully actualized in community. Yet, the alternative model is not an exclusively different model. That is, the model shares some aspects of individualist and communitarian models in different ways. This model tries to synthesize the strengths of the two models and solve the weaknesses. To be specific, in this model, one can properly deal with possible tensions within community, such as solidarity in tension with autonomy, commonality in tension with diversity, and caring in tension with justice.

In this section, I discuss to what extent BMHS and GVHS have characteristics of the three models. This discussion leads to conclusions about how the two schools perceive and deal with tensions within the school communities.

5-2-1. Among Three Models

Individualist, communitarian, and alternative community are possible theoretical models. However, in practice it is hard to find such perfect models. In this study, both school

Table 12. Two Schools in Terms of Three Models

	BMHS	GVHS
Individualist Model	- Students and teachers try to achieve their own individual goals. - They value the instrumental worth of the school. - They lack shared visions. - Professional works are individual business. - Students and teachers are allowed, but not required to participate in various activities. - Individual relationships like intimacy and caring are more important than collective relationships.	- Teachers believe that teaching classes is individual business. - The school lacks systemic collaboration among teachers for teaching classes.
Communitarian Model	- The school officially pursues a home-like school community. - Administrators ask teachers to make sacrificial commitments to the school. - Some religious faculty members have strong dedication to the school. - Many students have close relationships with teachers.	- The school's goal is deeply connected to goals of students and teachers. - The school members have strong social solidarity based on shared visions. - Teachers have strong commonality. - Personal and professional works are not clearly separated. - Students and teachers are required to participate in school activities. - Collective relationships such as interdependence, belongingness, and mutual trust are more dominant.
Alternative Model	- The school pursues deep relationships between nature and people through various programs	- Both individuality of students and social solidarity of the school community are equally cherished. - The school encourages students to have various meaningful relationships with other people. - The students learn proper relationships between nature and people and people's responsibility to care for nature

communities have some characteristics of all three models, summarized in Table 12. Although the two schools cannot be categorized into a perfect model, they may have stronger orientation toward certain models. While BMHS has more individualist model-oriented characteristics, GVHS has more communitarian or alternative model orientation.

5-2-2. BMHS

BMHS certainly has some characteristics of a communitarian model of community. A traditional notion of home is a good example of this model of community. The traditional home, based upon the proximity of blood, location, and mind, cherishes the unity and intimacy of the family members. BMHS officially pursues a home-like school community. People of the school call the dormitory a quality home. The structure of the dormitory building and the residence policy of teachers present the external aspects of the home-like school. The design of the dormitory is like a condominium in the US. Teachers have to stay in the school dormitory every other night. In practice, many students experience close relationships with other students and adults, just as they do at home. By tradition, Catholic priests and nuns are supposed to dedicate themselves to the community that they belong to. For them, it seems that the personal and the professional are merged into the school community. Communal goals rather than individual goals are more important. Furthermore, the religious administrators ask all teachers to behave as the religious faculty does, including spending every other night at the dormitory and dedicating much of their life to school activities.

As written in the documents of the school and evidenced in the words and attitudes of administrators and some faculty, BMHS embraces the communitarian model. The features of the individualist model, however, are more dominant in observation of

the broad school community. True to the individualist model, people primarily pursue their individual interests and value associations that are instrumental, that is, help them achieve goals they have set for themselves. For many students and faculty at BMHS, there is worth in community as long as it contributes to the achievements of its members' goals.

Students of BMHS enter the school with various motives. They appear to maintain their individual goals regardless of the school's goals, which is somewhat surprising, given that students live and study at the school for years. Students, who perceive that the school helps them achieve their individual goals, appreciate this fact. Students, who do not believe the school is helping them achieve their goals, complain. For instance, entering college is a goal for many students. Some students and parents ask the school to offer more appropriate programs to assist with preparation for college entrance exams. Getting into college is such a strong motivation for students that some seniors stop attending school before graduation once they have achieved college acceptance. They pursue their individual interests rather than being concerned with the interests of the school. Of course, there are a few students who absolutely agree with the aims of the school and appreciate the fact that they are members of the school community.

Many teachers began their jobs at the school because of their individual needs. Their professional goals are very individualistic and there are few shared vision representations of any. For the teachers, achieving their individual goals may be separated from pursuing the school's goals. Teachers sometimes complain when they believe that the school hinders them from seeking their individual interests. For instance,

teachers dislike the residence policy of teachers because they think that it prevents them from living their private life comfortably.

Teachers at BMHS emphasize personal rights and responsibilities, as much the Brandeis' liberal teacher community described by Westheimer (1998). They take the responsibilities for teaching classes, planning and leading special programs. They perceive their responsibilities to be personal rather than collective. Teachers work hard, but they do work by themselves. They often do not participate in activities or meetings because they do not think that participation is their responsibility. In an individualist model, participation is considered to be a right (Westheimer, 1998), and so many teachers do not participate in parent meetings, All-school meetings, and a youth growing program.

Many students and teachers experience intimacy and caring from their relationships. Intimacy and caring are important qualities of individual relationships within community, whereas interdependence and belongingness are collective relationships. At BMHS individual relationships are more pervasive than collective relationships.

5-2-3. GVHS

Some characteristics of the individualist model of community are found at GVHS. For instance, teachers rarely collaborate with other teachers regarding planning and teaching classes, believing that teaching classes is individual business. The school predominantly has features of communitarian and alternative models of community, however. Students and teachers enter the school with various motives but they actively interact with the values and visions of the school. As they study and work at the school, they come to have a strong communal solidarity based on shared values. Their goals seem to be deeply

related to the goals of the school. For students, when they decide which colleges to enter, they are influenced by what the school pursues, that is, service for society.[41]

Some teachers try to achieve the school's goals, which align with their individual goals. A teacher writes a proposal for the Asian school connection project to UNESCO, and tries to find sister schools in developing countries such as Laos or Vietnam. He wants his students to help students in the sister schools and learn about the world through relationships with them.

For most teachers at GVHS, private and public affairs or personal and professional jobs are not clearly separated. Some teachers bring food that they made at home and share with teachers in the teacher office. A teacher buys fruits to share with other teachers to cerebrate his son's winning of a soccer game. Many teachers often come to the school to see their students at night. A female teacher voluntarily teaches a subject to some students after school because they need it to prepare for college entrance exams.

In a communitarian model, participation is not just allowed, but required (Westheimer, 1998). At GVHS, participation is highly valued. All students are required to be involved in school activities such as spring and fall festivals and camping. When school has special events like the yearly assembly for reviving faith, most teachers attend. Along with participation, interdependence, mutual trust, and belongingness are also easily found at the school. These communal qualities are main features of communitarian model of community.

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[41] Deciding which colleges to enter is most important for Korean students at academic high schools. Most students want to enter prominent departments at prestigious colleges. The criterion of good majors and colleges is to get better jobs. So, many smart students want to enter law, medical, and business departments regardless of their propensity. Yet, many academically talented students who graduated from GVHS became school teachers and Christian ministers.

Teachers have strong commonality. Half of the teachers are alumni of GVHS. Their home town is Grand Valley or somewhere nearby. Most teachers live in Grand Valley. Some of them are couples. Most teachers have Christian backgrounds. Such homogeneity likely contributes to making the school a communitarian model of community.

GVHS has some features of an alternative model as well as a communitarian model. Many features described above as a communitarian model can be also ascribed to an alternative model. In an alternative model, persons, most importantly, exist as relational beings. GVHS emphasizes meaningful relationships among students and authentic individual meeting as I and Thou with others. *Nurturing the Power of Humanity through Life* published by GVHS says, "True life is genuine meetings among people. I become genuine 'I' through a deep relationship between you and me" (GVHS, 2000). GVHS students have various relationships with their classmates, roommates, club mates, and "sisters." Some students say that they discover themselves and learn the value of persons through the relationships. Some teachers experienced authentic individual meetings with the former principal, Mr. Park, and try to establish similar relationships with students. At the school, students' relationships with nature as well as with other people are stressed, similar to Taoist doctrines. All students take an ecology class, plant some vegetables, and go camping in the mountains. Through these activities, they learn the worth of nature and how to care for nature. The school's emphasis on a deep relationship with nature is likely to be derived from Asian thought. Such features are critical qualities of an alternative model. To decide whether GVHS has more

characteristics of an alternative model, we need to understand how the school addresses other tensions which are sometimes found in a communitarian model of community.

