

Pekka Kanervio

Crisis and Renewal
in one Finnish Private School



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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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ABSTRACT

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Finnish summary

Diss.

The purpose of this study is to tell the story of a renewal in one Finnish private school and to try to find out and understand the way it was done. The research is qualitative and uses grounded theory methodology in constructing a theory from data. Following the grounded theory procedures was developed the theory of renewal introducing seven overlapping points. The points are: acknowledgement of the crisis, innovative problem solving, new resources, new leadership, new operations, new structure, and new culture. The critical stage in the theory is the first stage because it is there that the administrator becomes either the facilitator for the change or resists the change. The appropriate choices by the administrative agent will then lead to the changes needed to adapt to the environment's pressures.

Keywords: change, crisis management, grounded theory, leadership, organizational change, organizational culture, private schools

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FOREWORD

I had a dream which became true in this study. The encouragement and support I have received from friends, faculty, and fellow students has been tremendous - there are too many individuals to list them all separately. I trust that all of them know by now just how much I appreciate them. My advisors deserve special mention here: Dr. Jukka Alava, who encouraged me to start this research project and who gave of his time and wisdom; and Dr. Arild Tjeldvoll, who took time to study my work and who made insightful comments about my study giving me confidence in my abilities as a researcher. Especially helpful were also my fellow students. When I found myself in the middle of this project, lost in a sea of paper, I discovered just how important it is to have enlightened friends. The contributions of these individuals, and of many others, kept me sane enough to finish this project.

The school in this research was also especially helpful giving me all the information I needed. I am really thankful to all the interviewees who so anxiously gave their time, not only to be interviewed but also to read and comment on the story. Special thanks to the principal of the school who made all this happen.

Several friends have helped me in this project accommodating me while I was doing the interviews and studies. You know how much I appreciate your help. Special thanks I appoint to Lisa Vartiainen who read my manuscript several times correcting the mistakes. Her advice and encouragement helped significantly in writing this dissertation

My parents, Rauha and Jaakko Sormunen, opened the door of their home when I needed it the most. Taking me in to be a member of their family built a solid ground for my life. That ground gave me a good starting point for this research project. Even though my father passed away at the end of 2006, I know he appreciated my efforts in this research. Thanks to all of you in the Sormunen family.

And last but not least is my own family. I know that they had a hard time when I was working as a principal and doing my studies. Thank you for your support during this project. I hope my example encourages my three children in their studies. Special thanks to my wife who has supported me and my crazy ideas for the last 25 years. I love you.

Pekka Kanervio

13.5.2007

In Kinnula, Finland

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1 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

My interest in private schools is based on the fact that private schools have practically never been studied in Finland. There are only a few studies made on the Steiner pedagogic ideology and schooling. Two master theses have been made on the school I am studying in this research. A second reason is that I have been working for several years in private schools as a teacher and as the Principal of one private school. I started with the question of how a successful private school is made. The purpose of this study is to tell the story of a renewal in one Finnish private school and to try to find out and understand the way it happened. The study uses grounded theory methodology in constructing a theory of change and renewal.

One Finnish private school was in trouble when the number of enrolled students dropped dramatically. Because Finnish schools, both public and private, are state supported according to student enrollment this meant financial disaster for this particular school. At that time the Foundation that owned the school was very close to closing the entire school. That did not happen, and today the school has significantly increased student enrollment and its position is quite stable. This raises an interesting question: What happened in that school during the years 1985-2000 and how was the school able to make a turnaround and survive?

1.1 The aim of this research

In this chapter the Finnish school system and private schools as part of the school system is described. In the last part the school in this research is described. I also present the aim of the research.

1.1.1 School system in Finland

This chapter will give a brief summation of the Finnish education system using data from three Internet databases: Eurydice database (2004), Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE¹) (2004; 2006) and Ministry of Education (2005). The basis is in legislation: Basic Education Act and its amendments (1998), Basic Education Decree (1998), Secondary School Act (1998); Secondary School Decree (1998), Vocational Education Act (1998), and Vocational Education Decree (1998).

Comprehensive Schools

Finnish pre-school teaching is provided at schools and daycare centers. Pre-school teaching starts a year before children start comprehensive school. The aim is to improve children's capacity for learning. Pre-school education is free of charge (see also compulsory education and post-comprehensive education) and participation in the teaching is voluntary. Most six-year-olds now attend pre-school.

Compulsory education in Finland starts with comprehensive school, which generally starts in the year a child turns seven. Comprehensive school is a nine-year system of education for all children of compulsory school age. Finnish citizens are required to complete this education. Comprehensive school ends once a young person has completed the curriculum of the comprehensive school or when ten years have passed since starting compulsory education.

In 2002 there were 3578 comprehensive schools and 569 015 students in comprehensive school in Finland (FNBE 2004; Ministry of Education 2004a, 6-8; Ministry of Education 2005, 9).

Post-comprehensive school education

Post-comprehensive school education is given in upper secondary schools and vocational schools. Upper secondary school offers a three-year general education curriculum. In most cases it ends with the national matriculation examination, which is the general eligibility criterion for higher education. The matriculation examination consists of four compulsory subjects and one or more optional ones. There are over 400 upper secondary schools and the network covers the entire country. The schools follow the national core curriculum. Some upper secondary schools have a specialized curriculum, giving emphasis to arts or some other field. Upper secondary school has traditionally constituted the main channel to university education. The Finnish school education system is in Figure 1.

Finnish vocational education and training is usually institution-based. Courses form the core of the programs. Schools have cooperation between vocational education and training and the working life. Vocational education has 75 lines of studies. The study programs take three years to complete and

¹ later in this research FNBE

provide eligibility for institutions of higher education (polytechnics). A recent expansion has been dual programs where students are able to get vocational qualifications and an upper secondary school certificate after four years of studies.

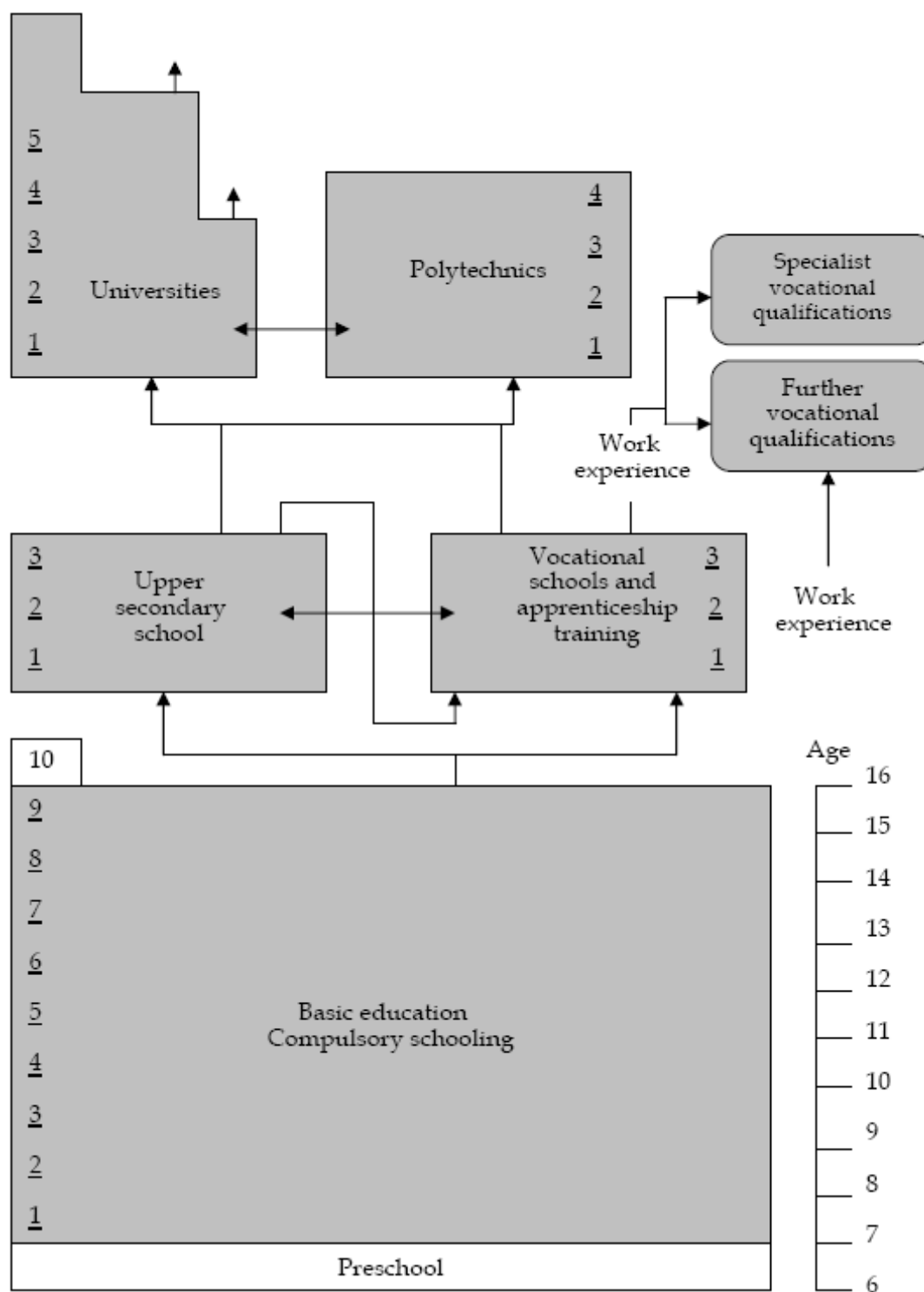


FIGURE 1 The Regular Education System of Finland Chart (FNBE, 2006)

In Finland public education is free of charge. In upper secondary schools and vocational schools students pay for their books and study material. Public education accounts for 12.5 % of all public expenditure. Some two thirds of this consist of State funding and one third of communal funding.

In 2002 there were 440 upper secondary schools and 115 923 students in upper secondary school. In year 2003 there were 195 vocational schools and 129 534 students in those. (Ministry of Education 2004a, 9-12; Ministry of Education 2005, 9.)

Private schools

Independent or private schools are generally defined as schools which are not dependent on national or local governments' subsidies but are financed by tuitions, gifts, or the investment yield of an endowment. Schools are not administered by the local or national government. These schools have the right to select their students.

The private school system in Finland is rather special. The history of private schools starts early in the 1600s and the first private co-educational schools started in 1872. In 1974 there were 385 private co-educational schools. (Salminen 1975, 13-73; Pietiäinen 1995, 185; Teperi 1995, 310; see also Ahonen & Rantanen 1996.) The old school system is described in figure 2.

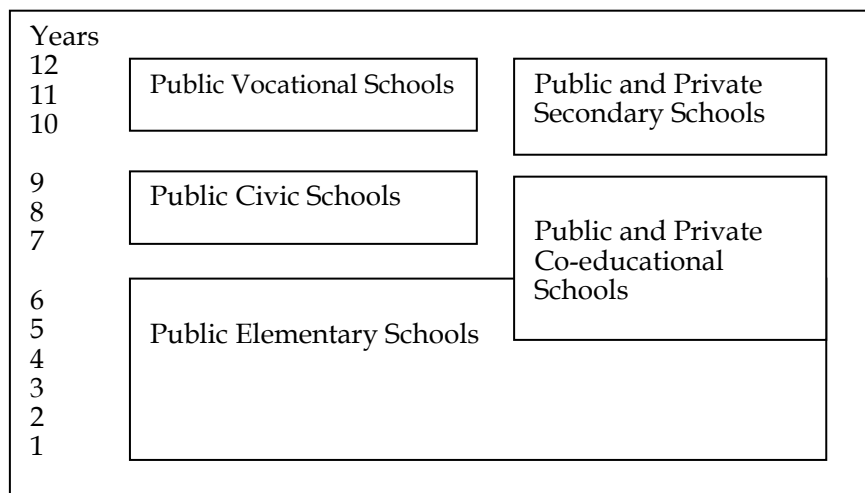


FIGURE 2 The old school system of public and private schools

Currently there are 68 independent comprehensive or/and upper secondary schools awarding comprehensive school certificates or upper secondary school certificates (Finnish Government, 2006a). About 25 of the comprehensive schools operate without a Government's authorization to provide education, giving "home school" education. Two percent of all students attend private schools. Most of the private schools are old co-educational schools which stayed private during 1974-77 when the public comprehensive school system started in Finland. (Teperi 1995, 241-315.) Others are Steiner pedagogic schools, Swedish schools, Christian schools, and international language schools. The status of

private schools is secured by school legislature and they have the Government's authorization to provide education. This authorization to provide education is sometimes given for a certain time period and it needs to be renewed in order to continue operations. Most schools follow the national curriculum with the exception of the Steiner pedagogic schools and the International Baccalaureate upper secondary schools.

In Finland the private school system provokes political ambitions. Since the comprehensive school system started in 1974, and up to 1991, only private Steiner pedagogic schools were authorized to provide education as private schools. During 1992-1999 the conservatives were in power and several private schools got their authorization, most of those were Christian schools. In 1995 I was hired to acquire the license for one private school organization in Finland (not the one studied in this research). After 1999 no new private school applications have been accepted. The Social Democratic party, until this year in power, believes that comprehensive schools are all right for all students and there is no need of discretion (Finnish Government, 2003; 24). Securing educational and cultural equality is part of the strategy of the Ministry of Education. The public school system seems to be the only way to do it. (Ministry of Education 2003, 7; Ministry of Education 2004b.) So the issue of private schools in Finland is a political issue, too.

At the beginning of 2006 the Social Democratic Minister of Education decided that some private schools could not renew their authorizations to provide education even though they had had authorization for several years. This started quite a vivid conversation on the situation of private schools: student enrollment was decreasing in all schools and the Minister explained his decision with that argument to the advantage of the public school system. If public schools were threatened, private school permissions in that area would be cancelled. (Finnish Government 2003; 2006a; 2006b.)

1.1.2 The school in this research

The school in this study is a private boarding school operating as an upper level comprehensive school. It also offers vocational education in a special learning environment: a school, hostel, farm and garden. The vocational studies include 40 weeks of studies² in home economics, cleaning, farming and environmental subjects.

The owner of the school is a foundation with a governing board for decision-making. The school was founded in 1940 by a gardening teacher. Her pedagogy of head, hand and heart focused on learning by doing (Kailanpää 1990, 9-35). The organization has changed several times: the school had its own Board of Governors during the years 1994-1998 but most of the time the Board of the Foundation (BF)³ has also been the Board of Governors. The school's organization is described in figure 3.

² one study week is 40 hours studies.

³ later the BF in this research

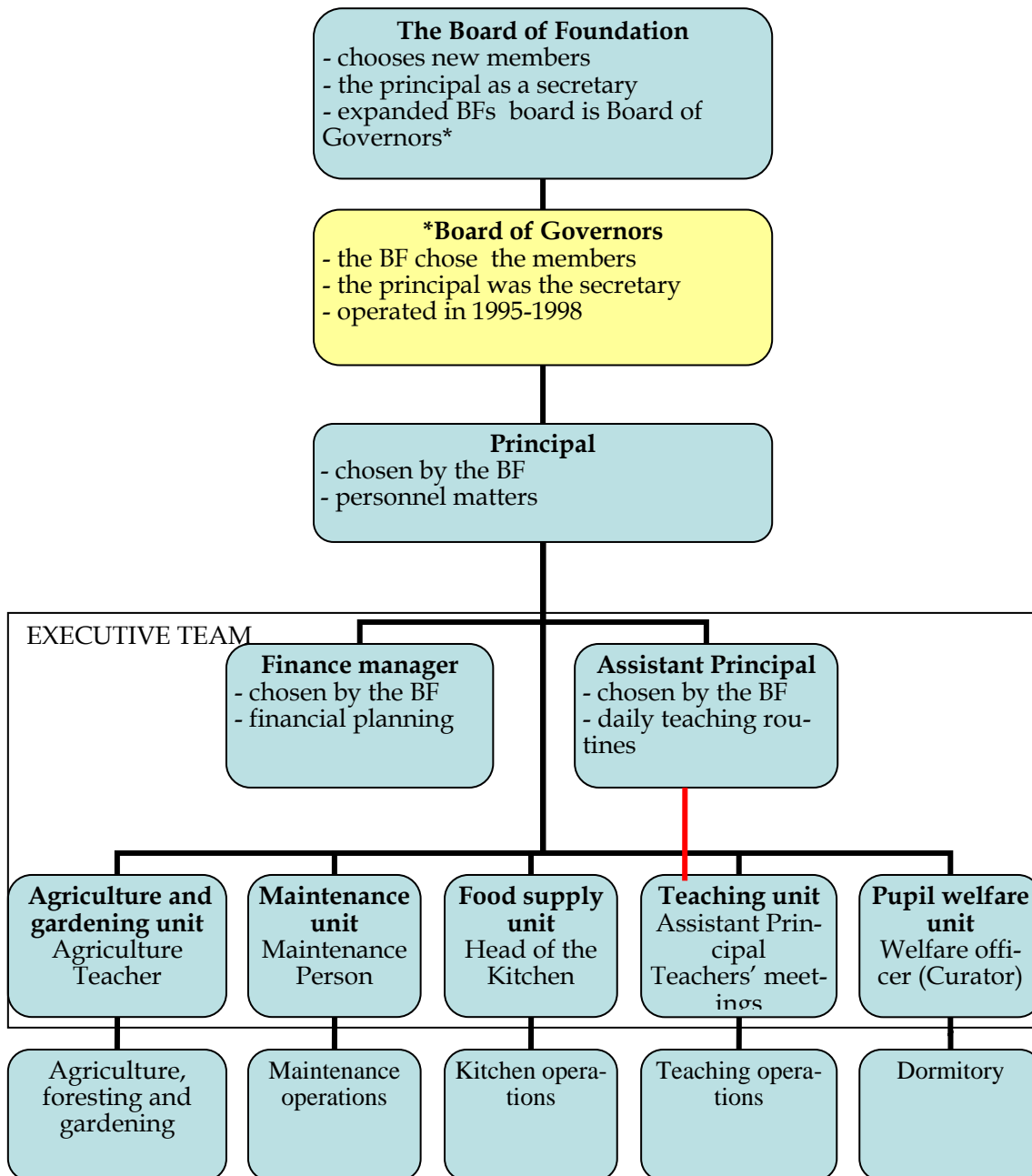


FIGURE 3 The School's Organization (The guiding principles of the school in 1985-1995)

Because of the special programs the school operated under two educational laws and administration systems: The Board of Education and The Board of Vocational Education. These were later brought together as The National Board of Education in 1991 (Virtanen-Eraydin 2002). Because the school had agricultural operations, and even 200 hectares of fields and forests, it followed some of the laws concerning agriculture and was able to get a subsidy from the Ministry of Agriculture for agricultural operations and building projects (Kailanpää 1990).

The school is located in a rural area north of Helsinki. The total number of pupils at the moment of the study was about 250, 190 girls and 60 boys. 88 new pupils are admitted every year. The school fee is 500 € a year, in addition to that the pupils have to pay for the books and working clothes needed in vocational subjects.

The school's history has been a series of ups and downs. The school started with one teacher's enthusiasm and enrollment grew so fast that soon the school was not able to take all the students who applied because of lack of rooms. The school was in good hands until the founder retired although the amount of debt increased because of several building projects. The next Principal was able to reduce the school's debts during the years 1964-75. When comprehensive school was started in the whole of Finland in 1977 the number of applicants for the school dropped, except in 1978 when it was 1½ times the number of the previous year's applicants. During the years 1983-85 almost all applicants were accepted into the school. At the end of 1981 the school produced a deficit of 74 000 € because of the changes in the state subsidy and the deficit during the years 1978-86 was cumulatively 274 000 €. In 1978 the school had 79 000 € in debts but in 1986 it had 355 000 € in debts because of the annual deficits. In this situation it was natural that there was increasing internal debate on closing the school. (Kailanpää 1990, 9-197.)

1.1.3 Meeting the Principal

I visited the school for the first time as the Principal of another private school in 2000. Our visiting group consisted of the academic dean, a dormitory dean, the business manager and me as the Principal. The purpose of the visit at that time was not to make a study, but to bench-mark one similar school to ours and to try to learn from the way they were working. The dormitory in that school was one reason why we chose to visit the school.

The Principal introduced the school and some changes they had done. We were amazed at the way this school had been able to overcome their problems and were able to convince the customers, students and their parents, to choose their school. As a result of this bench-marking visit, both schools were able to learn from each other.

When I decided to start my postgraduate studies, it was clear in my mind that I would like to study this particular school. The next time I visited the school I was in a researcher's role and I made an official agreement with the Principal for the forthcoming study.

1.2 Research assignment and purpose of the study

The short meetings in the school made me curious: What happened in the school when it renewed? And this then raised questions for the research: What

is the key to making a turnaround in a school? What is the management's role in the change? How did the change in the school culture take place and why?

Organizations consist of people and researching organizations means researching those people who are involved in the organizations (Bolman & Deal 1997, 22-24; Burrell & Morgan 2005, 28). Reality is formed as social constructions by people and their speech, words, symbols and acts. Therefore organizations are interactions, which are products of human acts. People have different needs and goals and they are negotiating all the time to reach them. (Foster, 1986, 147-168; see also Schlechty 1997.)

Due to the above, the present study studies historically unique events which have happened in real life. In this research I analyze data from one private school and the historical events in that school during 15 years. Because of the small target group it is natural to use a subjectivist, qualitative, frame. Because the focus in this study is to understand the changes in a school during a long period of time I use an interpretive paradigm in trying to observe and understand the processes and individual behavior in the organization from the individual's viewpoint. The interpretive paradigm gives more room for speculating in this case. In Finland there is no previous research on private schools and there is lack of theory in this area. Grounded theory is especially good when there is no earlier research on a subject area (Chenitz & Swanson 1986; Rennie 1998, 115). Because of that I chose to use an inductive grounded theory method. The purpose is to use a grounded theory method to bring out a theory from the data. (Glaser 1992, 14-16, 34; see also Leino-Kilpi 1990, 28.) "The goal of grounded theory is to generate a conceptual theory that accounts for the pattern of behavior which is relevant and problematic for those involved" (Glaser & Holton 2004, 4). The goal of the research is to create a new conceptual theory (Glaser & Strauss 1971, 176-195; Glaser 1992, 14-16).

2 CARRYING OUT THE RESEARCH

Methodology is “a way of thinking about and studying social reality”. Methods are “a set of procedures and techniques for gathering and analyzing data” (Strauss & Corbin 1998, 3, 8-9).

In the following I will describe my own understanding of making the qualitative research lined in this study, and also the development of my own ontological and epistemological assumptions.

2.1 Ontological and epistemological assumptions

A research process is like a path of options, where the research paradigm is tied to the philosophy of science, methodological conclusions and theory decisions (Kyrö 2002; Silverman 2002, 85; Kyrö 2003, 61, 66). The ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions are tied together as described in figure 4.

Ontology is a branch of philosophy, precisely a part of metaphysics, which deals with the common character of reality. A fundamental question is “what exists”. Epistemology is a branch of philosophy which deals with the character of knowledge. Basic questions are: what is knowledge and how can one achieve knowledge? It studies the concept of knowledge, the basis and class of knowledge and reliability. (Alhoniemi 1989; Audi 1995, 233-239, 489-491, 547; Kyrö 2002, 62-66.)

Burrell and Morgan (2005, 3-10) have constructed assumptions of social sciences. This is part of the subjective vs. objective (qualitative vs. quantitative; antipositivism (German idealism) vs. positivism) debate within social science started by Thomas Greenfield 1974 but handled as early as 1894. (Morgan & Smircich 1980; Evers & Lakomski 1991, 76-77; cf. also Lamiel 1998; Windelband 1998.) The assumptions are summarized in table 1.

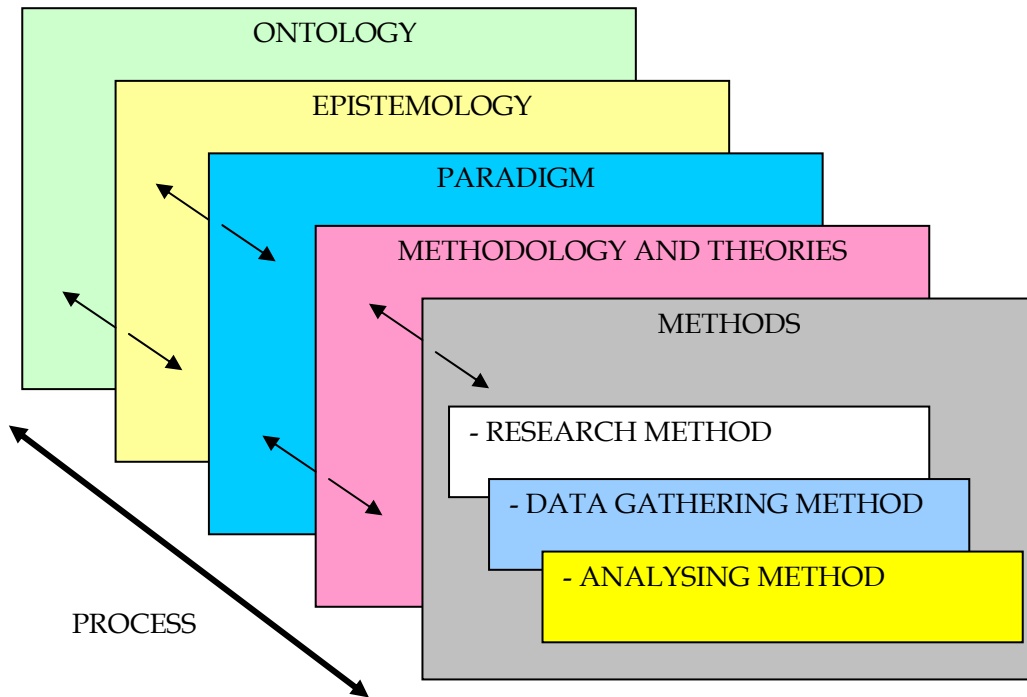


FIGURE 4 Hierarchical approaches to a paradigm (Kyrö 2002; Kyrö 2003, 66)

TABLE 1 Assumptions of social science (after Burrell & Morgan 2005, 3)

ONTOLOGY	nominalism - social realism is relative - individuals structure reality	vs.	realism - existentialism (truth is out there)
EPISTEMOLOGY	antipositivism - relativistic understanding from individual point of view, internal subjective - subjective	vs.	positivism - causality - objective
'HUMAN NATURE'	voluntarism - free will	vs.	determinism - context defined actions
METHODOLOGY	ideographic - first-hand knowledge	vs.	nomothetic theory - natural science approach

Because of the nature of this study (chapter 1.2) my ontological assumptions are conceptualistic and nominalistic: universals exist only within the mind and have no external or substantial reality. There is not an objective truth, every human being sees the world through her/his lenses (Ross 1999). Human beings are seen as subjectivist-indeterminists: reality is dependent on human beings and they have free minds to make choices. Human beings are part of their social environment and their behavior is intentional because of their desires and beliefs. This ideographic study focuses on 'getting in' a subject, exploring their background and life history (diaries, biographies) involving people's normal lives (observation, interviews). Overall, the assumption is, we are not able to explain all phenomena. (Cf. Lamiel 1998; Windelband 1998.)

Habermas (1972, 191-213, 308-317; cf. Tuomela & Patoluoto 1976, 118-141; Habermas 1977) differentiates three primary generic cognitive areas in which human interest generates knowledge: technical knowledge, practical knowledge, and emancipatory knowledge. Niiniluoto (1984, 72-73) fulfills that with a forth interest, theoretical knowledge, and later Anttila (1998; 2000) produced a fifth interest, intuitive knowledge. These are demonstrated in table 2.

TABLE 2 Domains of Knowledge (Kyrö 2002, 64)

Type of interest	Theoretical (Niiniluoto)	Technical	Practical	Critical	Intuitive (Anttila)
Object	Explaining through theories	Through causal explaining to try to predict and control	Interpreting understanding, and transmitting	Emancipation, reformation by expressing the old conceptions	Creating new through intuition

Usually studies might have several types of interests. In this work my focus is intuitive, trying to create new knowledge and a theory. Knowledge produced through creative thinking and intuition is based on one's own subjective feelings, events, experiences, and realizations. Due to that it is more than only interpreting existing subjects. (Anttila 1998; cf. Glaser 1992, 27-30.) One problem in intuitive interest is the accuracy: how can I express with adequate certainty that the findings are true. For this reason it is important to justify how the new knowledge was achieved.

After Kuhn (1970) developed the concept of research paradigm in 1962 it has been widely used. A paradigm is a collection of principles, beliefs (assumptions), and assessments the research community has accepted (Audi 1995, 557-558; Niiniluoto 2002, 247-248). The concept of paradigm has also been criticized because of the many meanings it has even in Kuhn's text (Eskola & Suoranta 1999). English (2001) adopted a postmodern view of the field and

claimed that there has been no paradigm shift. In this research I am using the concept of paradigms.

Burrell and Morgan (2005) introduce four paradigms for the analysis of social theory, writing: "To be located in a particular paradigm is to view the world in a particular way". (p. 24) The paradigms are described in table 3.

TABLE 3 Four paradigms for the analysis of social theory (Burrell & Morgan 2005, 24)

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RADICAL CHANGE		
	'Radical humanist'	'Radical structuralist'
SUBJECTIVE		OBJECTIVE
	'Interpretive'	'Functionalist'
THE SOCIOLOGY OF REGULATION		

Burrell and Morgan's major assumptions for the four paradigms are:

A functionalistic paradigm belongs to the sociology of regulations and it is used in academic sociology and in an organizational context. It is realistic, positivistic, deterministic, and nomothetic giving rational explanations for social people. It operates through a natural science approach (sociological positivism) to produce pragmatic knowledge. It is objectivistic so that social truths are outside human beings.

An interpretive paradigm belongs to the sociology of regulations and its purpose is to understand the social world from the individual's viewpoint. It is nomothetic, antipositivistic, volutaristic, and ideographic using subjective first-hand knowledge. Social processes are created by individuals.

A radical humanistic paradigm is part of the sociology of radical change. Its aim is to increase understanding because wrong consciousness blocks limit human potential. It is nominalistic, antipositivistic, voluntaristic and ideographic. It is also subjective.

A radical structural paradigm is part of the sociology of radical change. Its aim is radical change, emancipation and possibilities through a political and economical crisis. The main characteristics are structural conflict, types of submitting, juxtaposition and exploitation. It is realistic, positivistic, deterministic, nomothetic and objective. (Burrell & Morgan 2005, 1-37, see also Giddens 1977; 1995; Putnam 1983; Steffy & Grimes 1986, 327, 332; Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll 2003.)

My ontological assumptions are nominalistic: every human sees the world through her/his lenses. My epistemological assumptions are antipositivistic and due to that the focus in this study is to understand the changes in a school during a long period of time. Human nature is seen as voluntaristic: human beings are seen as free to determine their reality in their social environment. My

methodology is idiographic exploring the background and history of the subject. Due to the above I use an interpretive paradigm in trying to observe and understand the processes and individual behavior in the organization from the individual's viewpoint. In this sense the research is hermeneutical. (cf. Getzels & Guba 1957; Gadamer 2004; Björk 2006.)

2.2 Me as a researcher

According to Gadamer (2004, 29-39) 'objective' is work on the overhauling personal assumptions. Before starting to conduct the study, the interpreter should especially study the justification, the origin, of her/his personal assumptions. We cannot deny our assumptions. The interpreter who wants to understand the text consciously lets it voluntarily tell something. This does not mean 'neutrality' in relation to the cause; on the contrary, it means absorbing personal assumptions and setting them apart from the conception of the text.

Before I started this research I had my own history. I had been working as a teacher for 15 years and as a Principal for almost seven years. I had taught in seven different schools and five of those had been private schools. One year I spent negotiating the official status of a private school organization (4 schools). While doing this study I was the Principal of one private school. For the last seven years I have done studies in educational leadership at the University of Jyväskylä. Because of that I do have my personal assumptions that might affect my study.

In qualitative research one problem is that the researcher identifies with the researched phenomenon. On the other hand, Eskola and Suoranta (1998, 35) comment, this connection might be needed so that the research could be successful. Because I work in the private sector it naturally brings about both positive and negative aspects in conducting the research. My knowledge of the sector gives good insight into the problems in the field. On the other hand, I need to acknowledge the possibilities of biases. Therefore, a careful discussion of the subjectivity-objectivity issue needs to be included in the study.

I cannot deny my earlier history in the school business and the assumptions that I have concerning even this case. Because of my work as a principal I read Morriss-Olson's (1995) research on survival strategies for private Christian colleges. Because of that in the beginning of this research process my focus was to describe change in one Finnish private school. I also read some theory literature on school improvement in an international context (such as Astuto *et al.* 1994; Fullan 1994; Mc Neil 2000) and in a Finnish context (such as Hämäläinen *et al.* 1995; Määttä 1996; Järnilä 1998). I was especially interested in the change in the school's culture in the development of the school (Berg 1991).

In the beginning of 2006 I changed my thinking. I was troubled with the thoughts of method when I got to know the grounded theory method. I sensed

that this is the way I want to do my study. Because the classic grounded theory method begins without a preconceived theory, with as few predetermined ideas as possible, with logically deduced hypotheses, I discarded all the earlier plans and built my study on grounded theory method.

Glaser and Holton (2004, 11, see also Whetten 1989; Glaser 1967 46; 1992, 27-30) uses the concept of theoretical sensitivity when describing the characteristics the researcher requires:

1. personal and temperamental bent to maintain analytic distance, tolerate confusion and regression while remaining open, trusting to preconscious processing and to conceptual emergence
2. ability to conceptualize and organize, make abstract connections, visualize and think multivariately

In this research my ability to be theoretically sensitive is the main problem when analyzing the data.

2.3 Overview of the research methods

This research is a qualitative case study. Qualitative research is a broad term for describing how individuals and groups view and understand the world and construct meanings out of their experiences. It is often narratively oriented and used in social sciences. Usually qualitative research is described as research which does not use statistical parameters (quantitative) but generates hypotheses which are tested qualitatively. (Grönfors 1982, 11-15; Tesch 1990, 3, 55; Becker 1993, 3; Strauss & Corbin 1998, 3-7; Eskola & Suoranta 1999, 13-26; Töttö 2000, 119, Silverman 2002.) Since 1970 it has gained in popularity in Finland. Figure 5 describes the different approaches in data analysis.

A case study is one of the methods used in qualitative research (Yin 1989). Case study methodology can be traced to France and to the so-called Chicago School (Tellis 1997a; 1997b; Strauss & Corbin 1998, 10-11; Becker 1999, 3-12). A case study looks at an individual or small participant pool, drawing conclusions about that participant or group and only in that specific context. Criticism of case study methodology has been that it is incapable of providing a generalizing conclusion (Stake 1994, 236-247; Robson 1996, 51-63, 146-169; Stake 2005, 443-466). Another problem is that in everyday thinking we make assumptions all the time based on our present experiences. Especially if the experience repeats itself we readily make common assumptions without trying logically to define what sources of error our assumption might contain. (Rinne *et al.* 2004.)

Usually a case study has three tenets of the qualitative method: describing, understanding, and explaining. Researchers do not focus on the discovery of a universal, generalized truth, nor do they typically look for cause-effect relationships; instead, emphasis is placed on exploration and description. (Denzin 1983, 130-134; Alasuutari 1994, 28-45; Tellis 1997a; 1997b; Eskola &

Suoranta 1999, 65-68.) After hermeneutical theory the description of the action in question is not about cause-effect comments but rather finding the meaning of the action. Action means human beings' aim at something and it can be understood by means of some meanings, rules, norms, or social practices. (Denzin 1983; 130-134; Aaltola *et al.* 2006, 9.) Even though Töttö (2000) first wrote criticism on the lack of causality in qualitative research, he later (Töttö 2004, 276) argues in his book on critical realism in social sciences, that all description is causal. So he diminishes the difference between qualitative and quantitative research. (Cf. Putnam 1983, 40-46; Eskola & Suoranta 1999, 69.) Töttö seems to mean successive causality, in which causes and effects are not linked empirically and are nothing more than happenings which have no logical connection with one another. Any connection which exists between them is merely the result of our psychological processes and has no basis in reality. (Cf. Hume 1740; 1748; Holland 1986, 950, 954-955.) The idea is not so far from the hermeneutical theory.

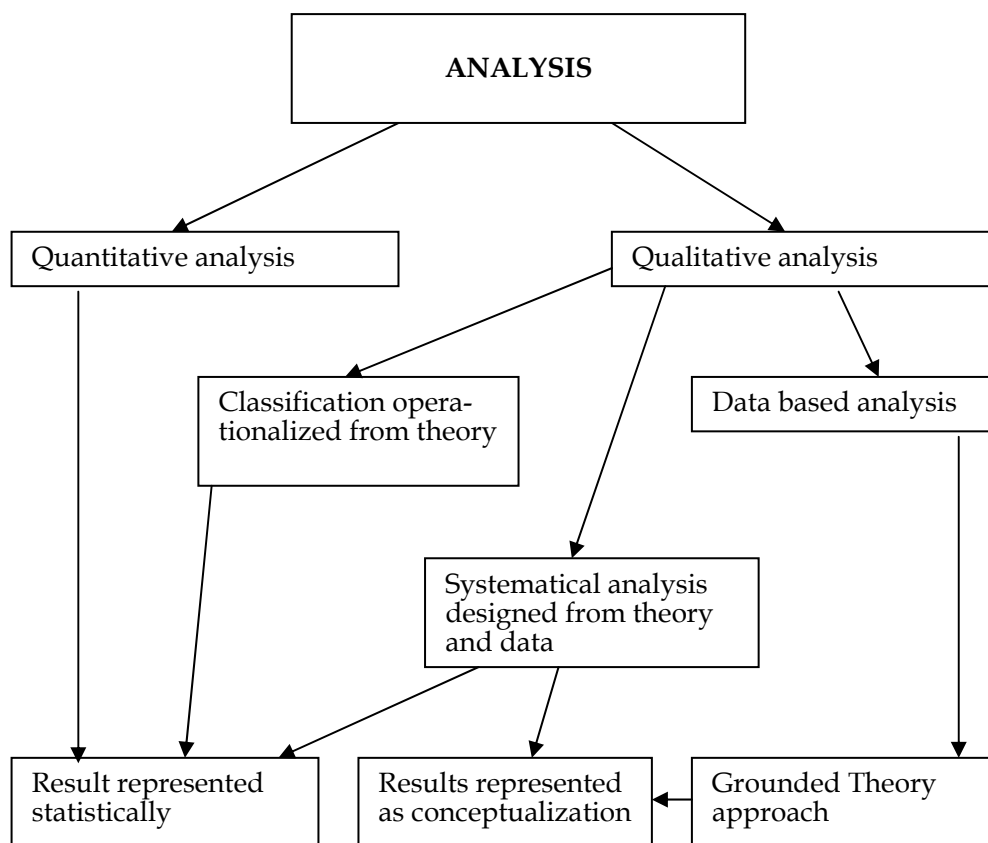


FIGURE 5 Analysis approaches (Seitamaa-Hakkarainen 1999)

Qualitative research could be started without an assumption or hypothesis and those could be made during the research (Eisenhardt 1989a; Eskola & Suoranta 1998; Gunningham 1997; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Glaser & Holton, 2004; Silverman 2004, 38). That is why the study might produce avenues to

unexpected directions (Stake 1995). According to Gadamer (2004, 6), the great physicist Herman von Helmholtz found that in the sciences of the mind the scientists come to results through intuitive short conclusions (ahnungsvoller Kurzschluss). Scientists abandon logically coherent argumentation and shorten the chain skipping some phases. It is not done accidentally. Because of their scientific enlightenment, memory and other causes mentioned in the text the researcher has assumptions of the right direction and results. The process in this study was inductive leading from singular (words) to general (conceptualization) (Gadamer 2004, 29). LeCompte and Preissle (1993, 40-44) conceptualize the assumptions on "what constitutes a legitimate way to define, discover, construct, and explain reality" in figure 6.