5-3. Tensions within Community

A number of educational studies point out dangers that sometimes result from communitarian relationships (Bushnell 1998; Furman & Starratt, 2002; Green, 1993; Noddings, 1996; Peshkin, 1986; Young, 1986). A strong sense of community sometimes leads to the suppression of individuality and autonomy, the discouragement of diversity and inclusiveness, and the indifference to social justice. Where these dangers are solved, an alternative model of community is present. In other words, solidarity and communality coexist with individuality, diversity, and social justice in the alternative model of community. In this regard, the alternative model is an ideal model as theoretically conceived. This section discusses how, in practice, the two schools successfully deal with such tensions or fail to harmonize those qualities.

5-3-1. Solidarity vs. Individual Autonomy

Solidarity is not necessarily opposite to individual autonomy. Yet, we often see that in a society where individual autonomy is emphasized, social solidarity becomes weak, and vice versa. In the contemporary US, where modern individualism permeates, social integration declines (Bellah, et al, 1985; Putnam, 1995a). In contrast, when shared values are so strong and social cohesion pervades, the school members' individual autonomy may be suppressed. Peshkin (1986) demonstrated this to be the case at Bethany Baptist School.

However, theoretical studies of social solidarity argue that individual autonomy can coexist with strong social solidarity. Moral solidarity is formed and sustained only when all members of community ensure their individual autonomy (Kang, S., 2005). People can seek cohesive relationships - for the purpose of relationship - or for moral responsibility for others on the basis of their individual autonomy. The literature related to democratic community also ensures that autonomy and solidarity are key qualities of a democratic school community (Fleming, 2002; Sim, 2003; Strike, 1993). Communication, discourse, or dialogue is a main vehicle in shaping a school community where autonomy and solidarity are simultaneously established (Buber, 1970; Habermas, 1984; Mawhinney, 2004; Shields, 2004; Sim, 2003; Strike, 1993).

At GVHS both social solidarity and individual autonomy are equally valued. When students are asked about the most distinctive characteristic of the school, they often answer that it is the school's honoring of individual autonomy. Student council is a good example that ensures the autonomy of students. Students, through the student council, can actively get involved in making some decisions of schooling, such as school festivals and club activities. On the other hand, the suggestion of a first year teacher that "all members of this school have a strong unity," leads one to recognize that solidarity is also another key feature of GVHS.

The tradition that the school values students' individual dignity and autonomy has derived from the former principal, Mr. Park. He returned from the US where he studied theology for several years and emphasized a democratic way of thinking and living, based on the Christian belief which esteems human dignity. In the 1950s, democracy and Christianity were unfamiliar idea and religion respectively for many Koreans, especially

in rural areas like Grand Valley. In addition to this, difficult school situations contributed to shaping the school culture honoring individual students. In the early days of the school, it was difficult to recruit students. The principal and teachers at that time treated the students very importantly and faithfully. Because of these considerations, GVHS did not lapse into collectivism, and instead gave special attention to students' individual dignity.

On the other hand, GVHS could keep a strong solidarity as a community as well as value individual autonomy because the principal and teachers dedicated themselves to the school. Their personal lives were not separated from their work at the school. They tended to consider the school to be their family and had mutual responsibility to each other, which could be connected to the Asian thinking. Over time, the school has inherited their spirit and attitude of commitment. In the culture respecting individuality and commitment to the school, students and teachers have learned how to deal with others and school community.

Students and faculty members experience a sense of belonging on the basis of the shared vision. They understand the visions and values of the school very well. Two graduates whom I interviewed said that they had stronger identity as GVHS alumni than as students at one of the best universities. Solidarity and autonomy are not in tension, but in harmony at the school.

The communication systems of GVHS help to produce autonomous solidarity. Communication or dialogue enables the school members to have mutual understanding and recognition, which are bases of the solidarity. Students and teachers communicate with each other through teacher meetings, student council, and a suggestion box. They form solidarity through talking about shared values on the one hand, and they ensure

individual autonomy through listening to individual voices on the other. Students hear about values of the school addressed by faculty members or guest speakers and their voices are also heard by the school teachers and administration through dialogues, student council, and a suggestion box. To sum up, people at GVHS experience both social solidarity and individual autonomy.

BMHS shows quite different features regarding solidarity and autonomy. At the school the two qualities are in tension. The culture that individual persons are esteemed and cared for has not yet been entirely established. In the early days of the school, at-risk students entered the school, and they often left when they encountered difficulties. Some students were too problematic for teachers to deal with. In such a situation, it was difficult to honor all students' individual autonomy and care for all. Many students used to do simply what they wished. They hated studying and regulations. Faculty members understood the needs and situations of the students and tried to respond appropriately to individual needs. Thus, the behaviors of the students and the responses of the faculty members began to shape culture at the school.

Today students pursue individual autonomy, whereas administrators stress solidarity. Administrators try to make solidarity stronger, but their efforts often meet resistance because students perceive this stress on solidarity as endangering their individual autonomy. The principal and the vice principal attempt to strengthen school rules and academic climates in order to achieve the school goal of higher achievement, but some students are against the administrators' efforts. Many special programs aim to increase the solidarity of students, but students do not actively participate in the programs.

Most students of BMHS have strong individuality, and there is a lack of compelling vision or other motivation to bring them together.

Communication systems are in place, but they do not work effectively. Active communication does not occur during the all-school meetings, teacher meetings, and the like. Thus, it is difficult for autonomous solidarity to be formed in the school. Students request more individual autonomy because this is what they expect from an alternative school. By contrast, the school administrators emphasize a commitment to the school community. Requesting rather than listening is predominant in the school.

5-3-2. Commonality vs. Diversity

Gemeinschaft-like communities are shaped on the basis of affinity of blood, locality, and mind (Tonnies, 1957). Such communities often discourage diversity and difference among community members (Furman & Starratt, 2002; Green, 1993; Peshkin, 1987; Young, 1986). Yet, many social theorists argue that the recent proper understanding of community presumes diversity and pluralism (Bellah et al., 1985; Selznick, 1992). Differences in schools can provide "a rich tapestry of human existence that must be the starting point for a deeply democratic, academically excellent, and socially just education" (Shields, 2004, p. 127). For instance, Kratzer (1997) finds from her case study of Jackson Elementary School, an urban school in LA, that differences and diversity strengthen and enrich the school community by "allowing creative processes to bring about better solutions" (p. 22) and protecting a school from undesirable elements like exclusivity, intolerance, and lack of individual identity, which exist in some communities. She argues that familiarity rather than similarity draws people together

into community and thus "fostering familiarity help[s] to bridge diversity and difference" (p. 25).

Both GVHS and BMHS seem to be homogeneous, at first look, compared to most schools in the US. All school members share the same racial background and language. Since the schools are religion-affiliated private schools, their values and missions are not expected to be diverse. Moreover, student composition was not decided by students' addresses, but by students' willingness to enter the schools. So, students' ideas of education are more likely to be similar within each school. Nevertheless, there are still substantial differences within the schools, and the differences are significant for the school members. Recently differences based on class, geographic, and generation have received special attention among Korean social theorists (Kang, S., 2005). The differences are considered to be causes of severe social conflicts in the Korean society including schools. Therefore, how to deal with differences matters in Korean schools as well as in the Korean society.

Although diversity is not apparently distinctive at GVHS, there are various differences in family SES, location, religion, and academic achievement among students. Yet, such differences among school members do not cause conflicts within the school. Instead, differences are protected, not suppressed. The differences existing among students do not diminish the sense of community of the students. Of course, at GVHS, there is a mainstream culture, i.e., a culture representative of middle class, residents of Grand Valley or Keoyng-Sang Province, who are Christians, and have high academic achievements. Yet, students from the mainstream culture generally do not look down upon students from peripheral culture and do not try to force assimilation into the

mainstream. Students at GVHS are interested in differences. They concern themselves with dialects and customs of other areas and want to learn the differences. They have learned from their experiences that diversity enriches their ways of living and thinking. Such open-mindedness of the students to differences seems to be influenced by teachers. Teachers of the school treat students equally regardless of students' differences, and value their individuality.

Teachers have a relatively high degree of commonality but do not alienate teachers who are different. There is no discrimination between teachers as GVHS alumni and non-alumni or male and female teachers. For teachers, differences of opinions and ideology rather than external differences such as alumni and gender are more significant. Most teachers express their ideas freely in public arenas and do not feel pressure to be assimilated or normalized, which is not a common occurrence in strong communities (Fendler, in press). Nevertheless, the difference of opinion does not lead to creative processes to bring about better solutions through in-depth discussions and dialogue, as Kratzer (1997) showed occurrence at Jackson Elementary School. The coexistence of differences presents the most salient feature of community of GVHS. In sum, diversity is never discriminated and willingly tolerated, although rarely celebrated, at GVHS. In this regard, GVHS falls short of a "community of difference" suggested by Furman and Starratt (2002).

BMHS also appears to be a homogeneous community. At BMHS, however, there are real differences that result in weakening the school community rather than advancing it. For students, the differences of age and gender are important. The Korean society cherishes seniority, and age is a key factor in determining seniority. Hierarchy is shaped

by age at BMHS as at many other high schools in Korea. Younger students have to speak in a strict way of politeness to their seniors even though they are in the same grade. These characteristics are also similarly found at GVHS. However, while such features are gladly accepted by students of GVHS, students of BMHS are uncomfortable in such a climate. At GVHS, many younger students make meaningful relationships with seniors through club activities and dormitory lives. Seniors and juniors have a team spirit, and seniors care for their juniors. In contrast, at BMHS, an individualist climate reigns over team spirit. Seniors and juniors organize themselves in a hierarchy as found in army or bureaucratic organizations. Juniors listen to their seniors at BMHS because they are bound to listen by rules. At GVHS, juniors listen to their seniors because they like their seniors.

At BMHS, gender difference makes some female students feel uncomfortable. They think that school activities and programs are mainly directed by males because the number of female students is small. The school does not seem to discriminate against females institutionally, but some females reported a male-centered culture at the school. They think that some male students treat females impolitely.

Age and gender play an important role in making relationships among people in the Korean society. In Confucianism, age and gender are key factors through which a society functions properly. People of different ages and gender are supposed to have mutual responsibility to each other (Shin, H.S., 2004). Yet, in Confucianism as a ruling ideology, age and gender often cause discrimination. That is, females and the young are treated as the weak. BMHS reflects such a feature of Confucianism.

In the culture of hierarchy, teachers reluctantly speak about their ideas frankly that are different from those of administrators. Although the principal asks teachers to suggest creative ideas, the climate, in which differences are not welcomed, is likely to block teachers' diverse thoughts. In sum, BMHS looks like a cohesive community, but within the school there are tensions resulting from differences among school members.

5-3-3. Caring vs. Justice

Caring and justice are often compared or contrasted in considering appropriate values for communities (Enomoto, 1997; Jos & Hines, 1993; Noddings, 1999; Strike, 1999a; 1999b; Starratt, 1991; 1994). Caring pursues building communities where nurturance and relationships are highly valued, whereas justice aims at building communities where people are treated fairly and get what they deserve (Strike, 1999a). Caring and justice are not inherently antithetical, and can be harmonious. In the Catholic Schools illustrated by Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993), the languages of caring and justice are woven together and justice is for the sake of caring and human well-being (Strike, 1999b). James Comer's schools in New Haven, Deborah Meier's schools in East Harlem, and the Jackson Elementary School in Los Angeles are also good examples that show successful harmony of caring and justice (Kratzer, 1996; 1997; Meier, 1995; Schorr & Schorr, 1988). Even though these schools have mostly poor and minority populations, all the members of the schools, i.e., students, teachers, and families, build together caring and just school communities where they all experience respectful and trusting personal relationships, putting the vision of social justice into practice.

At BMHS nurturing, caring, and relationship receive great attention. "Let's wait and go to their eye heights" is its motto of teachers. Teachers wanted to wait until

students got ready for study, and they tried to understand students from the students' perspective. The school was initially built for providing students at risk with proper educational opportunities. So, faculty members believed that their students needed caring treatments and encouragements. Teachers allowed students to do what they wanted and tried to have intimate relationships with them. Recognizing that their at-risk students required unique approaches, the school provided a smoking room for the students and was lax in enforcing attendance. Many students experienced caring and nurturing relationships. On the other side, as the school emphasizes caring, students tend to disregard their responsibilities and school rules. For instance, some students often do not attend their classes without giving notification or return to dormitory after due time. Recently, the school has come to stress school rules and students' responsibilities more strictly. As students' demographic characteristics change, the school has tried to create a more normative school climate. In this year only two students out of the current freshmen were dropouts. Such a school policy causes conflicts between students, especially seniors and administration. In sum, at BMHS caring and justice are in conflict.

Moreover, the school does not show great interest in social justice related to the larger community. As teachers say, taking care of their students is the primary concern for the school. It appears that the school cannot afford to concern itself with social justice outside of the school. At its inception, the school accepted and taught at-risk students, which was really a contribution to the enactment of social justice. Now, however, the school mostly accepts typical students, not at risk students or dropouts, and there is little mention of social justice.

At GVHS, justice is stressed not only in school documents and teachers' addresses but also in school culture. Students value school rules. Students believe that teachers do not show favoritism. In fact, many teachers show more interest in poor or weak students. Although academic climate is cherished, students of lower achievements rarely feel shamed. Students do not feel discrimination because of their gender, location, religion, family backgrounds, and so on. While justice is valued formally, caring pervades the school. Teachers take care of students properly and students care for one another. At GVHS caring does not seem to be in conflict with justice.

One of the critical characteristics of GVHS is a strong concern with social justice. As the school motto, "salt and light," shows, the school is really interested in the enactment of social justice. Salt is used to prevent rottenness, and light to enlighten a dark place. Mr. Park, the former principal, says, "The criteria of the success of persons is dependent not on whether they have wealth or political power, but on whether they serve other people (Park, 1977, p. 218). Under the influence of the school's spirit, many students consider their future career or majors at colleges in terms of the justice perspective. Moreover, many students are involved in activities related to rendering social justice. For people at GVHS, their efforts for social justice are derived from their care for people in need.

5-3-4. Summary

I have discussed the commonalities and differences of the two schools in terms of three models of community. On the surface, the schools look similar. The school members of both schools experience a strong sense of community. Nevertheless, I have found that the schools have critical differences. I have shown that solidarity and autonomy,

commonality and diversity, and caring and justice are in tension at BMHS, whereas they are in harmony at GVHS. Therefore, I would say that BMHS presents an individualist model of community, and GVHS reflects an alternative model.

5-4. Key Principles That Make a Difference

Why are these two schools so different? What are key principles in making them different? Organizational components might be considered. BMHS is a quite new school. For the school, there has not been enough time to solve conflicts or tension among school members and adjust school culture to the school's organizational structure. Changes have occurred in the mission and clientele of the school. In contrast, GVHS, with a longer history, has stabilized over the years. Recruitment may be a critical component. GVHS recruits students having high academic achievement and middle class family backgrounds, although the recruitment is determined by social situation regardless of the school's intention. The school has recruited principals and many teachers out of alumni. Such recruitment might function significantly both in providing stability and in building a strong community within the school.

In addition, whether or not the school members have a clearly shared vision and what the nature of the vision is constitute the main factors related to the differences of the two schools. The key task of leadership is to induce school members to share the visions and values of the schools. Leadership shapes school values and culture and, in turn, leadership is influenced by values and culture. Therefore, a clear shared vision and leadership that makes it possible are some factors for building strong school communities. This analysis is consistent with the finding from another study that examined other

Korean schools (Kim, Y.H., 2005). Kim, Y.H. (2005) finds from her study on twelve Korean schools that leadership, shared vision, and the capacity to manage conflicts are critical factors to shape strong communities within Korean schools. This study also suggests one more important cause. Leadership, school values, and culture could be connected to spirituality. Spirituality is just recently becoming a significant issue in the discourse of educational leadership. For both schools are religiously affiliated, religious spirituality can influence building the school communities. Here, I elaborate on three interrelated but distinctive themes, shared vision, leadership, and spirituality as key factors that make a difference.