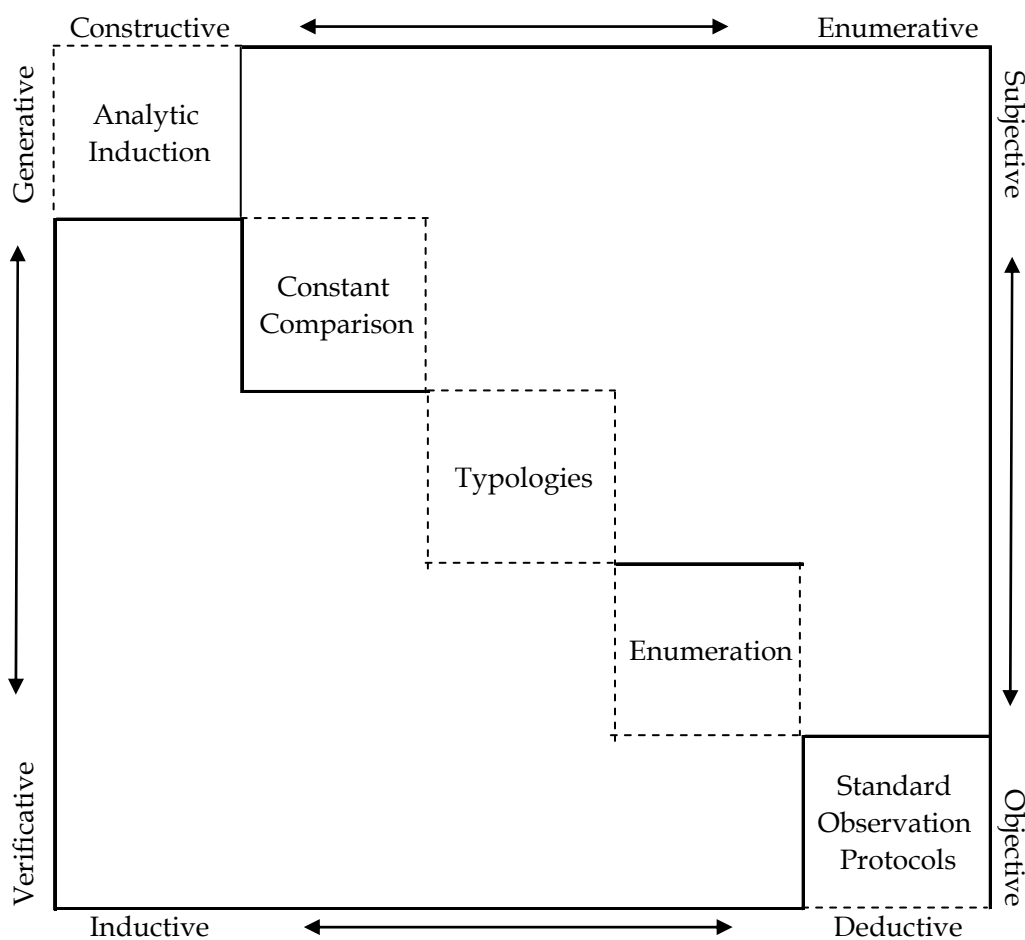


FIGURE 6 A continuum of assumptions characterizing analytic strategies in social science research. Broken lines indicate that the strategy varies on dimension; solid lines indicate invariance. (LeCompte & Preissle 1993, 41)

The deductive researcher tries to find data to match the theory and the inductive researcher tries to find a theory that explains the data. The verificative researcher tests preset hypotheses and generalizes further from the study he is involved in and the generative researcher discovers constructions and propositions using data as a source of evidence. A generative research is usually inductive. The enumerative researcher "subjects previously derived or

defined units of analysis to systematic counting or enumeration” and the constructive researcher tries to “discover what analytic constructs or categories can be elicited from the stream of behavior; it is a process of abstraction in which units of analysis are developed in the course of observation and description”. (LeCompte & Preissle 1993, 40-44)

The grounded theory method’s roots are in social sciences, especially in symbolic interactionism (Glaser 1978, 161; Glaser 1992, 16; Strauss & Corbin 1998, 9) and phenomenology (Glaser 1992, 16-17). Phenomenology describes everyday life and searches for common constructs for subjective action. The world outside is seen as communicated to the researcher through his/her own constructs of experiences. Consciousness is tied to the context of life: to those life experiences one has and to those values and attitudes which are in the surrounding culture. In symbolic interactionism persons act on the basis of meanings for themselves. These meanings are constructed in the interaction with other human beings through individual construction processes. Socialization is part of the learning. (Glaser 1978, 161; Strauss & Corbin 1998, 9-10.)

Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed a methodology called grounded theory. In the grounded theory method theory derives from the data. After that there has been a debate between Glaser and Strauss concerning the key assumptions of grounded theory. Glaser has followed the original assertion about inductive argumentation, even more strictly, while Strauss has developed an inductive-deductive alignment. (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser & Strauss 1971, Glaser 1992; Corbin 1998; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Backman & Kyngäs 1999; Seitamaa-Hakkarainen 1999; Siitonen 1999, 28-34; Boychuk Duschcher & Morgan 2004; Glaser & Holton 2004.)

The grounded theory is a general method of comparative analysis. In comparative analysis different groups of people are compared and their differences built into a theory. The theory is then tested and refined with another comparison group or with written data. Comparative analysis can generate two types of theory: substantive (developed for a specific area of inquiry) and formal (developed for a conceptual area of inquiry). One way to generate formal theory from substantive theory is merely to replace specific words with general words and see what happens. Another way is to apply the substantive theory to more diverse groups and situations and iteratively expand the substantive theory. Another method is through direct comparison of data from other substantive areas in the researcher’s experience or in literature, though this often leads to logical-deductive thinking. (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 1-100.)

According to Glaser (1992) and Glaser and Holton (2004) in the classic grounded theory the data leads to a theory. Grounded theory is a practice of developing other theories that emerge from observing a group. Theories are grounded in the group's observable experiences, but researchers add their own insight into why those experiences exist. (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 37; Stenhouse 1988, 52-53; Glaser 1992; Robson 1996, 19; Glaser 1999, 843.) The researcher

should avoid reading the theory before data gathering and analysis in order to be detached in his/her analysis and theory building. Glaser (1967, 37) noted:

An effective strategy is, at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and convergences with literature can be established after the analytic core of categories has emerged.

In this research I used several data gathering methods (see chapter 2.5.) leading to method triangulation. (Miles & Huberman 1984; Gunningham 1997; Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 69-74.) First I gathered written material. After reading the material I made interviews following the open interview method (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2004) or 'the informal conversational interview' as Patton (2002, 342-343) calls it. Grönfors (1982, 129-143) introduces qualitative field work methods, which I followed in applicable parts, when doing interviews. (See also Robson 1996, 227-243.) In the analyzing process in this research the emphasis is on the interviewed material.

Following the grounded theory procedures (Glaser 1992; Glaser & Holton 2004; see also Strauss & Corbin 1998) I tried to understand the organizational change in the school. Miles and Huberman (1984) saw the process as occurring this way:

Each [researcher] is a one-person research machine: defining the problem, doing the sampling, designing the instrument, collecting the information, reducing the information, analyzing it, interpreting it, writing it up. (p. 230)

When one is working with text, or less well-organized displays, one will often note recurring patterns, themes or 'Gestalts,' which pull together a lot of separate pieces of data. Something 'jumps out' at you, suddenly makes sense. (p. 216)

Even though Miles and Huberman were writing generally about qualitative research methods the quotation describes very well the process in grounded theory method.

2.4 Stages of the research

This research is a qualitative case study in which I follow Eisenhardt's (1989a) model on the process of building theory from a case study research. The model in figure 7 describes the procedures which I use in my research.

I started collecting data from written material like board minutes and annual reports. After I had read the written material I used it as a basis for the interviewing of 16 persons: former board chairmen, principals, deans and teachers. All the interviews were transcribed before I started the analysis. Following the grounded theory procedures I analyzed the data (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Glaser & Holton 2004).

This research was started in the fall of 2002 with planning of the research and was finished at the beginning of 2007. Economical issues were important in this study. I have used Euro as the currency, even though at the time all this happened the official currency in Finland was FIM⁴.

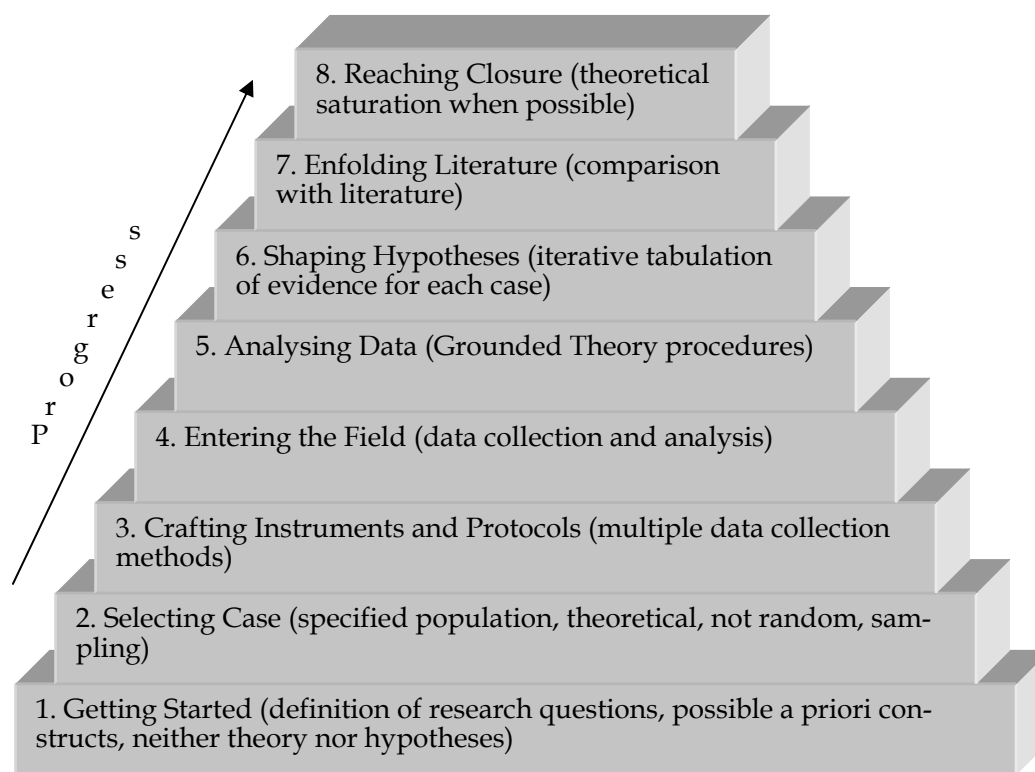


FIGURE 7 Eisenhardt's Research Model (Eisenhardt 1989a, 533)

2.5 Data Gathering

At the beginning of year 2005 I called the Principal and asked if I could visit their school. We chose a date and I went to negotiate and make a deal on the study. We made an agreement and signed it. A few weeks later, 19-21.02.2005, I visited the school again. Because I was not allowed to take copies of board minutes I read them two times and collected 15 pages of summaries of such occurrences that I saw as significant to this study. I was able to take copies of all the annual reports from years 1985-2000, the Guiding Principles, year plans, vision documents, curricula, history of the school (Kailanpää 1990), and newspaper stories concerning the school. I visited the school a third time when I was interviewing personnel at the end of January 2006.

⁴ 1 € = 5,94573 FIM

The school had several problems during 1991-1993 and for some reason all the board minutes are missing from that time period. When I asked the present Principal for some papers such as the guiding principle, she mentioned that during the years many documents had disappeared from the school's archive. This seems to be characteristic of the way the school dealt with problems. Even the school's written history ends in 1990, so all the knowledge from these years is based on annual reports, newspaper stories and personal interviews. Because the Principal of years 1990-1992 had serious health problems later and has not recovered since, I was not able to interview him.

One private person had collected a comprehensive press clipping album and he donated that to the school. Later the press clipping album was stolen from the school's archive and I was not able to use that material in my study. Most of the newspaper stories are collected from the local library archive. Because of that it was impossible to find all the stories, but I was able to read all the local newspaper stories during the years 1985-2000. When I had a hint that something might also be mentioned in state wide newspapers I was also able to find some of the stories in them.

Part of the data was gathered by interviewing the school's personnel and Chairs of the Board of the Foundation at the beginning of year 2006. From each time period at least seven persons were interviewed: the chairmen of the board, a dormitory dean, the principals, and teachers. Teachers were chosen so that they had all been teaching during the period from 1985 to 2000 in this school.

I used a digital dictation system recorder to record all the interviews. To ensure the recordings I used my laptop's recording system at the same time. In one case the digital recorder failed, but I was able to use the second recording. In some parts of this second recording the interviewer's words were fuzzy because the microphone was directed towards the interviewee. All the interviews were securely recorded, totally 19 hours. During the recordings I also made paper notes. From our local health care center I was able to get help from one nurse whose duty is to write out doctors' dictations. She transcribed 8 of the 18 interviews from recordings. I transcribed the rest of the interviews myself. Transcribed interviews are totally 161 pages.

During the third visit at the end of January 2006 I interviewed five teachers, a dormitory dean and the current Principal. At the same time I interviewed chairmen of the board at their homes. I used an open interview method (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2004, 78; cf. Duffy *et al.* 2004). I started each interview with questions which led the interviewees to begin their story. Before the interviews I had read all the written material and made three summaries of documents: board minutes, annual reports and segments of the time line where previous summaries are combined. I used the summaries to modify some extra questions concerning happenings that the interviewee did not remember. During each interview I made notes and in some cases I made direct questions to get the interviewees to tell more about the phenomenon he or she had mentioned earlier in the interview. During the interviews I did not use any information I had got from other interviewees, because I did not want to

influence their story that way. The other reason was that someone might have understood who had been interviewed before.

Theoretical sampling is the way the analyst jointly collects data, codes and analyses it to find out what data to collect next (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 45). After reading all the data I did three new interviews to get more knowledge of the area. During the first interviews I found that the teaching personnel at the school were afraid to tell all the details in the history of their time, because they were still working at the school. Afterwards I interviewed one more teacher to get more information on the time before 1985. This interview was not transcribed because it was only used to build up the school's history and not analyzed. I interviewed the previous Principal a second time concerning the subject 'irresponsible power'⁵ mentioned in our discussions outside the earlier interview. At the end of the interview process I interviewed one more person from the time the minutes of the BF were missing. I interviewed him concerning the happenings during those years to get a second opinion on the happenings.

After I had written the story I sent it to the interviewees and asked them to comment on it and recommend corrections if they found any mistakes. Almost all the interviewees accepted the story, only some of them noted that I should tell about the school's uniqueness. That was done in chapters 1.3.2., The school in this research, and 3.1., Short Earlier History of the school, which were not sent to the interviewees. Two interviewees asked to make some corrections which I made and one sent an email that even though he had not commented on the story it did not mean that he accepted it. He promised to be in contact later but never contacted.

The school's representative signed an agreement ensuring that I was allowed to do this research. All the interviewees have signed similar agreements on their behalf. In those agreements it is mentioned that the study will be done anonymously so that the name of the school and the names of the participants are not mentioned in this research.

I have handled all the material and the research of the school as sensitive topics (Yin 1989, 142-143; Adler & Adler 1993, 249-264; Lee & Renzetti 1993, 3-13; Sieber 1993, 14-26; Eskola & Suoranta 1998, 85; Robson 1996, 29-34) because of the request of the school. The school has been in the 'yellow press' and they were afraid that that might be the case with this material as well. Some of the events are quite sensitive and that is why it is ethical to do this study anonymously. Some of the participants in the interview have felt pressure from the employer's side earlier and from other employees and were afraid that that might happen again. Because of that, all names and places in this study have been changed and only acronyms are used.

⁵ In Finnish *vastuuton valta*, someone is using power and another person bears the responsibility for the decisions the other one has made.

2.6 Analysis procedures

Classic grounded theory is seen here as Glaser introduced it: an inductive method in which theory emerges from the data (Glaser 1992, 14-16; Suoranta & Eskola 1998, 146; Eisenhardt 1989a; Silverman 2002, 38; Glaser & Holton 2004; Charmaz 2005). In this study I followed classic grounded theory procedures.

The scientific method is presumed to proceed in a cyclic way, where the scientist inductively organizes the facts into a theory (Abramson 1992, 180). The researcher cannot beforehand decide exactly what data and how much data should be gathered. The research process has several stages which do not move ahead linearly or chronologically but can happen in periods or at the same time. That is why analysis of the data and synthesis can happen at the same time. (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 32; Babchuk 1996; Siitonen 1999, 7-34; Glaser & Holton 2004)

Glaser and Strauss (1967, 36, 100-183; see also Glaser 1992, 39-48; Glaser & Holton 2004) advocate combining coding with analysis to help locate and build grounded theory. In this method the data is coded enough to generate categories. In this the categories are conceptual elements of theory, and the open coding items are conceptual elements of category. This is done in four main stages (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 105-115) described in table 4. The process is going in different stages at the same time so that the table is not a timeline for the procedures. In grounded theory the researcher only uses a levels analysis when it occurs (Glaser 1992, 97).

Theoretical sensitivity is described in chapter 2.2. Theoretical saturation is reached when interviews add nothing to what is already in the categories, its properties, and its relationship to the core categories. When similar instances come up over and over again the category is saturated. Core theoretical categories should be as complete as possible. (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 61, 70)

The units of coding are dependent on the type of data collected. Variations are from line by line analysis to examining phrases, words and sentences, sentence or paragraph analysis, or entire document analysis. In this study I tried to find categories in open coded items, so called consequence structures or trains of thought. (Anttila 2002, 97-98, 112; Glaser 1992, 48)

TABLE 4 Grounded theory analysis procedures

<p>Comparing incidents applicable to each category</p> <p>The data is coded into as many categories as possible. If more instances of the same category code are found the researcher begins to refine ideas about that category. In this so called open coding data is coded intuitively while describing in theoretical memos the process until core categories are found.</p>
<p>Integrating categories and their properties</p> <p>The constant comparative method started to evolve from comparing incidents to focusing on emerging properties of the category. Diverse properties become integrated and the resulting theory begins to emerge by itself.</p>
<p>Delimiting the theory</p> <p>The researcher finds ways to delimit the theory with a set of higher level concepts and finds ways to generalize the theory more as he continues to make constant comparisons against it. The number of categories will reduce. The need to code is dependent on the saturation of the properties of the core categories.</p> <p>After the coding process the memos related to the core categories are sorted and the theoretical outline generated. (Siitonen, 1999, 27-34; Glaser & Holton, 2004)</p>
<p>Writing theory</p> <p>The theory is produced around the core categories. "When the researcher is convinced that his analytic framework forms a systemic substantive theory, that it is a reasonably accurate statement of the matter studied, and that it is couched in a form that others going to the same field could use - then he can publish his results with confidence." (Glaser & Strauss 1967, 113)</p>

I started by open coding the 18 interviews and I found 1649 items. After rereading the material and making some corrections to my open coding there were 1670 items. I intuitively used three colors to describe the importance of the item: green was not so important, blue was quite important, and red was the most important. An example of the coding is in Appendix 1. After that I started to categorize the items and found 29 categories. No new categories became after the sixth interview. It seems that the categories were saturated early in the process. Rereading the material I combined eleven of the categories with other categories so that I had 18 categories. The combining is described in Appendix 2. Integrating these categories into higher level categories I finally found 3 core categories. By sorting memos and core categories I built a theory. My analysis process is described in figure 8.

Because the data was in Finnish I made the open coding in Finnish and the categorizing and the later analysis in English. I made the open coding with footnotes in the transcribed text in an MS Word document. I used the MS Excel program for categorizing the footnotes. The analysis results are described in chapter 4 and the theory in chapter 5.

At an early stage of the analysis I noticed that some actions were critical and I started to study critical incidents. The Critical Incident Technique was described in Flannagan’s (1954, 327) article:

The Critical incident technique consists of a set of procedures for collecting direct observations of human behavior in such a way as to facilitate their potential usefulness in solving practical problems and developing broad psychological principles.

...To be critical, an incident must occur in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and where its consequences are sufficiently definite to leave little doubt concerning its effects.

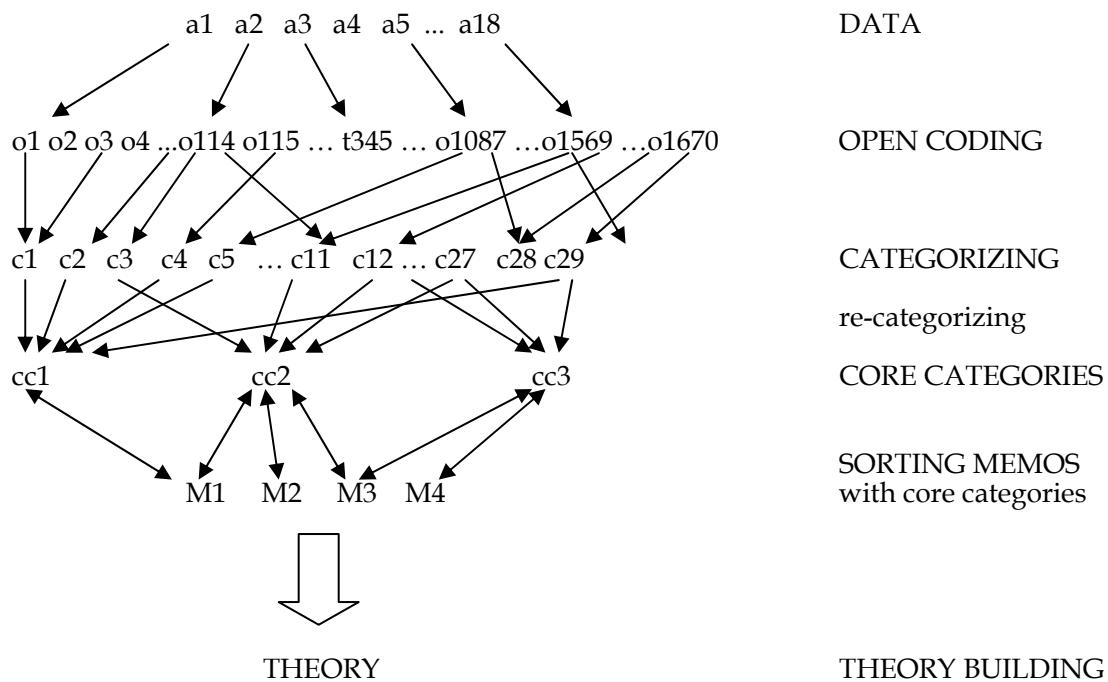


FIGURE 8 Analysis process in this study

According to Flanagan (1954) there are no rules to data gathering rather it is a “flexible set of principles ... modified and adapted to meet the specific situation in hand”. The critical incidents classification is inductive and subjective. He proposed a five-step procedure to follow in critical incident technique. The steps are described in table 5.

The method was originally developed to study men as they work with machines, job analyses like in Taylorism (Taylor 1911; cf. Taylor 1916) but more on a behavior level. Soon it was used in different areas and also in educational research (cf. Corbally 1956). Later the technique has been especially used to study the service field, often in a healthcare context, in job satisfaction and job behavior research, and in behaviorist psychology (cf. Andersson & Nilsson 1964; Bitner *et al.* 1990; Taylor 1991; Gabbot & Hogg 1996; Stitt-Gohdes *et al.* 2000).

The Critical Incident Technique research method is also used in solving practical problems. Davis (2006) made a model of a process for critical incident

learning intervention for organizational problem solving. It has often been used in marketing research using a quantitative method but also with a qualitative method and with narrative texts (e.g. Burns *et al.* 2000; Kemppainen 2000; Voima 2000; Voima 2001; Davis 2006). In recent critical incident studies Cope and Watts (2000) studied organizational and individual learning in a learning-by-doing frame. Weyers and van den Berg (2006) found 16 categories of critical success factors in their study on community work service. Many of them seem to be generalized in other fields such as adequate financial resources, adequate external support, and marketing.

TABLE 5 Critical incident procedures

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General Aims <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. fundamental orientation 2. Plans and specifications <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. the situation observed, b. relevance to general aim, c. extent of effect on the general aim, d. persons to make the observations 3. Collecting data <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. interviews, b. group interviews, c. questionnaires, record forms 4. Analyzing the data <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. frame of reference, b. category formulation, c. general behavior 5. Interpreting and reporting.

Because of a causal philosophy often included in the critical incident technique I am not using the method but I use the critical incident concept in the grounded theory method. It fits well because it is near the content analysis which is often the basis of the critical incident technique in qualitative analysis (Fountain 1999, 3-5). Wisniewski (1999; cf. Wisniewsky 2004) even used the grounded theory method parallel with the critical incident technique when she conducted a research study to generate a leadership competence model.

Hultman (2001, 139) used critical incidents and episodes as synonyms. Synonymous concepts for critical incidents are also triggering events (Booth 1993, 87, 106) and critical events. The significance of critical events was studied by Peter Woods (1993, 355) in connection to the constructivist learning theory and "relationships that generate distinct forms of communitas". Woods (1993, 357) described critical events as:

Critical events are a related phenomenon. They lie between the flash-point incidents and the career-phase periods... They cover a multitude of different kinds of activity. (See also Stewart 1986, 122.)

There are both positive and negative events. Taylor (1991, 67) also used positive and negative events concepts in her study. Testa and Ehrhart (2005) compared

positive and negative interaction behaviors when they studied leadership interactions.

The critical incident technique was developed further by Strauss and Weinlich (1997) into a sequential incident technique, in which all incidents were described in order of priority based on the weight the customer gives them as positive, neutral or negative episodes. Kaulio (2003) used a temporal sequencing of incidents concept when he studied strategy from a developmental perspective. Edvardsson and Roos (2001) continued developing criticality in the critical incident technique, analyzing the criticality from the perspective of the individual customer.

In a few published studies the critical incident technique has been used to produce cultural information from organization’s members. Mallak *et al.* (2003a; 2003b) studied culture in a health-care organization. Angelides and Ainscow (2000, 151) used significant episodes and critical incidents concepts synonymously when studying culture in a school environment. They saw that the significant episode concept “comes from history where it refers to some event or situation which marked a significant turning-point or change in the life of a person or an institution (such as political party) or in some social phenomenon” (Tripp 1993, 24, cf. 105-107; Hendry & Seidl 2003).

Critical incidents are identified after they occur. The critical incidents are examined later e.g. by interviewing those who were involved in them. The significance and meaning are the researcher’s interpretation of an event. (Angelides & Ainscow 2000, 152; Angelides 2001, 431-432) Figure 9 describes the creating of a critical incident.

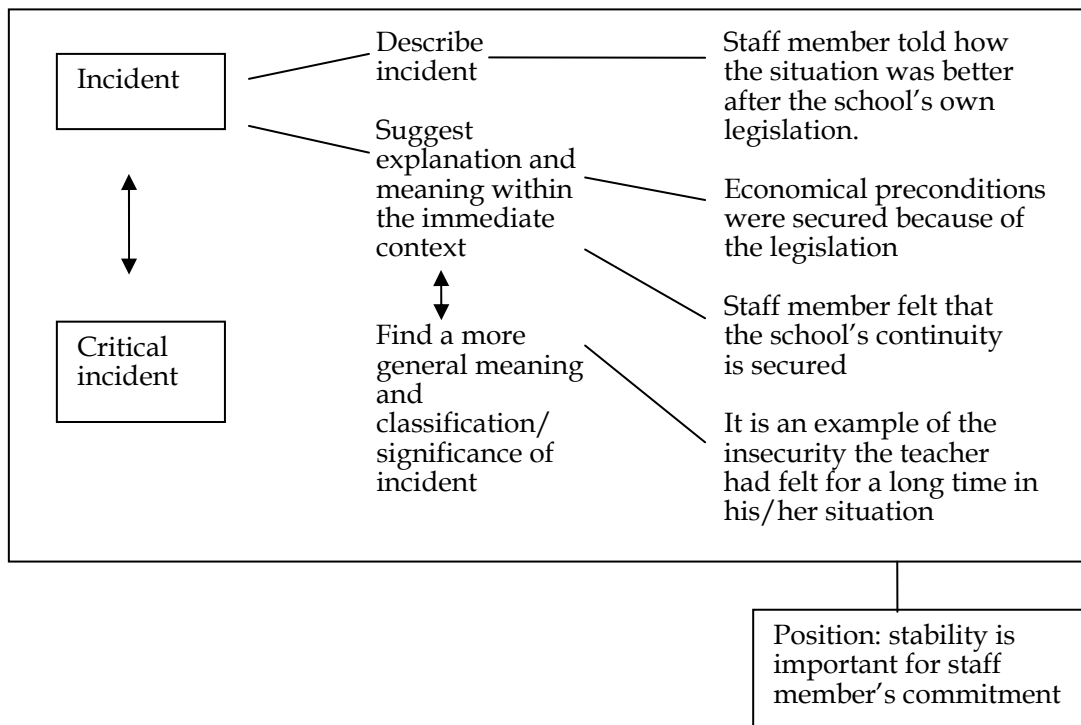


FIGURE 9 Creating a critical incident (Tripp 1993, 26, modified by Kanervio)

According to Tripp (1993) critical incidents

are not 'things' which exist independently of an observer and are awaiting discovery like cold nuggets or desert islands, but like all data, critical incidents are created. Incidents happen, but critical incidents are produced by the way we look at a situation: a critical incident is an interpretation of the significance of an event .(p. 8)

The critical incident is created by seeing the incident as an example of a category in a wider, usually social, context. (p. 25)

In chaos theory innocuous incidents might cause a butterfly effect and later be seen as critical incidents. (Lorenz 1963, Griffiths *et al.* 1991, 343; Thiétart & Forgues 1995, 21; Wheatley 1994, 125-126; Björk 2006.)

Smyth (1991, 337; cf. Herr 2005, 25) suggested questions to connect critical incidents with meaning: Where do the actions come from historically? Whose interests are served or denied by the actions taken? What conditions sustain and preserve the actions? What power relationships are expressed in the actions? What alternatives are available, and what structural, organizational, and cultural factors keep alternatives from arising?

In this study the incidents from the interviews are examined and the significance of the events is partly the interviewee's interpretation and partly my interpretation. In this study I made an interpretation of the story. 14 interviewees wanted to read the story and they had an opportunity to correct the mistakes in my interpretation of the story. (Cf. Gabriel 2000, 151-152.) Validity and reliability are discussed in more detail in chapter 6.2.

3 WHAT HAPPENED?

I compiled the story of the school mainly from the school's history (Kailanpää 1995), board minutes and appendices, annual reports and some newspaper stories. From this data I first sketched a timeline of the events, which I wrote into the form of a story and then enriched it with 18 interviews. These interviews were analyzed later. I also interviewed one former teacher to get some background information from years 1970-1985. This interview is not included in the analysis.

3.1 Short earlier history of the school

The school has been known since 1917 under different names and purposes. During the recession in Finland the school went bankrupt in 1931, and the bank took possession of the school buildings. Schooling continued on the site when a home economics and gardening school started in the buildings of the earlier school. In 1934 one of the teachers bought the school buildings and started a home economics school. The owner was influenced by the vision of a 'work school'⁶ and so the present school was started in 1940. The school combined a vocational school focusing on home economics and a lower secondary school teaching knowledge based subjects. The school also has a dormitory for the students.

From the beginning the student enrollment was good and every year more students applied than the school was able to take in. Because of that more classrooms and dormitory rooms were built even though the school did not have enough money. After two years there were students from 50 counties, even from the northern part of Finland (Lapland). But at the same time almost

⁶ In Finnish *työkoulu* = pedagogical tendency which aims to emphasize the principle of the pupils' creative work and independent initiative. It demands e.g. working in the garden, school kitchen, work shop, laboratory, etc. (Forsman, Wecksell, Havu, & Salovaara 1925-28, 944.)

50% of the students dropped out because of the poor accommodation and working circumstances on the school campus.

In 1942 the school had 168 000 € in debts because of building projects and buying new land property. But the school had students as manpower and so it was able to save some money by having most of the work done by students.

The years 1944-1964 were called the period of endless building projects by Kailanpää (1990) and the school got a lot of new facilities: a green house in 1947, a dormitory building in 1949, a sauna in 1952, a teacher's dormitory in 1955, a cafeteria in 1957, central heating in 1959, an animal shed in 1960, a threshing building in 1962. Funding for most of these buildings came from the Ministry of Agriculture. All that time the school tried to get a new school building but did not get funding from the Ministry of Education. A new school building was built only in 1963.

In 1964 the school was a success. In 1940 31 students applied and 23 were taken in. In 1964, 218 students applied and 41 were taken in. The economical situation was stable after the 1940s but the school had enormous debts (202 000 €) after the years of intensive building of new facilities.

According to Kailanpää (1990) the period during 1964-1974 was called the years of constant progress. During those years the student applications dropped to 70 (1974) and 36 were taken in. The debts were 100 000 € and half of the money to pay the debts came from the work that students did.

The years 1974 - 1990 were the time of the new comprehensive school in Finland. Most private schools were communalized. (Teperi 1995, 241-311.) The school lost its official status and at the same time some of the funding from the municipalities. During the years 1979-1984 the school again had financial problems because it did not get the funding municipalities should have been responsible for (386 000 €) due to the enrollment of students from those municipalities. The school also went to great efforts to get an official status. The school got new support when the State Provincial Office appointed a team for the preparation of a legislative proposal for the school. In 1988 the school finally got its own law and because of that an official status and funding from the Government. The school's debts were 403 000 € in 1988, but were reduced to 202 000 € in 1990.

3.2 The story

I wrote the story of the school from year 1985 to 2000 using the boards' minutes and their appendices, annual reports, and interviews as the main sources. I enriched the story with the school's history (Kailanpää 1990), and some

newspaper stories (Kunnallistiedot 1985-90⁷; Sydän-Hämeen Lehti 1990-2000⁷; Aamulehti 1993⁸; Iltalehti 1993⁸).

3.2.1 Problems (1985-1988)

In this part the story includes a lot of description of economical issues. In 1985-88 the main problems were a decreasing enrollment and the school's uncertain legislative position, both of which caused economical unbalance. However, the school had friends in high positions and with the Government's extra funding it was able to operate through the critical years. One of the important events was the process of getting a law of its own for the school.

1985

At the end of year 1984 the longtime Principal and teacher retired. She had started her service in 1953 as a teacher in mathematics and science subjects. In the years during 1956-1964 she was the Vice Principal. When the school's founder retired from the Principal's position in 1964, she continued as the Principal and served for 20 years in that position.

In the middle of the 1970s she had fought to keep the school alive when the starting of the comprehensive school system killed most of the private schools (90%) in Finland. In the latter part of her long period as the Principal she was tired and was not interested in developing the school. Because student enrollment had been decreasing several years in a row and due to that the school had financial problems her opinion was that the school should be closed. She especially felt so when she applied for her pension and the pension company told her that all the pension payments were owed. The school had to pay all the payments in a short time and that made the economical situation even more unstable. After leaving the Principal's post she continued as a member of the BF and the Board of Governors in 1985. Due to that she was able to express her opinion publicly on behalf of closing the school. The Chair of the Board of the Foundation (CBF)⁹ was a representative of the Tampere Region Rural Advisory Center¹⁰. He thought that because he had been chosen to the BF they should continue the school and he also trusted the Vice Principal and the Principal to be who were developing the school whole-heartedly. Even though closing the school was the main debate in the school administration, in the BF, and even at state level school administration, the BF of the school made plans to repair the old dormitory building and these repairs were started in autumn 1985.

After the Principal's retirement the Vice Principal took care of necessary duties during the rest of that school year in spring 1985. Her idea to save the school was to change the school into a school for misbehaving girls. When she

⁷ local newspaper, changed name in 1990

⁸ daily newspapers

⁹ later the CBF in this research

¹⁰ in Finnish Pirkanmaan maatalouskeskus at that time

left to go to a near-by private rural homemaking school a new principal was chosen. Later that applicant decided not to come and the BF had to choose another applicant.

The new Principal started the first of August in 1985 with four new staff members: a math teacher, a study advisor, a chancery officer, and a dormitory dean. The Principal knew the school because as a reporter for a near-by newspaper she had visited the school while writing an article on the school's spring fête. She visited the school a second time with one of her students and learned to know some of the teachers. The Principal was full of energy when she started in 1985. She only had a short experience in school leadership in a nearby rural school and as a deputy chief of education in that same municipality, but she was young and enthusiastic and learned fast. When she was interviewed in a local newspaper she noted that learning in personal relations and hand skills were her goals for the school (Lehtonen 1985).

Before the autumn's first board meeting an interim audit was performed and it showed that the school had produced continuing deficit. It was able to operate only because of cutting and selling timber every year. Now all the forests were cut down and the Foundation was not able to sell timber anymore. In this situation the school did not even have enough money to pay delinquencies. The debts were about 168 000 € and the estimate for the year 1986 was 336 000 €. The debts increased partly because of the repair of the dormitory. The dormitory was evaluated to be unsafe in case of a fire and had to be repaired immediately (Lehtonen 1986a). The interim audit's estimation was that if the debts were so huge the school would not even be able to pay the interests. According to Kailanpää (1990) the estimation of the financial progress is shown in table 6.

One reason for the poor economical situation was decreased enrollment and due to that decreased funding from the Government. A second reason was legislative: in the comprehensive school law there was not a statute for private schools. If a private school had students from other municipalities than where it was operating, the school had to try to negotiate funding from those municipalities one by one (Basic Education Act 1983, § 81; Basic Education Decree 1984) . The municipalities saved some of their expenses when students were not attending public schools. Still most municipalities were not paying for the students who were in private schools. Because of that the school did not get the funding municipalities should have been responsible for due to the enrollment of students from those municipalities. The cumulative sum was now 386 400 €. At the end of 1981 the school produced a deficit of 74 000 € because of the changes in the state subsidy and the deficit during the years 1978-86 was cumulatively 274 000 €. In 1978 the school had 79 000 € in debts but in 1986 it had 355 000 € in debts because of the annual deficits even though the school had applied and got extra funding from the Government through individual decisions. One school inspector of the State Provincial Office was an important coordinator for extra funding: he knew the school, the school legislation, and the Government's funding systems, because he was handling those subjects at

State Provincial Office level. He searched for different kinds of funding systems for the school. A third reason for the poor economical situation was that the school had operated under two masters: The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Funding was dependent on the case; vocational schooling got funding from the Ministry of Agriculture and comprehensive school from the Ministry of Education. Later vocational schooling was under the National Board of Vocational Education (NBVE¹¹) and agricultural operations under the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Sometimes it was hard to know where the funding should come from and even the officers were in dispute over that issue at state level.

TABLE 6 Estimation of the school's financial progress in interim audit 1985 (in FIM¹²) (Kailanpää 1990, 185)

Year	Government subsidy	Timber sales	Loss in cafeteria	Profit of the fiscal period	Debts at the end of the fiscal period
1980	1 306 758,00	35 607,36	-22 553,95	43 325,77	600 899,14
1981	63 100,00	0,00	-73 739,81	-702 244,13	904 129,28
1982	1 182 000,00	131 951,50	-114 617,62	-89 733,50	986 690,58
1983	1 677 283,00	0,00	-131 841,70	-760,75	1 029 766,64
1984	1 504 000,00	256 412,55	-174 646,09	139 412,47	994 516,35
1985 est.	1 626 000,00	90 000,00	-125 000,00	-50 000,00	1 050 000,00
1986 est.	1 750 000,00	0,00	100 000,00	-200 000,00	2 000 000,00

The new Principal did not accept the idea of closing the school and with the help of the CBF a vivid debate on developing the school was soon started. Part of the school was giving rural homemaking schooling but the vocational schooling laws were changed the first of August 1985 and the rural homemaking schooling was not anymore considered vocational schooling. The negotiators from the NBVE said that because there is not this kind of schooling in Finland anymore the school should be closed. Another member of the BF was ready to give up in this situation, but the Principal and the CBF continued the negotiation. After several negotiations the NBVE later accepted the school to have an elementary home and institutional economics line in 1986.

The Principal's idea was to draw up a curriculum where the vocational schooling and the comprehensive schooling were in the same document. The BF and teachers did not support the idea at that time and the united curriculum was made more than 10 years later. In this the teachers' power was shown for

¹¹ later in this story NBVE

¹² see page 29 footnote 4

the first time. One of the interviewees said that the teachers were intolerant towards principals, and even towards new teachers. New teachers and principals were not able to settle down in that pressure. If someone is not accepted and does not get the staff members' support he or she must be steady-nerved to stay and believe that everything will be better later.

The school negotiated with the local municipality to see if they were interested in taking over running the school. The local municipality was not able to do it because of their limited economical resources and the school started to negotiate for loan guarantees for the school's debts and especially for the dormitory repairing mentioned earlier. The local municipality gave one absolute loan guarantee and later one loan guarantee for the debts. The school also asked for financial aid from the Government. At the end of the year the Board of Governors' last proposition to the BF was selling the school to the local municipality.

The Principal saw that the school was a clannish closed community without external relations. Her strategy was to get more publicity for the school. Newspaper reporters were invited to make stories on the school. During the autumn two journalists visited: the *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat*, and the *Satakunnan Kansa* newspapers. In two years two scrapbooks were filled with articles from the *Pellervo*, the *Kodin Kuvalehti*, the *Suomen Kuvalehti* magazines, and the *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus* newspaper etc. The school was advertised in newspapers and in happenings like youth and agriculture exhibitions. With a local photographer the school made an advertising video which was given to the students to introduce the school to the sixth graders in their old school.