5-4-1. Shared Vision for Justice

A number of reformers and researchers agree that clear values and visions shared by school members are essential for building effective schools or strong school communities (Bryk, et al., 1993; Sergiovanni, 1994; Starratt, 1995; Westheimer, 1998). This case study confirms current knowledge of the relation between shared values and school communities. Furthermore, it also shows that the nature of the shared values and visions matters.

At BMHS, the school members have identity of the school as an alternative school. It is assumed that school members, such as administrators, teachers, and students, share the school visions and values. Yet, it is somewhat difficult, surprisingly, to find clear communal visions and values of the school on which all school members agree. Since administrators, teachers, and students report their own values of the school, and communication among these members has not been carried out actively, communal visions and values of the school are not in evidence.

The recent change of demography of the students highlights the lack of shared vision of the school. The school began as an alternative school caring for students at risk. In the situation where school dropouts were largely ignored, the school founders sought to practice Catholic love through schooling. Under this goal, many Catholic churches supported the foundation of the school and several religious people dedicated themselves to the operation of the school. However, the school today has changed into a school serving typical high school students who want a variety of educational programs. The administrators consider this transition to be positive and even the result of successful schooling (Bi 18). They seem to believe that an increase in applicants, especially students of higher academic achievement instead of dropouts, enhances the school's reputation. They do not intentionally exclude at-risk students, but they no longer recruit dropouts. Even though some head teachers participate in the admission process, the principal and the vice principal make most of the key decisions.

In regard to this transition, some teachers question whether the school keeps the initial vision of the school, that is, concerns for marginal students. The change of the school's vision without adequate discussion among school members may lead to conflicts of values, such as solidarity to individuality and caring to justice. Students ask for more individual autonomy and caring, but the school administration stresses solidarity and responsibility. Since the changed values may not be the consensus of the school members, the school values do not play a key role in making harmony.

In contrast with BMHS, Seo (2002), in a study of a Korean elementary school, showed that the transition of school values and the conflicts among school members can contribute to building a school community. The teachers and parents at the elementary

school pursued a place where all members worked together and had an equal participation. However, they experienced conflicts between and among teachers and parents because of their different political power and thinking. Through many meetings and in-depth discussions derived from the conflicts, they came to understand each other's difference and change their own values. Difference and conflict may result in building a "community of difference" as at that elementary school or it can weaken a school community as at BMHS.

On the other hand, GVHS has strong shared visions and values. Administrators, teachers, and students at the school clearly understand what the school pursues. The values and visions of the school are easily found at teacher meetings, sermons addressed by several faculty members, and special occasions as well as in written documents and programs. In other words, the vision is institutionalized in the everyday life of the school (Starratt, 1995). Strong solidarity at this school has been shaped based on the clear shared visions and values.

At the center of shared visions of the school is justice. Many people at the school honor the autonomy and rights of individual people and are especially concerned with the rights of the weak. The school vision for justice opens the school community to a broader society. Thus, a great number of students are doing social service activities in a local community, and many graduates are also struggling for the promotion of social justice. Honoring individual autonomy and rights is a key element of caring. The school members' concern for justice is expressed through caring for others. Care and justice are harmonious in the school. The people at GVHS experience and enjoy solidarity,

individuality, (social) justice, and caring without conflicts, on the basis of a shared vision for justice.

5-4-2. Transformational Leadership

Leadership plays a significant role in shaping, sharing, and rooting visions and values in the schools. The leadership of the both schools' principals seems to have some commonalities. They seem to be charismatic figures. Yet, they are different in dealing with school values and visions.

Rev. Moon, the principal of BMHS, looks solemn because of his priesthood and imposing appearance. He has firm beliefs on schooling. Yet, it seems that his beliefs are not shared with other faculty members fully. He is a founder of the school and remains in charge of managing the school. Consequently, he sometimes behaves and talks like an owner of the school. He tries to maintain connections to students, for instance, by teaching classes. However, some students and teachers do not feel comfortable talking with him. The vice president of the student council says, "I know the principal tries to reach out to us. But his thinking is often out of accord with ours." (Bi, 01)

The leadership of the vice principal, Ms. Cha, has significant impact on the school climate. She looks like a caring mother and tries to honor the individuality of students. She has also confident beliefs about the programs of the school. Yet, her beliefs are not communicated with other teachers and the principal effectively. So, the leadership of the administrators sometimes causes confusion among other school members.

Although the administrators have many meetings with teachers, teachers often complain that their voices are not heard. The two administrators' leadership is not democratic in the sense of the Western idea. Since the exercise of leadership is strongly

influenced by institutional contexts and community (Hallinger & Leithwood, 1998), hierarchy in Catholic churches and authoritarianism in a Korean society are deeply embedded in their leadership. The principal and vice principal as Catholic practitioners dedicate themselves to the school and ask other people such as teachers, parents, and students to do the same. They wield their authority, much as the patriarch of a traditional Confucian family would do. However, not all teachers and students are members of Catholic churches, nor are they familiar with the culture of the traditional Confucian family. So, their leadership causes tension or conflicts with some younger teachers and students.

According to Starratt (1995), leadership needs to involve "a communal articulation of the vision that builds into a covenant" (p. 14) and requires continuous renewal of schools through "everyday celebrations of the vision" (p. 15). Yet, the administrators of BMHS did not structure a collective vision that all school members willingly agreed to, and thus they were not able to lead the change of the school actively. Instead, they just followed the transition of a social situation, such as the demographic change of applicants. Such leadership might cause tension among the school members, and appears to be the case at BMHS.

The GVHS principal's leadership has some commonalities and differences with that of the BMHS principal. Mr. Park II is also a charismatic person. He preaches sermons at the worship at school and the school church. Many teachers of the school were his students. His job at the government strengthens his charismatic character. He is confident in his beliefs on education. He has a clear vision for the school and shares his beliefs with other school members fully.

When discussing leadership of GVHS, the leadership of Mr. Lee, the previous principal and Mr. Park, along with Mr. Park II, needs to be considered altogether. Mr. Lee had a little different leadership from Mr. Park II. He was a friendlier person and talked much with teachers and students. Yet, his conviction on education was very solid like Mr. Park II's. He communicated his values with other school members effectively. Although Mr. Park II and Mr. Lee have different personalities and interact differently with teachers, students, and parents, they both are confident in their school vision and values and have eagerly tried to communicate them with other school members. The leadership of the two principals was strongly influenced by Mr. Park, who was a principal when Mr. Park and Mr. Lee attended the school. The transformational leadership of Mr. Park became a model for his following principals. Mr. Park had charisma, idealized influence, inspirational motivation, and individualized considerations, which are key elements of transformational leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1993; Yoo, 2005). The clear visions and values of GVHS had been initially formed by Mr. Park and have been sustained and developed by the following principals. Now the visions and values are shared with all school members.

When many students enter the school, they do not know exactly what the school's visions and values are. However, as they study at the school for years, they come to understand the values of the school and like them. The change of the students is directly and indirectly influenced by principals. The leadership of the principals has been a key factor for the students to reflect on their thought and consider the school vision to be theirs. The principals have transformed the way of thinking and living of the students. In other words, they have raised "the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration" of the

students (Burns, 1978, p. 20). To be specific, many students come to have an open mind regarding diversity and be concerned with social justice. In addition, the principals' transformational leadership contributes to forming the teachers' trust in the administrators as other research shows (Yoo, 2005). In sum, students and teachers of the GVHS come to share the school vision and values and like them under the transformational leadership of the principals.

5-4-3. Spirituality

For BMHS is a Catholic parish school and GVHS has a Christian tradition, religious elements are significant for both schools. How Catholic and Christian religion influences building school communities in the US is well documented (Bryk, et al., 1993; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Parsons, 1987; Peshkin, 1986; Rose, 1988; Stronks et al., 1993; Wagner, 1990). Yet, these Korean schools reveal somewhat different results from the literature on American schools. Catholic high schools in the US embrace caring and justice and are highly concerned with social justice (Bryk, et. al., 1993). Some Christian schools in the US pursue separation from society in light of a dualistic worldview that considers this world to consist of the secular and the sacred (Kang, Y., 2001; Parsons, 1987; Peshkin, 1986). In addition, the schools tend to suppress individuality because of their strong emphasis on communal beliefs of the schools. In contrast with these cases, BMHS, a Catholic school, is struggling with conflicts between caring and justice, but GVHS, a Christian school, enjoys individual autonomy of students and endeavors to promote social justice. Therefore, understanding how religions such as Catholicism and Christianity affect does matter.

At BMHS, Catholicism had a significant impact on the founding of the school. The religion was a key factor in forming the initial vision of the school and in its foundation. All administrators and several teachers are Catholic priests and nuns. Students take a religion class and have Mass regularly. Teachers have devotion time at teacher meetings every morning. Religion at BMHS seems to be crucial in shaping the school community. Moreover, the nun vice principal and teachers are dedicated persons to education. They are very diligent and have close connections to students. However, it is hard to find spiritual passion during the religious meetings such as Mass and devotion time. Most students and teachers rarely speak of religious spirits concerning the visions and values of the school. Religious elements are shown externally, e.g., in the statue of Virgin Mary, clothing of the priest and nuns, religious class, and Mass. Yet, when it is considered that spirituality forms a basis for values, a meaning system, and connections with others (Meyer, 2005), spirituality is not the collective feature of the school. Catholic spirituality is seldom deeply embedded in visions, values, policies, programs, and culture at the school. At BMHS, there is a lack of "inspirational ideology," which is a main motivation for building effective and just communities in the US Catholic high schools described by Bryk and his associates (1993).

The Christian religion at GVHS has played a critical role in forming values and vision of the school throughout the school history. Mr. Park studied theology and was devoted to the Christian faith. He became the principal of the school in an extremely difficult situation at the cost of his prospective higher social position because of his Christian faith.[42] He tried to build the school on the basis of the Christian spirit. Sacrificial love and service came to root in the school culture under his leadership. At

[42] He was offered the vice presidency of a seminary in Korea

the very beginning of the school, Mr. Park and teachers voluntarily returned half of their salary to the school to pay the school debts and rebuild it. Christian spirituality has been the foundation for the visions, values, culture, and leadership of the school.

The spirit of the school from its early days has been transmitted as its legacy until now. For spirituality provides "a meaning system from which a person operates" (Meyer, 2005, p. 23), it can be found in various places and forms. At religious activities, such as school worship time and yearly assembly for faith revival, participants experience religious passion or values. Christian spirituality is also rooted in ordinary, trivial activities and affairs, for example, teachers' prayer at teacher meetings, discussion in the classes, and caring behavior for students. A number of teachers, parents, and students say that at the core of the schooling is the Christian spirituality. For the school, the Christian religion becomes Christian spirituality. While religion provides us with "a rubric for working with the deity," spirituality is "the energy that connects us to the deity" (Houston, 2002, p. 6 cited in Meyer, 2005, p. 22). GVHS nurtures higher values, such as social justice, diversity, caring, and individual dignity, based on the Christian spirituality. So, various qualities like individuality and solidarity, justice and caring are harmonized in the school.

5-5. Outline

In this chapter, I have discussed the two schools within the framework of the models of community. GVHS moves toward the alternative model, and BMHS is near the individualist model. I talked about the three factors that make a difference between the schools. They were shared vision of justice, transformational leadership, and spirituality.

In the last chapter, I summarize my dissertation research and suggest two implications for practice and policy. After that, I point out some important questions that I have not studied completely, and provide suggestions for future studies related to this research.

6. Chapter Six: Conclusion

6-1. Summary

The intention of this case study is to explore two Korean high schools as communities within the framework of three models of community, that is, individualist, communitarian, and alternative models. Before conducting the research, I developed a framework of three models of community, informed by Western and Asian literature of community. I conducted qualitative research adopting an ethnographic method at the two research sites. I interviewed more than forty school members and observed classes, teachers meetings, parents meetings, and everyday lives of students and teachers.

To understand the school communities, I have investigated how the school members perceived that they were part of a community, more specifically, that there was democratic community or professional community at their schools. Both schools, BMHS and GVHS, officially stress communality of schools, and in practice many school members of the schools experience a sense of community and agree that democratic community is present. Yet, the degree and nature of their experiences are somewhat different. While students of BMHS feel intimacy and caring, students of GVHS experience communal qualities, such as interdependence and mutual trust, as well as intimacy and caring.

At BMHS, students and parents consider their school to be democratic, although in a limited way; however, teachers do not have the same sense. At GVHS, students and teachers strongly perceive their school to be democratic; however, parents do not report much participation. Teachers of BMHS, who do not feel that they have much say in a democratic community, complain that their voices are not heard. While parents are in a

similar situation at GVHS, they rarely complain about a lack of opportunity for participation because they trust the school faculty. Teachers of both schools hesitate to say that they are professional communities. Based on consistent reports, there is a lack of professional collaboration among teachers in both settings. Teaching work, they believe, is an individual business

To examine school communities in terms of three models, this study has dealt with tension among values which easily happens within communities. A number of research studies of community point out that community based on sameness often may not coexist with individual autonomy and diversity. Justice is also considered to be opposite to the quality of caring. The case of BMHS confirms the current acknowledgement that communality and caring are often in tension with individuality and justice within a community. BMHS is an example of a school in which characteristics of individualist and communitarian models are opposite to one another. Although BMHS has some qualities of the communitarian model, it, over all, is closer to an individualist model. So, at BMHS individual autonomy and solidarity, difference and commonality, and caring and justice are in tension or conflict.

On the other hand, the study of GVHS shows the possibility of building an ideal community within a school. As GVHS officially emphasizes individual autonomy and justice, its students and teachers not only honor diversity and social justice but also feel strong solidarity and caring. At GVHS such qualities as individuality, solidarity, caring, justice, and diversity are in harmony. Moreover, at this school, relationships among people and between people and nature are highly valued. In this vein, GVHS directs toward an alternative model of community, which integrates Western thinking of

community with Asian thought. Nevertheless, GVHS has some limitations in the sense that the school seldom tries to build a professional community that intends to improve teaching and learning in classrooms.

I have discussed the causes of differences between the two schools. At GVHS there have been clear shared visions for justice and transformational leadership, through which vision is shaped and shared. Furthermore, spirituality has functioned as the foundation of the school vision and values and the leadership. By contrast, at BMHS the initial vision changed, leadership became unstable, and conflicts among school members appeared.

I hope that this study contributes to the enrichment of the knowledge of school as community. My study constructed a conceptual framework of community based on both Western and Asian thought and explored two high schools in an international context. This case study vividly revealed how and why a school was struggling with tension among values in a community but the other school enjoyed various values related to community. This study also has discussed how the issue of community is related to shared vision, transformational leadership, and spirituality, which are significant topics in educational research.

6-2. Implications for Practice and Policy

6-2-1. Organizational Structure and Culture

A number of school reformers and researchers argue for building communal organizations to make schools more effective and successful (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Driscoll, 1989; Sergiovanni, 1996; Yang, 2002).

Restructuring of school systems to create communal organizations has been one of the main policies for school reform. Site-based management is a common example of restructuring policy. This study supports that schools need to have characteristics of a communal organization to be strong school communities. To be specific, when schools have organizational structures promoting productive relationships and shared decision making, the members of the schools sense that they are members of a community, experiencing caring and intimacy, and democratic participation to some degree.

However, this study importantly implies the limitation of restructuring for real school change. Restructuring may not work effectively unless culture is reshaped properly for the restructured organization. My cases show that when structure and culture of a school are harmoniously integrated, the school can be a school community with which school members are satisfied.

BMHS has well established organizational structures and procedures for creating solidarity and a democratic community. The school has tried to involve teachers, parents, and students as well as administrators in decision making processes. For instance, all-school meetings, teacher meetings, and parent meetings, which are held regularly and frequently, are excellent systems for students, parents, and school faculty to discuss schooling and shape communality. However, the systems do not work as well as they are intended. At BMHS, a culture of mutual trust has not developed fully. A lack of trust among administrators, teachers, and students tends to hinder members from active discussions and the full of participation of teachers and students. Although BMHS appears to be a good school having communal structures, the members of the school are struggling with tensions among them.