Several members of Parliament and the top officers in education at state level were invited to visit the school. Some of the invited people and the press visited the school in the spring term in 1986. The school's representatives visited the Ministry of Education and the NBVE. During these visits the idea of the school's own law was designed so that the municipalities could be obliged to pay their parts of the schooling.

The Principal also noticed that because so few students applied for the school, the Board of Governors had chosen students that were not capable of managing in all of the school subjects. Many of the students should have been in special education because of their learning difficulties. Because of that, quite many students dropped out of the school. In spite of that, the school had got a reputation that it is a good school for the special students with learning difficulties. That increased the applications from students with learning difficulties and was a kind of a vicious circle (cf. Alava 1999, 195).

According to the charter of the Foundation the BF selects and dismisses the members of the board and chooses the Board of Governors which was actually an expanded version of the BF. At the end of 1985 three new members were chosen to the BF: the Principal, *ex officio*, and two other members. One member was chosen because one of the members of the BF recommended her because she had been told to be interested in saving the school. Because of her

position as the leader of the Finnish Parents' Association¹³ she had good contacts in Parliament and in the school administration at state level. She has been a student in the school earlier and returned to establish the school's support association just before she was chosen to the BF. All started well, several visitors from the state level visited the school and her contacts helped the school to get some extra funding from the state. Because of her later influence in the school's operations as the CBF her choosing caused many problems especially for the principals during the following eight years. Some of the teachers also felt that the BF was obstructive. This problematic situation was not dissolved until the threat of a strike in autumn 1993.

1986

The year 1986 was clearly more active than the previous year. The school followed the strategy of external communication and several reporters from newspapers and magazines visited the school: the *Kauppa ja koti* magazine (Vanhapiha 1986), the *Maaseudun Tulevaisuus*, and the *Helsingin Sanomat* newspapers. The school had several visitors in 1986. Some of those were important in daily political life such as a Member of Parliament, in February, and later mentioned the Minister of Education in April

As an outcome of the earlier started debate on development the State Provincial Office arranged two days of schooling for the school's staff in an internal school development project in January. Only a few days later, ordered by the State Provincial Office, an estimation of the construction needs on the school's campus was made.

At the end of January the Principal had a meeting with the NBVE. It seemed that two of the three negotiators did not see this school to be important and they wanted to close down the whole school. The reason for closing the school was that they believed that the school was not doing proper vocational education in the meaning of the new laws. As pure bureaucratic administrators it seems they were only reading the current laws and statutes and were not interested in finding a way to solve the case and make the schooling possible. The school had been in a similar situation ten years before when most of the private schools were taken over by the municipalities or closed when the comprehensive school system started in Finland. That time the Principal was able to save the school from being closed in a one-year fight against political power in the Ministry of Education. (Cf. Teperi 1995, 263, 264.) When these two lady officers in the NBVE, increased the pressure by telling the Principal to sign the closing agreement paper, they believed that the young Principal would not stand the pressure. But the Principal pointed out that before the school would be closed the NBVE would disappear. Surprisingly this prophecy was fulfilled in 1991 when the NBVE was integrated with the Board of Education into the National Board of Education. Later the Principal wondered what the officers thought when they found out that she was right.

¹³ in Finnish *Koti- ja kouluyhdistysten liitto* at that time

After the above mentioned meeting the third negotiator asked the Principal to come to his office. When only the Principal and the officer were in the office he asked what the Principal wanted. She answered that she wanted a law of its own for the school and the officer answered let's make it. (Norbeck 2006) From that point started the idea of the school's own law. After the meeting with the NBVE the Principal had a meeting regarding the results of the negotiations with the NBVE in the State Provincial Office. The leaders of the school department were present in the meeting.

In the school vocational teachers had permanent teacher positions but comprehensive school teachers were chosen temporarily usually for one year at a time, because the economical situation had been so weak. This had given an advantage to the vocational teachers in the teachers' room and other teachers felt that they were not as valuable. While the school was negotiating how to continue the vocational schooling the State Provincial Office had promised that the comprehensive schooling would continue anyway. The school changed the temporary comprehensive teacher positions to permanent. This brought some schism to the teachers' room because vocational teachers lost their advantage in the power play. In this situation it was almost impossible to create team spirit even though it was tried in VESO -schooling¹⁴ days. When teachers got permanent positions they were more active in asking for benefits and that also caused some harm.

A Member of Parliament phoned one of the members of the Board of Governors because he had done such good work in his election campaign and asked how he could help him. The member of the Board of Governors told him that they were being forced to close the school because of the financial difficulties and asked if the Parliament representative knew of any way to help the school. Due to that conversation the minister of Education was invited to visit the school and from that visit started the saving of the school. In April the Minister of Education visited the school and the BF's representatives discussed with the Minister about the alternative procedures for the school to continue its operations as a folk high school, as a special upper secondary school, or then as a school with a national pilot school status. The Minister suggested a team to consider these points of view. The press and radio were following the visit. A local newspaper reported that the Minister would speed necessary decisions to secure the school's continuity (Lehtonen 1986b). Because of the new school laws and statutes the rural homemaking school was disbanded in autumn. A new elementary home and institutional economics program was established. The new program led to vocational schooling where it helped in getting accepted in and brought credits for the first year's studies.

Students and teachers from several other schools also visited the school. Some of those stayed for a longer time because they had a camp school on the campus. Principals from the region of Tampere spent one schooling day on the

¹⁴ in Finnish virkaehtosopimuksen mukainen koulutus (VESO), schooling held according to the teacher's collective bargaining contract

school campus. In May a representative from the NBVE invited by the CBF also visited the school. During this visit the school's representatives negotiated for financial aid for the school from the NBVE. The school was sending financial aid applications to the Government and usually those were paid every second time by the NBVE and every second time by the Board of Education. The NBVE representative was also visited in his office and during one of these visits the idea of the school's own law was stated again. This representative of the NBVE was chosen into the BF later in 1987.

Several persons visited the school and it got positive publicity even though it had problems. As earlier estimated in 1985 the school had 355 000 € in debts at the end of the year 1986. The financial situation was a disaster. In February the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health stated in a letter that the Finnish Slot Machine Association¹⁵ was not able to give funding to the school because it was not the kind of association which could be contributed to according to the Slot Machine statute. After that the Principal wrote a memo to the BF for a meeting held to discuss the school's financial situation on 27.2.1986:

The School's Future

The XX's Foundation supporting the school has "drained itself empty" while paying the funding supposed to come from the home municipalities of the students.

YY municipality would have been ready to take over the school a few years ago, but the present legislation prevented it.

Only the Government's considerable subsidy could save the school in this situation.

Now is the time for constructive conversation, because the future of our school with long traditions is at stake.

Composed by XX, the Principal

(Attachment in the minutes of the BF meeting 27.2.1986)

On that same day the Principal introduced the school's work to the Educational section of the Finance Committee of Parliament. Only a few days later the BF made a policy statement to bring the school under municipal ownership. Some time during the spring of 1986 the idea of getting the school's own law was also introduced. When asked, the Principal mentioned that it was her idea, and the CBF that it was hers and the Principal's idea. One of the attendants said that the idea was thought up during a visit to the NBVE and the idea arose in negotiations with the administrator at state level as earlier mentioned.

Good news for the students was that the school rented a horse from a local horse stable. In return the school promised to take care of the horse during the school year and return the horse to the stables for summertime (Anon. 1986). Because most of the students were girls and many of them were interested in horses this was a good move to help them enjoy their stay. The restorations in the dormitory were completed just before the school year started. In the autumn term the school had 15 students more than the previous year due to the good news.

¹⁵ in Finnish, Raha-automaattiyhdistys, the organization that allocates funds for non profit making associations

At the end of April the Foundation sold some land property as a lot to a local bank to get money for payments. At the same time the local municipality council rented 1.15 hectares to the school as an arable area for the years 1986-1990 at a reasonable rent. In midsummer the school's old maintenance building (built in 1942) tumbled down. At the end of July the BF decided to appeal to the Government for a supplementary budget of 252 000 € for the building of a new maintenance building, 67 200 € to defray the installments of the loans and the interest payments, and for a 33 600 € aid from the local municipality for daily operations. In the same meeting the board decided to appeal for a 33 600 € bill of exchange from the local bank. All these procedures told how critical the economical situation was and that the school was at stake.

On the 18th of August the State Provincial Office established a team, which the Minister of Education had suggested earlier during her visit, to consider a plan for the school, the ownership, and developing the school. The team members were: the Principal, the CBF, three officers from the State Provincial Office, and one officer from the NBVE. The Ministry of Education appointed two members. This team met for the first time on the 22nd of September. During the process the team heard experts in education administration. As soon as the 24th of October one of the officers of the State Provincial Office was invited to a meeting of the BF to introduce the idea of the school's own law. At every step the law proceeded easily. The other ministry officer, a legislative counselor, made a law proposal, "Lex XX". The law was finally accepted in the Parliament's plenary session the 8th of November 1988. (Kailanpää 1990, 187-190.)

In the autumn of 1986 the school and the Foundation tried to survive. The school invited a journalist from the Helsingin Sanomat -newspaper to write an article to save the school. The story was published on the 19th of September. During the summer the Principal and the CBF had established a pedagogical workgroup to develop the teaching. Later in the autumn the BF decided that the aim of the group was to find a way to go on with the original vision in schooling. The group was called XX's heritage -workgroup after the founder of the school.

It seemed that to get funding was more difficult than to get the school's own law. The interim audit showed that the expired invoices were 78 660 € and the funds were 33 000 € at the moment of auditing on the 16th of September. The debts were 286 000 €, the estimated interest expenditures 25 200 € per year, and the installments 270 000 € per year. The members of the BF gave a personal loan guarantee for a 42 000 € bill of exchange to cover the expenditures. At the same time they tried to get more loan guarantees from the local municipality so that the board's members would not be forced to give personal loan guarantees to save the school. The 24th of October the BF decided to start a real economic audit for the first time in the school's history.

In November a marketing workgroup was established to market the school's facilities to external users. The local municipality got two appeals: an

16 800 € aid for daily operations on the 5th of November and a loan guarantee for a check account on credit on the 27th of November.

1987

On the first of January 1987 the BF was elected. In 1985 a new member had taken over the CBF position and the earlier Chair had been pressured to leave the BF because he was not so sure that the school could get a law of its own. He also left the Board of Governors at the end of 1987. For the next two years the earlier mentioned officer of the State Provincial Office was also chosen. From this point started the so called time of changing principals when the school had five principals in six years and they were kicking out the fifth. Several interviewees argued that the principals were not able to make the asked changes fast enough and that started the disagreements. In many cases the reasons were in the economical situation even though the responsibility was the BF's because it had all the (economical) power. The Chair had only one standard of activity to handle the cases: pressuring the principals out.

In March the Provincial Governor and the Head of the department of Education of the State Provincial Office visited the new Minister of Education leaving a memo concerning the Government's funding for the school. The Minister took a positive stand even though she was not able to give binding assurances. In April the planning group of secondary level education in Finland visited the school and had a meeting there. On the 4th of June the Minister of Social Affairs and Health with the City Court Judge and previous Congresswoman visited the school. The Minister noted that the appreciation of hand skills had increased. She believed that the Parliament would take a positive stand for the school.

The State Provincial Office accepted and passed on the school's appeal for the Government's supplementary budget to the Government with a letter ensuring the school's operations. The Principal and the CBF were in a hearing in the Educational section of the Finance Committee of Parliament on the 26th of May, telling about the school's situation and their opinions on the law proposal. After all this the appeal for the supplementary budget funding was partly turned down by the Ministry of Finance on the 28th of May, the school got 84 000 € for building the new maintenance and greenhouse building, and 50 400 € from the moment 'Some government grants'. The money for construction included a conditional statement that the money should be used before the end of the year. The BF decided to send a new appeal for 84 000 € as a Government supplementary budget, because the debts were 336 000 € of which 25 000 € brand new and 20 000 € from the personal loan guarantee bill by the members of the BF.

Following the earlier decision the real economic audit was done every month in 1987. Because of that, the school negotiated with the bank on a new plan for the installments of the loans in February. However, the school was not able to pay the 25 000 € bill of exchange and so the school paid only 5 000 €. During the year the Principal and the Chair of the board negotiated several times for longer periods for the payments of the loans and bills. In this critical

economical situation the BF decided that the wages of the employees would be paid anyway. The Central Bank of the Co-operational Bank Group (OKO) prepared a report of the company analysis in May. At the same time the local municipality guaranteed a 25 000 € bank loan for the next three years.

The legislation concerning foundations in Finland was changed on the 27th of March and those changes took effect the 1st of June. Because of that the NBVE sent an order that the school had to change its name. In June the team which was earlier established by the State Provincial Office sent their report to the Provincial Governor favoring the idea of the school's own law. The proposition of the law circulated for comments and the first reactions were positive. Because of that the school was waiting for the law of its own and the BF put aside the change of the school's name. The name was changed on the 1st of August in 1989.

In August 1987 the school year started with a new curriculum made by the school's teachers according to the national curriculum. The studies in seventh grade focused on crafts, home economics, and agriculture and gardening. Because of the study system the school had shortage of classrooms but for that reason all study groups were also smaller. The new home economics teacher also started.

At the end of August the economic audit brought out that the school had 38 535 € funds and 55 528 € in bills, leaving a gap of 16 993 €. The school had charged students' home municipalities 73 000 € but only 16 452 € were paid by the municipalities. Even though the economical situation was unstable the school had to plan the greenhouse building because otherwise it would have lost the Government's funding. At the end of the year the board decided to take a loan for the greenhouse building project.

Teachers were heard on the legislative proposal at the end of September. The qualitative development of the school started at the same time. The teachers and the BF had several meetings as mentioned in the minutes of the BF (e.g. 2.12.1987, and 12.1.1988) and in the annual report but there are neither minutes nor memos of those negotiations and the cooperation -meetings. Because the school's 50th anniversary was coming in two years the BF decided to ask for money for writing the school's history.

In December the BF decided to establish two new positions: a second dormitory dean, and a second kitchen assistant. Only a few moments later the same board considered the budget for the following year and decided to cancel the positions. In the next meeting the interim audit showed 60 570 € deficits and the school had not been able to amortize the debts, on the contrary the debts had increased to 45 360 €.

The BF discovered several administrative omissions by the Principal: the interim audit was delayed, the unexecuted choice of the vice principal, two of the members of the Board of Governors were chosen without a formal decision by the BF, the school's annual plan was not confirmed by the Board of Governors, the construction plans for the greenhouse were sent to the NBVE without acceptance by the BF, and the delayed appeal for extra funding from

the NBVE. Even though some of the mistakes were made by the BF, as it was noticed in the minutes, this was countdown for the events in March 1988.

The change in an attitude towards the Principal had two reasons. The first reason was that the Principal had married in autumn. The CBF had threatened that if she married this man she must leave the school. The Principal's husband had dated a friend of the CBF while in secondary school and the Chair hoped that he would still marry that girl because she had divorced. The Principal chose the marriage. The second reason was that the member to be of the BF from the NBVE was upset because of public critical opinions the Principal had presented in a television program. In a television interview the Principal had criticized the NBVE because they did not fully fund the building of the new greenhouse, even though the school had to give the lessons according to the vocational curriculum accepted by the NBVE.

1988

As earlier mentioned the minutes of the meeting of the BF on the 12th of January in 1988 have disappeared. The year 1988 started with a funding request to the State Provincial Office for extra funding. In February the NBVE suggested a 84 000 € funding from the first Government's supplementary budget to cover the school's 378 000 € debt installments and interest. Only a week later the BF made a Memorandum on the school's deficit to ensure the school's operation – memo. A few days later in the meeting with the Minister of Education, the representatives of the school were the CBF and the inspector of education from the State Provincial Office, and a member from the BF. A representative from the NBVE took part in this meeting. Later in 1989 he was chosen to be a member of the BF. The Principal did not attend this meeting because of the schism between her and the CBF. The Minister of Education promised to hasten the preparations of the law and recommended an allocation motion.

While the BF was waiting for the money from the Government it appealed for a supplementary loan from the local bank to handle the critical liquidity situation. The Bank loan was granted at the end of February. Regardless of the decisions mentioned above the BF made some new reconstruction plans in March.

The BF had been mean to the Principal for a long time: the Chair started to correct all the board minutes and the Principal even recorded some of the discussions in the board meeting and how one of the members, the representative of the State Provincial Office, dictated the decisions in the board minutes and humiliated her. The next Principal was humiliated in the same way. Later the CBF denied being the chair and claimed that the member who humiliated the Principal was the chair and was the reason for the Principal's resignation. At that time the humiliating member was only the Chair of the Board of Governors without any executive power because the Board of Governors was more like a negotiating body. Later even the representative of the State Provincial Office in the BF also felt that he had been misled by the CBF in the Principal's case and he regretted his behavior.

The CBF spent long days and even stayed over night on the campus. The Principal was living in her house outside the campus and she was not able to know what happened on the campus. At some point she noticed that the teachers' room was somehow divided into two groups by the CBF. The CBF phoned long calls sometimes several times a day and even in night time to deal with some matters but usually she blew her own trumpet. This was also done to one of the later principals. Because of all of these happenings the Principal felt that she had been constrained partly because of the earlier happenings at the end of 1987. The earlier mentioned humiliating board member asked her to resign several times and now she had had enough of it and signed the resignation in a board meeting in March. She took a sick leave for the rest of the spring term. She wondered if there was something wrong with her way of administrating but later found out that the same things had happened to other principals after her. The Vice Principal took care of the daily routines for the rest of the school year.

On the 14th of June the debate continued in a meeting of the BF which decided that the Principal had been incompetent in accepting too big bills from the architect, and failing to send the schedule of payments to the NBVE. Because of that the school had to take an additional 33 600 € loan more. Afterwards the Principal mentioned that the schedule of payments was in the secretary's office and the secretary had not sent it forward. The next principal was also accused of not sending the scheme of payments to the NBVE and he solved the problem in both these cases.¹⁶

The Ministry of Education asked for a plan of the loan payment scheme and a report of the Foundation's assets by 18.3.1988 the latest. It showed that the year 1987 had been 40 000 € in deficit and the liquidity was poor. The good news was that the greenhouse was completed and the students were enthusiastic to plant herbs. A Member of Parliament, and the representative from the NBVE mentioned earlier visited the school to see the new greenhouse on the 16th of May. The CBF and the Inspector of Education from the State Provincial Office hosted the visit.

New construction plans were drawn up and the BF introduced the plans to the State Provincial Office: a new dormitory for boys, and a bakery. The local health care center recommended that the school should have one more dormitory house master or mistress because the only one was not able to be present all the time. The last meeting minutes of the BF were dated the 14th of June in 1988 and the next paper in the school's archive was an agenda for a meeting held the 29th of August. The minutes of the meeting have disappeared as all the minutes till the 3rd of January in 1989. The minutes were not acknowledged by the clerks of the meeting. The reasons for the mysteriously disappearing minutes are described at the beginning of year 1989.

In the annual report of 1987-1988 it was mentioned that a new principal had been chosen. The new Principal did not take the job because he felt

¹⁶ cf. next footnote

intuitively in the interview that something was wrong with the school: everything was in a bad shape at the school and the interview was some how odd. Even his wife said that she did not want to go there. Five years later in 1993 this applicant was chosen again and this time he came. Because the chosen principal didn't come the BF put out a new vacancy announcement for an interim principal's position. The principal who had been chosen for the school year 1988-1989 wondered how he was chosen without any administrative experience while a very experienced principal applied at the same time. The Board meeting's minutes on choosing the principal have disappeared.

The new Interim Principal started on the 1st of August in a situation where the Vice Principal had not made preparations for the upcoming school year. There was neither the schedule for the classes nor the annual plan even though the Vice Principal had been paid for the whole summer and it was her job to make the plans. The new Principal was not able to find any documents or plans on which the number of hours in each subject was founded. In those was counted how many hours should have been vocational lessons and how many hours general education. All the plans were made earlier, but now they had disappeared. Due to the above the students had done over twelve-hour school days starting in the cow shed feeding the pigs and milking the cows at 6.00 a.m., and ending by cleaning the dormitory at 9.00 p.m. If a student did something punishable they might have some extra duties on top of the earlier mentioned. Because of all this the Principal's first task was to find a legal basis for the annual lesson plan.

At the same time as he started as the Principal he was called to do a military refresher course for three weeks. He tried to get an exemption from that course, but the decision came one day after he had started the refresher course. Even more ironical was that the soldiers did nothing during the first week because the officers were absent. He was released for the second week to do his work and his family also helped him to get everything done. He returned to the course for the last week. Because of all this he was not able to prepare all the papers well. The BF's first meeting was not too bad even though he was not able to prepare properly. He was even praised because the CBF always had a kind of 'honey moon' with the new principals. The Principal heard warning bells ringing in his mind.

Some of the teachers did not accept the papers and they complained to the BF. To get attention and power all kinds of complaints about principals were quite often made by at least two of the teachers. Some of these teachers eavesdropped on conversations in the principal's office. That was possible, maybe by mistake, because the teachers' bathroom was situated next to the principal's office. They used the information against the principals when discussing with the CBF. This came out when the Principal got a phone call from one local man. At the same time the General Manager of the Board of Education had the same name. In some conversations it came out that some of the teachers believed that the Principal had cowardly called the Board of Education to let on how he had been treated. Several principals seemed to

know this eavesdropping and later the principal's office was changed to a different place.

The Principal tried to bring the principle of legality to the school. Some of the teachers were mean and made evil remarks about the students while they were within hearing distance. At the same time discipline was poor among the students. Some of the misbehavior was explained by the student's demography because many of them were relocated to the school due to their family background. In punishments the Principal also tried to follow the law even though all the other members of the BF and the CBF were ready to expel one misbehaving boy student immediately. After all the punishment was a two-month suspension following the law. Even this situation was turned against the Principal by the CBF. When a reclamation was made about the punishment to the State Provincial Office, the Chair noted that the suspension and the Principal's actions had caused disrepute for the school. The Principal was able to cope with the situation but he had lost the trust of the CBF and that was his destiny.

One of the teachers started to be very keen on the school's situation. She often visited the chancellery and the principal's office asking what was going on and reading the documents. She was one of the persons eavesdropping on the conversations in the principal's office through the bathroom wall. Later she took some preparation papers concerning financial planning made by the Secretary and Principal. She signed the papers and took them to the CBF as prepared by herself. She even made her own financial shadow plan which was accepted though it was almost the same as the one the Principal had made. After these actions she was chosen to be the Financial Planner even though as a home economics teacher she was not an expert in that area. She had other supporting teachers in her clique, one of them the Vice Principal.

At the beginning of August 1988 the Government bill for the new XX School's Act was introduced. It was accepted in the Parliament plenary session on the 8th of November and the President accepted and signed the law with the Minister of Education on the 23rd of December. So this law was like a Christmas present for the school (Lehtonen 1988).

3.2.2 Turnaround at the school 1989-1994

When the school got its own legislation the economical situation was recovered in a few years. Still the school had problems with administration. One of the important events is how the school's administration ended up in trouble and was finally changed.

1989

In 1989 many changes at the school took place. A schism arose between the Interim Principal and the CBF. At the beginning of 1989 the CBF raised the question to the Interim Principal, that the minutes were incompetently written in autumn 1988 and wanted them to be rewritten. The Chair took them for rewriting. Since then the minutes have been missing as mentioned earlier (in

1988). The previous and next principals had similar experiences with their minutes.

The CBF's second move was that one of the teachers was appointed as the Financial Planner and the Principal was not allowed to deal with the finances. The Principal was accused of not sending the scheme of payments to the NBVE. Thanks to the books of original entries in the Government and the NBVE the Principal was able to follow the chain of happenings and to prove that the real reason for the late payments was in the system. As earlier mentioned the aid was paid every second time from the NBVE and every second time from the Board of Education. Every time these two negotiated whose turn it was to pay and sometimes that took so long that the payments came late. The Principal also looked at an earlier similar case and was able to prove that the same had also happened with the earlier principal.¹⁷ The Principal felt that because he tried to clear the earlier principal's reputation his count down started.

In the middle of these happenings the Principal became ill and the school nurse asked him to take a sick leave but he decided to continue to the end of the school year. Later he informed the BF that he was not applying for the principal's post. After all this the Interim Principal was not chosen to continue as principal and a new principal started on the 1st of August. The Financial Planner still continued and got a position of trusted person by the CBF.

The name of the school was changed and registered in the Register of Companies in Finland on the 13th of March. In April one of the board representatives, the School Inspector from the State Provincial Office was replaced by an Officer of the NBVE who had visited the school earlier in 1988. The representative of the State Provincial Office had disagreed with the way the Principal's were dealt with and that was a good reason to replace him. The officer from the NBVE mentioned that "der Mensch denkt, Gott lenkt", because they had just been discussing how to handle the case in this school in the NBVE and then came the request to be a member in the BF. In the school he reported that the earlier Minister of Education had asked him to save the school. The new board member was the chair of the Finnish Parents' Association where the CBF was on the board. Because he knew the school from before was one reason why he was elected. Later these two, the CBF and this member of the board were found to be one reason for the difficulties the principals had in the school. In 1993 the main goal in a threat of a strike was to get rid of these two people from the BF.

The officer from the Ministry of Education, who had outlined the law, had also outlined the statute for the school and it was sent to the school for hearing in June. The statute was accepted at the end of June and because of the new statute the school had to outline new guiding principles before the end of July.

The law of the school came into effect on the 1st of August 1989. In this law the school maintained its structure and the idiosyncrasy of the educational program. New extensions were the municipalities' liability to pay their part of

¹⁷ cf. previous footnote

the funding of the school, the dormitory was mentioned in the law, and the possibility to get extra funding from the Ministry of Education within the limits of their allowance. The school's financial state was secured. The significance of the CBF in getting their own legislation for the school was obvious. She had good connections to the highest school administrators in Finland, and because of that she was able to pull the right strings. The Inspector of Education in the State Provincial Office had also been a kind of kibitzer in this process due to his contacts and knowledge in school laws and this particular school. He was working in the State Provincial Office at that time and introduced the progress and proposal at that level to be sent to the Ministry of Education. (The XX School's Act 1988; The XX School's Decree 1989; Kailanpää 1990.)

When the next school year started in August 1988, the school had 123 students - five more than in 1985. In the previous year 1987 the enrollment was 143. During this year the school had not made any major marketing attempts because it had so much administrative work to do due to the school's own legislation. Part of the reason was that again a new principal started in August. (Joensuu 1990.) Because of the new statute the school got more funding and the school was able to reduce the number of students in each teaching group. That helped especially in subjects that were difficult for the students such as mathematics and foreign languages.

At the end of August the BF decided to try to get permission to raise the school fees for accommodation of the students to 135 € per student per year. Because the school had to be developed an agricultural planning group was formed. A preparation group for curriculum development was also formed. That group consisted of two persons, the CBF and the Financial Planner. The work of the group started in November. The Financial Planner, one of the teachers, was the CBF's trusted person. She was chosen because the CBF did not trust the principals. This trusted person was carrying out her own politics inside the school and even reported to some of the board members about school operations after the board left in 1994. The planner arrangement caused a lot of trouble due to the fact that the Financial Planner was the principal's subordinate and made decisions which the principal had to accept and had to be responsible for. Later this arrangement was called 'irresponsible power'.¹⁸ At the end of the 1990's the hardest work for the principal was to break this kind of arrangement in the organization.

The financial situation was better at the end of the year: the liquidity was +8 622 € and dues from the municipalities were 19 130 €. According to the new law municipalities paid their share quite well. The debts decreased from 377 670 € in 1988 into 254 270 € in 1989.

1990

The year 1990 started with a decision to rebuild a physics and chemistry classroom. This was part of the program to get the physical environment well

¹⁸ see foot note 4

designed. The writing of the school's history was also completed. It was written by one of the officers of the State Provincial Office, who had written several school histories before. The writing of the history was sponsored by the Finnish Cultural Foundation. (Kailanpää 1990)

At the beginning of February 1990 the Finance Committee of Parliament visited the school. The BF decided to ask for a special Government subsidy for the payments of the debt in their meeting on that same day. Because this was the 50th anniversary year for the school, the board also established a jubilee fund for scholarships in that meeting. At the end of February the school got the decision that they were allowed to charge each student 135 € per year for accommodation.

In the middle of March the BF had a meeting with the union representatives on personal bonuses. The personal bonuses were a compensation system based on the classification of job qualifications and merit pay. It started in 1990 in Finland and it actually should have been negotiated with the staff members or with their representatives.

At the end of April the school got a 84 000 € Government's subsidy for the payments of the debts. The BF made the decision to amortize a loan and the Principal was asked to do it. For some reason the Principal did not do the task and in the next meeting she was reprimanded for that, and an obligation to do the task as asked. The Principal said that usually the chancery officer did the task, but it was a time of confusion in the organization and the BF was searching for reasons reprimand the Principal. Because of other conflicts with the BF and especially with the Chair, the Principal resigned. This was done provocatively when she was presenting the review of the school year in the closing ceremony in June 1990.

Later she wrote to the State Provincial Office and explained why she had left her position. The first reason was the CBF's continuous telephone terrorism complaining about staff members' actions. Some of the calls consisted of the Chair's big talk about her achievements. The longest telephone call was in three parts five hours long and destroyed the Principal's free day. This same had happened also to an earlier principal in 1985-88. Because the Chair did not get any response she started to call her loyal friends among staff members. The Chair had loyal people in the school who were spying on others, and especially the principals, informing the Chair.¹⁹ The second reason was the way the gardener was hounded starting in winter 1990. The Principal was asked by a member of the BF to make a list of the mistakes the gardener had made. When she refused to make the list because she did not know the situation due to her short employment she was told that she must do what she was asked to. Later she got another threat when she refused to sign a warning to the gardener. "If you do not sign you will be fired", said the CBF. Finally the Principal was asked to make a doctor's appointment for the gardener to get a statement that she was ill. Because the Principal did not make the appointment the CBF did. The doctor

¹⁹ cf. earlier mentioned taping (in 1988)

later called asking who the lady was calling on behalf of the BF and making demands on a doctor's certificate. Later the gardener was sent to Helsinki for two-day medical evaluations paid by the school. Even though the doctor was a friend of the BF's NBVE representative she got clear papers. She was still dismissed later in 1993. The court found that the dismissal of the gardener was illegal and the school had to pay compensation and give her her job back. The third reason was the minutes of the BF. Those were sent to Helsinki for signing but usually they were kept there for several weeks by the CBF. When the minutes came back with several conflicting changes in them, the scrutinizers of the minutes were not anymore able to remember what had been handled in the meetings. That complicated taking care of things. This experience was similar to the experiences the earlier principals had had with the board minutes.

Even a local newspaper wondered why principals were changed so often in the school (mao 1990). The BF's representative noted that the economical situation might have been the reason in the past. He mentioned that the present principal was good at pedagogical leadership but unsuitable in administrative tasks. Two weeks later the Principal answered in a letter to the editor asking what disease the school had. She noted that the atmosphere in the school needed to be aired out. There had not been enough renewal in the administration during the last year. She wrote that the Board had meetings too often and that the financial issues needed too much of the Principals' time. She mentioned that the need to handle financial issues might have been one reason for the rapid change of the principals in the school. In private schools principals are more like general managers and especially in this school with farming. She wondered that if the school had had so many incompetent principals whether it was possible that the choosers had been incompetent. A local politician had even asked "Is there a poor master in the house as the servants are not staying?"²⁰ (Anon. 1990a). Later the CBF only noted that the choice of principal was not unanimous because there were other options.

At the end of the school year 1989-90 a new curriculum for the school was accepted by the Ministry of Education. At the same time the auditor's report from year 1989 was 38 500 € in deficit although the situation was better because of the decrease in the debts.

In August 1990 the new school year began with an increased enrollment from 123 to 150 students. From this point student enrollment increased several years in a row up to 200 students and after a few years up to 250 students. The enrollment is described in figure 10. These enrollment numbers are based on the official statistics made by the school. The enrollment is less in the annual reports, partly because of the drop out of some students.

At the beginning of September 1990 a new Principal started and on the same day the school had its 50th anniversary. The Principal wrote in the annual report:

²⁰ Finnish proverb

The school is closing its 50th year of operation. I entered the scene at the time of celebration. I participated somehow as an outsider.
(The annual report of the school in 1990-1991)

A local newspaper commented that the greetings at the 50th anniversary celebration showed that the school had influential friends (Anon. 1990b).

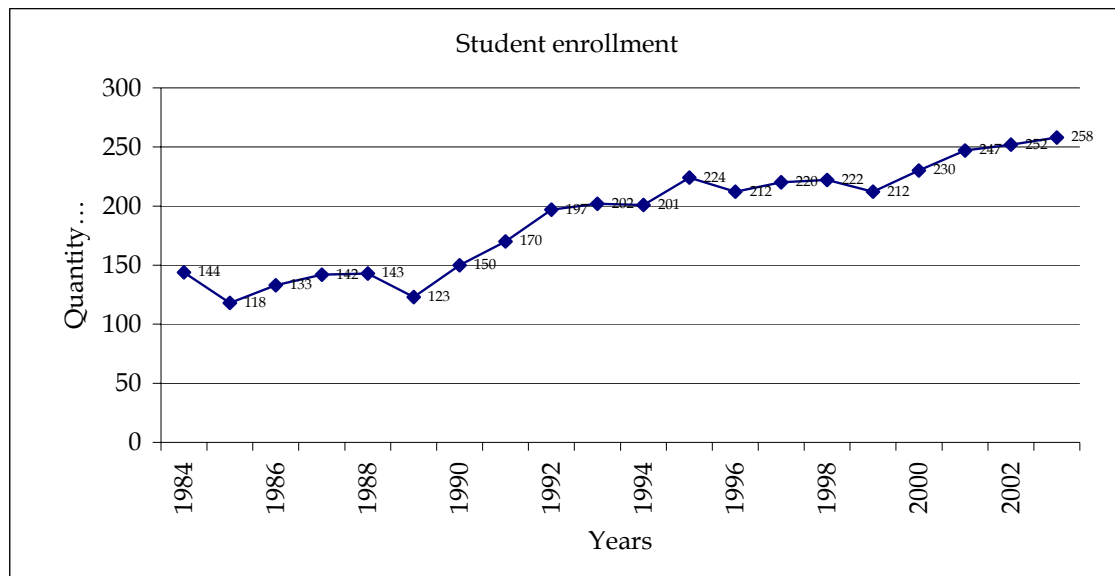


FIGURE 10 Student enrollment during 1985-2003

Some interviewees described this Principal as The Real Principal. He started reforms like a building process, future planning, and development. As a former officer in the State Provincial Office and on the Board of Education, he had good connections to the highest educational administrators at state level and knowledge of the school legislation (Anon. 1990c). He was seen as a strong leader who was not afraid of the BF or the CBF because of his experience in school administration. When he said that this is what we will do it was done and even the BF listened to him. Teachers were not able to affect him and he was admired because he treated people equally. He was described as a Principal with a capital P and as a Human with a capital H. The teachers felt that he paid attention to everyone, and when needed also reprimanded politely. The CBF also said that he did all the principals tasks very well without neglecting his duty and handled students well. Despite this the Principal himself felt that there were strong pressures from the BF's side.

It seems that because of his earlier administrative experiences he was very soon able to catch on and started the school's development in the autumn of 1990. The BF applied for funding from the Ministry of Education to compensate the increase in the operating costs concerning the establishment, building and furnishing, and for permission to charge the students also in 1991. The BF discussed a development in agricultural operations in December.

Up to this point, in most of the annual reports the texts had described the ordinary events of the school, except in 1986 when the need of development of

the school was mentioned. At the end of the school year in June 1990 the leaving Principal wrote about the need to develop the school and the following statement can be seen in the annual report:

The most important thing in the world is not where we are but where we are heading. To reach the goal we have to sail sometimes in the direction of the wind and sometimes against it. Treasuring our heritage we must be modern and remember that students are in the focus. Without students there is no school and the school is never unchangeable.

(The annual report of the school in 1989-1990)

1991

As mentioned earlier in chapter 2.5., all the minutes of the BF meetings are missing from years 1991-1994. The data from that period has been collected from the annual reports, newspaper stories, and interviews. One peculiar detail at that time was that the National Board of Education was established by integrating The Board of Education and The NBVE. That was the end of the history of the NBVE, and at the time the school was running well. As earlier mentioned one of the school's principals had heralded this in a meeting with the NBVE in 1986. In 1991 the serving of two masters ended and the school was operating only under The National Board of Education.

The annual report of 1990 is a good description of the plans to go ahead and develop the school and the physical environment: the repairing of the manure cover, repairing and demolition work, the purchase of a new tractor, and plans for adjusting the agricultural production structure in order to decrease milk production and to diversify the population by buying new animals for teaching purposes. After the physics and chemistry class was repaired the old dormitory was changed into a teaching class for computer science and the school also got new computers. The administrative area was reconstructed and general repairs and renewal work were done.

The BF made plans for future improvements for the 1990's in order to get funding from the Government's Projects Plans²¹ for a new canteen and dormitory buildings. The BF applied for supplementary allowance from the Government's optional funding for the building projects and to amortize the debts. The Board also handled the development of the school and changes in the guiding principles. The national curriculum in vocational education was renewed and after the school changed its vocational curriculum, it opened up new schooling opportunities for the students of the school in their future studies.

In autumn a nationwide television broadcasting station, TV2, produced a program on the school with the title: What a rural school!²² The manuscript was written by one of the teachers with the 9th grade. The principal actor was one of

²¹ in Finnish hankesuunnitelma, Government's long term plans for public funding of projects such as building new schools, libraries etc. Usually made for the next five years

²² in Finnish Mikä mikä maalaiskoulu

the students from the 9th grade. The film group visited the school campus several times and also the school's Christmas program was broadcast. The whole program was sent in May 1992. (Lehtonen 1992.)

Twinning schools started in September when the school got a letter from an Estonian school proposing collaboration between the schools. Teachers from the Estonian school visited Finland at the end of 1991 and representatives from the school in this study visited the Estonian school in April 1992.

Marketing was done mostly in three ways: advertisements in magazines and newspapers, mailed brochures to 100 municipalities and their schools, and also to students and their parents. Student enrollment was increasing and it was 160 in 1991. The estimation was 180 for the school year 1991-1992 but the real enrollment turned out to be bigger. In this situation the school had a need for more dormitory rooms because the present dormitory rooms were crowded. In 1992, due to the good marketing and the television programs the school got 199 applications, more than ever.²³

A clear change in the leadership culture is seen in the annual reports which described a lot of plans and operations to develop the school. The annual reports were more informative which was seen more clearly in the school year's 1991-1992 report. The annual report of the school year 1990-1991 was an analytic review of the situation in the school sector, about the crumbling buildings on the campus in a depressing financial situation, and future plans, and the enthusiasm of the staff members. The Principal closes his report:

... even considerable improvement in the facilities cannot ensure the success if the most important thing is missing. The most important thing is not the facilities, but how one operates in those facilities, how the school community's work brings out a successful working spirit from the point of view of learning.

Anyway it calls for sincere and open-minded attempts, and cooperation among teachers, students, staff members, the homes of the students, and those in a decision making position.

(The annual report of the school in 1990-1991)

1992

The school got a new badge because the school had changed its name. There were two kinds of new badges: a silver plated one for students who graduated from the school and a golden one for admirable workers who had worked for at least ten years. The first new golden badges were given to the CBF, two teachers, and a dormitory dean in 1991. In 1992 the badges were given to the Assistant Principal and one teacher, the Financial Planner, who were mentioned earlier.

In the annual report of 1991-92 the Principal wrote about the school's ability to change according to the changes and development in the environment and society. The ability to change in time ensures the school's existence. It seems that the school had done it well because in August 1992 the school had

²³ mentioned in interviews, see also table 8 in year 1997

197²⁴ students and the dormitory was packed. More classrooms were also needed. For the first time the CBF also wrote 'The Chair's greetings' in the annual report.

In autumn 1992 the BF and the Board of Governors established a Parents' Council for the school. In the annual report 1992-1993 the Chair of the Parents' Council wrote:

This school year has clearly shown the need for this kind of Parents' Council especially in this school. This operation period has been marked with searching for issues and forms of activity.

My opinion is that more actively than before parents have to be supportive of the XX school's development with the "honoring traditions but living in the future"-principle. This means more open interaction between the students - the teachers - the staff members and the school's administration / the Foundation in relation to the parents.