The case of GVHS also supports the significance of a culture properly aligned to an organizational structure. Democracy is a key value for GVHS. The school has organizational structures necessary for carrying out the value. Student council, a suggestion box, teacher meetings, and an election system for head teachers are some examples. Unlikely at BMHS, these systems at GVHS work effectively because an appropriate culture becomes the foundation on which a democratic community can be shaped. Since students believe that teachers listen to their voices, they actively take part in the student council and give suggestions. Teachers consider themselves to be a key part of the decision making processes. A culture of mutual trust and honoring of individuality permeates the school and enables the school to be a strong, democratic community.

Restructuring is an important policy for school reform. However, as some researchers (Datnow & Castellano, 2001) and this study show, developing proper culture or "reculturing" is necessary for successful school changes. Building or changing systems or structures of a school may be possible by a few policy makers or administrators, and it might be accomplished in a relatively short time. Yet, it is extremely difficult to shape or change culture because culture is "taken-for-granted basic assumptions held by the members of the group" (Schein, 1992, p. 15). So, to build an authentic school community, all school members, such as students, teachers, parents, and administrators need to work together for quite a long time. Policy makers should not believe that a top-down reform policy can change schools as a whole. This study implies that reform policy needs to be concerned with helping school members willingly shape culture proper to their school communities.

6-2-2. Continuity of School Values and Leadership

I have discussed that GVHS tends toward an alternative model of community, which I have argued is an ideal model of school community. The school has characteristics of an alternative model partially because there has been continuity of the school visions and values. The initial values of the school, that is, emphases on individuality of students, democracy, and justice continue to be important values in the present; they have been continually developed throughout the long history of the school. The school members, including students, teachers, and parents, experience strong solidarity on the basis of the long-standing school values, and at the same time they honor individuality and social justice according to the teaching of the school values.

The school values have remained strong due to the continuity of the school leadership. Even though other persons took the role of principal after Mr. Park, who established the foundation of the school vision and values, the school values became more solid and rooted in the processes and routines of the school. The principals who succeeded Mr. Park were his students, understood what he wanted to do, and tried to follow him. Teachers as well as principals have made commitments to the success of the school and development of the school values. Some of Mr. Park's students became teachers, came back to GVHS, and had contributed to the continuity of the schooling. Of course, when students of a school become teachers and administrators of the school continually, the school may be a closed and exclusive community. It is true that GVHS has such a potential danger. However, for schools in a rural area and small cities like the Grand Valley, it was very hard to recruit good teachers. If the alumnae teachers of

GVHS did not come to the school, GVHS would suffer from a critical shortage of teachers.

By contrast, in the case of BMHS, a principal and a vice principal have worked at the school from the foundation until today, but the school is struggling with the transition of the school values. The school leadership has not properly dealt with the structural and cultural changes resulting from shifts in student demography and social situations; this reality has led to tensions among school members. Therefore, I conclude that the continuity of school values and leadership depends not only upon whether a same person holds a leadership position for a long time, but upon how leaders continue the spirit of the school.

In the Korean public school system, teachers are supposed to move to another school every five years, and principals four years. A number of principals work at a school for fewer than four years because they want to move to better positions (Kim, Y.K., 2004). The policy of a short term in office contributes, in a sense, to the development of educational equality in that poor schools can have highly qualified teachers. However, stable school visions and values are seldom shaped and continue under the leadership of principals who work for only one or two years (Sim, 2003). This study implies that teachers and administrators need to work for longer years at a school and they need to be recruited not by the central government, but by the local school or a committee that is knowledgeable about the school. In sum, policy makers need to pay special attention to how to keep the continuity of school values and leadership in the Korean context.

Principals of public schools in the US may work at a school for a longer time. Yet, the longer term leadership of a principal does not always mean continuity of school values and leadership as the case of BMHS shows. Korean policymakers need to develop a policy that promotes the continuity of leadership in order to sustain and develop school visions and values. Especially, schools in difficult situations, e.g., urban and rural schools, might need special assistance to keep continuity of school value and leadership. Recruiting principals and teachers out of the school alumnae administrators and teachers who fully understand the school visions and values may be an effective way as GVHS practices.

6-3. Suggestions for Future Research

The relationship between individuality and community is a significant issue in educational research as well as political, sociological, and philosophical research. Individuality and community are often considered to be antithetical as in liberal/communitarian debates. However, some social theorists and educational researchers maintain that individual autonomy can be ensured where strong community is formed and sustained (Fleming, 2002; Kang, S., 2005), and both individual dignity and communality are highly honored in some schools (Bryk, et al., 1993; Kratzer, 1996).

I also have argued that individuality and community are not antithetical, but can be harmonious. The students and teachers at GVHS experience a strong sense of community, and at the same time understand that their individual autonomy is highly valued. This case study makes a contribution to the development of an ideal school community by revealing a vivid description of a school where such diverse qualities as

individuality, diversity, justice, and communality are harmonious in a Korean context. In addition, this study has discussed how and why a school community does or does not successfully deal with individuality and community.

My study intended to examine the entire school process of the research sites in terms of models of school community. So, I mainly have been interested in organizational structures, procedures, and culture of the schools. On the other hand, I did not focus on teaching and learning in classrooms, which is the essence of schooling. I have not discussed fully how community is related to teaching and learning. How do teaching and learning influence building and developing a strong school community emphasizing individuality? How does a strong school community honoring individuality improve teaching and learning in classrooms? How does communality influence a school in achieving its academic mission? Whether or not building an authentic school community is connected to improving school performances or student outcomes, and how remain to be discovered? All these questions are critical ones related to this study but they remain unanswered subjects for future research.

In this study I investigated two private schools having religious affiliations. Although private schools are akin to public schools in Korea as I explained earlier, I need to study public and non-religious private schools in the near future. Such a study may provide some different considerations in building a strong community within a school. Through the study I want to see whether religion, spirituality, or organizational explanations make a difference, and how they interact to build an authentic school community. This study is a beginning effort at doing research on a complicated but valuable subject.

APPENDICES

1. The Methods of Data Collection

Formal Interview

	Administrators	Teachers	Parents	*Students	Local community	Total
BMHS	2	7	2	8	0	19
GVHS	3	6	3	8	1	21

*Students include graduates at each school

Informal Interview (with taking notes)

	Administ-rators	Teachers	Parents	Students	Local Community	Others	Total
BMHS	1	4	2	Many	N/A	Camp leader	N/A
GVHS	2	4	2	Many	Workers, barber	Speaker Visitors	N/A

Observation

	Classroom	Staff meeting	Parent meeting	Professional development	After-school activities	Dormitory life
BMHS	X	X	X	X	X	X
GVHS	X	X	N/A	N/A	X	X

Document Analysis

	School curriculum Plan	School web-site	*News letters	Books regarding the schools	Papers and memos by students	Others
BMHS	X	X	X	X	X	Books
GVHS	X	X	X	X	X	Books

*The newsletters of B.M.H.S are made by a teacher, and the newsletters of G.V.H.S by students.

2. Coding Lists of the Data

BMHS

Types Interview	Students/Graduates		Teachers/Administrators		Parents/Others	
	Name	Code	Name	Code	Name	Code
Formal Interview	Student a Student b Student c Student d Graduate a Graduate b	Bi 01 Bi 02 Bi 03 Bi 04 Bi 05 Bi 06	Teacher a Teacher b Teacher c Teacher d Teacher e Teacher f Teacher g Admin. a Admin. b	Bi 21 Bi 22 Bi 23 Bi 24 Bi 25 Bi 26 Bi 27 Bi 28 Bi 29	F Mom F Mom	Bi 41 Bi 42
Informal Interview	Freshmen Juniors Seniors Graduates	Bi 07 Bi 08 Bi 09 Bi 10	Teacher h Teacher i Teacher j Teacher k	Bi 30 Bi 31 Bi 32 Bi 33	J Mom F Dad Camp leader	Bi 43 Bi 44 Bi 45

Types (Observation)	Code
Class Observations	Bf 1
Teacher meetings Observations	Bf 2
Other Observations	Bf 3
Reflective Journal	Bf 4

Types (Document)	Code
School Curriculum Plan 2005	Bd 1
Summer Conference Handbook	Bd 2
Event Plan on September	Bd 3
News letters	Bd 4

GVHS

Types (Interview)	Students/Graduates		Teachers/Administrators		Parents/Others	
	Name	Code	Name	Code	Name	Code
Formal Interview	Student a Student b Student c Student d Student e Student f Graduate	Gi 01 Gi 02 Gi 03 Gi 04 Gi 05 Gi 06 Gi 07	Teacher a Teacher b Teacher c Teacher d Teacher e Teacher f Admin. a Admin. b Admin. c	Gi 21 Gi 22 Gi 23 Gi 24 Gi 25 Gi 26 Gi 27 Gi 28 Gi 29	F Mom M Dad M Mom Commu nity	Gi 41 Gi 42 Gi 43 Gi 44
Informal Interview	Freshmen Juniors Seniors Graduates	Gi 08 Gi 09 Gi 10 Gi 11	Dormitory Teacher g Teacher h Others	Gi 30 Gi 31 Gi 32 Gi 33	Workers Barber Cleaner Visitor Parents	Gi 45 Gi 46 Gi 47 Gi 48 Gi 49

Types (Observation)	Code
Class Observations	Gf 1
Other Observations	Gf 2
Reflective Journal	Gf 3

Types (Document)	Code
Schooling Plan 2005	Gd 1
School Brochure	Gd 2
School Outline	Gd 3
Newsletters	Gd 4
Enrollment of new students	Gd 5

3. Written Consent Form

Building a Genuine Community within School: a Case Study of the Two Korean Schools

To participants in the study:

This research investigates what a genuine school community looks like and how such a community has been formed and developed. This research project is performed as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the researcher's Ph.D degree in educational administration at the Michigan State University.

There are no predictable risks with this research. Even though there is no specific benefit to be expected, potential benefit is in contributing to knowledge for school reform. No cost and payment are associated with participating in the study. Pseudonyms will be used for all individuals in the study and for the schools and the research will take every step possible to insure confidentiality of the data.

I agree to participate in the research project and I understand that:

1. The time required for interview is about 60 minutes.
2. My participation is entirely voluntary. I may decide to stop participation at any time without penalty.
3. All my data are confidential. All data will be destroyed within five (5) years after completion of the study.
4. All data are research purpose only and will not affect my grade or promotion.
5. If I have any questions regarding the study, or if I would like to receive a copy of the final findings of the study when it finished, I can contact by calling or (e) mailing one of the researchers, YoungTaek Kang or Dr. Susan Printy, at the addresses or numbers below.
6. If I have questions or concerns regarding my rights as a study participant, or am dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, I may contact – anonymously if I wish – Peter Valisenko, Ph. D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, or email: ucrihs@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, E. Lansing, MI. 48824. USA

I indicate my voluntary agreement to participate by signing below:

Signature _____

Date _____

Name (please print)

Please initial here for agreement to have interview recorded:

Name of Researcher: Kang, Young Taek

Address of Researcher: 1639 Spartan Village H East Lansing, MI. 48823
Tel. 1-517-353-6839 or 051-754-9250
Email: kangyou2@msu.edu
Name of Research: Dr. Susan Printy
Address of Research: 412 Erickson Hall Michigan State University East Lansing, MI 48824 Tel. 1-517-355-4508 Email: sprinty@msu.edu

연구 참가 동의서 (Korean)

참다운 학교 공동체 만들기: 한국의 두 학교에 대한 사례연구

연구의 참가자에게:

이 연구는 학생, 교사, 학부모 등과 같은 학교 구성원들이 어떻게 공동체의식을 경험하는지와 공동체와 병립하기 어려운 다양성, 정의의 문제를 어떻게 인식하고 다루는지를 탐구하고자 한다. 왜 학교 구성원들이 자기 학교를 공동체로 인식하는지를 이해하는 것도 이 연구의 중요한 목표이기도 한다. 이 연구는 연구자의 미시간주립대학교의 교육행정에서 박사학위를 이수하기 위해 수행되고 있다.

여러분은 이 연구를 위해 인터뷰와 관찰에 참가하게 될 것이다. 연구와 관련한 위험성은 없을 것이다. 예상되는 구체적 유익은 없지만 학교개혁에 대한 지식발전에 기여하게 될 것이다. 이 연구와 관련하여 어떤 비용도 요구되지 않는다.

이 연구에는 참가하는 학교와 사람의 이름이 가명으로 처리될 것니다. 그리고 자료의 비밀을 보장하기 위하여 모든 조치가 취해질 것이다.

1. 인터뷰에 소요될 시간은 60 분 정도이다.
2. 당신의 참여는 완전히 자발적이다. 언제든지 참가를 그만둘 수 있고, 어떤 질문도 대답하지 않을 수 있다.
3. 모든 자료는 비밀을 보장한다. 모든 자료는 연구가 완료된 후 5 년 내에 파기될 것이다.
4. 모든 자료는 연구목적으로만 사용되며, 당신의 진급에 영향을 주지 않을 것이다.
5. 당신의 프라리버시는 법이 허용하는 모든 범위 내에서 보호될 것이다.
6. 만일 연구에 대한 질문이 있든지, 연구가 종료된 후 연구 결과물을 보기 원할 경우, 다음 두 연구자 중 한명에게 연락을 취할 수 있다. 강영택 혹 수잔 프린티.
7. 만일 단신이 연구 참가자로서 질문 혹은 염려가 있는 경우, 혹은 연구와 관련하여 불만이 있는 경우 언제든지 피터 바실렌코 박사에게 익명으로 연락을 취할 수 있다. 바실렌코 박사는 대학의 인간관련 연구위원회 위원장이다. 연락처는 아래와 같다.

Peter Valisenko, Ph. D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, or email: ucrihs@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, E. Lansing, MI. 48824. USA

당신은 아래에 서명함으로써 연구에 참가할 것을 나타낸다.
사인:
날짜:
이름:

인터뷰와 관찰이 녹음되는 것에 동의하면 여기에 서명하시오.
사인:
날짜:
이름:

연구자 이름: 강영택
1639 Spartan Village H East Lansing, MI. 48823
연구자 주소: Tel. 1-517-353-6839 or 051-754-9250
Email: kangyou2@msu.edu
연구자 이름: Dr. Susan Printy
412 Erickson Hall Michigan State University East Lansing,
MI. 48824 Tel. 1-517-355-4508 Email: sprinty@msu.edu

4. Parental Informed Consent

Date

Dear Parent:

I am currently involved in a dissertation research addressing characteristics of school as community. The research investigates what a genuine school community looks like and how such a community has been formed and developed. This study is performed as partial fulfillment of the requirements for my Ph.D degree in educational administration at the Michigan State University.

I would like permission for your child to participate in a study that includes interviews. Your child was chosen to participate in this study because his/her teacher recommended him/her as interviewee. There are no foreseeable risks with this participation in the interview.

Your son or daughter's interview will be recorded and transcribed by myself. The recording or transcribed script will be used only for study. If you decide to allow your child to participate, you or your child is entirely free to stop your child's participation at any time. Pseudonyms will be used for all individuals in the study and for the schools and the research will take every step possible to insure confidentiality of the data.

If you have any question, please contact me at 051-754-9250 or 1-517-353-6839.

Please sign and return this form. Thanks a lot.

Sincerely.

Researcher: Young Taek Kang

I have decided to allow my child to participate in this study. My signature indicates that I have read this information above and have given permission for my child to participate. My child's signature indicates that he or she agrees to participate.

Child's Name_____ Parent's Name_____.
Child's Signature _____ Date _____.

Parent's Signature _____ Date _____.

부모 동의서 (Korean)
날짜:
참다운 학교 공동체 만들기: 한국의 두 학교에 대한 사례연구

부모에게:

본 연구자는 현재 학교 공동체의 특징에 대한 박사학위 연구를 수행 중이다. 이 연구는 학생, 교사, 학부모 등과 같은 학교 구성원들이 어떻게 공동체의식을 경험하는지와 공동체와 병립하기 어려운 다양성, 정의의 문제를 어떻게 인식하고 다루는지를 탐구하고자 한다. 왜 그들은 그 학교를 공동체로 인식하는지를 이해하는 것도 이 연구의 중요한 목표이기도 한다. 이 연구는 연구자의 미시간주립대학교의 교육행정에서 박사학위를 이수하기 위해 수행되고 있다.