The frequent changing of principals during the last decade has been a major problem in the school. I consider it necessary that the parents' representation and opinions in the Foundation and at different levels of administration are realized soon. Above all I sincerely hope issues are dealt with profoundly and called by their real names.
(The annual report of the school in 1992-1993)

In this piece of writing the Parents' Council's Chair brought up the frequent change of principals. This Parents' Council was active in this matter one year later in 1994.

The first practical form of activity in the Parents' Council was to conduct two 'weekend work camps'. The parents repaired the boys' dormitory doing voluntary work during weekends. The result was that in a short time and at a low cost the dormitory was repaired to quite a good condition. The Parents' Council paid part of a pool table and part of the 9th graders' spring excursion.

At the beginning of September 1992 a columnist from Anna -magazine wrote an article on the school (Lehtimäki 1992). One week later the General Manager of the National Board of Education visited the school. He was interested in the school's computer class. He also planted a tree in memory of the 75 years of independency in Finland. The students got their own assembly room called 'The Cave', and a confirmation class was started on the school campus. The school's long time career advisor died at the beginning of March and her wish was that the students could get a confirmation class at their own school. In the autumn this desire was fulfilled with the deceased teacher's memorial fund. This schooling continues still today on the school campus. At the end of November the school participated in an AVO- exhibition²⁵ for the first time with their own stand.

²⁴ estimation according to the previous year's and next year's enrollment, because the statistics of the 8th grade classes are missing

²⁵ in Finnish AVO-messut, an exhibition for 9th graders on schooling in upper secondary schools and in vocational schools

In spring 1992 the school got visitors from Tallinn, Estonia. Some of the 8th graders along with the Estonian visitors visited Parliament. The host for them was one of the members of Parliament who had been chosen to be the CBF in 1994. The school collaboration continued so that the Principal and four teachers visited the Estonian school. On this trip a plan to collect winter clothes for the students in the Estonian school was drawn up. (Anon. 1992.) The clothes were delivered in November by one teacher and the chair of the student body. Just before the Christmas break three teachers and ten students from the Estonian school visited the school. A return visit was made in May 1993.

The Principal got a golden badge at the Christmas party and was retired at the end of the year because of an acute illness. Some interviewees saw that the illness was partly caused by the difficulties with the BF. In his earlier positions the Principal had learned to handle bigger tasks and in this school the BF was involved in every issue. This was sometimes even humiliating for the Principal as an experienced administrator. Because of his illness I was not able to interview him in this study. In this situation the school got 12 new applicants for the principal's position. The CBF had earlier complained that because of the school's poor economical situation they did not have enough applicants for the principal's position. She noted that was one reason why they did not get good principals and the principals were changed so often. This time they had enough applicants but later one of the members of the BF said the new Principal had excellent credentials and he was also a good speaker. Due to that they believed him and were misled to choose him. He regretted that later.

1993

The new Principal started in January 1993. He was described as full of energy and ideas but sometimes moved too fast ahead with his ideas. Several interviewees described him as being two sided: intuitive without realism using a destroy-and-rule method in administration. As an example, he started cooperation with a surrounding society and succeeded in creating an internet connection in cooperation with the local municipalities in 1993. This was found really expensive at the end of the 1990s. In autumn 1993 he was moving ahead faster than the BF was able to accept and this caused some of the schisms with the BF. This happened again 1998 and then he decided to resign.

In January 1993, two days after the new Principal had started, the school faced a bullying scandal and the yellow press got good headlines several times. The first headline in the *Iltalehti* newspaper the 20th of January was: "Furious Bullying in an Elite School. 15-year-old students bullied juniors in the nude." (Ristimäki 1993). The text follows the details mentioned in the *Aamulehti* newspaper earlier the 15th of January (Ikonen 1993). According to the newspaper stories, five 9th grade students had bullied four younger students, 8th graders, in the middle of the night in December 1992. The boys were pushed so that one of the boys hit his head and the teasers released him because of that. Three other boys were told to strip off their clothes and were photographed. When the older boys came from the Christmas break they showed the pictures to other students, also girls, and because of the shame the 8th graders felt they

needed to tell the teachers about the bullying. (Anon. 1993a; Ikonen 1993; Ristimäki 1993.)

One of the student's parents filed a report on the offence and the police started criminal investigations. According to the school law denying double punishments the school did not punish the bullies but was waiting for the results of the police investigation. Due to that the parents felt that the school was doing nothing and contacted the press with the results told above. In their investigations the police stated that the school had had a bullying tradition and the 9th graders just continued the tradition they had experienced earlier. The police considered that one reason for the lack of discipline was that the principals had changed several times and the school did not have proper disciplinary statutes. At the beginning of March the police investigations were completed and the Prosecuting Authority decided not to proceed because no one had been hurt. The guilty students were reprimanded by the Local Chief of Police. (Ikonen 1993; Anon. 1993b.) At the end of May the television broadcasting station TV1 made a small report in the news on the school. The School's Principal handled the whole process and the BF was invisible in this situation. Afterwards the BF noticed that the Principal had handled the situation well. The CBF noted that because now the school also had boys as students, the bullying was a boys' thing, girls never did it.

In September 1993 one of the parents decided to continue the process in court and filed a lawsuit with a 840 € claim for damages and a 2520 € claim for compensation because of the emotional distress (Anon. 1993c). The court's decision was that use of force and intimidation was evident but did not punish the young defendants. In the decision it was mentioned:

The acts are not morally acceptable, and are not minor. However because the persons in question are anyway younger than 18 years, the court considers that the right decision is waiving the sentence.
(Lehtonen 1993)

In 1993 the Support Association for the Bullied²⁶ used this case as an exemplar in their seminars but because it was harshly exaggerated the school's Parents' Council decided to sue the Support Association if they did not stop their propaganda. After that the Support Association for the Bullied did not anymore use this case as an exemplar. The case was closed. During the next two years the school was not able to increase the enrollment but despite the scandal the enrollment was stable

In the annual report of 1992-1993 the new Principal wrote about the quality in schooling:

As a competition asset quality is more permanent although its effect is slower than for example the price or extensive volume. ... vocational schooling and comprehensive schooling are shifting from the volume of schooling into the age of quality and competition. In this scenario our school's position is good for once.
(The annual report of the school in 1992-1993)

²⁶ in Finnish Kiusattujen Tuki Ry

In September several visitors came from the Raudaskylä Christian Institute, first the Assistant Principal with a Member of Parliament. Later the Principal visited and as a result of these visits several teachers and staff members visited the school at the end of September. A return visit was made in November. The purpose of these visits was to study the possibilities of cooperation and maybe to start an affiliate or similar education at the Raudaskylä Christian Institute.

In December 1993 the school was visited by two reporters from the Koti – magazine and the Hämeenkyrön Sanomat newspaper. A new rebuilding plan was drawn up during the school year 1993-1994 and a discussion on values was also started in connection with the new curriculum planning.

Externally everything seemed to be well, but internally a power struggle was going on. A schism between the BF and the Principal began and the Principal's life was hard at that time. Two persons in the school had their own agendas: the Financial Planner and the Assistant Principal. Both of them sent their own messages to the CBF about the school's situation. One reason was their feeling that the Principal had invalidated some of the special arrangements the teachers had because of their relations to the CBF. This made the Principal's position unstable because it caused a lack of confidence. At the beginning of September the economical decision making was taken from the Principal because of doubts in budgetary discipline. The doubts lead to a special audit of the accounts, because the Principal was accused of stealing the school's material such as short planks from building site, manure from the dung shed, and even money. An estimation of the loss was dozens of thousands of euros. The special audit of accounts was carried out and it was delivered to the police for an official investigation of the Principal's actions. The information on the results of the special audit was neither passed to the Principal nor the teachers. (Joensuu 1993a) Some of this information is found in the minutes of the meeting of the BF at the end of March but all the appendices and scrutiny are missing from that board's minutes. In the minutes it is noted that the special auditing was for the BF's use and it does not have to give any information about the special auditing. This is an odd way to see the situation because the Principal was one of the members of the BF. In 1994 in the first meeting of the BF there is a correction to the minutes concerning the meeting on the 7th of December in which the Assistant Principal was the introducer because of the unclear situation. In that same meeting it was noted that in the last meeting in 1993 the aim was to replace the Financial Planner but the Financial Planner had by herself resigned from the post and now the board was considering actions in this new situation.

Due to all the above in one private memorandum (Anon. 1993d) it is noted that it is possible that the witch hunt against the Principal had started again. Some of the teachers felt the same way. In this case all the staff members decided to support the Principal. The 1st of November 1993 the staff meeting decided to send a note to the BF in favor of the Principal. The BF did not answer anything. One of the earlier principals wrote a report to the State Provincial Office and the parties concerned as early as the 14th of November in 1993. In this

report the writer of the report looks at the frequent change of principals and notes that it tells that something is wrong with the school. When the writer was leaving the Principal's post one of the local politicians noted: "Is there a poor master in the house as the servants are not staying?" The writer brought out that the CBF was not able to think pedagogically and therefore not able to develop the school. The BF had not supported the principals and the board's strategy was to be in power which was built on humiliating subordinates, fear, submitting, and intimidation. Then there are some examples of the actions by the individuals. The report ends in a manifesto:

I hope that the school's administration, where we have many good and adequate members, will wake up to notice their need of internal renewal. Frankly speaking, the school's human relations, atmosphere, and the principal's possibilities to succeed as the pedagogical and administrative leader cannot be successful as long as the Chair of the Board of the Foundation and the member [name omitted] continue in their positions. (Anon. 1993e)

The reason for this situation was that the CBF only had one way of dealing with problems: by kicking out the principal. It was impossible to get any development in one year. During the first year the principals learned their tasks in this school where they also had to take part in economical issues. Usually the principals had been so stressed by the workload during the first year that they might even have felt relieved when they resigned. In two cases the principals were on sick leave after they were asked to resign. In 1993 the workers and parents did not accept the resignation policies and stood up against the actions. Some gossip had also gone to the National Board of Education and they asked the State Provincial Office to look into the situation and write a report and an action plan to handle the situation. Due to the State Provincial Office's actions the CBF sent a letter to the Provincial Governor accusing the officer of the State Provincial Office of the action in this case.²⁷

The Parents' Council noticed that the Principal's position was untenable. On the 15th of November the Parents' Council sent their comment to the BF in favor of the Principal. On the day after that there was a development meeting called by the State Provincial Office and the Chair of the meeting was an earlier member of the BF. However the BF did not take part in the meeting because the CBF did not want to. The BF had some secret meetings in Helsinki to which the Principal was not invited. On the 17th of November a letter was sent with four items to the BF and five days later there was an information meeting. The lack of confidence deepened because the participants felt that there was no improvement. On the 23rd and 24th of November a four-hour staff meeting took place and a team to research the economical facts was assembled because the Principal was accused of poor financial management. Later the team found that the budgetary estimates were duly followed and contrary to the BF's doubts there was 67 200 € in surplus. This made the team wonder if the BF was not able

²⁷ cf. the end of 1994

to read the accounts properly or if the interpretation was consciously wrong. The lack of confidence deepened again.

The BF had a board meeting on the 7th of December and the introducer was the Assistant Principal because of the unclear situation. Because the BF did not answer before the 7th of December the staff members decided to start a strike on the 13th of December with the demand that the CBF and one of the members, the NBVE representative, should resign and the administration should be renewed, and that the Principal could continue in his position. At the same time the Parents' Council decided that the students would also go on strike.

On the 12th of December the staff representative and the BF made an agreement. In that agreement all lips were sealed on the negotiations and results. That still caused some harm in the interviews because several interviewees did not know if they were still under the agreement of silence. A workgroup was appointed to prepare new guiding principles and to renew the administration. According to the charter of Foundation the chair and part of the members should be elected every second year. Because of resistance from the BF the election was not carried out in the Board meeting on the 28th of December. In that same meeting a new financial planner was chosen. The old BF worked until the 13th of April in 1994 and then resigned as forced according to the agreement. (Joensuu 1993b.) Later the board members explained that they had personal reasons for resigning.

As earlier mentioned the Parents' Council favored the Principal. One of the active persons was the new Chair of the Parents' Council. He proposed two new persons for the BF: one member of Parliament and one reporter. Both were chosen and the Chair of the Parents' Council was chosen onto the Board of Governors assembled in spring 1994 according to the new guiding principles.

One small detail was that sometime during this fight there was a break-in to the school and its safe. In this break-in the BF minutes from the years 1991-1993 might have disappeared.

1994

In January the representatives of the Region of Tampere in Parliament had a lunch meeting at the school and the Kangasalan Sanomat newspaper printed an article on the school's students as part of the students in the area. On the 21st of January according to the agreement made on the 12th of December, the National Board of Education was asked to appoint an administrator to solve some of the problems in cooperation with a work group.

As earlier mentioned on the 27th of January in the first meeting of the BF some corrections were made to the Board minutes concerning the last meetings in 1993. The Financial Planner chosen at the end of 1993 had resigned and because of that new plans had to be made. These are the only pieces of evidence of the meetings because the minutes are missing. The minutes from the Board meeting in February 1994 are also missing. Later on the 13th of April the decision was made that the BF's secret minutes from the February meeting were to be given to the BF's NBVE representative who would pass them on to the

next state level school administration representative on the BF. This never happened because there have not been state level representatives on the BF. There were also other secret meetings in Helsinki but there weren't any minutes from those meetings.

The BF had stalled to fill their part in the earlier mentioned agreement: to resign and to call the workgroup together to make new guiding principles. Staff members delivered a new ultimatum and called two television broadcast companies to make a story on the case. Under this pressure the BF called the workgroup to do their part. On the 24th of March the BF received two letters from the Principal. The BF noted that the Principal had got enough information concerning his case. In that same meeting the board noted that the Administrator appointed by the National Board of Education had started his work on the 2nd of March by first meeting with the work group. According to an attached note written by the Principal, all the appendices of the minutes are missing and scrutiny of the minutes is deficient. After that the old BF had one telephone meeting concerning the plans to build a new canteen.

On the 13th of April the old BF made its last decisions. The auditor made a note that no one had tried to influence the auditing and that the decision made to avoid the strike had effects on auditing even though the decision was not in the auditor's knowledge. The auditor resigned in the same meeting. After that the board was not able to close the books because police investigations were going on. The BF chose new members for the board and the old BF resigned due to external pressures. The CBF said that she left because she was sick and tired of the changing of the principals. The other members had personal reasons for resigning: even though one member was retired when the NBVE was integrated into the National Board of Education, his reason for leaving the board was his workload in the NBVE. A local newspaper wrote that all had been prisoners of an old administrative organization, and a new guiding principle was under construction (Saarinen 1993).

The new guiding principles were established in May but the new BF decided to introduce them to the staff members before making decisions. They were accepted in June and the board noted that the way they were introduced first had increased the trust in the board's operations among the staff members. New architect's plans for a canteen and a dormitory were accepted in the same meeting. From this point started a period of rebuilding and it continued into the new millennium.

The collaboration program continued and the Estonian school students visited the school in August. Earlier the school had been to the AVO-exhibition from year 1992 but had noticed that the target group was wrong at that exhibition. Therefore the students took part in two other exhibitions during the school year: a Children's exhibition in September 1994 and a Garden exhibition in May 1995. They had a small domestic animal yard with them, and it gathered a good crowd around it. At the same time the students sold the school's own magazine to the visitors of the exhibition.

The Parents' Council only noted the above mentioned events stating in their part of the annual report of 1993-1994 that the administrative crisis had afflicted the capacity and the personal relations of the staff. The crisis was solved late in the spring when the old BF resigned and the new BF was chosen. Good news was that the Parents' Council got a representation in the BF. That was something they had hoped for after the establishment of the Parents' Council in 1992 (The annual report of the school in 1993-94). The other members were a Member of Parliament, a newspaper editor, a local representative and a building technician from the local municipality. The basis for the selections was practical to get the best people to develop the school.

The BF decided on a division of the tasks between the Principal and the Assistant Principal. Up to this year the BF had been the Board of Governors. In the new guiding principles the school had its own Board of Governors and the BF chose members for the Board of Governors in August 1994. Later it was noticed that two level decision making was quite difficult because of the different interests and the Board of Governors was discontinued in autumn 1998. The situation was worst for the Chair of the Board of Governors who was on the BF too. He felt schizophrenic in the middle of the pressures from both sides but saw later that a soft mediator was needed between all the elements.

According to the annual report of 1994-95 themes for the school year were 'a green nature' with new composting and recycling systems, and 'an appreciation of diversity' with aim to increase satisfaction among the students. The school yard's basic clearance was on its way to being the completion of a gardening plan. Because the process of making a new curriculum was going on, several different analyses were made. As a result, the meanings of the core objectives in education were a healthy self-esteem, social acceptance, and fairness. At the same time the new BF was seeking its role as a support for the teaching.

In October the new BF decided to end the processes of changes started during the school year 1993-1994. Because some of the minutes from that period were missing, the board decided that it was not able to commit to the decision made in those meetings. Because the presumption was that the earlier BF had lost or taken the board minutes the new CBF was authorized to ask the previous CBF to give up the missing minutes.

In November the BF noted that the decisions made by the public authorities on the legal proceedings against the Principal showed to be without cause. The case was closed and the Principal was found not guilty to any of the accusations. The previous BF members said that because in small cities everyone knows each other even criminal investigations were made cursorily. The previous BF had also submitted a written complaint against two officers of the State Provincial Office, the highest officer in the educational department in the State Provincial Office and the officer of the State Provincial Office who called the meeting in November 1993, concerning their actions in the development of the school. The earlier mentioned letter (Anon. 1993e) had started the State Provincial Office's investigations and the BF had felt that it was

uncomfortable. Because they had made the complaint the new BF had to write their rejoinder to the case. After that this case was also closed.

3.2.3 Back to normal operation 1995-2000

The school's BF was changed. In this part of the story the time of recovering and growing is described.

1995

In May the students' association made a trip to Estonia and took relief goods with them to the twin school. At the end of May the officer who prepared the school's own law visited the school with another officer from The Ministry of Education. The dormitory rules were planned with the students before the school year ended.

In 1995 the annual report of 1994-1995 got two new columns which were written by the CBF and the Chair of the Board of Governors. The new CBF wrote in his text titled 'The House has a master' that the student is a customer and because of that the teachers are accountable for their teaching, the product. "In short every teacher is at their best in his or her sector as a 'village idiot'." The Chair emphasized the cooperation between the administration and teaching, and the relevance of the staff members as spirit creators. He noted that the parent's role had intentionally increased in the administrative renewal and saw in this situation the school as a family.

The Chair of the Board of Governors wrote in his text titled "In the spirit of XX [the founder of the school]" that because of the administrative renewal all sectors had to search for their position. The clearest idea of the Board of Governors was to be a servant for teaching. "There is a lot of undone work... The right attitude and good motivation in every interest party helps to move ahead".

In 1995 the school was in good shape: at the end of August the Foundation's liquidity was 268 800 € and the debts were only 16 300 €. The BF decided to invest 67 200 € in a savings account. The school was still growing and got applications more than double the number it was able to accept.²⁸ That improved the economical situation because the school was subsidized by the Government according to the number of students. The BF decided to start renovations and got a promise of 303 000 € from the Government for the next year's budget. (Anon. 1995.)

Many of the teachers were unqualified when the new BF started. This might have been tactics because many of the teachers were also part time workers and that let the previous BF affect them and use them as informants as earlier mentioned. Because of the good economical situation and the new quality thinking where the students were seen as customers the BF decided to start a process to bring all long time teachers up-to-date and get them qualified.

²⁸ see also table 7 in year 1997

The BF had two ways: teachers were asked when they would qualify themselves and the Foundation gave them the funding and an opportunity to do it. In a short time almost all the teachers were qualified. The original idea came from the teachers which showed their interest in developing themselves.

The curriculum was accepted and adopted. The new curriculum started a course-based and recurrent schooling. The lesson schedule system gave resources to divide the classes into smaller groups which made the teaching more effective. The optional courses increased significantly and gave the students more possibilities to plan their schedules and the subjects they wanted to study. In this curriculum vocational and general education was integrated for the first time since 1985 so that the teachers had to plan together how to integrate theory and actual working. This was back to the original thinking of the school. Later at the end of the 1990s it was still deepened by the new principal.

In autumn the construction of the school yard was completed. The BF considered the ideas on developing the school: cooperation with the surrounding society, school cooperation in the area, and internet connections for the students. The BF made a minor correction to the guiding principles and made a personnel plan. The board also noted that the school's product development is a task of the Board of Governors and might get less attention in the next years because of the up-coming heavy construction period.

During the school year 1995-1996 there was a lot of culture in the school's program: several music groups visited the school and students watched several performances in theaters. The school had many visitors who introduced their professions for example a policeman and a Finnish chef who presented the cuisine of New York.

1996

The year 1996 started actively: the BF handled the building projects, the school cooperated with others in that the school's vocational courses were accepted in the local secondary school, and the ISDN connection prepared by the Principal was in cooperation with local authorities. For the first time the idea of integrating a local vocational school and the school in this research was cast in the air by the Ministry of Education. The idea was rejected by the BF because it wanted to develop the school. Later in 1997 the idea of integrating the schools was still being discussed by the BF. (Pulkkinen, 1996a; 1996b.)

In autumn an internet connection was opened in a local internet network with the municipalities in that area. A local newspaper noted that the school was in a stream of development because of the IT and teaching with computers (Lehtonen, 1996). The school was even one of the owners of the internet service. Later this project was criticized because it was too expensive for the school and the contract was cancelled in 1999 to get some surplus.

In March the school negotiated with a private television channel on a contract on advertising. The building of the canteen was started and in May the school took a loan for the first period of the building project. From this point the school had building projects going on to the next millennium in worth of over

2.5 million €. During the summer the BF made plans to build two new dormitory buildings, and a machinery hall. The architects had made the blueprints for the building and they were accepted in August.

Because of the building projects the school bought some more land. At the same time the BF accepted the machinery hall building permit application to be sent to the local authorities. Because of the new school laws the school had to appeal for a new schooling arrangement license from the Ministry of Education in September. In September the canteen's roofing celebration was held.

The school's first dormitory dean died in October after an admirable career as the only dormitory dean. At the end of the year the dormitory plans were adjusted and all the future building plans were handed over to the State Provincial Office for acceptance in the Governments Project Plan²⁹.

1997

At the beginning of the year 1997 the cooperation plans started to materialize: the internet connection was established through a local network, the secondary school cooperation was started, and a Comenius program was started with four other schools. Those schools were in Germany, in Greece, in Portugal, and in Sweden (Saarinen, 1997). The first Comenius visit to the school was from Germany in February.

The earlier mentioned integration of a near-by vocational school to the school in this research was planned. The planning was delayed because the school in this research was waiting for the schooling arrangement license from the Ministry of Education. After the school had got the advance information about the acceptance of the schooling arrangement license unconditionally for the time being, the integration planning was continued in June. In this situation the local municipality was one participant in the negotiations because the plan of integration was also expanded to concern the local comprehensive school. Later the interviewees saw three reasons for this expanded integration plan: the local municipality representative on the BF, a local politician on the board of the local private vocational school, and the CBF's political ambitions. The CBF was a well-known Member of Parliament and in that position was able to pull the right strings at state level school administration. If he had succeeded in this integration it could have advanced his political career. The local municipality had problems with its school and that was the reason it was interested in cooperation. (Anon. 1998a; 1998b; Hyvärinen 1999a.)

Because of the upcoming new school laws in 1998³⁰, the Ministry of Education wished that the integration be done before the 1st of August in 1998 and asked to set an administrator. The Administrator was former Head of the school department in the State Provincial Office. (Kangas 1998.) The information meeting was planned to be held at the school in August. Later in 1998 this planning process turned out to be the reason for a schism and division

²⁹ look at the footnote 21

³⁰ cf. the chapter 1.1.1.

into two groups inside the school: the BF on one side and the Parents' Council and staff members on the other side.

The new canteen was taken into use the 21st of March. The main speaker at the inauguration ceremony was a Member of Parliament. The second visit in the Comenius program was in Germany in May and the school in this research was visited at the end of September by the Swedish school.

The enrollment was increasing. The expansion of the enrollment and the development of the GPA of the approved students are described in table 7. The new students were academically better than in the early stage of the observation period. The GPA was around 8 and the students whose behavior mark was under 9 were not accepted.

TABLE 7 In years 1990-1997 the applicants and approved students (source the Board of the Foundation minutes 21.8.1997, § 5)

Year	Number of applicants	Approved 7th/others/total	Lowest GPA*	Number of students in school
1990	85	47/14/61	7.2/6.8	120
1991	91	60/11/71	7.7/7.1	122
1992	199	58/15/73	8.33/7.67	171
1993	117	56/14/70	7.92/7.92	171
1994	120	60/10/79	ca. 8**	205
1995	131	62/ 8/70	ca. 8**	202
1996	140	61/ 9/70	ca. 8**	201
1997	161***	60/10/70	ca. 8**	210

* GPA = Grade point average (scale from 4 to 10), all subjects/theoretical subjects

** behaviour no less than 9

*** 23 applicants for the 8th grade, the total number of applicants was 184
8 were accepted into the 8th grade

Due to the better students the school had to develop its teaching. The Principal wrote that the school was returning to its roots where teaching was going to be 'work' in all subjects. He continued: "The head, hand and heart -education is learning by doing". The knowledge was constructed in projects; handling and working on the knowledge in practice, like it is done in work subjects. In this development the whole school was active and that cooperation produced good results. (The annual report of the school in 1996-1997.)

Due to the increasing enrollment and because all the students lived in dormitories the school had to develop the conditions in the old dormitory buildings while waiting for the new buildings. The whole campus was more enjoyable because of the repairs, the deterioration had ended. During the following years the student enrollment jumped up to 250 students and the school was not able to take in all the applicants (see table 7 and 10 (p. 81)). In that sense the situation seemed to be like early in the beginning.

1998

In January 1998 a new plan was introduced to start upper secondary school classes for older students partly doing distance education in the school (Liljedahl 1998a; Liljedahl 1998b; Tulonen 1998). That plan got its start when the Principal found out that 80% of the students that graduated from 9th grade continued on to upper secondary schools. This new plan was not part of the earlier integration plan but into the integration plan was added a new affiliate school in Joroinen. Suddenly in February the Principal resigned partly by request of the BF. The reasons were mentioned earlier in 1993 concerning the previous BF. In this case the current BF thought in the same way and before one board meeting held a secret meeting to which the Principal was not invited. Even though it was not mentioned, the exact reasons for the conflict were the affiliate idea, expensive internet connections, and that he was against the integration plans even though he had first introduced the idea. (Anon. 1998b; Liljedahl 1998c.) The Principal described himself as a domineering person: when he started a new project he just did it and some of the staff members were not able to follow him as fast. In the official board meeting some economical tasks were transferred to the Associate Principal and that was a sign for the Principal about the conflict. The Principal was told that it might be better to try to find a new post. A few weeks later the Principal was chosen to another school. Despite this in June the Principal got a golden badge due to his unselfish work for the school.

The Assistant Principal did the principal's tasks until the 1st of October when the new Principal started. The new Principal was the school's former student. She had a vocational teacher's education and a comprehensive teacher's education. She felt that she was elected because she knew the school so well and had two different educations which contributed to her competence. She believed that she was also chosen because she came from outside the school, due to her education, and because she was an old student who respected the old values. For her the situation was easy, because there had been so many difficulties and the staff members were not so keen on the earlier principals. It was easier to change operations and the organization. When she started she looked into the situation and did not take her position in the politics inside the school. (Jartti 1998a.) She started systematically to build up confidence. After a while she got the BF's confidence and has been the Principal since. Slowly she has also been able to get the staff members' respect.

As earlier mentioned the integration plan had an administrator, who was really enthusiastic about the integration plans between the local public secondary school, the school in this research and the local private vocational school. His opinion was that the schools are good-quality but they need life-insurance for the future. (Jartti 1998b; Kangas 1998.) The administrator opened the discussion in a local newspaper interview and that started a vivid conversation on this subject in the letter to the Editor section during 23.3.-10.12.1998. Most of the letters to the Editor written by the students' parents and the local schools' staff members were against the plan to integrate the schools. Even a reporter for the local newspaper seemed to be critical of the idea of

integration. The only positive writing was that the Ministry of Education was positive of the cooperation between the schools. (Jartti 1998c; Lehtonen 1998a; 1998b; Liljedahl 1998d.)

The school's representatives visited the Ministry of Education in May (Anon. 1998c). In October the administrator left his proposal on the decision. He proposed that the local comprehensive school's grades 7 to 9 and the school in this research and the local vocational school should be integrated. He used arguments by the Head of Office in the Ministry of Education, concerning the advantages of a bigger school community: more options, cooperation, and effectiveness. In this research there was a plan to start a new affiliate in the eastern part of Finland at the same time. That school was to be the same kind as the one in this research with a stronger emphasis on tourism. (Hyvärinen 1999b; Kangas 1998, 3-4; Liljedahl 1998e; 1998f; 1998g.)

The above mentioned research proposed a corporation to administer the schools. The design of the planned corporation is described in figure 11. The plan was accepted by the schools and the local municipality on the 12th of October 1998 (Kangas 1998). The last condition was that the staff members in each school accepted the plan. In the teachers' comments it was first noted that the new Principal, and part of the BF did not accept the proposal (Opettajat 1998).

The new Principal did not want to take a stand on either side, because she felt that she did not know enough about the situation. The teachers saw that the administration in the new corporation would be too awkward and that the integration could be a pedagogical disaster for their school and for the school's finance (Anon. 1998d). Again the officer of the State Provincial Office who had earlier been on the BF was helping the opposition by giving advice in this matter. He noticed that the funding would have changed so that the new corporation would have got only part of the funding the schools had got individually. That would have been an economical disaster for the schools. The only one which would have won was the local private vocational school, because it had problems with student enrollment, but later it found another concept to survive as a special vocational school. In the annual report the Chair of the Parents' Council wrote against the merger of the schools as early as in June.

The plan was abandoned for good due to strong opposition: the Trade Union of Teachers in Finland was against the plans on behalf of the teachers, and even the Parents' Council decided that the students would go on a two-day strike. (Anon. 1998e; 1998f; 1998g; 1998h; Hyvärinen 1998; Jartti 1998d; Liljedahl 1998h.) At the end of the year the Board of Governors was brought to an end. The Parents' Council doubted that this decision was made because the Board of Governors was in opposition to the integration plans. The expanded BF once again took over the Board of Governors' tasks³¹ (Liljedahl, 1999a).

³¹ look at the figure 3 in chapter 1.1.2.

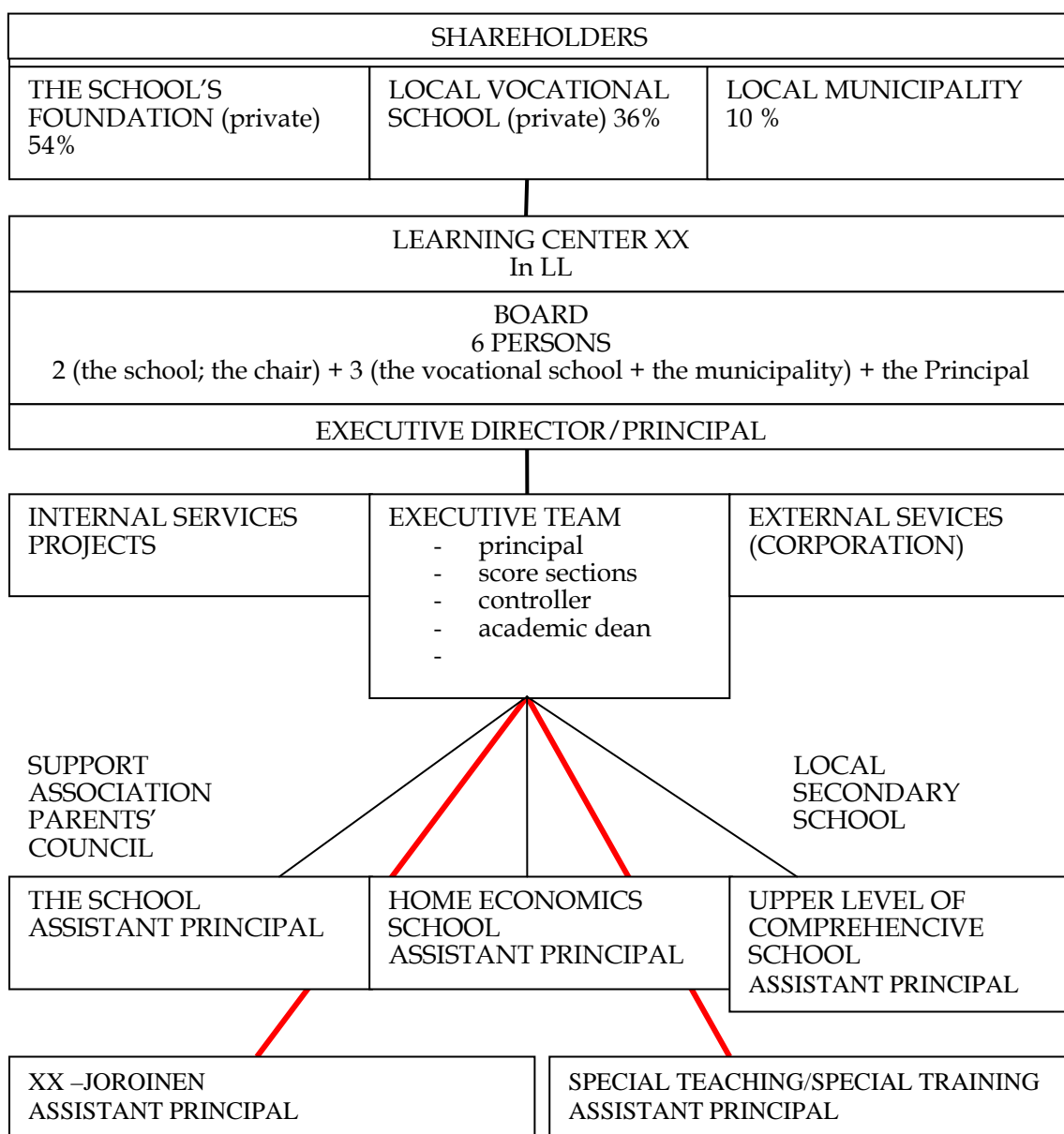


FIGURE 11 Draft for the organization (Kangas 1998, appendices)

The press was interested in the school's plans and the debate on the issue was partly impertinent at least in the local newspaper. Nevertheless the school got positive feedback and curious people were in contact with the school. (Liljedahl 1998i; The annual report of the school in 1998-1999.)

In 1998 in the middle of the integration process an annual planning system was developed. This helped the school later on to develop its function in the long run. The Comenius program was active: during the spring school representatives visited the school in Portugal and then the school in Greece, representatives from the school in Sweden and four teachers and 27 students from the school in Greece visited the school in this research, and one teacher from Germany visited the school in this research due to an exchange teacher program in the Comenius program.

The construction of the first new dormitory was started in June. Because of the building projects the Board of Governors had to look carefully into the economical situation, the school had a new estimate in accounting and debts. The plan to start the new affiliate in Joroinen was still in plans at the end of the year. In January 1999 the roofing celebration for the new dormitory building was held. Even though the new dormitory increased accommodation capacity by 50 students the school did not plan to take more students. The new building was planned to increase the quality of housing.

1999

The new school laws took effect at the beginning of year 1999 and the old school's own old law was repealed. From this point the school followed the general school legislation. In the annual report the Principal noted that the school fitted well into the new school legislation. In the earlier schooling arrangement license the school was allowed to take 200 students. Later the school appealed that it should be 250 and they got the raise because of the plans concerning the affiliate in Joroinen.

In a debate on schooling in the mass media it was questioned what skills young students need and in the Helsingin Sanomat newspaper it was argued that every day routines should be trained in schools. The school in this research answers these expectations. (The annual report of the school in 1999-2000.)

The new Principal changed the organization so that she got more power in some areas and empowered other people in some areas. Many tasks had been reorganized and new titles for workers were taken into use. The dormitory got a head dean, and the canteen got a food supply chief who were responsible for their subdivisions. The Assistant Principal's tasks were clarified so that there was not a power conflict with the Principal anymore. Because teachers took care of the internet connection the school was able to terminate the old expensive internet connection system. Most of the daily routine problems were solved in an executive team³².

In the school some of the staff members had had irresponsible power³³ and acquired benefits. One old habit was that some of the staff members had kept an eye on others' working and complained and threatened others. The old BF had heard some of the complainers and according to these complaints taken actions against other workers and the principals. Also the previous principal had used threats as a manipulative way to rule the staff members. That had caused a climate of fear which was still distinguishable in interviews.

The autumn was active in the Comenius program: at the end of August the school from Germany visited the school in this research and one month later some students and teachers from the school in this research visited the school in Germany. Just after that group returned 16 9th graders with their teacher and one parent visited the school in Sweden. One teacher and the Principal took part in two Comenius planning meetings in Greece and in Germany. This was

³² see figure 3

³³ look at footnote 4

the last year of the program. Between all these trips the new dormitory was dedicated to its use on the 14th of September and the students moved in. In November the Ministry of Education decided to give funding for a second dormitory building, similar to the previously dedicated one. This decision was a disappointment to the local municipality, because one of their schools had waited for funding for several years, and did not get it again. (Liljedahl 1999b.)

2000

Because of the Principal's actions some of the earlier staff members had left the school. The union representative appealed against the Principal but the BF noted that if someone is not comfortable with the Principal, she or he can leave the school because the Principal would stay. The union representative even tried to get some help from The Trade Union of Teachers in Finland but it did not help because the Principal had not done anything against the agreements on terms of work while roughly correcting the achieved benefits outside the agreements on terms of work. The union representative left the school after she had got a position in another school. Some interviewees noted that most of the resistance had left the school and because of that disagreement has decreased and given up. Earlier the executive team had meetings because of problems, now they meet to plan future actions. Problems are solved in each team. The spirit in the teachers' room has been better than earlier. Teachers have been helping each other and they have felt that they are working side by side, all as valuable, with the Principal to develop the school. This was noted also in the annual report by the CBF in 2000.

The three-year program in the Comenius project was ended and a new one started in 2000. At this point two new schools participated in the Comenius program: a Polish school and an Estonian school. During the spring several Comenius planning meetings were held because of a Socrates summer camp. The camp was held from 12th to 21st of June at the school in this research. That was a huge effort from the school's staff. (Sipilä 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2000d.)

In a Netd@ys -project the school was in contact with one Estonian school and some students from the 8th grade visited the school in Estonia. A return visit was a few weeks later in May. The school in this research was chosen to be Finland's representative in the Euroscola day in Strasbourg 2001. International activity was and still is a natural part of the school activities.

Conversations and some negotiations on integration with the local secondary school were going on during the summer. The conversation was started by a Congress Representative in May. The result was that the school in this research took care of the cleaning at the local secondary school. In the school year 2000-2001 the Principal was the principal for two schools due to new plans to change the organization and integrate the nearby private vocational school into the school in this research. The plan was to get some financial saving. Teachers were more interested in developing the teaching than integration. Later the Principal left the other position because of too many tasks. This was the last wave in the integration debate. (Jartti 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2000d; Liljedahl 2000.)

The new school year started in August and the school had extreme enrollment, 238 students, and more applicants were coming the following years. The school's future was assured functionally and economically. In a few years the school was negotiating with the Ministry of Education on the possibility to exceed the total enrollment limit of 250 students that was allowed in the schooling arrangement license.

In 2000 the school had its 60th anniversary on the 26th of August and almost 1000 former students, staff members and elected representatives took part in the celebration. The main speaker was the Provincial Governor. He noted that when the Finnish school system is exhausted, it can seek spiritual support from the way the school is functioning. The Provincial Governor and the students from 9th grade planted a cherry tree. At this celebration the official flag of the school was also introduced. (Kankaanpää 2000, Lehtonen 2000a; 2000b; The annual report of the school in 2000-2001.)

In the annual report the Principal wrote:

We are still putting into practice the pedagogy x began, applying it to today's curricula. ... XX's idea was to combine vocational education and general education. (The annual report of the school in 2000-2001.)

Due to the changes in the national vocational curricula the school renewed their vocational curriculum so that students got 40 credit units of education in tourism, food supply and household management. Still the students get four years of studies in three years so that the school year is a little longer. The school is at the same time modern and has returned to its roots. A member of the earlier BF and the current Principal noted that the reason for the later good development is found in the good staff members. If there had not been those the development would not have been realized.

In his book Kailanpää (1990, 196-197) quoted from a speech a first year student delivered at the school's 40th anniversary:

We attended this school together. We stayed and lived together. We worked together and learned to do all kinds of work - it is to this I have been so many times thankful in my later life. Literally we built this school. An axe, a saw, a crowbar, and a spade, all those became familiar to us.

As years have passed by, we, the first students, have passed in our ways. Life has given and taken from each of us. But in the four years we spent in XX's school, there was something that has become a capital for each of us.

We have seen and toured the familiar places and in the happy, enthusiastic students seen our own youth. We have sensed all over the progressive and enthusiastic spirit. We have found our own school.

4 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

I analyzed the transcribed interview data as described in chapter 2.6. and I found 18 categories which are described in table 8. Following Eisenhardt's research model (1989a, 533) I am starting the comparison with literature in this chapter. The literature is used "as another source of data" integrated into the analysis process once the categories have emerged, not to create the categories and core categories (cf. Glaser & Holton 2004, 12-13). First I describe some characteristics of each of the 18 categories using theoretical discussion in significant parts. That means that even though something is mentioned it might not be significant enough to look at it through theoretical lenses in this research.

TABLE 8 Categories

- 1 The commitment
- 2 The change of principals
- 3 The staff vs. principals
- 4 The principals vs. foundation
- 5 The foundation's significance
- 6 The principals' significance
- 7 The missing documents
- 8 The change and development
- 9 The scandal in the school
- 10 The school's own law
- 11 The external powers
- 12 The staff vs. foundation
- 13 The change in the administrative body
- 14 The school's economy and success
- 15 The customers vs. school
- 16 The teachers' significance
- 17 The change in the culture
- 18 The assumptions (in private schools)

After that I describe the core categories using theoretical discussion and draw some conclusions from the results. The most important finding was the use of power and (power) relations in the organization (cf. Björk 2000, 54-60). At the

school level there is also a cultural aspect (ethos), mostly in categories 1, 6, and 17. In each category I present the appearance of the items in tables.

4.1 Categories

Category 1: The commitment

I explain in this category some reasons why some staff members, members of the BF, principals, and students came to the school. In the teachers group I have also found reasons to stay, because many of the teachers have been at the school for their whole career. Because the principals were changed so often this research did not address their reasons to stay, but only their reasons to come to the school. I start with the teachers and table 9 introduces the reasons why they decided to come to the school.

TABLE 9 Teachers' reasons to come to the school

Reason	No. of appearance
familiar school	7
temporary positions	4
applied	4
experienced	2
asked to apply	2
chosen by principal	2
school's ideology	2
drifting	1
career	1

The most important reason for teachers to come to the school was that it was familiar to them from other connections: they had been there as students or worked in other positions e.g. as season workers. Teachers applied for temporary teachers' positions because all new teachers were hired temporarily for the first year. This created an opportunity for the BF to learn to know the new teachers before making binding contracts with them. This manner continues today. Earlier all subject teachers were hired several times one year at a time but this custom was finished in 1987 when all teachers got permanent positions. Surprising was that the school's ideological background was mentioned only two times even though the work school -idea is an important basis for the school's exist. Some of the oldest teachers mentioned that they were asked to apply. One was asked because she had a home economics teacher's degree and was known by the principal as an old student of the school. The other one was invited by the CBF. One of the teachers mentioned that she came by accident because she was unemployed. One came because he did not have good enough degrees to continue his career as a researcher. He was forced into a teacher's career.

The reasons to come to the school were important results but did not later rise into the focus of my research. Due to that these reasons are not included in theory building. It seems that some of the motives to come and to stay were the same e.g. career and the school's ideology. Some of the teachers' reasons to stay in the school are described in table 10.

TABLE 10 Teachers' reasons to stay in the school

Reason	No. of appearance
school's importance (work's importance)	12
ethos	10
career development	8
school's stability	8
school's ideology	5
permanent position	4
students	3
colleagues	3
facilities	1
school's location	1

The most important reason for teachers to stay at the school was that they felt that the school, and their work, was important. Even though this was not said it can be seen that the school's ideological foundation was behind this opinion. Because the school had a special program, the work was more inspiring than ordinary teaching. The ethos of the school was also in connection to the school's ideology, but in some cases it meant students too. Students were mentioned only three times, but usually in a negative context. That was surprising because students were tested before they were chosen and the student body was better than in public schools because they got better results in tests.

One's own career and the school's stability after the school got a law of its own were both mentioned eight times. Both are in connection with the permanent teacher positions which were established after the idea of the school's legislation was introduced. Colleagues were not seen as a reason to stay. This might be because there was a division into two camps most of the time in the teachers' room: teachers supporting the principal and teachers opposing the principals. The school's closeness was important to one teacher who was living near by the school.

Susan Moore Johnson has studied teachers' careers in a project on the next generation of teachers. According to Susan Moore Johnson (2006a; cf. Johnson 2000; Birkeland & Johnson 2002; Johnson & Birkeland 2003; Johnson 2006b) opportunities in professional growth were important for new teachers. She also argues that support breeds success and stability. Job security was also found as a positive factor for staying in a job (Inman & Marlow 2004, 609-610). (Cf. Snyder *et.al.* 1995, 15-18.)

In this research the significance of one's own career might be high in the school because the school, by giving funding and time resources, made it

possible for the unqualified teachers to qualify themselves and keep their positions. Teachers have found their role in the school too. Many of the teachers, especially the subject teachers, started their careers without permanent positions and some of them were re-elected every year. Contrary for the research result that job security has been seen as one reason to stay in a job, in this case teachers chose to stay in the school without permanent positions.

According to Bassett (1999) research on independent school teachers found five factors why teachers choose an independent school. One of them is the unique atmosphere, ethos. According to Dramstad (2004) in organizational commitment climate contributes most affective commitment. Teachers' commitment is connected to their sense of making a difference with students (Johnson & Birkeland 2003; Nieto 2005, 19; Johnson 2006 a; b). (Cf. Snyder *et.al.* 1995, 15-18.)

In this study the school's atmosphere was also an important reason to stay. The students were only mentioned a couple of times and usually in a negative context. Despite this in the school teachers felt that teaching is important and part of their commitment to the school. This might be because the school gets good results all the time.

Job satisfaction has been researched widely in literature and some of the studies have shown that job satisfaction is an antecedent to organizational commitment (see e.g. Reichers 1985; Testa 2001). The collegial community and collegial climate were seen as significant when choosing teaching after the first year and again and again (Hammerness 2006, 436-437). (Cf. Snyder *et.al.* 1995, 15-18.)

In this study the interviewees did not complain about job satisfaction, on the contrary the teachers seemed to get job satisfaction when they had peace and freedom to do their work. Surprising was that the significance of colleagues was not important in the school's context. The teachers' room was divided into two clans two times. This might have affected the fact that colleagues were not seen as significant as in earlier mentioned studies.

Even though the principals' reasons to come to the school do not answer to my research questions some of the reasons are introduced in table 11. Principals applied because they liked the school's idea. Some of the principals worried about the school's situation and one also cancelled his application but applied later again and was chosen. At that point the school's situation was much better.

Some of the principals felt that they fitted well into the school e.g. because of their education. Two of them were recommended because of their abilities. It seems that the BF also considered the suitability but only from an educational point of view and not for the special needs the school had at different times (c.f. Zajac & Westphal 1996). All the principals knew the school from before: some of them had visited the school before and some were earlier students. One reason for applying was the applicant's earlier experience and in one case the career promotion he got as being a principal.

TABLE 11 Principals' reasons to come to the school

Reason	No.of ap- pearance
Applied	8
school's idea	8
school's situation (lack of stability)	8
fitted well to the school's ideology	7
familiar school	6
experience / career	5
recommended	2

Members of the BF were chosen by the BF. Even though the members retired every other year they were not changed if they did not demand to resigning. During 1985-2000 the composition of the BF had two major changes: in 1987 a new CBF was chosen and in 1994 the whole BF resigned. Some of the reasons to become a member of the BF are described in table 12.

TABLE 12 Reasons to become a member of the BF

Reason	No. of ap- pearance
chosen / asked	14
familiar school	8
school's idea	7
savior	7
recommended	6
member due to the external relations	5
experience	3

All the members of the BFs were chosen or asked to sit on the BF and usually they were also recommended for the BF. Usually the members knew the school because they had earlier been students, or their children had been students, or were students at the moment they were on the BF. Some of them were on the BF because of their position in other organizations, e.g. the State Provincial Office. The members admired the school's unique idea. Two of the CBFs also mentioned that they had been chosen to save the school. Three of the members felt that they were experienced because of their earlier positions in associations, in companies, or in state level administration.

Because no students were interviewed in this study it was the interviewees' interpretation that in most cases the students chose the school because of the teaching. This was mentioned seven times. Some of the earlier students really came because of the special care they got due to their learning difficulties. That happened when the school had problems in enrollment and they admitted almost all applicants in the 1980s.

It seems that the most significant reason for teachers and principal applicants to come to the school was familiarity with the school. For principals the school's idea was an important reason to come, but at the same time they were afraid of the school's unstable situation. Teachers stayed because they felt

that their work was important. Ethos and ideology were important reasons for the teachers too. The members of the BF were usually asked and many of them were familiar with the school from before. Two of the CBF's felt that they were asked to be saviors in the school's problematic situation.

Category 2: The Change of the Principals

This category consists of some of the reasons why the principals left the school. The change of principals occurred six times in the school during the years 1985-2000. All the interviewees noticed that and several explanations were given why the changes happened. The change of principal without any reason was mentioned 83 times in such forms as principals changed (often), or principals left. Those are not included in table 13 that introduces some of the reasons why principals left.

TABLE 13 The change of principals

Reason	No. of ap- pearance
the BF	36
other position or retirement	19
principal's insufficiency	14
sickness	7
wanted to continue but ...	7
other staff members (teachers included)	4
change to a better principal	1

All the interviewees in this study mentioned the change of principals, even though it was seen harmful to the teachers or school only eight times. Only one mentioned that the change was made to get a better principal. Almost all mentioned that the BF or CBF might have been the reason for the continuous change of principals. Some of the interviewees mentioned that the principal had left her/his position for another position or retired. Only one of the principals really left his position because he retired. Some of the interviewees suspected that he left the school because of the pressures, but the real reason for his early retirement seemed to be his ill health. This was an interpretation of the interviewees and was mentioned in official documents too. Two other principals also mentioned that they had difficulties with their health because of the work pressure and poor relations with the CBF.

The principal's insufficiency, especially in economical issues, was mentioned by two members of the BF (a teacher who worked as an economical planner and a NBVE representative) and one CBF. Both members and the CBF had a kind of clique. This also might tell about the BF's mistrust in principals. Some of the teachers assumed that the reason might have been, that some of the teachers were mean to principals. Even though some of the principals wanted to continue they were not able to, due to external pressures to leave the principal's post.

There are several studies on the stress experienced by principals. Ojanen (1985, 31, 67) has studied principals' stress in Finland. She found that personal relations were a significant stress source. To get papers done on time and long meetings were also significant. Lack of time caused lack of energy. (Ojanen & Keski-Luopa 1998, 148-149; cf. Ahtee & Salonen 1995, 171; Takala 2000, 137-139) School principal burnout was studied widely especially in the 1990s in the USA. Johnson (1994, 709) found the same stress sources as in the Finnish research. According to Friesen and Sarros (1989) overall work stress and satisfaction with the work load were major predictors of burnout. Friedman (1995a; cf. Friedman 1995b) argued that "exhaustion and self-dissatisfaction may constitute the 'core' of the burnout phenomenon in principals". According to Whitaker (1996; cf. Friedman, 2002) dissatisfaction is on the level of recognition: principals need more perks, like business executives have. Allison (1997) found that administrative isolation and the fact that principals have to cope with limited resources at their school made them consider leaving the school administration in British Columbia.

In this research two of the principals complained about long meetings held too often. Principals also told that they worked long hours every day. All the principals felt that the work load was too heavy because they were like general managers in the school. The BF's expectations were bigger than the principals were able to fulfill. Insufficiency mentioned by the principals, and one of the members of the BF, is one kind of self-dissatisfaction. The school's limited resources were seen by the CBF as an important reason for principals to leave the school. One of the principals agreed and economical issues caused troubles for the other principals too. (see category 4)

Holt and Turner (2004, 5) found that 43% of principals had considered leaving their current workplace and 54% had considered leaving the principal's profession. According to Mustonen (2003, 51) affective competence stresses firmness and the ability to handle stress. Continuous new challenges increasing stress and conflicts were significant reasons for early retirement. According to Weber *et al.* (2005) stress-associated diseases such as psychiatric/psychosomatic disorders were the main reasons for early retirement.

In this study at least two of the principals were on sick leave when they were resigned, and one retired early. Even though most of the principals were in the school for only a short period, some of them did get serious stress-associated diseases.

When a school has a limited number of candidates for the principalship it might face a crisis (Shen *et al.* 1999; Donaldson Jr. 2001; Rayfield & Diamantes 2004a; 2004b; cf. Ediger 2002, 90). One reason is that they can not get good leaders or leaders who match the needs of the school.

In this research some of the interviewees assumed that changing the principals caused harm for the teachers and for the school. In this study the CBF and one of the members of the BF mentioned that there were only a few applicants for the principal's post and that is why the BF was not able to choose good principals and that caused problems with principals. Even though the

school had more applicants later, only one of them was good enough for the BF. This I also discussed in category 4 when comparing the CBF's and principal's roles with agency and stewardship theories.

It seems that in most cases the reason why principals resigned was external pressure from the BF's side. Quite often the CBF was mentioned as the reason for the frequent changing of the principals. Also some of the staff members might have been responsible for some the changes because some of them were not satisfied with the way the principals handled some issues. This is seen in the following category, too. Only once was it mentioned that the reason for the change was to get a better administrator.

Category 3: The staff vs. principals

The interviewees in this study talked a lot about principals. The principals and their actions were seen important in many ways. In this category relations between staff members and principals are described and the items are introduced in table 14. This category is contradictory because the opinions might be contrary depending on whether the interviewee was on the principals' side or on the opposite side. That also reveals the obvious conflict between teachers and principals.

TABLE 14 Staff and principal relations

Item	No. of appearance
staff steered principals	64
principal was valued by staff	43
principals did not value staff	37
conflict	37
principal valued staff	26
principal was important	25
principals did their tasks	18
staff was not able to steer principals	12
principals failed in their tasks	12
principal's insufficiency	7
change of principal was stressful for staff	2

Contradiction is seen in the next examples. Almost all of the interviewees, except two of the members of the BF, brought attention to situations where teachers steered the principals. Contrary to that it was mentioned 12 times that teachers were not able to steer two of the principals. Principals were valued by the staff but in most cases only three principals were mentioned. It seems that the others were not valued as much by the staff members. The principals were seen as important for the school and for the individuals in the school. Supporting the idea that principals were valued only it was mentioned 12 times that two of the principals had failed in their tasks. In personal relations some of the staff members felt that some of the principals did not value them and contrary to that, some of the staff members felt that they were valued. In this was also seen the division of the teachers into two clans because one of the

teachers who had been against the principals especially expressed the opinion that she was not appreciated. She also evaluated that teachers had been insufficient in their work and that some of them had failed in their tasks. Even though the principal did something against the staff members' opinions they saw that she/he was only doing her/his job.

Pondy (1967, 296-298; cf. Johnson 1994, 714) identified three types of conflicts within the formal organizations: a bargaining conflict, "the conflict among the parties to an interest-group relationship"; a bureaucratic conflict, "the conflict between parties to a superior-subordinate relationship"; and a systems conflict, "the conflict among parties with collegial relationships". According to Cox Jr. (1996, 192-193) the sources of intergroup conflicts are five opposing interests: competing goals, competition for resources, cultural differences, power discrepancies, and assimilation versus preservation of microcultural identity. Owens (2004, 328-331) notes that an ineffective conflict-response-climate leads to declining organizational health and vice versa.

Pfeffer (1996, 362, 369-371) sees these interest groups as political powers in his political model of decision making. Ouchi and Price (1993) call these interest groups clans:

A clan is a culturally homogenous organization, one in which most members share a common set of values or objectives plus beliefs about how to coordinate effort in order to reach common objectives. (p. 64)

The above mentioned term 'clan' was used for a whole organization. Later Ouchi (1980, 136) noted that any group, an informal organization, which has social relations called solidarity is a clan. (Cf. Williamson & Ouchi 1982; Scherer 1988; Chan 1997.)

In this research the school's staff was divided into interest groups, clans, which had opposing interests. One of the conflicts was a power discrepancy between teachers and principals. This same phenomenon was seen, in categories 12 and 16, between teachers and the BF, and between staff members. It also affected the health of the organization by envenoming the relations between staff members as seen in above mentioned categories and later in this one.

Personal relations are important when a principal is working and interacting with others. Schein (2004, 17; cf. Schein 1985; 1992, 12; 1997) defines culture as

A pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.

Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, 457) did a study on organizational culture asking: Can culture be intentionally managed? Clark *et al.* (1994, 13-16) saw that climate and culture are two different ways of understanding the organization: climate is interactions within the formal and informal school organization. Culture is

more stable as described above by Schein. According to Sergiovanni (1997, 264-265, 272) the culture of a school provides “a Theory of Acceptance that lets people know how they should behave”. Ties among people are moral (intrinsic meaning and significance) or calculated (benefits). Hultman *et al.* (2002, 30) note that leading is like the result of the cooperation that happens between those who are involved. Local culture and context steer actions. The dynamics of the relationship between teachers and administrators “could be the greatest facilitator, or barrier, to change” (Sherrill 1999, 59; cf. Björk & Gurley 2003, 60-62; Murphy 2005, 132-133). According to Deal and Kennedy (1983, 14; 2000, 4; cf. Schein 1997, 9) culture is “the way we do things around here”.

According to Persson *et al.* (2004, 58-62) principals are in constant cross-pressure described in figure 12. Students, parents, and staff members also have different expectations of the principal. A need for change and staff members’ resistance is one of the pressures. For example teachers want the principal to be one of them rather than a representative of the employer. Teachers want to be able to trust their principal and due to that want her/him to be close to them to encourage them (cf. valuing, see also Rubin 2002, 63, 70-71). At the same time administrative directors want to see principals as outsiders working loyally for them. The cross-pressures influence the school and the way leadership functions. Ediger (2002, 94-95) introduced 10 tenets for the principal when working with teachers e.g. showing genuine interest in others and respecting the thinking of others, working for better human relations among individuals. His point is that “rudeness and hostility have no roles to play when the school principal involves others in working toward curricular improvement”. (Cf. Williams 2001; Foster 2004; Woods 2004.)

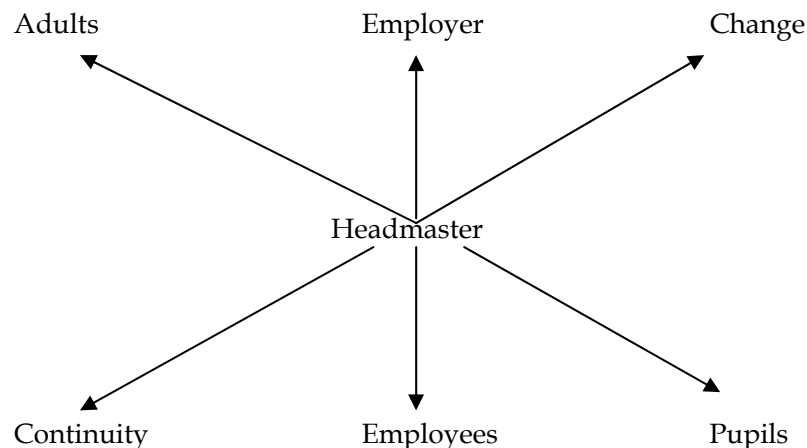


FIGURE 12 School leadership in three tension fields (Persson *et al.* 2004, 59)

In this study these tensions were also seen in the school: some of the teachers felt that the principals did not value them. This had also caused schism and harbored bitter feelings toward some of the principals. This was quite a personal feeling because some of the teachers felt that they were valued. It seems that those teachers who had special relations with the CBF had problems with some principals. Contrary to Persson’s *et al.* (2004) theory these tensions

were not seen when the principal made administrative decisions, even though the decision might have been unfavorable to teachers. In these cases the principal was seen as a professional who did her/his tasks. It seems that most of the principals were too kind but still two of them were mentioned as having been rude to teachers when discussing with them. One teacher said that the principal used to run the teacher down just before a vacation so that she was upset half of the vacation.

According to Cline and Necochea (2000) while school reforms call for dynamic leaders, the socialization process for school administrators perpetuates the status quo. Takala (2000, 146) noted that one teacher group is 'outcasts' who are disappointed in their life, mentally wounded so much that it is impossible to get them back into the system. They usually poison the working place, hinder, sabotage, slow it or revolt. (Cf. Schlechty 1997, 218-219; Rubin 2002, 77-78.)

In this study there were some outcasts who revolted against the changes the principals brought. This might also have been a method to socialize the principals to secure power positions these persons had because of their position and connections with the BF.

The elements of a school climate are a complex summation of all the positive and negative interactions among people at the school ranging from teachers' interaction in their lounge to the noise level in hallways (Freiberg, 1998, 22; Goleman 2006). According to Kelley *et al.* (2005; cf. Hallinger & Murphy 1987) principals usually have the power, authority and position to affect the climate of the school. Principals are able to reduce frustration and negative attitudes in the working place. According to Hultman (2001, 137; cf. Hultman *et al.* 2002, 30) leadership has two aspects: at the same time a leader uses the ability to lead cultures she/he tries "to understand the forces upon them from minicultures". Hoyle (1986, 125-149; 1999) used the term micropolitics when studying power relations in a school. (Cf. Ball 1987, 8, 18-19, 80-82, 278; Malen 1994.) According to Young (1989, 202; cf. Lucas 1987) culture is the set of values and beliefs delineating (interest) group identity and social relations between groups, the former as "a charter of domestic policy", and the second as "a protocol for foreign affairs".

In this study the teachers' influence was so strong that all the principals had problems with the climate of the school. Contrary to Kelley *et al.* (2005) principals were not able to affect the climate of the school due to teachers. The teachers were also divided into two clans most of the time: some of the teachers supported the principals and some of them opposed them almost all the time (cf. above mentioned clans). Hargreaves (1995, 16; cf. Hargreaves & Fullan 2000, 54; Flores 2004) called this 'balkanized culture'.

According to Fullan (2002, 22-25) when relationships improve, a school gets better, but if relationships remain the same, ground is lost. An atmosphere of fear and distrust causes a focus on the short run and a focus on the individual rather than on the collective group. Barth (2006) states that when the relationship between administrators and teachers is fearful, competitive,

suspicious, and corrosive these qualities disseminate throughout the school community.

In this study the relationship between teachers and principals was problematic, mostly suspicious, and that caused the difficulty in developing the school. One reason was that two of the teachers had their own agenda to get power. Principals believed that these teachers were undermining the principal by telling rumors to the CBF. The other teacher was also chosen to plan economical issues and got power over the principal.

I described in this category some of the principals' tensions on the Persson's *et al.* (2004) employee-employer -axis and also on the change-continuity -axis in figure 12. Conflict among teachers and principals was obvious and it caused harm for the principals and for the whole school.

Category 4: The principals vs. foundation

Most of the interviewees in this research were critical of the BF's actions against principals and other staff members. This was surprising because the BF nominated the principals. One of politicians of the local municipality even asked "Is there a poor master in the house as the servants are not staying? (Anon. 1993e)"³⁴. The relations between the principals and the BF are described in table 15.

TABLE 15 Relationship between principals and the foundation

Item	No. of appearance
the BF caused troubles for principals	147
independent principals valued	61
the BF caused the principals to leave	55
principal caused troubles for the BF	48
economy caused troubles for principals	45
the BF chose the principals	19
the principal as a manager	17
the BF's informants caused troubles	12
principal's felt insufficient	11
the old BF was dismissed	11
the new BF functioned well	5
power relations reconciled	3

The BF caused trouble, mostly for principals whom they also bullied, and caused principals to leave the school too. This was surprising because the BF also nominated the principals. The BF used some staff members as informants and that caused more trouble especially for the principals. Some of the teachers suffered because of these informants too. The BF valued two independent principals and only had two positive remarks for two other principals. Two of the principals caused trouble for the BF and the school and both admitted it themselves too. The first principal was incompetent and the other too

³⁴ Finnish proverb

innovative to follow the organizational procedures. Finances and the tasks in that sector caused trouble especially for one of the principals, but almost all the principals were mentioned. One teacher and one CBF supposed that troubles in financial issues caused a feeling of insufficiency for the principals and that caused them to leave. That was in relation to the principals' position as general managers in the school. After the old BF resigned following a threat of a strike in the school (see pp. 64, 65) the power relations were reconciled and the new BF worked better.

This category is on the Persson's *et al.* (2004, 59) employees-employer tension axis in figure 12 in category 3. The principal is an employee of the Foundation and loyal as a representative of the employer. According to Normore (2004) principals need emotional and resource support from administrators governing them. Principals also need training and time to learn their tasks, professional and organizational socialization. (Cf. Schmieder *et al.* 1994, 275.)

In this research some of the principals in the school were not allowed to continue for longer than one year, they did not have enough time to learn the tasks and to know the school to do their best. The principals did not get support from the BF and some of the principals were even bullied by some of the members of the BF. The last principal felt that she was valued by the BF.

How principals use their time depends on the school type: in private schools the urgency in financial issues has a strong influence. Marketing is also an important part of the work. This makes principals more like managerial leaders. (Portin *et al.* 2003, 11-24; cf. Portin 2004.)

In this study some of the principals in the school mentioned financial issues as a reason for difficulties with the BF. It seemed that the BF did not trust the principals and all the decisions were made by the BF. Despite this the BF expected quick results from the principals in solving the financial problems. (See also categories 5 and 6.) Because of the nature of the school principals were like managerial leaders taking care of teaching, agriculture, dormitories, and food supplies.

According to Heifetz and Linsky (2004) leadership often means challenging one's own authorization. Resistance might be in the form of social isolation or even personal attacks. Because leaders question others' values, beliefs, and habits, they might be seen as dangerous in the eyes of others. Ackerman and Maslin-Ostrowski (2004) discussed the significance of wounding experiences to school leaders. When leaders' decisions, motives, and integrity are impugned, leaders often experience becoming hurt on a personal level and the experience involves loss of control, powerlessness, fear, and vulnerability.

In this study the principals were attacked by some of the teachers and members of the BF. Many of the principals were still hurt and were angry because they were mistreated while principals in the school. Mostly the anger was directed at the members of the BF, but also at some of the teachers. The strict control of the BF and the use of 'irresponsible power' by some of the teachers made the principals feel powerless.

Because of the nature of the school as a private school it is more dependent on marketing than a public school. Private schools are a kind of schooling business. According to Kelly (2005, 247) educational management and commercial management are merging together as the demand of productivity and wage differentials are coming to the school system at the same time as the developing of intellectual capital in the business world is becoming more important.

Due to the above I also use a business theory as part of the theoretical overview. According to Donaldson and Davis (1991) in stewardship theory the CEO and the Chair of the Board of Directors should be the same person. Contrary to that McWilliams and Sen (1997, 494; cf. Worrell *et al.* 1997; Ryan & Wiggins 2004; Uzun *et al.* 2004) found in an agency theory that usually the separated CEO and Chair of the Board of Directors (chair) position balanced the power between the CEO and the Board of Directors. A common reason for CEO turnover has been periods of crisis or poor performance, because the CEO is primarily responsible for the operations. According to Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, 236) when an organization selects and grants tenures to individuals for major administrative positions the power is institutionalized, usually for the one staying longer. Usually there are positive expectations of the results of the turnover. In smaller firms it usually casts more trouble because of loss of know-how and the insecurity it causes in staff members. (Harrison *et al.* 1988; cf. Walsh & Seward 1990, 429; Coles & Hesterly 2000, 200-201.)

In this study the BF was stronger than the principals using power in all matters. The longtime CBF used the change of the principals to increase performance. This caused insecurity in the midst of the staff. The school got new principals who were not able to answer the demands because they stayed for such a short time in the school. (See category 2.) In these changes the know-how was not developed or it was lost all the time.

The BF got almost all the power in the crisis situation. In this sense it used the power which is usually used by the CEO. The BF controlled the principals but the BF was not controlled (see also category 2). This was possible because of the policy presented in the guiding principles of the school and charters of the Foundation: the BF was chosen by the members of the BF.

According to Pye (2000, 343) in the late 1980s the Chairman-Chief Executive relationship was more distant and in the late 1990s more "interdependent, dynamic partnership". She continues:

Where there is a high level of respect between Chairman and CE and good levels of understanding, rapport and ultimately trust on both sides, then it appears to have a very powerful effect on the board and its decision making.

In this study the same phenomenon is seen: the long time CBF did not trust the principals at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s. The last CBF from 1994 to 2000 interpreted that the BF's task is to give support and prerequisites for the staff to do their task. The principal's task is to manage the

everyday life of the school. The last principal also had a trusting relationship with the CBF and with the BF.

Pye (2000, 344) notes that Non-Executive Directors (NED) working together with the Chairman-CE axis creates an immense sense of satisfaction, enjoyment and personal development gained through this collective effort. If there are problems with that collectiveness NED's found that the sense of satisfaction is not generated. Chairmen were seen in some cases as major destroyers and in other cases as major value adders to the effectiveness of CEs and NEDs. Heracleous (2001) opposed this noting that the studies have failed to find convincing connections between best practices and organizational performance.

In this research the principals made the same kind of notions as Pye (2000) on the significance of the CBF. Many of them saw the CBF as their reason for leaving the school. As mentioned earlier it seems that the effectiveness of the principals was estimated in so short a time that the principals were not able to show their capability. Only the last principals felt satisfaction working together with the new CBF.

Davis *et al.* (1997, 27-38) made a comparison of the agency theory and stewardship theory. As described above in the stewardship theory the CEO and The Chair of the Board of Directors should be the same person and in the agency theory they should be separate (cf. Eisenhardt 1989b; Donaldson & Davis 1991; McWilliams & Sen 1997). In the Davis *et al.* (1997) comparison the basic assumption is that the persons are separate in both theories and "a model is based upon subordinate's psychological attributes and the organization's situational characteristics" (p. 20). The comparison of agency and stewardship theory is in table 16. Even though Albanese *et al.* (1997) criticized the comparison that it misrepresented the agency theory, the comparison is often used in literature and research (e.g. Muth & Donaldson 1998; Arthurs & Busenitz 2003; Kulik 2005; Lin 2005). Figure 13 (p. 95) illustrates the nature of the dilemma in this research in which individuals were principals and CBFs. According to Davis *et al.* (1997, 38) there are psychological and situational factors that make individuals choose agency or stewardship approaches. In the original theory the dilemma was between manager and principal (owners of the company).

In this study the CBF in 1987-1994 had several qualities of the agency theory and principals had several qualities of the stewardship theory. In that position the CBF acted opportunistically and principals were angry, frustrated and felt betrayed. Only the principal during 1991-1993 might have been a kind of agent and that might explain the esteem he got because of the mutual agency relationship. In 1994-1998 the Principal started as a steward but turned into an agent acting opportunistically and the CBF was a steward. In a few years the CBF was frustrated and felt betrayed. The last Principal and the last CBF both seemed to be stewards and so they were able to maximize potential performance and had mutual stewardship relations.

According to Zajac and Westphal (1996) BFs want to choose CEOs demographically similar to the BF. In this study it seemed, according to the above that two of the Principals (1991-1993) fulfilled the demographic expectation: in 1991-93 and 1998-2000.

TABLE 16 Comparison of Agency Theory and Stewardship Theory (Davis *et al.* 1997, 37)

	Agency Theory	Stewardship Theory
Model of Man*	Economic man Self-serving	Self-actualizing man Collective serving
Psychological Mechanism		
Motivation	Lower order/economic needs (psychological, security, economics) Extrinsic	Higher order needs, (growth, achievement self-actualization) Intrinsic
Social Comparison	Other managers	Principal
Identification	Low value commitment	High value commitment
Power	Institutional (legitimate, coercive, rewards)	Personal (expert, referent)
Situational Mechanism		
Management Philosophy	Control oriented	Involvement oriented
Risk orientation	Control mechanism	Trust
Time frame	Short term	Long term
Objective	Cost control	Performance enhancement
Cultural Differences	Individualism High power distance	Collectivism Low power distance
* by man Davis et al. (1997, 20) mean the nongender-specific reference to human beings in general		

This category is linked to categories 2, 5, and 6 concerning the CBFs' and principals' significance especially in conflict situations between them: suspicions in financial affairs, change of the principals, and general collaboration between the CBF and principals. The change in the culture was not completed before the long time CBF was changed in 1994. After that the principals were able to develop the whole school in collaboration with the foundation and customers (cf. category 5).

		Principal's Choice	
		Agent	Steward
CBF's choice	Agent	Minimize Potential costs Mutual Agency Relationship (1991-1993)	CBF Acts Opportunistically Principal Is Angry Principal Is Betrayed (1987-1991, 1994)
	Steward	Principal Acts Opportunistically CBF is Frustrated CBF is Betrayed (1995-1998)	Maximize Potential Performance Mutual Stewardship Relationship (1998-)

FIGURE 13 Principal-Chair Choice Model (Davis et al. 1997, 39, modified by Kanervio; cf. Walsh & Seward 1990, 447)

This category was in Persson's *et al.* (2004, 59) on the employees-employer tension axis. Because of the BF's mistrust many of the principals were dismissed and hurt. Davis' *et al.* (1997, 39) model in figure 13 explains that principals and the CBF had difficulties in relationships if they had chosen different approaches (stewardship vs. agent).

Category 5: The Foundation's significance

In this category I used two time dimensions: the old BF in 1987-1994 because the interviewees' interpretations of the old BF were mostly negative, and the new BF in 1994-2000 because the interviewees' interpretations of the new BF were mostly positive. However individual interviewees had conflicting opinions on the foundations' characteristics. The significance of the old BF is described in table 17.

The old CBF was seen as problematic due to her relations with principals and some of the staff members. The old CBF was also appreciated due to her relations at state level, and her achievements in getting the school's own legislature. The whole BF was seen as problematic because it did not trust the staff and it had secrets. Contradictory the old BF was seen as unskilled by some of the interviewees but skilled trying to build trust in the future (stability) by others. The contradiction was similar to that in category 3, the evaluation of the BF's skills was dependent on the teachers' connection to the BF. Those who

supported the principals described the old BF negatively and the informants of the BF evaluated the BF's actions more positively.

TABLE 17 The significance of the old Board of the Foundation in 1987-1994

Item	No. of appearance
the CBF was problematic	68
the BF was problematic	33
the CBF was good	25
the BF was not trusted	7
the BF was skillful	6
the BF had secrets	6
the BF was unskillful	4
the BF brought stability (trust in the future)	2
the BF was trusted	1

The significance of the new BF is described in table 18. The new BF managed to clear the power relations because it trusted the staff and used openness in administrative actions. The whole BF was also seen as skilled and visionary. The CBF was seen as a good Chair even though one of the teachers was in opposition arguing that the CBF was unskilled and problematic. The reason for this contradiction is the same as the above mentioned relations to the old BF.

TABLE 18 The significance of the new Board of the Foundation in 1994-2000

Item	No. of appearance
power relations cleared	9
the CBF was good	7
trust	6
the BF was skillful	5
openness	4
visioning	3
the BF was unskillful	2
the CBF was problematic	2

Hermann (1963) and later Hart *et al.* (1993) found that in crisis decision making is more centralized at all levels. According to Sergiovanni (1992, 42)

The more professionalism is emphasized the less leadership is needed. The more leadership is emphasized, the less likely it is that professionalism will develop.

Lipman-Blumen (2005, 2) state a definition of toxic leaders as individuals who, by virtue of their destructive behaviours and their dysfunctional personal qualities or characteristics, inflict serious and enduring harm on the individuals, groups, organizations, communities and even nations that they lead.

According to Reed (2004) toxic leaders are not interested in subordinates' wellbeing, they have a difficult personality or a lack of interpersonal skills that cause a negative organizational climate, and subordinates know "that the leader

is motivated primarily by self-interest". Studies have shown that the more we should correct our actions in the eyes of others, the more certainly we cannot see that there is a need for correction. When we evaluate our actions we usually do not see any need to improve them. (Cf. Yammarino & Atwater 1997, 37) Aronson (1995, 131-132; cf. Taylor 1995) argues that people build their own reality to defend their egos when they experience dissonance between reality and their beliefs. (Cf. Bolman & Deal 1997, 144-147.)

In this study the old BF took care of everything and did not trust the principals and teachers in the school. The principals were changed so often that they did not have time to settle down. At that time the teachers and principals only did their own jobs respectively focusing on their own personal work in isolation from others. There was no real collaboration between the staff members of the school. (Cf. Rubin 2002, 25-35; also figure 12 in category 3.) The CBF was seen as problematic because she caused harm to the staff members, especially to the principals. Her actions in many cases could be evaluated as toxic. It seems that the CBF and one of the members of the BF did not evaluate their actions in the same way as others did. They did not even admit that the BF resigned because of the threat of a strike (cf. year 1994).

Afterward some of the interviewees analyzed that the main problems with the Foundation was that there was no control over the BF. One of the interviewees, the former member of the BF representing the State Provincial Office, noted that the BF was chosen by the members of the BF and so they were able to choose their own friends some of whom had no experience in the educational field. Only auditors checked what was going on but they only evaluated whether the financial decisions had been made properly. They were not able to estimate how the schooling business was being done. Due to that, for example, the BF suspected a principal of economical misappropriation. A special auditing then showed that there was a 68 000 € surplus (see also category 14). Even teachers wondered about the BF's professionalism in this matter.

A different approach to management and leadership can be seen as a reason why the old and the new BFs were experienced in opposite ways. The old BF seemed to be more bureaucratic managing the crisis situation well but was poor in personal relations. This led to conflict. The new BF seemed to be more human relations oriented and collaborative. This led to development of the school. (Cf. Argyris, 1977, double loop learning; category 8.)

Category 6: The Principals' significance

In international and also in Finnish research literature the leader's role in school improvement has been seen as a significant factor. The significance of the principals in the school is introduced in this category and in table 19. Because there were six principals in this study the characteristics might be contradictory. I describe reasons for the opposite characteristics in the following explaining text.

TABLE 19 The characteristics of the principals' significance

Characteristic	No. of appearance
good principal	45
creative / visionary principal (nonpedant)	40
developing	36
general manager	27
experienced administrator	26
difficult personality	23
strong leader	22
impartial	16
unskilled principal	15
partial	14
unskilled in economical issues	14
good new spirit	14
pedant	11
honest	10
dishonest	8
no space to use power	7
was bullied	7
put students first	6
change of principals caused problems	5
understood the school's ideology	5
relations to parents	4
savior	2
PR	1
inexperienced	1

Most of the principals were valued by the interviewees as good principals. Contrary to that one of the principals was evaluated as an inexperienced principal, mostly because he was not able to do all the tasks properly and was not pedant enough. Almost all of the interviewees mentioned a creative and visionary but not so pedant principal. This same principal and another principal were seen as developers. The creative principal was experienced as a difficult personality by the members of the BF. The same principal was also characterized as dishonest because of the suspicions thrown on him for economical malpractice. Because of the suspicions he did not want to take care of financial issues later and some of the interviewees evaluated him as unskilled in economics. Some other principals and one associate principal were esteemed to be honest in their work.

Principals felt that they were like general managers taking care of the whole school with dormitories, a kitchen in two shifts a day, farming and livestock, and a large land property with fields and forests. Some of the principals were seen by the interviewees as strong leaders, pedant, and especially two of them as experienced administrators. Even though the old BF set great hopes on each of the principals as saviors, it was mentioned only two times in a negative sense because so many people wanted to take credit for saving the school. The principals felt that they did not have room to work as

leaders because the BF used so much power. Principals who were impartial were appreciated but two of the principals were seen as partial.

The principals in 1985-1994 felt that they were bullied by some of the members of the BF. That was one reason why at least two of the principals resigned. Some of the interviewees presumed that the frequent change of the principals caused problems for the school and teachers. From the point of view of customers two of the last principals put the students first and created good relations with parents. Especially the last principal brought new spirit into the school and understood the value of the original ideology of the school.

School leaders' significance, especially in school improvement literature and articles, has been studied widely. In international literature the main result has been managements' (principals', superintendents') significance for school improvement especially in transformative leadership. (E.g. Getzels & Guba 1957; Leithwood 1992; 1993; Leithwood & Steinbach 1993; Hallinger & Heck 1996; Teddlie & Reynolds 2001; Day *et al.* 2001; Haydn 2001; Schmeider *et al.* 2002; Björk & Gurley 2003; Fennell 2005; see also category 17.) We can find the same conclusion in the results of Finnish research: the dynamics and the sensitivity for changes, culture and identity, the making of infrastructure and results, are all followed by the acts of management (the principal) (Jarnila 1998; Määttä 1996). Lately also teacher leadership's importance in the change of school practices has been noted (e.g. Cameron 1983; Spillane *et al.* 2001; Mazzeo 2003; Fullan 2005, 31-35, 95).