본 연구는 당신의 자녀가 이 연구에 참가하는 것을 허용해 줄 것을 요청한다. 연구는 인터뷰와 관찰로 이루어질 것이다. 당신의 자녀는 교사의 추천에 의해 인터뷰 대상자로 선정되었다. 인터뷰는 약 30 분 정도 진행 될 것이다. 인터뷰와 관련하여 어떠한 위험도 없을 것이다.

당신 자녀의 인터뷰는 녹음 될 것이고, 본 연구자에 의해 필사될 것이다. 녹음 및 필사된 자료는 연구 목적으로만 사용될 것이다. 만일 당신 자녀가 연구에 참여하는 것을 허용한다면, 당신 혹은 당신 자녀는 언제든지 참가를 그만둘 수 있고, 어떤 질문도 대답하지 않을 수 있다. 당신의 프라이버시는 법이 허용하는 최대한 보호될 것이다. 이연구에 참가하는 학교와 사람들의 이름으로 가명으로 처리될 것이고, 본 연구자는 자료의 비밀을 보호하기 위하여 모든 조치를 취할 것이다.

만일 어떠한 질문이 있다면 연구자, 강영택 혹은 수잔 프린티 박사에게 연락을 하기 바란다. 서명을 해서 돌려주세요.

연구자 이름: 강영택
1639 Spartan Village H East Lansing, MI. 48823
Tel. 1-517-353-6839 or 051-754-9250
Email: kangyou2@msu.edu

연구자 이름: 수잔 프린티 박사 Dr. Susan Printy
412 Erickson Hall Michigan State University East Lansing,
MI. 48824 Tel. 1-517-355-4508 Email: sprinty@msu.edu

당신의 서명은 당신이 이글을 읽고 당신 자녀의 연구참가를 허용함을 나타낸다. 당신의 자녀의 서명은 연구에 참여함을 나타낸다.

자녀 이름: 부모 이름:
자녀 서명: 날짜:
부모 서명: 날짜:

인터뷰와 관찰이 녹음되는 것을 동의하면 여기에 서명하시오.
자녀 이름: 부모 이름:
자녀 서명: 날짜:
부모 서명: 날짜:

5. Interview Protocol (for faculty)

Project: Building a genuine community within school

Time of Interview:
Date:
Place:
Interviewer:
Interviewee:

This research project is to investigate what a genuine school community looks like and how such a community has been shaped and developed in the school. For this research I have five sub-questions. Interviews will be carried out according to each question.

Research question #1

When and to what extent do you experience a sense of belonging and connection and care in the school?

Main topic: a sense of community
Interview questions:
1) Are there shared beliefs and interests in your school? What are they?
2) Describe meaningful relationships in your school.
3) Can you tell me about a time when you experienced a strong sense of belonging?
4) Do you think that administrators and other teachers care for you?
5) If you have teaching experiences at other schools, compare the schools with this school in terms of a sense of community.

Research questions #2

When and to what extent do you experience collaboration and collegiality among teachers?

Main topic: professional community
Interview questions:
1) What are your beliefs about professional community?
2) Does your school have a goal of having a strong professional community?
3) Describe your experiences of collaboration with your colleagues.
4) How much time do you spend with your colleagues for planning, conducting, and evaluating classroom works?
5) If you have teaching experiences at other schools, compare the previous schools with this school in terms of professional community.

Research questions #3

When and to what extent do you perceive your school to be democratic?

Main topic: democratic community
Interview questions:
1) Does your school operate as a democratic community? In what ways?
2) Do teachers, students, and parents participate in setting school policies?
3) Do teachers participate in planning staff meetings and staff development programs?
4) Do you think that dialogue is a critical way for facing tensions occurred in your classrooms and school?

Research questions #4

How do you perceive and deal with individual and group differences among school members?

Main topic: diversity
Interview questions:
1) Describe individual and group differences in your school.
2) Do teachers in your school tend to be alike or do they tend to be different from one another? Are students more alike or are they more different?
3) Is diversity or difference of opinion valued in your school community?
4) Is there any public discussion arena where dissent can be voiced in a risk-free way?

Research questions #5

How do the school members perceive social justice, and what do they do to achieve it?

Main topic: social justice
Interview questions:
1) Do you think that the advancement of social justice is one of key aims of your school?
2) Do you think that your school is a just community? Why?
3) Describe the examples that your school tries to do for enactment of social justice inside and outside the school.

6. Interview Protocol (for students)

Project: Building a genuine community within school

Time of Interview:
Date:
Place:
Interviewer:
Interviewee:

This research project is to investigate what a genuine school community looks like and how such a community has been shaped and developed in the school. For this research I have five sub-questions. Interviews will be carried out according to each question.

Research question #1

When and to what extent do you experience a sense of belonging and connection and care in the school?

Main Topic: Sense of community
Interview questions:
1) Are there shared beliefs and interests in your school? What are they?
2) Describe meaningful relationships in your school.
3) Do you think that administrators and teachers care for you?
4) Can you tell me about a time when you experienced a strong sense of belonging?

Research questions #2

When and to what extent do you experience collaboration and collegiality among teachers?

Main topic: professional community
Interview questions:
1) Do you think that your teachers help each other for their teaching works?
2) Describe your experiences of teachers' collaboration in your class or other activities.

Research questions #3

When and to what extent do you perceive your school to be democratic?

Main topic: democratic community
Interview questions:
1) Does your school operate as a democratic community? In what ways?
2) Do students participate in setting school policies?
3) Do you think that dialogue is a critical way for facing tensions occurred in classrooms and school?

Research questions #4

How do you perceive and deal with individual and group differences among school members?

Main topic: diversity
Interview questions:
1) Describe individual and group differences in your school.

2) What do you feel when you have classmates very different from you in the sense of physical and intellectual abilities and family background?
3) Are students more alike or are they more different?
4) Is diversity or difference of opinion valued in your school community?

Research questions #5

How do the school members perceive social justice, and what do they do to achieve it?

Main topic: social justice
Interview questions:
1) Do you think that the advancement of social justice is one of key aims of your school?
2) Do you think that your school is a just community? Why?
3) Describe the examples that your school tries to do for enactment of social justice inside and outside the school.

7. Interview Protocol (for parents)

Project: Building a genuine community within school

Time of Interview:
Date:
Place:
Interviewer:
Interviewee:

This research project is to investigate what a genuine school community looks like and how such a community has been shaped and developed in the school. For this research I have five sub-questions. Interviews will be carried out according to each question.

Research question #1

When and to what extent do you experience a sense of belonging and connection and care in the school?

Main topic: a sense of community
Interview questions:
1) Are there shared beliefs and interests in your school? What are they?
2) Describe meaningful relationship in your school.
3) Do you think that administrators and teachers care for you?
4) Compare your previous schools with this school in terms of a sense of community.

Research questions #3

When and to what extent do you perceive your school to be democratic?

Main topic: democratic community
Interview questions:
1) Does your school operate as a democratic community? In what ways?
2) Do parents participate in setting school policies?
3) Compare your previous schools with this school in terms of a democratic community.

Research questions #4

How do you perceive and deal with individual and group differences among school members?

Main topic: diversity
Interview questions:
1) Describe individual and group differences in your school.
2) Do you think whether or not diversity can contribute to developing your school community?
3) Is diversity or difference of opinion valued in your school community?

Research questions #5

How do the school members perceive social justice, and what do they do to achieve it?

Main topic: social justice
Interview questions:
1) Do you think that the advancement of social justice is one of key aims of your school?
2) Do you think that your school is a just community? Why?
3) Describe the examples that parents try to do for enactment of social justice inside and outside the school.

8. Observation Protocol

Observer _____ School _____ Date: Time _____. Type of activity class ( ) staff meeting ( ) parents meeting ( ) others (_____). Teacher _____ Grade _____ Subject _____ # member _____.	
Synopsis of activities & Description of room:	Comments on community issues: Q1. Sense of community Q2. Professional community Q3. Democratic community Q4. Diversity Q5. (Social) Justice

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