According to Davis *et al.* (1997, 30) a manager who identifies with an organization will work toward the organizational goals, and help it succeed. Sergiovanni (1997, 275-279) introduced his interpretation of the role of supervision. In traditional stewardship the role of supervision meant overseeing and caring for the institute, ensuring that all is well for the students and protecting the school's purpose.

In this study all the principals identified with the organization and tried to help it succeed. They even felt that they were general managers taking care of the whole school. Only one was seen not talented enough to do the task. Some of the acts of the principals developed the school (internet, international connections, new programs, and new spirit) but still external power seemed to be more significant.

Snyder *et al.* (1994; 1995; Snyder 1997, 308-311) introduced high-performing work team standards in an education quality system context. Figure 14 describes the quality system and the tasks principals have in school to ensure the customers success and satisfaction.

Even though the customer phenomenon is criticized in a school context because schooling is not seen as a free market choice (e.g. Bäck 2004, 6-10) Snyder *et al.* (1994; 1995; 1997) have used it in their model. I use the customer term in this research because private schools are also a schooling business (cf. also categories 4 and 15). In the center of figure 14 customer success includes student achievements. Students' success and satisfaction also bring success and satisfaction to the school's administration and staff. That is important when a

principal wants to develop the culture of a school. It might also increase the commitment of the staff members and especially teachers' commitment if they feel that they have made a difference.

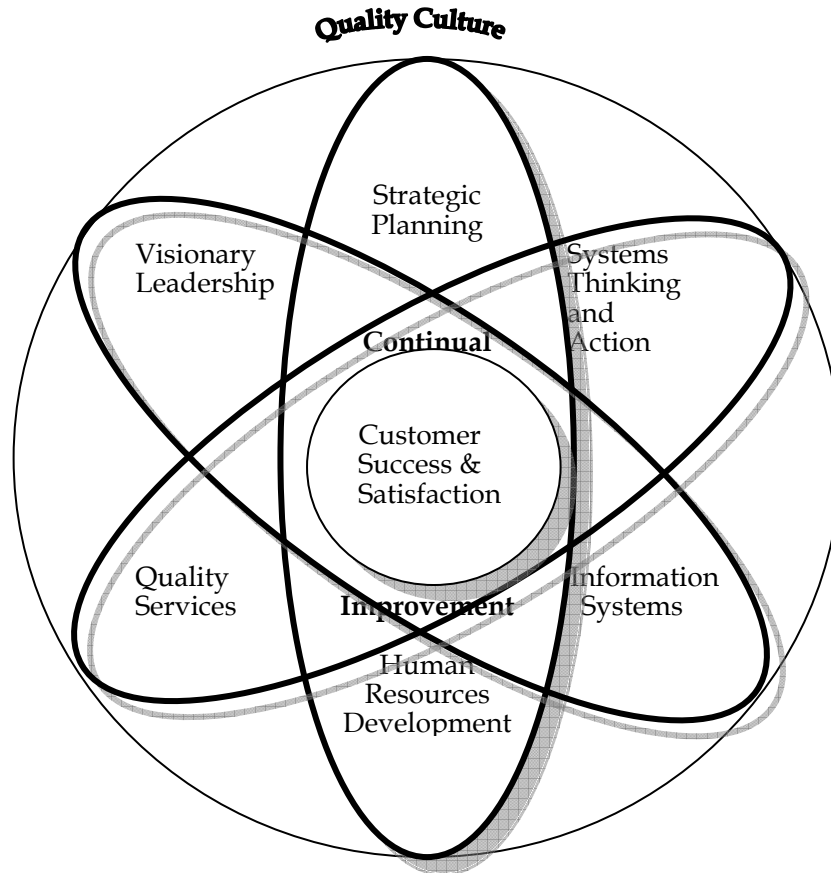


FIGURE 14 Educational Quality System (Developed by Karolyn J. Snyder and Michele Acker-Hocevar 1994; Snyder et al. 1994; Snyder et al. 1995; Snyder 1997; Snyder et al. 1999)

In this study the principals prior to year 1991 were not able to build the quality system. The principal during years 1991-1993 was able to start quality thinking for the first time because the financial situation was better. From this point on decisions were not made only on an economical basis any more, but also according to a vision to develop the school environment and teaching. The following principal for years 1993-1998 was a visionary and was able to get his ideas through in the BF and in teachers' meetings. He was also interested in quality, especially from the customers' point of view: He had a focus on students, good relations with the parents (the Parents' Council was started), development in dormitories (security) and new programs (IT). The last principal and the BF started a human resource development (giving teachers the opportunity to get qualifications) and continued the quality development. This way the quality culture was built step by step.

In this research the principals were not regarded as significant before they had got the BF's and CBF's trust and support. It seems that significance arises from collaboration among interest parties.

Category 7: The missing documents

Especially several minutes of the BF meetings were missing. This brings into sight an interesting view of the Foundation's way of handling sensitive issues. Even though some minutes were missing here and there I found two longer periods of missing documents from autumn 1988 and years 1991-1993. The interviewees' explanations are in table 20.

TABLE 20 Explanations for missing documents

Explanations	No. of appearance
documents purposefully hid	11
no knowledge where the documents are	8
owned some copies	3
secret meetings	2
nothing special in the documents	2
agreement missing and sealed lips	2
minutes were archived	1
some minutes returned	1
the CBF is responsible	1
robbery at the school's archive	1

None of the interviewees knew where the missing documents, minutes of the meetings of the BF from years 1991-1993, were or what had happened to them. Usually the papers were archived and one of the principals remembered that there was a robbery at the school's archive just before the new BF started in 1994. Some of the interviewees saw that the documents were lost on purpose, because they might have told something about the old BF's actions. One principal saw the documents before 1994 and remembered that there was nothing special in the minutes of the BF meetings. One of the teachers had copies in her archive because she had been the secretary in those meetings. When I asked for the copies she noted that she did not have time to search her own archive because of work pressures.

Some secret meetings were also held and minutes from those meetings are missing too. To solve the threat of a strike an agreement was made concerning the resignation of the old BF. The document is missing but from other documents I found that it was originally agreed that the staff members and the members of the old BF would keep the content of the agreement secret.

Information and knowledge are sources of power. Because power is a source of influence the one who has the essential information for the functioning of the organization can use it to negotiate a better situation or by keeping the information make others powerless. Organizations structure also influence to information flow. 'Gatekeepers' closing and opening information channels can advance their ends. Power can be used positively or negatively.

Positive power is capacity to get things done and negative power is the capacity to stop things happening. (Handy 1986, 124, 127, 131; Morgan 1986, 167-169; Roberts 1994, 73; Thomas & Griffin 1995, 187-188; Schein 1996, 287, 289; French & Raven 1996, 382; Kanter 1996; 400-401; Mintzberg 1996, 413; Bolman & Deal 1997, 169.)

Some of the interviewees assumed that the documents had been lost intentionally. Later I found that all the minutes of the BF meetings concerning the nominations of principals were also missing. In one case the principal was sure that another applicant was more experienced and she should have been chosen in that case. He suspected that the minutes of his nomination were intentionally lost because it might have shown that there was something wrong with choosing him. The CBF had also taken the minutes the principal had written in autumn 1988 to correct them. Since then the minutes have been lost.

It can be seen that the school was a closed community with a culture of secrecy. If the loss of documents was intentional, the reasons might have been to conceal the truth from others (e.g mistakes, selfish intentions) or harm the new organization and its functioning. The harm was an obvious result because the new BF did not know anything about the decisions made before. They even decided not to take responsibility for the decisions made by the old BF. For example, because nobody knew about the insurance contracts made in 1994, the new BF had to negotiate new contracts in 1995.

Category 8: The change and development

Change is a main theme in this research. The change experienced by the interviewees is introduced in this category and the items are in table 21. I only handle items concerning change in education, and the school's general development in this category. This category is linked to categories 13, the change in administrative body, and 17, the change in culture, and I return later to the items concerning those categories respectively.

All the interviewees mentioned the development of the curricula and/or teaching but only a few noted the development of the teachers, or international connections through a Comenius program, which was often mentioned in newspapers and magazines. It can be seen that the development of teaching is understood as the development of the curriculum. The curriculum was changed in 1984 and in 1994. Dormitory development was partly educational development and partly to get the students to enjoy the time they spent in the dormitory including increased security.

The growth of the school was important for the interviewees: construction on the school's campus and new buildings, changes in students' demography and enrollment and the school's growth and merger ideas were mentioned almost as many times. The change in culture, openness as part of the culture, and the success the school's own legislation brought were mentioned mostly by those who were involved with the administration. Changes in the administration were noted by almost all of the interviewees but those changes were more important for the principals. There were some notes on the plans of closing the school in 1985 and changes in the school system during the years

1940-2000. These changes in the school system caused changes in farming too and the farm was closed at the end of the 1990s. It was surprising that the change in economy was only mentioned two times even though the school had had a difficult time in the 1980s and had a good economical situation at the end of the 1990s. One interviewee noted that one old traditional event had disappeared and one noted that there are no conflicts anymore.

TABLE 21 Change and development in the school

Change	No. of appearance
development in teaching	118
construction on campus	47
change in students (increase, demography)	46
growth and merger	46
change in administration	21
change in culture	19
success (brought by the law)	17
dormitory development	15
openness	10
international collaboration (Comenius)	6
teacher development	5
closing the school	4
change in school system	4
change in farming	3
memorable events (celebrations)	2
change in economy	2
conflict	1

Curriculum development in Finland has been successful in schools with a tradition of rich innovation. Managements and teachers' cooperation is a significant factor in the successful development of a curriculum. It is seen that teachers' in-service training affects the teachers' readiness to develop the school. Curriculum work is part of the teachers' professional growth. Successful curriculum work also encourages further school development. (Syrjäläinen 1995, 44-61; Kimonen & Nevalainen 2001, 143; cf. Eisner 1993.)

The new comprehensive school system got a detailed curriculum in the form of a committee report on the National Curricular Guidelines for Comprehensive Schools in 1970. The curriculum was 700 pages and included overall objectives for the comprehensive school and subject-syllabuses which were later renewed as appendix syllabuses published by the National Board of Education. These syllabuses shaped regional and school curricula in Finland. The new national curriculum was presented in 1985. This 300-page-wide national Framework Curriculum for Comprehensive School was the basis for local curricula to confront with prevailing conditions. Local curricula varied widely: in some municipalities the local curriculum followed the national curriculum line by line and in other municipalities the local curriculum was widely supplemented by local issues (eg. languages offered and special needs education). Schools also had to make an annual work plan and send it to the

provincial government. This annual plan outlined the school organization including student grouping and sizes of the groups, student club activities, text book selections and areas of special interests. (Nevalainen *et al.* 2001, 123-131.)

In this research the school got a new principal in 1985. She came from a public school and had seen how the change in the core curriculum had affected public school. The new principal brought that knowledge with her. A new vocational core curriculum was also formed in 1985. Due to that and the results of negotiations with the NBVE the vocational education in the school was changed from rural home economics education to a new elementary home and institutional economics education in 1986. The principal proposed that the school should bring the vocational and comprehensive school curricula closer together following the spirit of the comprehensive school's core curriculum concerning local curricula development. This proposition was rejected in the BF. More than ten years later it was carried out in 1999. The principal was innovative but she was not able to cooperate with the teachers to get integration of the curricula done. One reason might have been the division of the teachers into two clans: practical subject teachers with permanent positions, and temporary subject teachers.

The national curriculum reform continued in 1994. To adapt to the ongoing changes in the world the new core curriculum was made to get schools to lead the change. The core curriculum was only 100 pages long and only gave the leading principles on how to produce a local curriculum. The desire was to improve educational quality using new concepts of curricular theory and the constructivist theory of learning and knowledge in which the students were seen as active acquirers of information and creators of interpretations. With these principles the curriculum development was decentralized to the local municipalities and schools. (Nevalainen *et al.* 2001, 133.)

A new principal started in 1993 and he was an innovative developer. He understood the flexibility and pedagogical freedom the new curriculum brought and in his lead the school developed its curriculum dramatically. For example, development in the use of IT in teaching was started, international collaboration in a Comenius program was introduced, inclusive teaching, and new resources in divided lessons were taken into use. The next principal continued the development and partly integrated the vocational schooling and comprehensive schooling e.g. integrating theoretical subject teaching with vocational teaching demanding collaboration between subject teachers and practical subject teachers. In her ideology the work school idea was widened to include the study process too. Here it is seen that the successful implementation of curriculum caused a chain reaction in the school's development.

International literature willingly presents recipes for success. In that literature one can find several key elements for success but three themes come up most often. Firstly inside factors, such as culture and structure, and outside factors, such as political environment, influence success. Secondly the leader may influence the institute's success, and thirdly one must try to avoid submitting in an oppressive situation and conservative reacting (e.g. Deal &

Kennedy 1983; Astuto *et al.* 1994; Schmieder *et al.* 1994; Fullan 1994; Hargreaves 1995; Morriss-Olson 1995; Hargreaves 2003; Harris & Chapman 2004, Harris 2005).

In this study the outside factors were changes in legislation, and in the school system. The change in the legislation can be seen as a significant incident. The inside factors were changes in the curriculum, development of the teaching, changes in the administration, and the change in culture. The leaders' influence was handled in categories 5 and 6 and the crisis situation in this whole work.

The change and development category is in Persson's *et al.* (2004) continuity - change tension axis in figure 12 in category 3. Especially tensions between continuity and change because of cutbacks in resources, changes in a schools' working methods, and changes in the school system are usual (Persson *et al.* 2004, 64-66). In international research literature the resistance against changes is obvious (e.g. Goldstein 1988; Bolman & Deal 1997, 320-330; Heifetz and Linsky 2004).

In this research most of the changes during 1985-2000 were seen as positive and they brought a feeling of continuity: the school's own legislation, construction projects, curricula development, and a change in culture. In 1985 even the closing of the school was accepted by some of the workers because they did not see any possibilities to continue. The change of the principals was seen harmful for the school and that caused the need to change the BF. In 1998-1999 the thought of a merger was the only action resisted actively.

Categories 6, 8, 14, 15, and 17 show Argyris' (1977; cf. 1982; Argyris *et al.* 1985, 80-102) double-loop learning in the organization. In the first loop the actions are directed to maximize winning and minimize losing. The action strategy is to control tasks and the consequences are defensive interpersonal and group relations. The first loop blinds individuals to their weaknesses. Because of that effectiveness is decreased. In the second loop actions are free and informed choices and tasks are controlled jointly. This means change in the paradigm. Because of free and informed choice interpersonal relations and group dynamics should be minimally defensive. Double-loop learning increases effectiveness. Double-loop learning is described in figure 15.

The school in this study was in a single-loop learning process in years 1970-1993, which was leading the school into a vicious circle (Alava 1999, 195). After year 1993 the school was in a double-loop learning process and got out of the vicious circle. I return to this in chapter 5.

In international studies it is shown that leaders' nomination should be based on need (e.g. Browne-Ferrigno & Glass 2005, 150-151). Miller (2002) argues that a leader of change could be an insider because she/he knows the school's culture. This I also discussed in category 4 when comparing the CBF's and principal's role with agency and stewardship theories.

External Environment

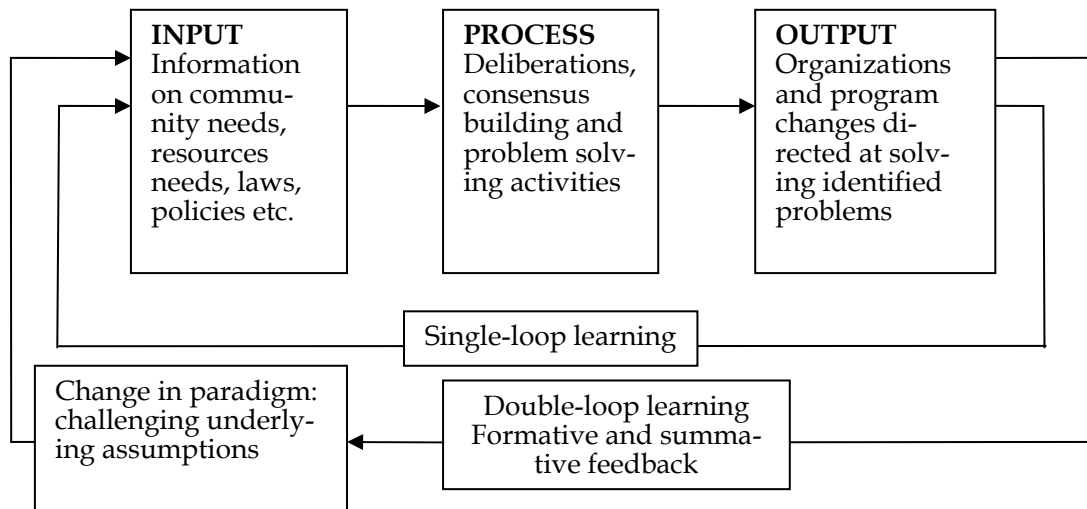


FIGURE 15 General systems model (Argyris 1977; Björk 2006)

In this study there was only a little debate on what kind of principal the school needed. The principals were chosen because of their experience and three of them were men. Only the last one had been in the school as a student but not as a teacher. She knew the school well but did not know the culture inside the school.

Change resistance is seen as an important factor in change processes (e.g. Schein 1997, 4, 196, 230, 299-300; Goodman *et al.* 1994, 117; Roberts 1994, 74; Bolman & Deal 1997, 321; Schlechty 1997, 219). Change resistance did not occur in this interview data. It seems to occur hiddenly in personal relations. Change is one of the most important categories and I will discuss this in more detail in chapter 4.2. in core category transformation.

Category 9: The scandal in the school

The scandal was about bullying in the boys' dormitory at the end of 1993. At the beginning of year 1994 a brand new principal faced the scandal in several newspapers two days after he came to the school. Five ninth graders had bullied four eighth graders. Three of the boys were pressed to strip off their clothes and the naked eighth graders were photographed. Later these photos were shown to the girls. The interviewees did not talk a lot about the scandal. The reason might be that several years had passed and the case had not been significant for the staff members. Most of them evaluated that the scandal had not changed anything in the school. Notions on the scandal are presented in table 22.

TABLE 22 Scandal in the school

Notions	No. of appearance
principal took care of the scandal	6
scandal did not change the school	5
scandal changed the school	5
newspaper stories about the scandal	4
the CBF did not take care of the scandal	4
scandal turned into a positive result	4
scandal was bullying	2
police investigated the case	2
parents were upset	1
no bullying normally, boys' behavior	1
scandal caused harm	1

Because the CBF did not take care of the scandal the new principal had to deal with it. As mentioned above the staff members supposed that the scandal did not change actions in the school. Contrary to that the management's representatives argued that the scandal did change some actions in the school. Later the scandal also turned into positive results and only one mentioned that the scandal caused harm for the school. I discuss this in more detail in this category.

Several studies have found out that about 10 % of boys are bullied and about 5 % of girls are bullied in Finland. Bullying decreases when students get older, sixth graders were bullied two times more often than eighth graders even though there are more bullies among eighth graders. Boys are four times more often bullies than girls. (Kumpulainen *et al.* 1998; Salmivalli *et al.* 1998; Dake *et al.* 2003; Konu & Lintonen 2005)

In this study even though the newspapers claimed that there was a bullying culture in the school there was no proof of such a culture. Contrary to the above mentioned national research results one of the interviewees argued that normally there was no bullying in the school. She also noted that in this case boys were the bullies and that bullying did not occur among girls.

In a crisis an organization has two alternatives: to deny the crises and continue as nothing had happened and decline because of deeper crises, or acknowledge the crisis, transform and survive (cf. Booth 1993; Alava 1999). This I will discuss more in chapter 5.

Some of the interviewees in this study saw that the scandal caused positive results. One reason why the scandal was significant might be that after the scandal a conversation on customers and their satisfaction in the school was started. Dormitory life development was one consequence of the bullying scandal as also seen in category 15. In this crisis situation the school adapted better functioning.

Category 10: The school's own law

The comprehensive school legislation without any amendment for private schools took effect in 1970. The main reason for the school's poor economical

situation was that the school did not get full funding for the students because it was not able to get the money from the municipalities where the students came from. Even though the legislation was changed in 1983 there was still not an amendment for private schools. The new principal negotiated about the school's situation and got a promise of the school's own law in 1986. This law took effect in 1989. The interviewees' interpretations are presented in table 23.

TABLE 23 The school's own legislation

Notions	No. of appearance
legislation was important (secured the school's existence)	22
the Foundation (CBF) was involved	14
the basic school act brought (economical) problems	9
the idea arose in meetings with officers	8
the legislation was easy to get due to relations	7
the principal was involved	6
change in the law caused change in the school	4
the province was involved	4

The idea arose in meetings with the representatives of the NBVE and the Ministry of Education and also the State Provincial Office was involved in those meetings. Almost all the interviewees saw that the school's own legislation was important for the school especially because it secured the school's continuity. The BF was seen to have a significant role when the school tried to get the legislation because the CBF had good relations with the state level administrators. The school's own legislation caused changes in the school e.g. the name of the school was changed.

Edelman and Suchman (1997) studied three distinct facets of organizations' legal environments: the facilitative environment, in which law passively provides an arena for organizational action; the regulatory environment, in which law actively seeks to control organizational behavior; and the constitutive environment, in which law defines the basic building blocks of organizational forms and interorganizational relations.

Miner *et al.* (1990, 690-691; cf. Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, 111) studied buffers that insulate an organization from the environment's effects, and transformational shields that insulate an organization from failure risk. There are two types of buffering: resource buffering and institutional buffering. Interorganizational relations have been seen as both types of organizational buffering (cf. category 11). Institutional buffering occurs through legitimacy including government regulations. According to Mitchell (1995, 175) the law and its enforcing shape the delivery of educational services.

In this study it seems that in the regulatory environment the comprehensive school legislation actively controlled private schools' behavior. One of the Government's aims was even to destroy the private school system in Finland. Due to the comprehensive school legislation most of the private schools, about 340, were communalized and only some 40 survived. (Pietiäinen 1995, 168, 185; Teperi 1995, 315) In this way the legislation really shaped the

delivery of educational services. There was no amendment in the legislation for those schools which stayed private after the year 1977 and that caused severe problems especially for such schools as the school in this study. Even though the legislation was changed in 1983 there was only one amendment for another private school and the school in this research did not get any help from that change.

The school's own law through legitimacy secured the school's right to exist and was an institutional buffer. It also created an economical basis for the school's functioning creating resource buffering. The new law was also created as a result of interorganizational relations. These buffered the school from some of the environment's effects e.g. municipalities' unwillingness to pay for the education in private schools. It also created an opportunity to develop the school.

The changes in legislation were significant incidents steering the school's everyday life effectively as seen in chapters 3 and 5. This is also part of the external power introduced in the next category.

Category 11: The external powers

As seen in category 10 external power was a significant factor in the school's life. Sometimes the external power had negative affects. The school needed good relations with the political decision makers at all levels to survive in the 1980s. There is a description of those external actors in table 24.

TABLE 24 The school's external power

Notions	No. of appearance
political power (at state level)	52
province	48
a change in the school system	35
the Parents' Council	27
earlier administrators (principals, BF members)	24
relations in getting the law	20
threat of a strike	16
municipality	11
relations to get funding	8
police (investigations)	8
press, PR	7
Trade Union of Education, OAJ	2
competition	1
customers	1

The state and the province were seen as the most significant external powers. The change in the school system, good connections at state level and at province level to get the school's own legislation, and connections to get funding are examples of state level and province level power. Ex-administrators such as principals and one earlier member of the BF, a provincial officer, used their power outside the school: supporting the principal when he was threatened to

be dismissed in 1994 and opposing a merger planning in 1998. The Parents' Council for the school was also active especially in the threat of a strike to support the principal in 1994. That caused the change of the BF. The Parents Council proposed two new members for the new BF. Parents were active in opposing the merger in 1998, too. Even though the local municipality was mentioned only 11 times, it was mentioned often in the minutes of the BF. Police investigations and public relations and the press were all mentioned in connection with the bullying scandal in autumn 1993. It is understandable that competition was mentioned only once because the school is so unique that there is no competition for the school. It seems that customers are seen as the students and customers as parents were in the Parents' Council. The Trade Union of Education in Finland was mentioned only when some of the acquired benefits and irresponsible power were taken away from some of the teachers in 1999. The union representative was against the changes in benefits.

Grossman and Stodolsky (1994, 181; cf. Fink 1999, 282) noted that context matters meaning "the whole situation, background or environment relevant to some happenings". Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, 228-229) expressed that "organizational environment may affect organizations". According to Weick (1977, 271-273) organizations should enact their environment because in the open systems theory the division into an organization and external environment is imaginary. He notes that the theme of organizations controlling their environment often appears in organizational literature especially in the resource dependence theory (cf. Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, 106). According to Aldrich and Pfeffer (1976, 94) organizations have the power to affect their environment if they are politically well connected. If a firm has less than 50 employees it usually does not have enough power to affect its environment. (Cf. Child 1972; Kowalski 2006, 95-96.) Despite this the organization must "pay attention to what is going on in the real world". (Deal & Kennedy 2000, 136.)

Galaskiewicz (1985) in his review of the literature on interorganizational relations (IOR) identifies three arenas of IOR: "arenas of resource procurement and allocation, political advocacy, and organizational legitimacy". In the resource procurement and allocation arena researchers have focused on power dependency and problems caused by environmental uncertainty. In the political advocacy arena studies have paid "attention to coalition formation and efforts at collective actions". In the organizational legitimacy arena researchers have studied "organizational efforts at identifying with high legitimate community and/or societal symbols. (Cf. Hirsch, 1972; Hall *et al.* 1977; Stern 1979; Burt 1980; Mizruchi & Galaskiewicz 1993.) Lately IOR is linked to market relations research (Voss 2003).

According to Hatch (1997, 63-75) an organizational environment is composed of an organization, a network, and a general environment. Figure 16 describes an organization's environment.

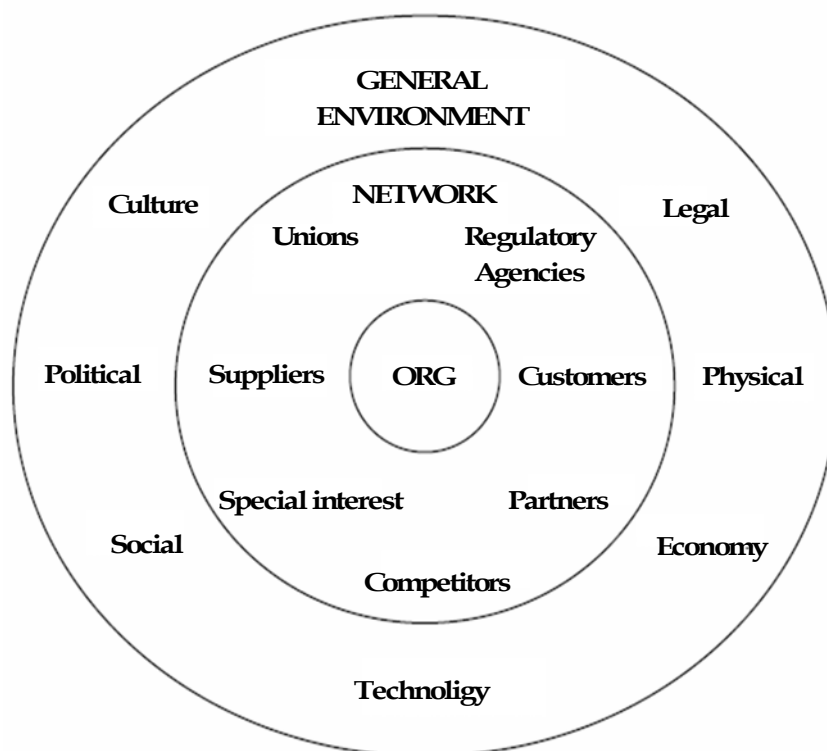


FIGURE 16 Organization in the center of environment (Hatch 1997, 68)

Organizations interact with their network which consists of e.g. unions, suppliers, special interest groups, competitors, partners, customers, and regulatory agencies. Forces in the general environment play a significant role in an organization's network. The general environment consists of several sectors in which the organization operates: the cultural sector is "history, traditions, expectations for behavior, and the values of the society"; the political sector is the "power and nature of political systems"; the social sector is "class culture, demographics, mobility patterns, life styles, and traditional social institutions including educational systems, religious practices, trades, and professions"; "the technological sector provides knowledge and information in the form of scientific developments that the organization can acquire and use to produce outputs"; the economic sector is labor markets, financial markets, economic planning, private vs. public ownership; "the physical sector includes nature and natural resources"; the legal sector is "the constitutions and laws of the nation" and legal practices in which the organization operates (Hatch 1997, 68-72; cf. Björk & Linde 2001). (Cf. Pfeffer 1996, 417; Mc Adams 1997; Björk & Gurley 2005, 170-173; Petersen & Barnett 2005, 110-113) In this research the province, the Parents' Council for the school, the local municipality, the local press, and the customers were part of the school's network. The local municipality was an important supporter for the school in times of economical crises. The Parents' Council used power two times: first by threatening with a strike in 1994 to change the BF and in 1998 to avoid the fusion. The State Provincial Office was also an important authority to get funding from the Government and to get the school's own legislation.

At state level, the Government, the Ministry of Education, the NBVE, and the Board of Education, later the National Board of Education, were part of the school general environment. Even though the school was quite small, it had good political connections and supporters partly because of the school's ideology. The political connections were one reason the school was able to avoid bankruptcy because these connections secured the extra funding from the Government in 1985-1989. As seen in this category the environment of the school was in many ways significant. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Category 12: The staff vs. foundation

This category is on the Persson's *et al.* (2004) employees – employer tension axis (cf. category 3). In this category the political power the staff members were using in their relations to the foundation is seen. In this case the staff does not include the principals because in the Finnish school system the principal is the employer's representative in the school. The power relations are described in table 25.

TABLE 25 Staff members' power relations with foundation

Notions	No. of appearance
conflict in human relations (mistrust)	60
threat of strike against the BF	25
some staff members as BF's informants	24
conflict in career (some staff members left)	23
conflict because of the merger plans	15
irresponsible power	11
positive changes (more power for staff)	9
lack of information	8
two worlds (foundation and the others)	6
lips were sealed	3
administration had heard staff members	3

Conflict between the BF and staff members was usually in human relations, a kind of mistrust on both sides. One of the conflicts was an attempt to dismiss one of the teachers. The conflict in career was partly because the last principal and the BF caused some teachers' resignation, when irresponsible power and acquired benefits were taken away. Conflicts were also the threat of a strike against the old BF, when it tried to dismiss the principal in 1994, and a threat of a strike against the merger in 1998. The staff members felt mistrust against the BF but it seemed to be caused by the mistrust the BF had shown concerning the staff. Teachers felt that there were two worlds, the Foundation and the others. The latter might be because of the lack of information. Some of the staff members were the BF's informants and some of these teachers also used irresponsible power. In the agreement concerning the threat of a strike situation in 1994 lips were sealed (3). Some of the positive changes were that teachers got more power to plan their work, and the administration heard the teachers.

According to Sergiovanni (1997, 271-274) in the theory of community a school's 'Gemeinschaft' is translated as community, in which "natural will is the motivating force", individuals are tied to each other morally without benefits in mind. 'Gesellschaft' is translated as society, in which "rational will is the motivating force", individuals are tied to each other more like as calculated to gain some benefits. Schools should be communities.

The earlier mentioned political power in category 3 was defined by Pfeffer (1996, 362) as:

Organizational politics involves those activities taken within organizations to acquire, develop, and use power and other resources to obtain one's preferred outcome in the situation in which there is uncertainty or dissensus about choices.

One part of organizational politics is communication. It is also a source of power. To keep all actors informed is one task of the leaders. (Schein 1997, 277; Bolman & Deal 1997, 148-149, 169, 268; Argyris 2000; Deal & Kennedy 2000, 64-67, 98-100, 153, 164-165; Kowalski & Keedy 2005.)

In this study political power was seen in threats of strikes against the BF and the merger of the local schools. Most of the time staff members were skeptical toward the BF. One reason might have been the lack of information. The only time when staff members were united was when they stood up for the principal and threatened the BF with a strike.

The irresponsible power situation was disentangled by the last BF and principal, but this caused some side effects such as the resignation of some of the teachers. In this category there can be seen two clans: the BF's informants, who also used irresponsible power, and the other staff members who silently supported principals (see category 3).

Empowerment has been a key issue in educational leadership literature for a long time. Empowerment includes the idea of participation so that the employees feel that they have been able to influence the decisions concerning their work. (Astuto *et al.* 1994, 40-44; Bolman & Deal 1997, 121-134; Browne-Ferrigno & Glass 2005, 139.) When employees are not always controlled from top down they have internal commitment and that ensures the empowerment (Argyris 1998). At the beginning of the 1990s the term teacher leader was introduced widely in Teacher Magazines and in Educational Leadership magazines as empowerment in a school context. Later Murphy (2005) uses the term teacher leadership in his latest book. For him teacher leadership is not a hierarchical superior and subordinate relation to one another but the promotion of professionalization of the teachers and nurturing of collaboration. He argues that teacher leadership is a critical component of the school change. (p. 7, 18, 60-61.)

In this study two of the positive notions were that teachers got more power and the administration paid attention to the teachers. All this had happened while the new BF and new principals had been in charge. Other staff members did not mention this phenomenon and it seems that only the teachers were empowered in the school. This is seen also in categories 13 and 16.

Category 13: The change in the administrative body

The change in the administrative body started when the old BF resigned in 1994 after a threat of a strike in the school. After that several changes were made in the way the school was administered. The changes in administration seen by the interviewees are in table 26.

TABLE 26 Change in the administrative body

Notions	No. of appearance
the BF corrects the power relations	44
the threat of a strike caused the BF to leave	34
chosen onto the BF as a savior	19
conflict caused the CBF to leave	16
power to the BF	8
irresponsible power	7
economical planner	5
proposed new members onto the BF	5
conflict	5
chosen to the Parents' Council	3
no space for the principal	3
contact to province	3
conflict caused the School board to leave	1
official status for Parents' Council	1
administration collapsed before 1985	1

One of the principals argued that the administration had collapsed before 1985 and was not able to make the decisions needed to save the school. The parents' council was founded in 1993 and got an official status when a representative from the parents' council was chosen onto the BF in 1994. The same representative was also the chair of the new school board in 1994-1998. The parents' council supported the teachers in a threat of the strike and the old BF resigned in 1994. The chair of the parents' council also proposed two new members onto the new BF. The new BF corrected the power relations in 1994-2000. The new BF removed irresponsible power from the staff members but also empowered the teachers to plan their work and created a middle management to solve the problems where they began. The new BF was also more open in relations to the staff and to the environment. Two of the CBFs felt that they had been chosen onto the BF as saviors and both of them resigned in conflicts. In 1985-1994 the BF had all the power which caused conflict. Because of this and after the economical planner was chosen in 1989 the principals felt that they did not have space in the administration. In 1998 the school board was dismissed because it had opposed the BF's merger plans.

Accordin to Grimmett (1997, 79, 80)

Administrators are expected to exercise their authority to use or create organizational conditions to enable teaching to proceed. This is the justification for their organizational authority.

Therefore, if educational administrators are to translate school policies to enable teachers to do their work and to supervise them in the performance of their work, then they must have an understanding of what teachers do – they must understand the nature of the curriculum.

In this research the old BF did not know enough about the school system in comprehensive school and the curriculum to develop the school. The school was not able to renew itself before the old BF had left. In 1994-1998 the innovative principal brought the school into the 21st century with a new curriculum, using information technology, and with external relations.

As I earlier noted in category 5, in crises decision making is usually centralized. This kind of bureaucratic organization is for the adults that act in them and the needs of the students are usually lost. The administrators are not like servant leaders (stewards). (Murphy 2005, 23, 32; cf. category 4 , figure 13.) According to Ouchi (2003, 247-249) structures of the organization influence the culture in the organization and because of that the structural change will change the culture. Fullan (2005, xiii, 24-25) calls for a dual strategy which is looking for short-term results and sustainable development in schools at the same time.

In this study the BF took all the power because they felt that principals were not able to handle the economical crisis. The BF also chose an economical planner and that caused more problems because it decreased the principals' power and authority. All decisions were made on an economical basis even though the economy was good after the school's own legislation was made. This kind of strategy "pays attention to short-term results" and ignores the groundwork for sustainable engagement (Fullan 2005, xiii; cf. Bolman & Deal 1997, 26-27; Deal & Kennedy 2000, 136). Later the new BF made some structural changes in administration and corrected the organizational power relations in 1994-2000.

Category 14: The school's economy and success

Economical situations steered decision making especially in the times of economical problems, even to the point that there was a threat of closing the school. Because of the problems, applicants and enrollment decreased and that worsened the economical situation. The interviewees' notions on the school's economy are in table 27.

The negotiations for the Government's economical subsidy brought extra funding from the Government and that brought a feeling of continuity. The school's own legislation brought success and rebuilding and building new dormitories also brought a feeling of continuity. This way the Foundation gave economical stability. The merger idea had the same meaning but it was opposed by the staffs in the school and local schools. Several principals were suspected of economical misuse but one especially. Even police investigations were done but no proof of the misuse was found. Two of the principals saw that the school rose from conflict to success.

TABLE 27 Change in the school's economy

Notions	No. of appearance
economical problems (steering the decisions)	39
law brought success	25
Government's subsidy brings continuity	17
contacts and negotiations to get funding	16
rebuilding and building	14
suspicious on economical misuse	10
lack of applicants because of the problems	5
merger as continuity	4
from conflict to success	4
threat of closing the school	2
the Foundation brought economical stability	2

According to Booth (1993, 283) "The environmental influence consisted of the political, social, economical, and technological factors that affected organizations." This also means the institutions that promote and protect firms influence the political arena that helps firms avoid exposure to crisis. Internal factors are the nature of decision making and crisis management. According to Handy (1986, 45) steadiness in work and wages are important economical factors for subordinates.

As earlier mentioned in category 8, outside (cf. category 11) and inside factors (eg. administration, culture etc.) bring success. In this study the economical issues steered the decision making in the school during years 1985-1989. The school's own legislation caused a positive feeling of continuity, because it solved the economical problems. After that the school's administration and staff were able to concentrate on developing the school physically and mentally. That increased the positive feeling of continuity. The school's stability was seen as important concerning commitment in category 1 too.

Most of the interviewees saw that the legislation (outside factor) brought the success for the school, and its importance was mentioned in several categories 8, 10, 11, 13, 17. Because most of the interviewees did not know the reason for the economical problems, only former members of the BF, state level officers, noted that the comprehensive school legislation had caused the economical problems.

Category 15: Customers vs. the school

In this category I use Persson's *et al.* (2004) pupils-adults -tension axis, represented in figure 12 in category 3, especially as a students-teachers (administrators) -tension axis where one point of view is customer relationship (cf. Björk & Gurley 2003). I noted in category 6 that the customer term is criticized in a school context but Snyder has used it (e.g. Bäck 2004, 6-10; cf. figure 14, p. 100). The customer phenomenon also rose from the interviews and the school's documents especially from annual reports in 1994-1996. Interviewees' customership notions are in table 28.

TABLE 28 Customership in the school's context

Notions	No. of appearance
attitude toward students, students as customers	30
good reputation among alumni, sent their children	20
relations to parents, parents' activity	11
development of the teaching (product)	10
students enjoying	8
openness	8
PR brought more students (TV program)	7
markets for such an education	6
bullying caused security thinking	6
change in families	5
tests	3

Because of its reputation, even though it was in some cases negative (4), the parents sent their children to the school. One reason was that there were markets for such an education and another that the school had good publicity (PR) and especially the TV program in 1992. The attitude towards students changed and students were seen as customers. After the bullying scandal the school also took care of the students' security. At the same time parents' activity rose and the Parents' Council for the school was started. The school was more open to the surrounding society too. Teachers' development was part of the idea of product development. Pretests caused the school to get better students. No students were interviewed but the teachers' opinion was that students enjoyed their time in the school.

According to Morgan (1986, 39-47; Burns & Stalker 1996, 209-213) in the systems theory organizations are seen as an organism. Open organizations affect and reflect the environment in which they exist. Because an open organization can be seen as a system it also has interrelated subsystems, just as molecules, cells and organs can be seen as subsystems of a living organism. Classical management theorists paid little attention to the environment. They treated organizations as a closed mechanical system.

Booth (1993) asked "should the systems be closed" so that the environment could not influence the organization. Morgan (1986, 235-240) argues that systems can be closed. In these autopoiesis systems the aim is to reproduce themselves: "their own organization and identity is their most important product." In an autopoiesis system the organization does not fit in the environment but rather there is congruence between the system and environment, arising from the changes that each prompts in the other. Morgan (1986, 240) called this internally generated change.

Customer-business relations are important in every setting. Also the importance of parental-school relationships is no exception (cf. Norton & Nufeld 2002; Björk & Keedy 2002; Foster 2004; Comer 2005; Fullan 2005, 60-62). Collaboration with stakeholders means communication among and with parents, local citizens, and local supporters (Astuto *et al.* 1994, 54).

In this study the school was a closed community. The school was not interested in changes in its environment and had little connection to the surrounding community. The school was able to survive somehow because of the relations it had with the alumni who sent their children to the school (cf. closed system). After changes in the school system the comprehensive schools almost replaced the private schools. Public schools were free of charge and gave more opportunities than the old school system. In this situation the competition between public schools and private schools was more favorable for public schools because they were free of charge, and the school lost students from the old customers. Because there was a market for such a school, more marketing efforts were needed: a TV program in 1992 was a great success and the school got more applications than ever. The school turned into an open system adapting to its environment.

Students were put into the center after the bullying scandal. Their security and getting on well were important for the school's staff members but especially for the last two principals (categories 6). The last principals considered quality from the customers' point of view. The focus was also for students' learning (cf. Björk & Gurley 2003, 44; category 17). Staff development is seen as significant to student learning (Guskey 1991; Guskey & Sparks 1996) and the school put effort into staff development too.

The school was a closed system recreated by itself. It was able to operate because of the closed system of former students (alumni). When the school system changed in the 1970s the closed system was not able to transform as the result of internally generated change. Later the school changed adapting to the environment and turned into an open system.

Category 16: The teachers' significance

Teachers' significance in the school is obvious when speaking about teaching. Teachers' had different roles in the school's organization. In those roles they were able to affect the organization. Teachers' roles in the school are in table 29.

One of the teachers was an economical planner in 1989-1993. In that position she got power over the principals. The same person also resisted principals with some colleagues. Some of the teachers supported the principals. This they usually did quietly, but in 1993 they took action by threatening with a strike in support of the principal. Most of the teachers were valued as good teachers, but some were also known to be the BF's informants. At least two of the teachers used irresponsible power. They also caused problems for other staff members and even threatened other teachers. Several teachers had also been members of the board. One of the teachers was a union representative and the others members in the union. Two of the teachers had bullied students. Teachers helping other teachers was mentioned only once but that does not mean that only one of the teachers had experienced help from colleagues.

TABLE 29 Teachers' roles in the school

Roles	No. of ap- pearance
against the principal	20
economical planner	19
good teacher	18
the BF's informant	16
caused problems for others	11
empowered	10
on principal's side in the threat of a strike	9
threatened	7
using irresponsible power	6
poor spirit	3
helper	2
member of the BF	1
union representative	1
subject vs. practical subject teacher con- flict	1
bullying students	1
union parties	1

Relations between staff and principals are in category 3. Micropolitics are described in category 3 (Malen 1994; Cox Jr. 1996). Assumptions of human nature include shared assumptions about the proper human relations. These assumptions deal with a group's internal relations and external relations. (Schein, 1997, 131-132) According to Pondy (1967, 296-298; cf. category 3) the bargaining conflict is the conflict in interest group relationships. (Cf. Bolman & Deal 1997, 163.)

In this study teachers were divided at least into two interest groups all the time. Before year 1989 the division was between subject teachers and practical subject teachers. The practical subject teachers had a power advantage because they had permanent positions, and subject teachers only had temporary positions. Subject teachers revealed that practical subject teachers openly showed their superiority to subject teachers. This ended when the subject teachers were hired permanently and the importance of the subjects arose in the curriculum.

From year 1989 to 1998 the division was between teachers 'against' the principals and teachers who took the principals side. Those who had good connections with the CBF were against the principals and brought problems and they also threatened other teachers. During years 1998-2000 the situation seemed to calm down but still the school had opposition against the principals (Anon. 2006).

Category 17: The change in the culture

Most often the change in the culture was mentioned. In this study I use two dimensions, negative and positive to describe the change. When the interviewees told about the past, negative things were usually mentioned.

Positive things were mentioned mostly when the interviewees told about happenings in later years. The interviewees' notions on change in the culture are in table 30.

TABLE 30 The change in the culture

Notions	No. of appearance
change in the culture	33
power conflict, subject teachers vs. practical subject teachers	18
openness	17
doing together	16
development	16
secured continuity	14
attitude toward the students (customership)	12
insecurity	11
power conflict with the BF	10
power conflict, teachers vs. principals	7
commitment	6
strong principals	5
irresponsible power	5
returning to the roots	3
from crisis to success	2
PR	1
change in the values	1
bullying	1
negative atmosphere	1

Negative things were: insecurity before getting the school's own legislation, a power conflict between subject teachers and practical subject teachers caused a division among the teachers, a power conflict with the foundation usually experienced by the principals but also a power conflict between teachers and principals. The latter was mentioned up until these days and in connection with the irresponsible power and actions against it. Also a negative atmosphere and bullying were mentioned.

Positive things were: openness and good PR, development, working together, and continuity. Contrary to bullying the attitude toward students changed to be more respectful. A returning to the roots of the school's ideology was one of the last changes. The last principals were described as strong principals and they also saw the school rise from crisis to success. Commitment was also mentioned but more surprising was that change in the values was mentioned only once. Because the school had gone through major changes in 1994-2000 including a new curriculum it is hard to believe that there has not been a change in the values.

Climate, culture, and ethos are used synonymously in literature (cf. e.g. Kowalski 2006, 97-101) but Clark *et al.* (1994, 13-16) and Schein (1997, 8-10) use culture as a core category and climate (ethos) as a subcategory for it. As I discussed in category 3 culture is "the way we do things around here" (Deal & Kennedy 1983, 14; cf. Schein 1997, 9). According to Young (1989, 187, 190-191;

cf. category 3) “organizational culture is defined specifically by processes of constraint intra-group interests”.

According to Foster (1986, 136) leaders are able to change the culture (cf. Browne-Ferrigno & Glass 2005, 146; Fullan 2005, 53-63; category 5). Lasting change takes time because the change in culture takes time. When Persson’s *et al.* (2004, 59, cf. figure 12 in category 3) tension fields are brought into a cultural frame it seems that if the tensions are in balance without extra tensions it affects the culture positively.

In this study the change of culture was the last part of the change chain. The basic functioning of the school had to be in order before the school was able to change its culture. When the school got its own legislation it decreased insecurity and brought continuity. After that the school was developed.

Real change occurs in the behavior of the people in the organization (Deal & Kennedy 2000, 158). Björk & Gurley (2003, 44) note that

Specific cultural elements of a professional learning community include (a) whole staff involvement, (b) shared vision and values, (c) shared focus on student learning, (d) reflective dialogue, (e) collaborative practice.

According to Leithwood (1992, 10; cf. Leithwood 1993, 20-21; Björk & Gurley 2003, 70; Fullan 2005, 65-80) maintaining a collaborative culture, fostering teacher development, and improving group problem solving are tasks of the transformative leaders.

All these were done in the school. In this category several issues were mentioned: a change in attitudes towards students, development, returning to roots (a shared vision and values), openness, and working together (collaboration); a new problem solving system in category 13; and the development of the teachers also in categories 6, 8, and 14. In this category the attitudes toward students was on an adult – pupils tension axis, development and returning to roots on a change – continuity axis, openness, working together, and development of teachers on an employer-employee axis. It seems that some kind of balance was reached.

Category 18: The specific pre-assumptions in private schools

The interviews brought up several general assumptions concerning private schools. The assumptions are in table 31. Each of these assumptions was mentioned only a few times because only three persons made the assumptions. A former important political officer of the State Provincial Office mentioned most of the assumptions, but a former NBVE representative in the BF also mentioned the lack of an amendment for private schools in the law and the need for such schooling. A dormitory comment and the need for private schooling were made by one of the principals.

The former provincial officer had seen the phenomena as a school inspector for several years handling complaints concerning the actions of the schools. I will return to these assumptions in the final conclusions

TABLE 31 Assumptions in private schools

Assumptions	No. of appearance
no amendment in the law for private schools	5
administration unskilled	4
need for such schooling	3
more complaint about private schools	3
collaboration in boarding schools	2
principal's daily tasks prevent development	2
IT good for dormitory students	1
closed community	1
problems	1

4.2 Core categories

When analyzing the data I found 18 categories from which four subjects emerge: change, relations, power, and culture. At the end of categorizing the categories relations and power seemed to be one category because it was almost impossible to find any differences between them. The following three core categories were the final result from the analysis of the data: change, power relations, and culture. Each core category is described in figures 17, 21, 22 and 23. In some cases the effect of the category is external which is marked with red frames (bold). If the effect is only partly external the frame includes the text 'partly ext.'. Because all categories are described in the previous chapter I describe only the key characters of each category and some characters of each core category in this chapter. In so doing I begin to answer my research questions: What is the key to making a turnaround in a school? What is the management's role in the change? How did the change in the school culture take place and why? I continue to answer these questions in chapter 5.

Core category 1: The transformation

The changes led to a broader transformation of the school. The core category transformation contains six categories which are described in figure 17. The school's own law is a significant external factor. It was a solution to the mistakes made when the legislation for comprehensive schooling was drafted (see also chapter 4.3.). The change in the administrative body was obvious when the relations between the staff members and the members of the BF were in a crisis situation. The change of the principals was mainly the result of lack of trust and suspicious behavior on the part of the CBF and the other members of the BF. The school's economy and success were in connection to the change in legislation and marketing. Economical subsidy came from the Government and from municipalities, mainly from the local municipality. The change of legislation was also the basis for the change and development of the school and so both of the last categories are partly external factors. The last change was the

change in the culture. It was not possible before the other changes had happened because all energy was used to make those changes.

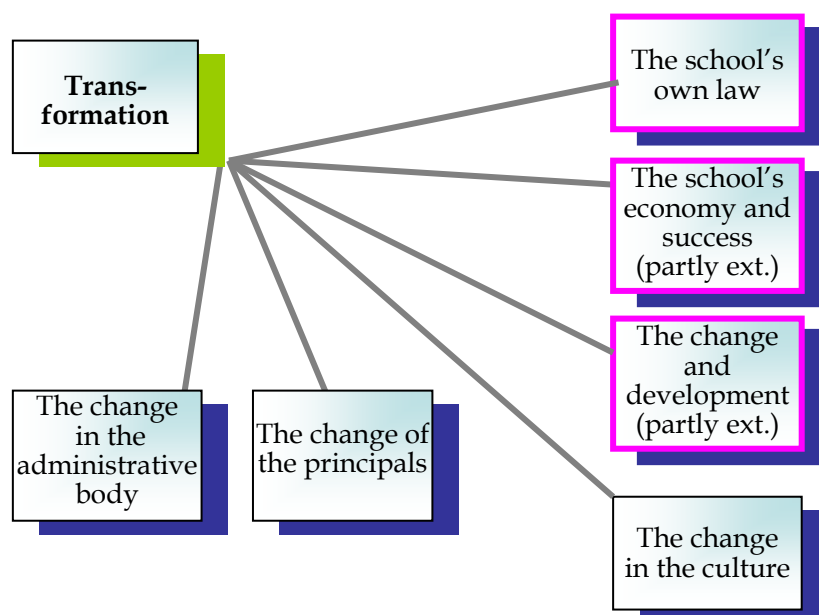


FIGURE 17 Significant changes

According to Foster (1986, 53-70) a grand theory of administration can not be found. He took Burrell and Morgan's (2005; cf. chapter 2.1.) paradigms, and used different approaches to describe his organization theory (Foster 1986, 117-146). As one result he argued that organizational change has two dimensions: planned change and adaptation (cf. Nadler & Tushman 1995, 500; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, 106-111). Adaptation is an evolutionary population-ecology perspective in which surviving organizations adapt to their environment and that makes them succeed (Foster 1986, 148). In planned change there are intentionally made decisions, strategic choices, which affect an organizations' life (Foster 1986, 149; Child 1972, 13-19). Cameron (1984, 124-125) has summarized adaptation in a continuum from non-managerial power to complete power as shown in figure 18.

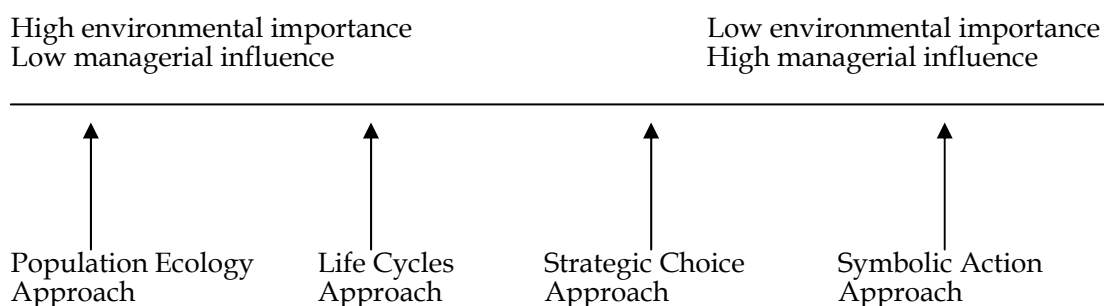


FIGURE 18 Categories of Approaches to Organizational Adaptation (source Cameron 1984, 125)

Because managerial decisions might also be due to adaptation to the environment the difference is sometimes fuzzy between these two dimensions of change. Gersick (1994, 9-11) argues that changes are both adaptation led by a manager and inertial slow change in time or fortuitous in a moment. This can also be seen in my research because the change happened both ways: the legislation externally, and internally creative leading in the development of the school.

Foster (1986, 149-168) introduces five models of change which are described in figure 19. According to Foster (1986) the personal-therapeutic approach's main assumption is "that the change must begin on an individual and interpersonal level". Change is not possible if it is not generated in individuals. (p. 152) The organic-systems model's core assumption is that "organizations are systems composed of interrelated and interdependent subsystems". Like organisms, organizations "grow, develop, change and die".

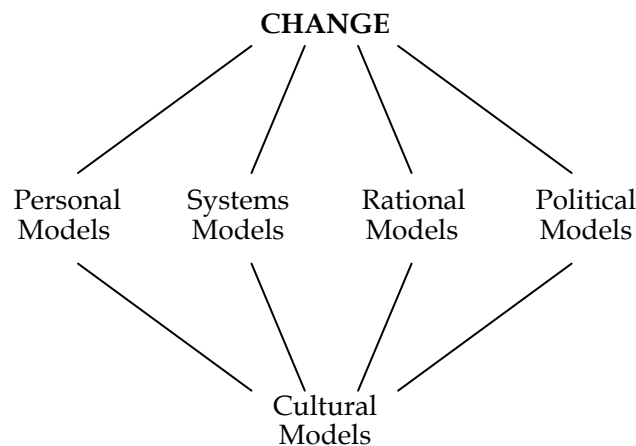


FIGURE 19 Models of change (source Foster 1986, 149)

The rational-managerial model's main assumption is that organizations consist of rational actors, which act following the data concerning the need for change (Foster, 1986, 150). The political-economical model's core assumption is that organizations' members are not passive recipients but "actively concerned with power and rewards" (p. 158). The symbolic and cultural aspects' assumptions are that organization's culture has a significant impact on an organization's change. "Change in the metaphor will result in changes in the organization". (p. 160) Foster's argumentation is that one model cannot explain the change, because organizations are complex, the explaining of change needs the use of the models of change simultaneously (p. 162-163). (Cf. Bolman & Deal 1997)

A similar model is Staw's (1995, 103-105) three systems of organizational change: the individual-oriented (individual rewards, support), the group-oriented (rewards and support on a group basis), and organizationally-oriented (organizational performance, intrinsically rewarding to individuals, cf. Ouchi & Price 1993, theory Z). Staw also mixed these three systems. Bolman and Deal (1997, 321, 379-380) reframed organizational change as described in table 32. They also emphasized multiframe thinking.

In change theory it is debated whether change is adaptive or planned. Some researchers argue that it is both adaptive and planned. Change also happens on different levels: personal, structural, political, and symbolic. Some researchers argue that the change happens on all or most of these levels at the same time.

Change happens internally and adapting to the environment. Because organizations are complex the transformation cannot be described with one model but change happens on different levels or frames at the same time (cf. Foster 1986; Staw 1995; Bolman & Deal 1997).

TABLE 32 Reframing organizational change (source: Bolman & Deal 1997, 321)

Frame	Barrier to change	Essential strategies
Human resource	Anxiety, uncertainty, feeling of incompetence, neediness	Training to develop new skills, participation and involvement, psychological support
Structural	Loss of clarity and stability, confusion, chaos	Communicating, realigning and renegotiating formal patterns and policies
Political	Disempowerment, conflict between winners and losers	Creating arenas where issues can be renegotiated and new coalitions formed
Symbolic	Loss of meaning and purpose, clinging to the past	Creating transition rituals: mourning the past, celebrating the future

In this study all these models describe the change in the school. On a personal level change happened when teachers developed themselves to become qualified teachers (competence). The change in culture was also on a personal level when personal relations got better. On a systems level the change of the principals and change in the administrative body changed the whole system. When new department leaders started at the end of the 1990s all problems were solved on the department level. Development and organizational learning also changed the organization (cf. category 8 and 17). On a rational-managerial model level the changes in the school legislation and school's economy steered the change in the school. Motivating was quite easy because of the rational reasons. On a political level the change in the culture and the change in the administrative body (threat of strikes) changed the political subgroups when teachers chose to support the principal. On a cultural level the change in the ethos was the last change so its impact is not so easy to see. The readiness to change and the development started in 1994 were the result of the change in culture.

According to Nadler and Tushman (1995, 500-504; cf. Foster 1986) organizational change is incremental or strategic. Incremental changes are small

changes that only affect some parts of the organization in the direction of the organization's mode, values and strategy. Strategic changes impact the whole organization changing its basic framework such as strategy, structure, and in some cases values too. If the changes are made in reaction to some external events, it is called reactive, but if the changes are made because of the estimated external changes in the future, the changes are called anticipatory. From these two basic dimensions Nadler and Tushman combined a basic typology of changes. The typology is described in figure 20.

	Incremental	Strategic
Anticipatory	Tuning	Re-orientation
Reactive	Adaptation	Re-creation

FIGURE 20 Types of organizational changes (source Nadler & Tushman 1995, 502)

In these organizational change types incremental anticipatory changes anticipating future events affecting only some area of the organization are tuning. The reactive incremental changes are adaptation. The anticipatory strategic changes anticipating future events are re-orientation and if they are reactions to immediate demands, they are called re-creation. (Nadler & Tushman 1995, 502.)

Strategic changes are environmentally driven and that is why they are necessary, even though they do not guarantee success. In a crisis situation re-creation is used and it is riskier than re-orientation, because a change in core values causes resistance to change. In visionary re-orientation there is more time for the changes and the changes are associated with success and so easier to accept. (Nadler & Tushman 1995, 503; cf. Deal & Kennedy 2000, 136.)

In this research the school had been adaptively reacting to environmental changes after comprehensive schooling was started in Finland in the 1970s. Later this was seen in frequent changes of the principals which were a kind of short term incremental and anticipatory tuning to get a better financial situation in the near future. The first strategic action was to get a new legislation for the school. This was still a reactive action to immediate demands (anticipatory) in a crisis situation (re-creation). In this situation the principal's creative actions were important. When the new legislation was made the school was able to orientate to future demands creating continuity with the funding of new buildings and staff development (re-orientation). This caused long term affects and sustainability. At the same time fine tuning was done in education and the curriculum to guarantee continuity. Again the principals were significant in this process. (Cf. category 4 and 6; Björk & Gurley 2003, 52-53.) The above

mentioned also led to the change of culture, and this was the last part of the change process in the school. I will discuss this change in more detail in chapters 4.3. and 5.

Core category 2: The power relations

The power relations' core category contains eight categories which are described in figure 21. External relations and customers were external factors in the school's life. Administrators' relations to staff members and staff members' relations to each other were also important relations. The category BF's (CBF's) significance, and the category principals' significance are both mainly internal powers, but principals also used power outside the system as told in the story. The earlier representative of the BF from the State Provincial Office used power when the BF planned the merger of the local schools. The school had good relations to the local municipality and political actor on the provincial and the state level. The school developed good relations with its customers starting in 1994 and developed staff relationships inside the school as described in categories 3, 4, 12, 15, and 16.

The most difficult power relations were between the staff and principals and the school was not able to develop that area. It might not be possible before all the old teachers with their old traditions are retired. Relations with the administration were better at the end of the 1990s but there were still some problems because some of the teachers did not like the decisions made by the BF. As seen above the teachers were quite significant for the relations inside the school. In 1998-2000 it seemed that the BF and the principal had a good relationship and old problems were gone. This was described more in category 4 in Davis' (1997) model of Principal-Chair Choice.

Bolman and Deal (1997, 169-170) enumerate power sources described in table 33. They note that the capacity to make decisions is better if authorities are able to use multiple power sources. (Cf. Handy 1985, 120-129, 151-153; Morgan 1986, 158-185.)

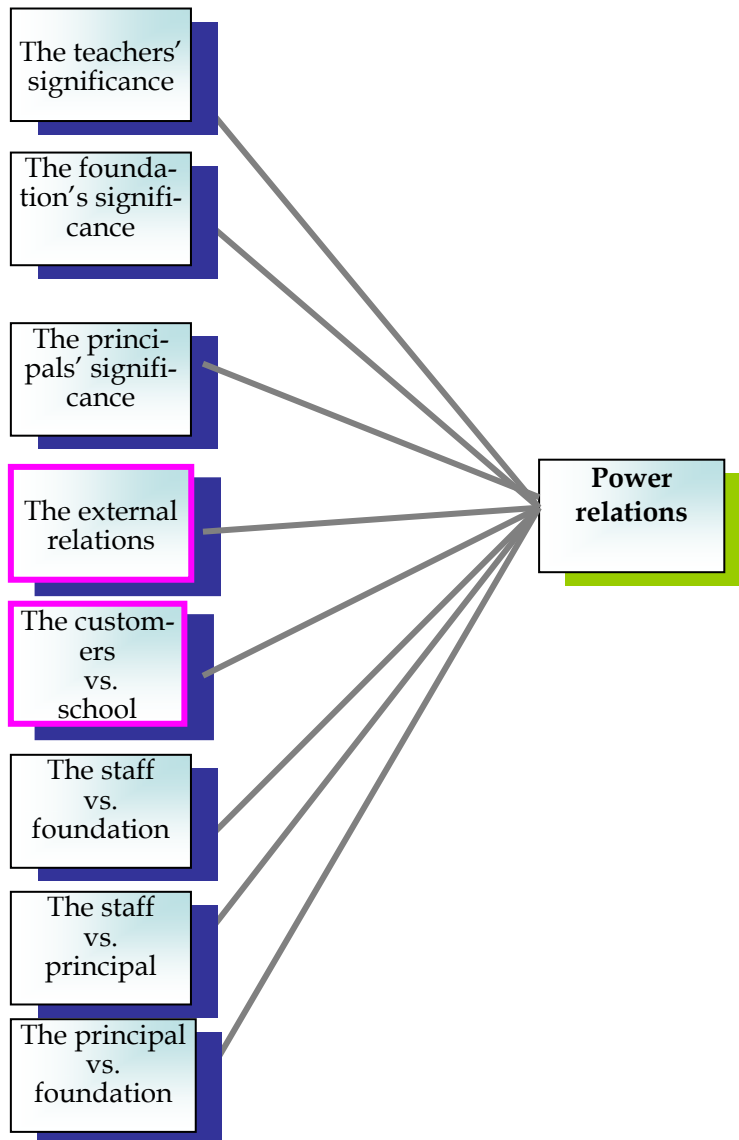


FIGURE 21 Significant relations

Figure 22 describes what sources of power the actors used in the school. As seen in the figure, teachers used expertise power and political skills. In the threat of a strike they also used constraint and blocked the BF's decisions. The BF and the CBF had all the sources available while the principals were able to use authority, expertise, networks, a decision making arena, and the latest principals were also opinion leaders. External relations used alliances and personal power. In the external power the state level administration also used political support and delivered money using power outside the school. Inside the school they only had one representative in the BF because it was prescribed in the Charter of the Foundation.

TABLE 33 Power sources

1. Authority	- position power
2. Information and expertise	- know-how - access to information
3. Control and rewards	- ability to deliver jobs, money, political support, rewards
4. Coercive power	- ability to constrain, block, interfere, or punish
5. Alliances and networks	- links with friends and allies
6. Access and control of agendas	- access to decision making arenas
7. Framing: control of meanings and symbols	- opinion leaders ability to define and impose the meanings and myths defining ethos (culture)
8. Personal power	- charisma, political skills

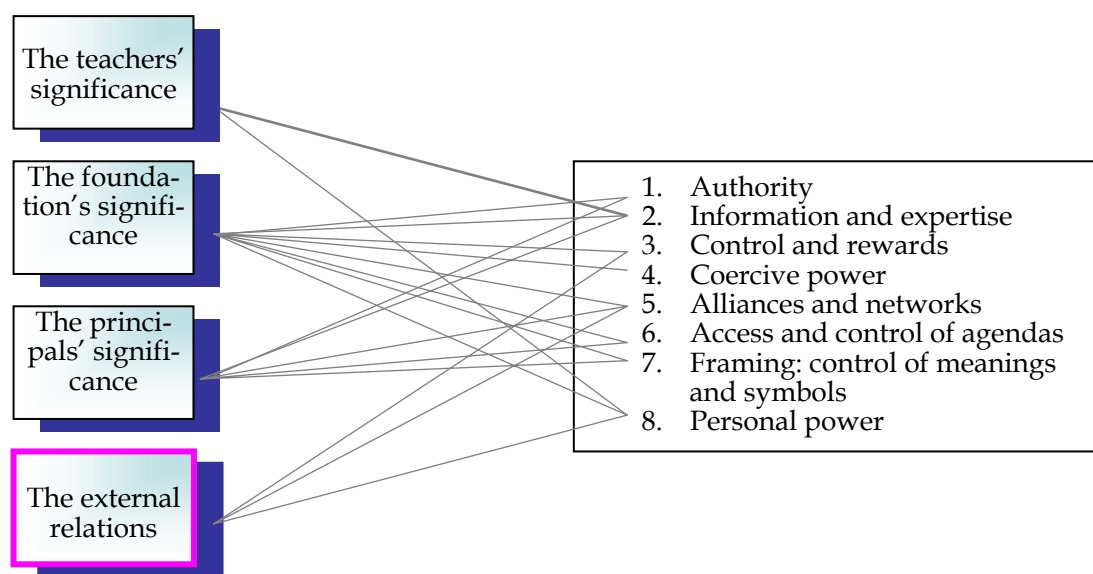


FIGURE 22 Power sources in the school

Björk (2006) notes that because of the changing demographic trends, increasing political involvement of interest groups, changes in interpretation of the legislation, changing economical conditions and contested values in America, educators are forced to develop a dynamic relationship between society and school (cf. Björk & Keedy 2001; Björk & Linde 2001). These same factors can be seen in Finland especially since the last depression in the economy at the beginning of the 1990s. According to Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, 191)

The fact that political solutions to organizational problems involve working through individuals and organizations who are themselves not party to the situation has important implications for organizational strategies.

The Government has two forms of actions to affect organizations: direct subsidy and legislation (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003, 214). An organization's continuing existence is dependent on the legitimizing of organizational activities or its worth to the environment (p. 193, cf. Parsons 1956a, 68; 1956b, 227).

In this study the school's external relations were mostly good relations to local, provincial and state level political actors. The school negotiated several times with the local municipality on economical subsidies and guarantees when the economical situation was untenable. The State Provincial Office was a major actor when the school needed special subsidy from the Government and when the school's own legislation was drafted. The school's own legislation was also a result of good connections to the state level school administration and political decision makers e.g. to the members of Parliament.

According to Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, 220-221) organizations hire former government officials and vice versa "to build common understanding". In this research the earlier version of the Charter of the Foundation required that one representative chosen by the NBVE or the Board of Education must be on the BF. Earlier the representative was from the State Provincial Office and in 1989-1994 from the NBVE. After that the representative was from Parliament. This might explain why the school had good political connections. (Cf. category 11.) One interviewee noted that there was no representative from the state level school administration after 1994. Due to that the school mer problems because of the lack of know-how especially in school legislation when planning the merger of the local schools.

In this study it seems that the development to take care of the customers was a good strategic decision made by the principal. The Parents Council was initiated and that gave the parents the possibility to have dialogue on important issues with the school and the BF. In the same school year the principal's post was saved because of the activity of the parents in the threat of a strike. A strike without the parents' support would almost have been impossible but when they decided to keep the children at home in a strike situation, the threat was more powerful. Parents were active in the merger of the local school too and their threat of a strike against the merger caused the idea to be abandoned. Customer relations were developed after the bullying scandal in the school. Parents also took responsibility for the students' satisfaction in the dormitory.

According to Salancik and Pfeffer (1995, 344) in strategic-contingency theory power is "something that accrues to organizational subunits (individuals, departments) that cope with critical organizational problems". It is used to enhance subunits' own survival controlling critical resources, placing allies in key positions, and "through the definition of organizational problems and policies". "Power is simply the ability to get things done the way one wants them to be done." (p. 345) Defined this way anyone could use power in the organization and the key to power is to understand what is critical in an organization (p. 349). Salancik and Pfeffer also argue that the environment

influences the organization e.g. executive selections and those chosen into power positions try to affect the organization's decisions to secure their own situation e.g. explaining their functions as critical to the organization. Institutionalizing means building a structure that secures the position. (p. 352-355; cf. Schein 1997; xii, 14-15; Deal & Kennedy 2000, 136, 150-154, subcultures.)

In this research the school had several clans: teachers in at least four clans (subject teachers, practical subject teachers, teachers on the principals' side and teachers on the Foundation's side), other staff members, and the CBF's subunit. Most of the time economical issues were critical in the school. When one of the teachers was chosen to be an economical planner because of her actions, she got more power than the principals. She was also able to secure her position with a special relationship with the CBF and the BF. One way might have been that she was able to explain her functions as critical to the organization e.g. causing suspicions of financial malpractices by principals. These suspicions had to come from somewhere and as the financial planner she was able to bring up suspicions. (Cf. chapters 3.2.1 and 3.2.2., years 1988, 1993; Deal & Kennedy 2000, 90-91, whisperers.)

In Leavitt's (1995, 486) model of the management of a change process there are three parts: pathfinding is about mission and vision, pointing where the organization ought to try to go; problem solving is managing, analyzing, planning and making decisions; implementing is actions to get things done, "doing things through others". Pfeffer (1995, 497) introduces a power management - term: understanding the political life in the organization; getting even opposing individuals and subgroups "to do what needs to be done"; understanding that one needs more power than the opposition has and getting that power is important; "understanding the strategies and tactics through which the power is developed and used in an organization". (Cf. Deal & Kennedy 2000, 153-154.)

In this research the first principal in 1985-1987 and principals from 1991 to 2000 were pathfinders with a clear mission and vision to develop the school in the spirit of the original idea to be a modern school answering the present schooling needs. The last two principals were best in implementing their ideas. To get things implemented power is needed. The principal from 1993 to 1998 was able to use the power needed to get the change made. When parents were involved in the school's actions they were one power element in the change of the administrative body. After the old BF had left a rapid change occurred in the school. I will return to change and power in chapters 4.3. and 5.

Core category 3: The culture

The culture core category contains six categories as described in figure 23. Commitment describes the reasons why staff members have stayed in the school. Some of them have been there for more than 30 years. Missing documents tell about the administrations culture of secrecy. The scandal in the school was one event in the school's history telling something about the attitudes towards students and which caused better customer relations. Some of the assumptions in the private schools described in category 18 might have

formed the culture. Balance in the tensions is one way to see the culture as described in category 17.

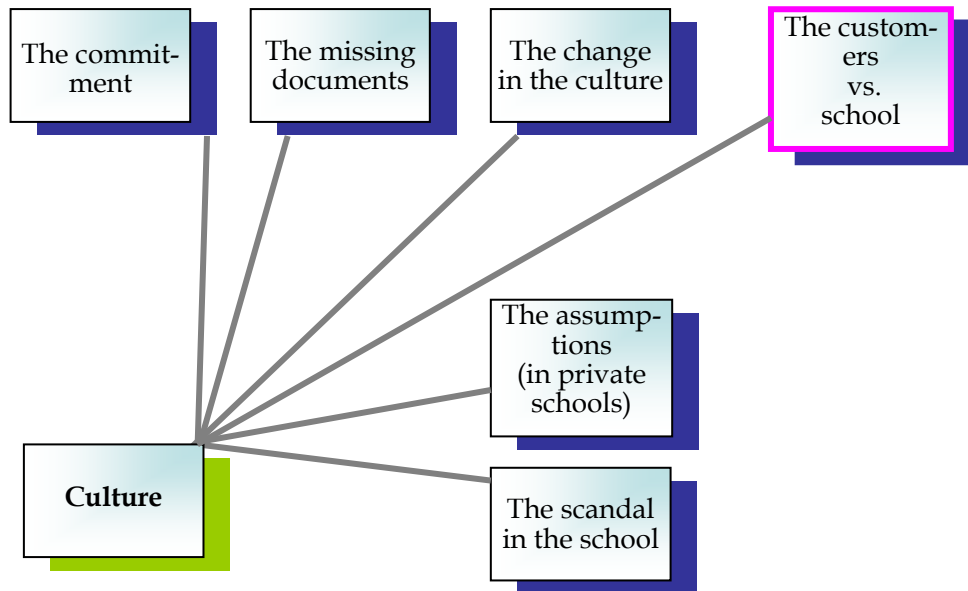


FIGURE 23 Significant culture

According to Deal and Kennedy (2000, 4) every organization has a culture which powerfully influences the organization. They assume that leadership matters when development or change in the culture is needed. They call it symbolic management (pp. v, 18-19, 141-176). O'Reilly (1995, 324-326) introduced four mechanisms for developing the culture: participation, management as a symbolic action, information from others, and comprehensive reward systems. Systems of participation "encourage people to be involved" and esteem others. The management as symbolic actions is "clear, visible actions on the part of management in support of the cultural values". Information from others is not only messages sent by the management but also hearing the messages from co-workers. The reward system is not only "monetary rewards" but also recognitions and approvals given now and then. (cf. Deal & Kennedy 2000, 22, 59-84.)

In this research the way the BF managed did not develop the culture in 1985-1994: the staff was not involved and esteemed, there were no clear visible actions to support the culture, and information was not shared. The school had a strong CBF and that might have caused uneasy silence in some cases (cf. Herr 2005; cf. multivoicedness, Quantz & O'Connor 1988): e.g. principals only got silent support from the teachers on their side, missing documents, and when the BF agreed to leave, the agreement was sealed. Usually in such a situation the official mantras are spoken out and the unpleasant experiences are unspoken. Earlier I noted how I found that interviewees were afraid to tell all

the details (chapter 2.5, p. 29). One of the interviewees (Anon. 2006) commented after reading the story:

I was taught to wash my dirty laundry at home and therefore I was surprised at the way people fouled their own nest in this story.

The change in the culture started when the school got its own legislation. That brought a feeling of continuity for staff members. But the school's administration was not able to change the culture. One reason might be that the staff was divided into two groups in which some were negative 'whisperers', 'spies', and 'cabals' in the organization causing a negative climate. (Cf. the power relations; Deal & Kennedy 2000, 90-98.) The real change in the culture took place after the old BF had left: e.g. an innovative curriculum development, staff development, and customership. The school also returned to its roots in a modern way. (cf. Deal & Kennedy 2000, 5.)

In this process it was important that the last principals had time for development. Still lasting change might require the retirement of the old staff members because they represent the old culture which is a barrier to change (cf. Deal & Kennedy 2000, 157-159; see also the power relations category).

Due to the above real lasting change takes a long time. According to Deal and Kennedy (2000, 163) three factors influence the time needed for change: in crises the staff understands the need for change, attractive propositions of change (win-win), and the strength of the old culture.

As seen the change started in 1994 in a crisis situation. The best thing was that the staff members understood that the change in the administration was obviously needed. After that the principal was able to create a new culture with a new BF. Also the latest change started from a crisis situation of the planned merger. After that the new principal was able to lead the school into the 21st century with a modern curriculum which exerted the school's roots.

Cameron (1985, 6; cf. Cameron & Ettington 1988) created a Model of Cultural Congruence for Organizations. Deshpandé *et al.* (1993, 25) adapted it and created a Model of Organizational Culture Types which Obenchein *et al.* (2004, 22) formulated as in figure 24. (Cf. Ouchi 1980; Ouchi & Price 1993; Deal & Kennedy 2000, 107-123.)

Obenchain *et al.* (2004, 32, 34, 37) studied Christian colleges and found that about 20 % of the colleges were non-dominant, having several culture types at the same time. He notes that successful organizations do not have a particular dominant culture but they have a balance between the cultures.

In this study the school had several culture types depending on the subgroup and time. Staff members were in a human relations model clan type all the time. Most of the time principals were in an open system model adhocracy type in 1985-87 and in 1991-1998 but the last principal was in a human relations model in 1998-2000. One of the principals was a hierarchy type in 1988-1990. The first BF in 1985-1987 was in an open systems model as an adhocracy type, but most of the time the BF was in an internal process model hierarchy type. The last two BFs were market types in 1994-2000.

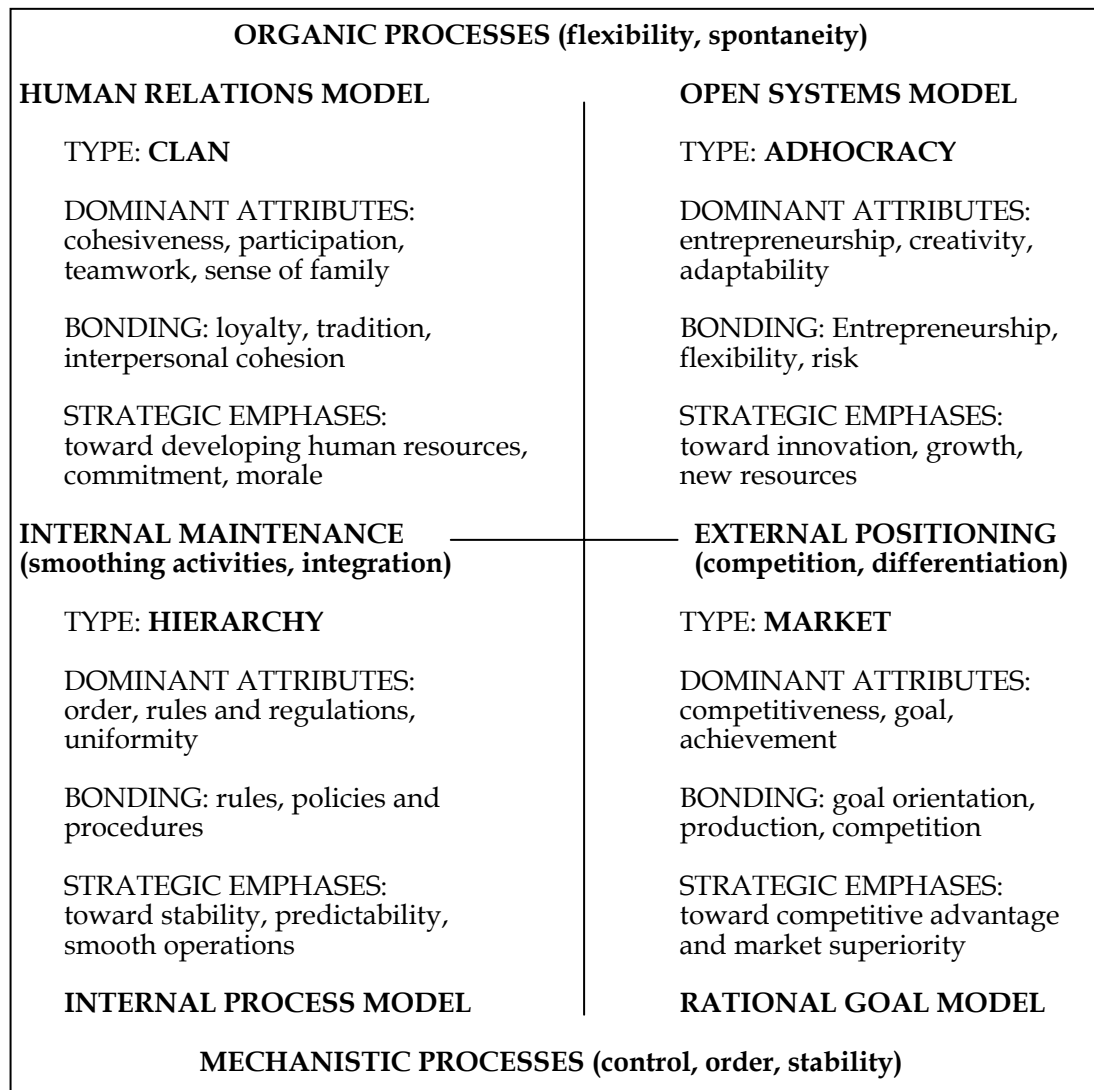


FIGURE 24 A model of organizational culture types (source Obenchain et al. 2004, 22)

Figure 25 describes culture types in the school (cf. also figure 13, p. 95). As seen in the figure most of the time the BF and principals were culturally different types. That might have caused some of the troubles.

A change in the culture is necessary when the environment is changing fundamentally and quickly (e.g. competition), values are wrong (e.g. compared with the environment), there is a change in the company's size (e.g. rapid growing, merger) (Deal & Kennedy 2000, 159-161).

In this study the change in the environment was obvious: e.g. from the 1940s agricultural society to the 1990s information society, and from the 1940s common school and coeducational school systems to the 1990s comprehensive school system (cf. chapter 4.3.). This had caused changes in the school as well: e.g. the school was not serving only children from the countryside anymore, the school was not only for girls anymore, and subject teaching was more important in the new curriculum. Changes were made to adapt to the changes

in the environment but the culture was partly from the old school system: e.g. the competition between subject teachers and practical subject teachers, attitudes towards students, and the old administrative thinking, a bureaucratic, kind of old “factory owner style”.

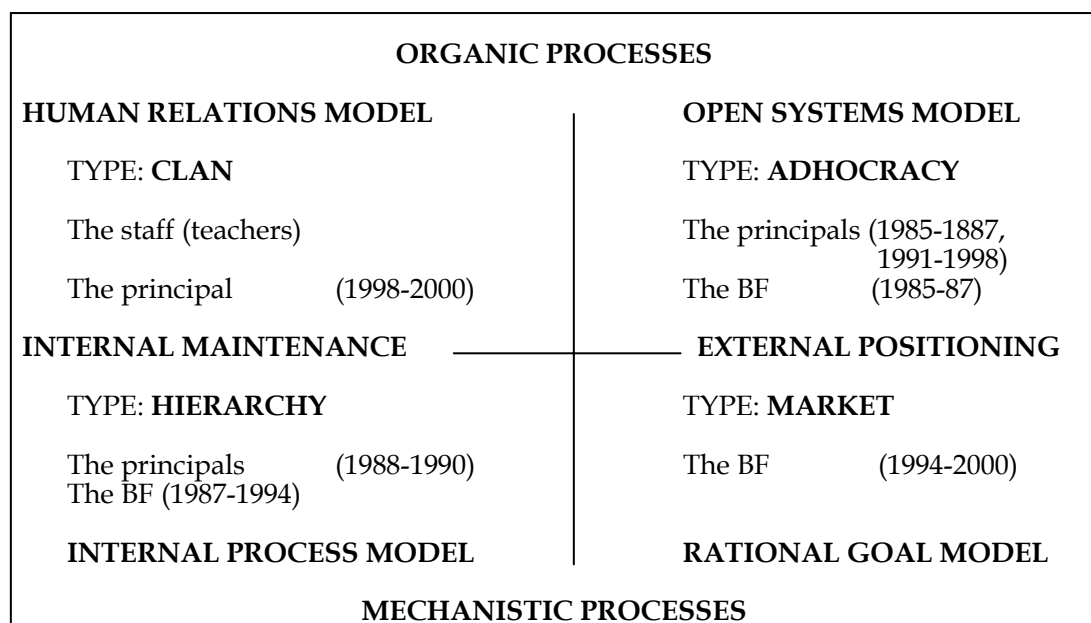


FIGURE 25 Culture types in the school

Summary of the core categories

As a summary of the categories the whole phenomenon of core categories is described in figure 26. Dashed lines illustrate some of the connections between power relations and the change I found in the analysis. For example the CBF, principals' and external relations' had an effect on getting the school its own legislation [1]. The principals were also significant actors in the change and development [2]. The staff was a significant actor in the change of the administrative body and the change in the culture [3]. The power relation between the BF and the CBF and principals was the reason for the frequent change of principals [4]. In external relations as part of the culture, state level administrators' assumptions on private schools affected their actions [5].

As seen in the figure 26, customership is both a part of the power relations and a part of the new culture. I will return to the culture phenomenon in chapters 4.3., and 5 from the point of view of change in the culture.

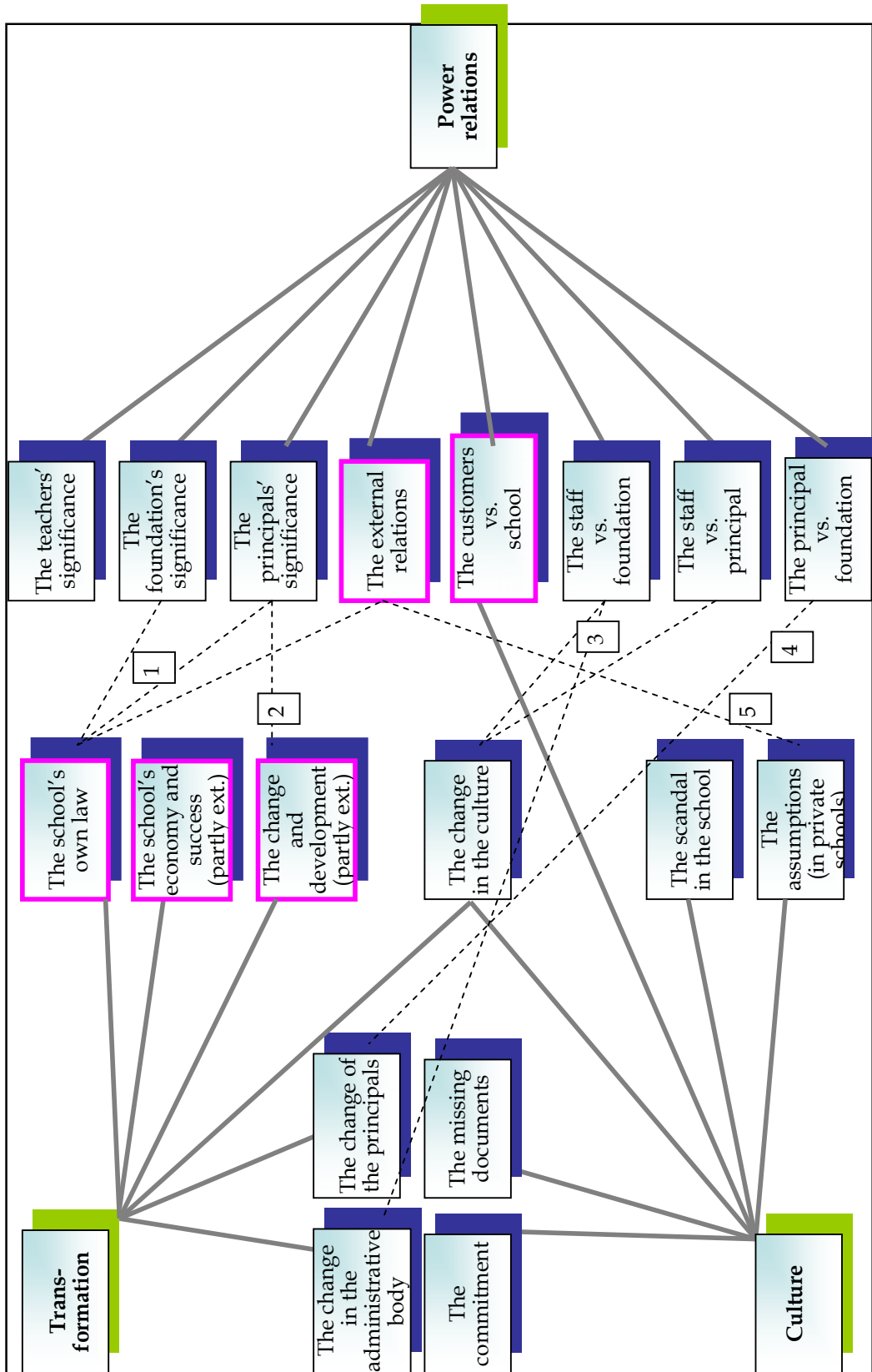


FIGURE 26 Core categories and categories united to describe the phenomenon and power relations in change

4.3 Conclusions from empirical results

Critical incidents were described in chapter 2.6. as follows: Critical incidents are identified after they occur. The critical incidents are examined later e.g. by interviewing those who were involved in them. The significance and meaning are the researcher's interpretation of an event. (Angelides & Ainscow 2000, 152; Angelides 2001, 431-432.)

In the analysis I found four critical incidents which had influenced the school: change in the school legislation (twice), change in the administrative body, and change in the culture. Because the earliest incident happened at the end of the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s I must describe it also so that the later incidents are more understandable even though that time period is outside the original scope target of my study.

The 1st critical incident: The change in the legislation 1

The change process started in 1956 when the Council of State appointed a school program committee. This committee submitted a report with a proposal, by a minority of the committee members, for an all encompassing nine-year school. At the end of the 1960s the school legislation was changed dramatically: The Act of Communalizing the Independent Schools in 1966, The Frame Act of Comprehensive School in 1968 and The Act of the Governmental Funding of Co-operational Schools in 1968. These were a basis for the comprehensive school system which was accepted in The Basic Education Decree in 1970. In this new school legislation it was mentioned that a private school could continue on the basis of an agreement with the local municipality. After illegal communalizing processes in Lapland, where the comprehensive school was first started, the Supreme Administrative Court affirmed the rights of private schools. The left-wing Government responded by changing Section 14 in the School System Act so that the municipalities' possibility to use private schools was limited and so the earlier illegal decisions were legitimized. After that change most schools decided to merge into the comprehensive school system. (Teperi 1995, 241-311.)

In this new situation there was no statute for private schools. In the Basic Education Act it was only mentioned that schools got funding according to the agreements they had made with municipalities. (Kailanpää 1990, 132-197; Teperi 1995, 241-311; Finlex 2007.) This fault in the legislation was known by the administrator but even though the legislation was changed in 1983 no correction was made concerning private schools (Basic Education Act 1983; Basic Education Decree, 1984). As earlier noted in chapter 3 in 1985-86 the officials of the state level school administration assured that this had not been intentional but private schools were forgotten in the original comprehensive school legislation. This was quite surprising because private schools had negotiated about their situation since the changes in legislation in 1968 (Teperi 1995, 249-252).

After the change in the school system the school in this study was able to continue as a private school. As earlier mentioned in chapter 3 these changes caused economical problems since the comprehensive school system was started, because the school was not able to get agreements with all the municipalities wherefrom the students came. The school lost applicants because the comprehensive schools were free of charge and the new curriculum gave more flexibility in studies. This way the change in the legislation turned out to be critical causing a vicious circle effect for the school and a debate on closing the school was started in the middle of the 1980s.

The 2nd critical incident: The change in the legislation 2

In 1985 closing the school was almost the only possibility because the Foundation had used all its funds. The new principal did not accept the idea of closing the school and started negotiations with the Ministry of Education, the NBVE, and the Board of Education first to ensure the school's position. The school got a new position as an elementary home and institutional economics line in 1986. In these negotiations there also arose the idea of the school's own legislation and a team was established to consider developing the school in 1986. At the end of 1986 the idea of the school's own law was officially introduced in the BF meeting and the law was accepted in Parliament in 1988 (The XX School's Act 1988; The XX School's Decree 1989).

Both above mentioned critical incidents were external. Many researchers agree that legislation influences organizations actions e.g. building a legal environment, legitimizing organizations' actions and existence, with direct legislation, and with subsidy. In category 10 I noted that legislation steers the school's every day life. (Cf. Parsons 1956a, 68; 1956b, 227; Edelman & Suchman 1997; Miner *et al.* 1990, 690; Mitchell 1995, 175; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, 191, 214; Björk 2006.)

In the first change the school's existence was threatened even to the point that the education it was giving was not legitimized anymore. Due to the influence of the comprehensive school legislation the school made short-term decisions because economical issues steered the decision making. When the school got its own legislation it was a legitimized actor in the field of education, and its existence was secured. Hope of continuity rose, the development of the school was started, the school got more applicants and enrollment increased, and the economical situation was improved. The school was able to make long-term decisions to develop the school e.g. the building of the school campus continued up to the beginning of the 21st century and new curricula, 1984 and 1994, led the school into the 21st century too. This way the second change in the legislation became critical starting the process of getting out of the vicious circle.

The 3rd critical incident: The change in the administrative body

Even though the school's environment and legislations had changed, the BF was a kind of 'old fashioned' bureaucratic fortress. They were using the old method of changing the principal again and again. Development of the school

had been minimal. In 1994 the staff members and parents stood behind the Principal when the BF decided to dismiss the Principal. With the threat of a strike they forced two of the members to leave the BF. In this situation the whole BF decided to leave and a new BF was chosen.

The first outcome was that the Principal got more power to develop the school. He was able to develop the school to face the 21st century. The second outcome was that teachers were empowered to develop their work. At the same time a teacher development program was started so that the unqualified teachers studied to get their qualifications. The school paid the costs and helped by giving time for the studies. The third consequence was that building new dormitories was planned. Construction work was completed at the beginning of the 21st century. The fourth outcome was that the faults in the power relations were corrected at the end of the 1990s: the school got new middle level managers in the dormitory, kitchen, student welfare, and financial office. The idea was that the problems should be solved where they occur, not in the BF or in an executive team.

All these changes came about because staff members were empowered to make decisions and solve problems at the level they occurred. The BF's role was only to make sure that the school had resources to do its task and the principal and staff members took care of the daily tasks in the school. In this model the BF and principal were changed from manager to leaders (cf. figure 25, p. 135). These also changed the culture.

The 4th critical incident: The beginning of the change in the culture

The first change in the culture occurred when the school's continuity was secured. When the temporary teachers positions were changed into permanent positions and the preparation of the school's own legislation was going on hope arose amidst the staff.

In 1993 the new principal brought visionary development to the school. He brought information technology to the school and started international collaboration. After the scandal in the school he also started to collaborate with the parents and the Parents' Council was started. He also developed the dormitories to be more comfortable for the students. This way the thinking of customership was developed in the midst of the staff too.

The fruits of the development were seen when the BF tried to oust the Principal from his job. In this situation the parents and staff for the first time publicly stood on the principal's side and prevented the BF from dismissing the Principal. After that some of the administrative odds were corrected and the culture was more open, collaborative and flexible for changes.

The last principal returned the school to its roots: the school saw the work-school tradition from a new perspective when schoolwork was also seen as work. This was written in the new curriculum too. (Cf. Deal & Kennedy 2000, 5.) She was interested in human relations and corrected some of the wrongs in that area. Old irresponsible power was corrected but at the same time staff members were empowered in a new administrative culture.

Most of the changes in the culture took place in 1994-2000. It seems that other things had to be in order before the change of the culture: (financial) security by the law, development in maintenance, change in the administration and its actions, and innovative leaders. The effect of the critical incidents is seen best in chapter 5.2. especially in figures 34 (p. 152) and 35 (p. 155).

5 'WRITING UP' THE THEORY

Das mag in der Theorie richtig sein, taugt aber nicht in der Praxis.

(Kant 1793)

Nothing is as practical as good theory.

(Lewin 1945)

The grounded theory methodology I used in this study is described in chapter 2. According to Glaser (1992, 111, 122)

In this final stage of grounded theory methodology, writing is a 'write up' of piles of ideas from theoretical sorting.

One can follow the methods of Grounded Theory methodology and come up with substantive theory; it produces it.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967, 40) during the research the emergent categories will begin to form patterns and interrelations which will ultimately form the core of the emerging theory. In this chapter the change process is described as it emerged to me as a researcher.

In this chapter I put together the fractured data from analysis and memos producing a theory (cf. Glaser 1992, 108-110; Glaser & Holton 2004, 19-21). The main idea of the theory arose during the analysis process and the school's sphere of activities was described in memos. When I found the critical incidents I started to see the same phenomenon of vicious circle that Alava (1999) had used in his dissertation. After the analysis process and theoretical sorting I also read theoretical literature and I found that some of the earlier studies had come to the same kind of conclusions. I introduce some of those ideas in chapter 5.1 as an introduction to my theoretical thinking.

As noted in chapter 4.3. the analysis showed that one of the critical incidents happened at the end of the 1960s and I must start from that time period to give a better basis to understand the phenomenon. Because the incident was external I was able to get information about it from literature and documents. I also used one interview that I made afterwards and did not

analyze because the interviewee mostly told about the years before 1985 (cf. chapter 2.5.).

5.1 Theoretical Frame

The organizational theory in this study is based on contingency theory. Contingency theory argues that: there is no universal or one best way to manage, and there is no best way to organize. In contingency theory the environment has a strong influence on organizations (Booth 1993, 29). The management of an organization and design of an organization and its subsystems must 'fit in' with the environment. Morgan (1986, 48; cf. Schein 1997, 51; cf. Handy 1985, 99-111) notes that

Organizations are open systems that need careful management to satisfy and balance internal needs and to adapt to environmental circumstances.

A simplified model of contingency theory is found in figure 27.

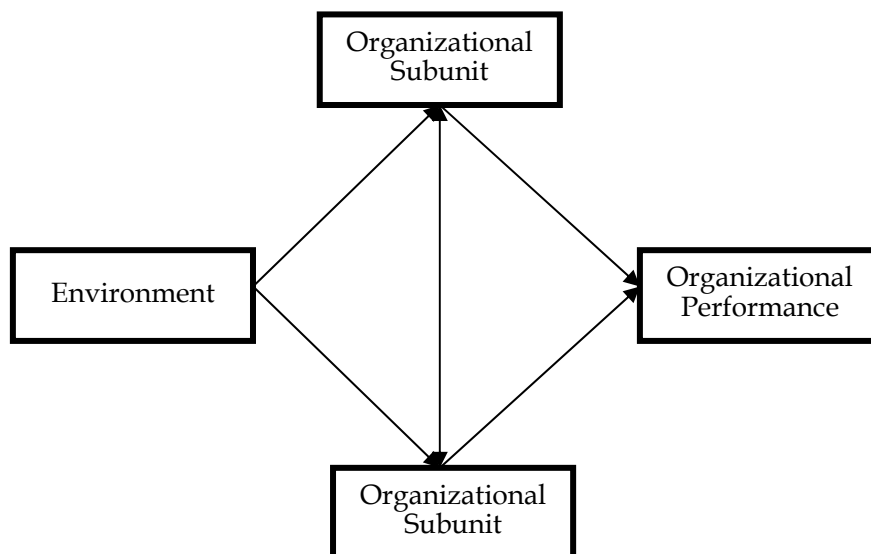


FIGURE 27 A simplified model of contingency theory (source Weill & Olson 1989, 61)

Gemert and Woudstra (2005, 12) use Twente Organizational Communication Model (TOCOM) to describe the communication in an organization and with its environment. I describe the contingency theory basis in this research using a modified TOCOM model presented in figure 28. The central part of the model describes individuals, members of the organization, who form the basis of the organization's image, identity. Attitudes and behavior, the way the organization acts, are seen in culture components. The surrounding environment affects the identity. (p. 20, 28, 30-32.) The message is the information flow in the organization. It includes the messages individuals

present to satisfy their own goals (informal) and corporate communication (formal) with the environment (p. 25-26, 44). Tools are the ways the desired information is transferred to internal and external target groups. The environment might affect the mixture of the tools. The desired information includes a vision and goals and a strategy (p. 22). Symbolism includes jargons, rituals and symbols in the organization making the members talk the same language (assimilation). These create the social structure of the organization (p. 28; cf. Blumer 1986). The ring of fire, emotions, is the most important potential barrier to the change. (Gemert & Woudstra 2005, 32) The inner triangle and outer triangle describe formal and informal dimensions of the organizational communication.

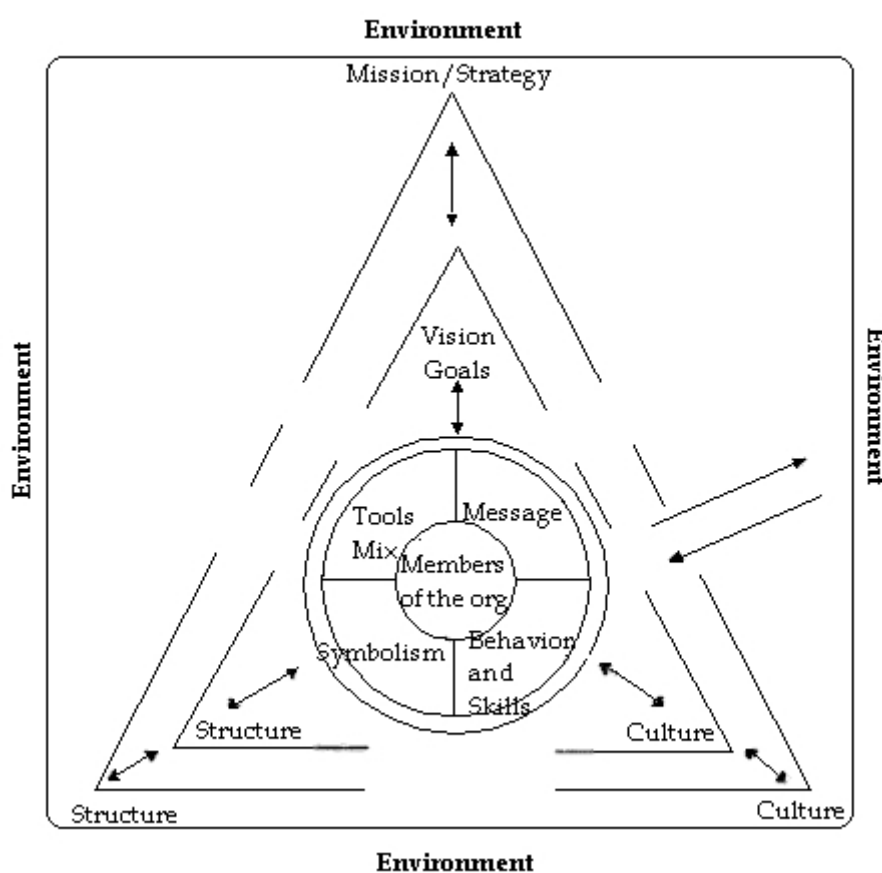


FIGURE 28 Conceptual model of contingency theory (source Gemert & Woudstra 2005, 12, modified by Kanervio)

According to Gemert and Woudstra (2005, 48)

Formal communication refers to the consultative structure and all flows that are necessary to support this structure and which are planned. Informal communication refers to all communication between members of an organisation or an organisation's subsystems that is not planned but emerges.

Informal communication includes all communication such as enquiries about other people's health or gossip (i.e., the 'grapevine': Davis and Connor 1977). In this case, gossip refers to the expression of negative or even constructive criticism of someone

else's performance on inappropriate occasions. Moreover, informal communication includes the contacts that occur between people in the course of their work.

In the TOCOM model the environment is outside the organization and the organization adapts to the changes in the environment. The environment's effects might cause a crisis in the organization, because the environmental changes might require a change in the organization's culture, structure or/and strategy. How the organization responds to the crisis is critical. (Cf. Nadler & Tushman 1995, 500; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, 106-110; chapter 4.2. core category 1.) In this adaptation internal relations are significant: in crises the staff understands the need for change, there are attractive propositions for change (win-win), and the strength of the old culture influence the time needed for change (Deal & Kennedy 2000, 163; cf. chapter 4.2. core category 3). The internal integration process is the manager's task: creating a common basis for communicating, defining group boundaries, distributing power and status, developing group norms, defining a rewards and punishments system, and explaining the unexplainable (Schein 1997, 70-93). Sometimes an organization is able to affect the environment, too (cf. Weick 1977, 271-273; category 11). If the organization is able to affect its environment the result might be buffers that insulate the organization from the environment's effects. (Cf. Miner *et al.* 1990, 690-691; category 10.)

On the basis of the strategic contingency theory Booth (1993, 104-107) developed a general model of organizational crisis process. Even though crises are unique this model gives an overall description of common processes in crisis development. The process is described in figure 29.

The model in figure 29 assumes that normally organizations are able to operate in their environments (survival mode). When an organization meets a challenge or threat it might solve the problem with routine procedures and return to the survival mode. Sometimes redefinition of the problem e.g. a change in administration is needed. Usually lack of time and uncertainty worsen the situation because the organization is not able to consider all its possibilities. In a crisis situation decision makers rely more on personal experience than on provided information and even reduce the intake of information causing a lack of objectivity and possibly denying the seriousness of the crisis. Sometimes the organizational culture might be a resource in the crisis and in such a situation reliance on the organization's dominant culture and making conservative decisions worsen the crisis. Usually at this stage the organizational resources are inadequate to solve the problem. Increasing stress deteriorates the decision making capacity. In the article Strategic Intent (Hamel & Prahalad 1989, 72) there was a similar model, called The Process of Surrender. Hamel and Prahalad note that "A company's strategic orthodoxies are more dangerous than its well-financed rivals" (1989, 63).

According to Leifer (1989, 904) increasing turbulence, loss of control and scarcity of resources "create a critical condition called *bifurcation point of singularity*". At this point the organization has an opportunity to successfully deal with these environmental threats. In this far-from-equilibrium situation

conditions for the emergence of dissipative systems are created. (Cf. Goldstein 1988; Schein 1992, 298-303, dynamics of change.)

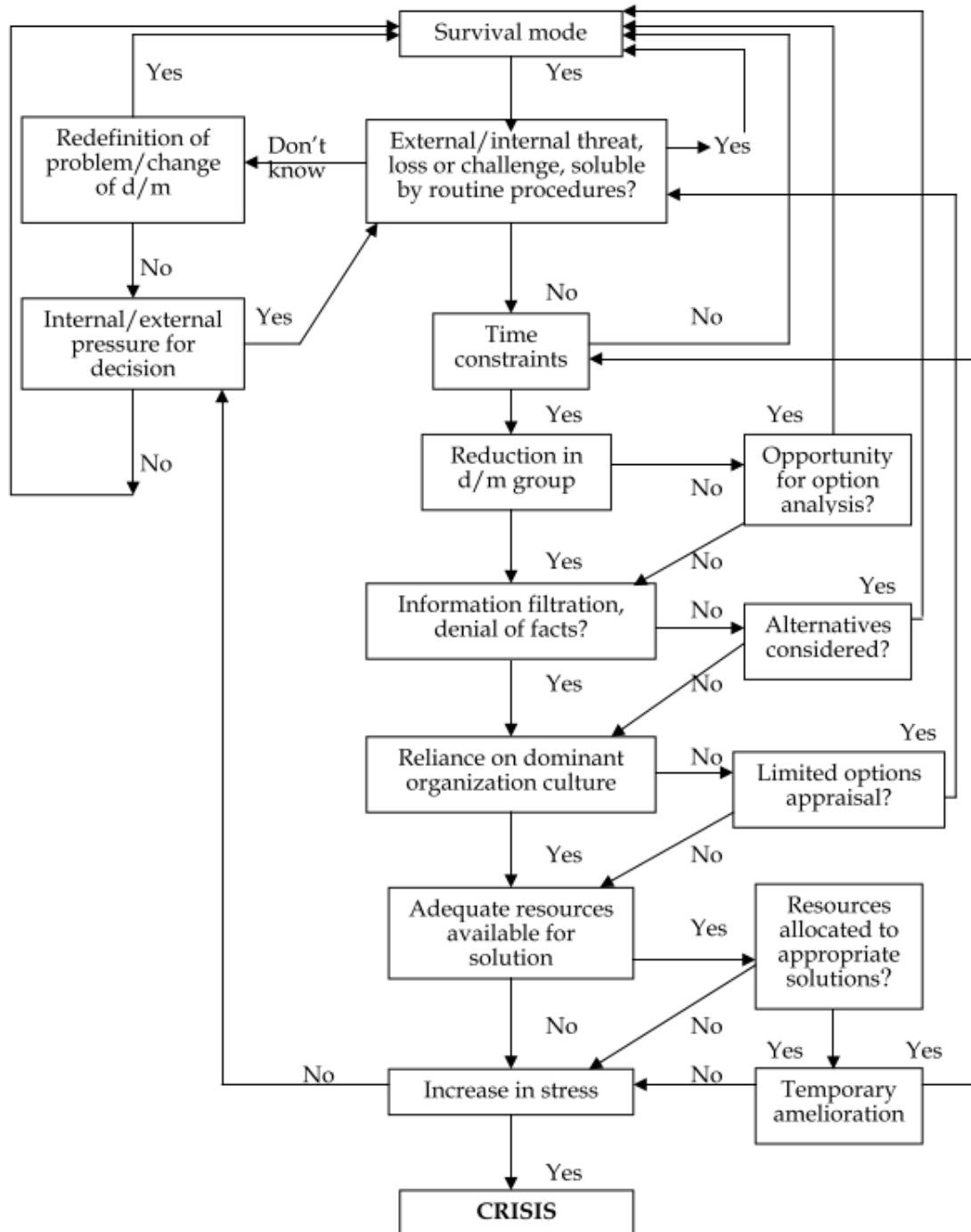


FIGURE 29 Process model of crisis development (source Booth 1993, 105)

Booth (1993, 107-112) also developed a pattern of the crises resolutions described in figure 30. The model is more complex if different parts of an organization relate in different ways to the same stage.

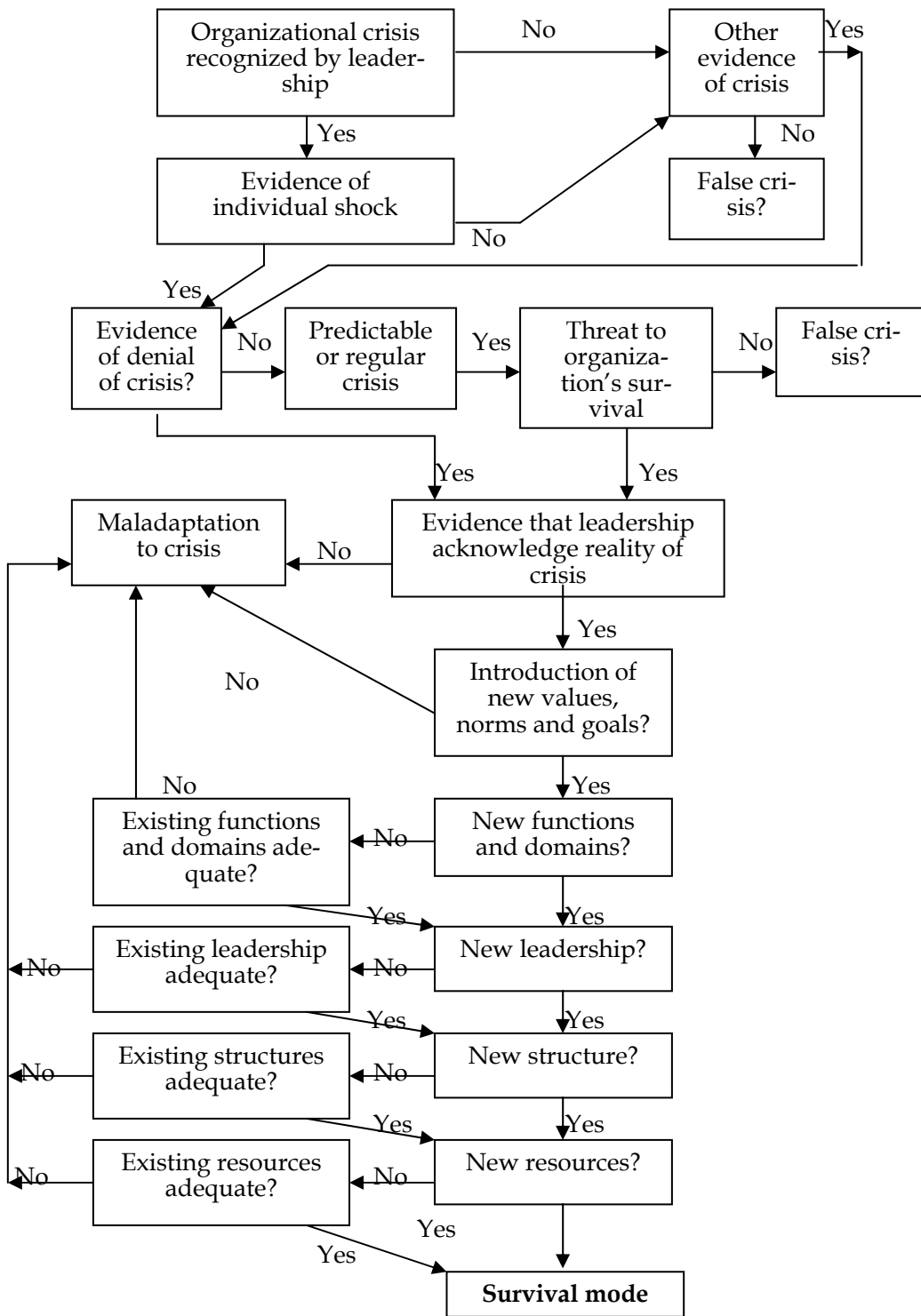


FIGURE 30 Process model of crisis resolution (source Booth 1993, 108)

This model starts with a threat of an organization’s survival, and the survival starts with an introduction of new values, norms and goals. If the crisis is solved the result is the survival mode but if the crisis solving fails, the result is maladaptation to the crisis. (Cf. Leifer 1989, 904; Romanelli & Tushman 1986,

615.) It seems that new values are not adapted before the conditions are adequate to change. I will return to this in more detail in chapter 5.2.

According to Booth organizational responses to a crisis are described in table 34 (in next page). Different responses to a crisis are: shock, denial and retreat, acknowledgement, maladaptation, and adaptation. These responses lead to different actions at the organization level concerning change: use of resources, leadership, monitoring and planning, communication, inter-group relations, and the functioning of the organization (cf. figure 30). The only way out of the crisis is adaptation (cf. Schein 1997, 51). Schein (1997 237-) point out leaders' significance in crises situations, because their reactions form the basis for adapting a new culture.

According to Booth (1993, 110-112) crises influence at five levels: the individual, group, organizational, interorganizational systems, and environmental level. He introduced a multi-level analysis of crisis (MAC) as a control system of critical incidents. The MAC is described in figure 31. This model is based on Quarantelli's (1991) and Jarman's and Kouzmin's (1992) ideas how crises influence at different levels of the organization and how crises are seen by different agencies.

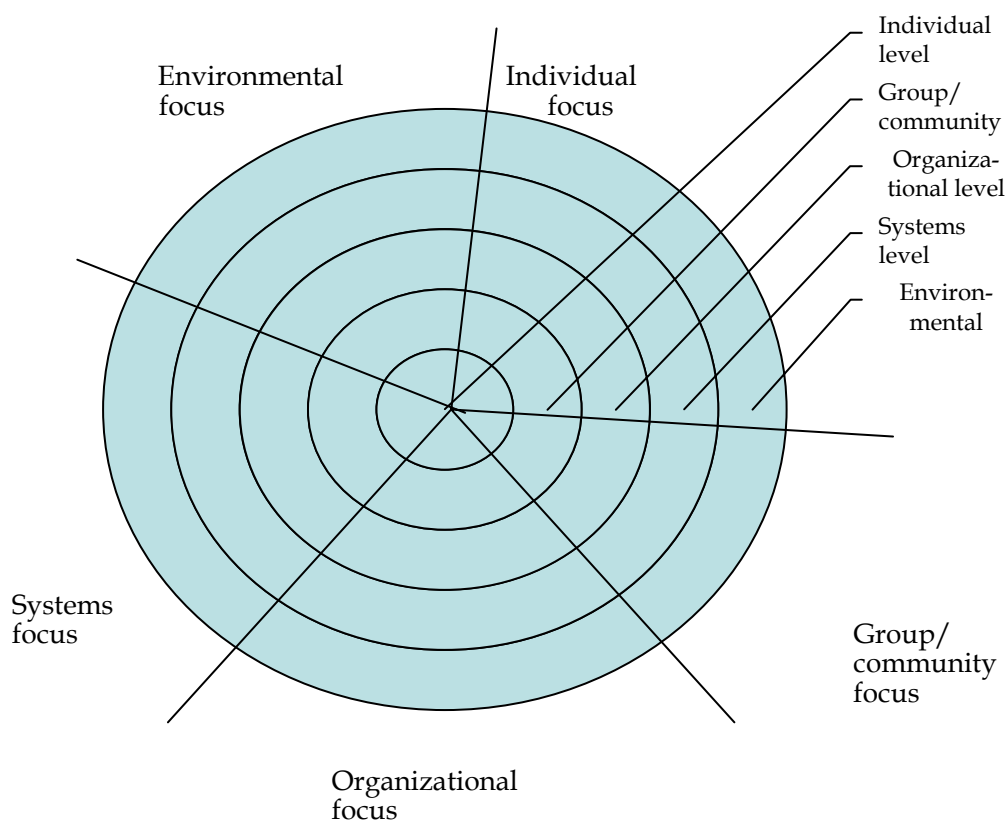


FIGURE 31 Multi-level analysis of crisis (source Booth, 1993, 111)

TABLE 34 Organizational response to crisis

Shock	Revert to traditional values and goals	Frozen	Chaotic retreat	Paralyzed	Random	Disturbs one way	Broken	Partially functioning
Denial and retreat	Dominance of traditional values and goals	Use of old recourses	Limited, partial	Autocratic	Limited	Limited two way	Self-protective	Reliance on old structure
Acknowledgement	Limited search for new value system and goals	Search for new resources	Development of functions	Consultative	New Activity	Limited four channels	Bargaining	Reappraisal of structure
Maladaptation	Retreat to old values and goals	Failure to find new resources	Limited functions	Autocratic	Partial and limited	Restricted	Isolated	Retreat to old structure
Adaptation	Establishment of new values and goals	Successful use of new resources	New or improved functions, increased or altered domain	Participative	New plans and monitoring of relevant environment	Open all channels	Coordinated	Establishment of new structure

Due to the above and to the contingency theory organization's environment is one influential factor. To understand what happened in the school we must understand the school's sphere of activities, the environment of the school. Hatch's (1997) organizational environment model is almost similar to Booth's model, even though Hatch's model only has three levels: the organizational, network, and environmental level. At the organizational level there are subgroups which use power. At the network level power is used by stakeholders. In the general environment at state level power relations pertain to political, economical, and legal decision making. In this research I use Hatch's model to describe the school's environment. The model is in chapter 4 in category 11, figure 17, and my own model of the school's environment is in chapter 5.2. in figure 36 on page 156.

In Hatch's model of the multi-level analysis of crisis, the organizations and its crises are looked at in different focus frames: which are the individual, the group/community, the organizational, the systems, and the environmental frames. In my research all these frames are in use: the individual and group focus comes up in interviews and part of the analysis, the organizational and systems focus in part of the analysis and core categories, and the environmental focus in the categories and in critical incidents and in this theory building.

Kotter (1998; Kotter & Cohen 2002, 1-6) introduced eight steps of transforming an organization which are presented in table 35. Kotter (1998) argues that in most cases four mistakes are sources of the failures: writing a memo instead of lighting a fire, talking too much and saying too little, declaring the victory before the war is over, and looking for villains in all the wrong places. According to Kotter (1998) "the single best impetus for change in an organization tends to be a new manager in a key job".

TABLE 35 Eight steps to transform an organization

1. Establishing a sense of urgency
 - identifying potential or opportunities in a crisis
2. Forming a powerful guiding coalition
 - assembling a group with enough power to lead the change effort
 - encouraging the group to work as a team
3. Creating a vision
 - creating a vision and strategies for achieving that vision
4. Communicating the vision
5. Empowering others to act on the vision
 - changing systems or structures that seriously undermine the vision
 - encouraging risk taking and non traditional ideas and actions
6. Planning for and creating short-term wins
 - planning and creating visible performance improvements

Table 35 continues in next page

Table 35 continues from previous page

7. Consolidating improvements and producing still more change
 - using increased credibility to change systems, structure, and policies that do not fit the vision
 - hiring, promoting, and developing employees who can implement the vision
8. Institutionalizing new approaches
 - articulating the connection between the new behaviors and organizational success

Kotter (1998) argues that some leaders have too little time to manage long-term change. Results and vision are presented in matrix in figure 32. Poor results and a weak vision cause trouble for an organization where good short-term results with weak a vision satisfy many organizations - for a while. The vision that produce low results is abandoned and only a strong effective vision with good short term results offers probability or sustainable success. I will discuss sustainability in more detail in chapters 5.3., in the summary, and 6.4.

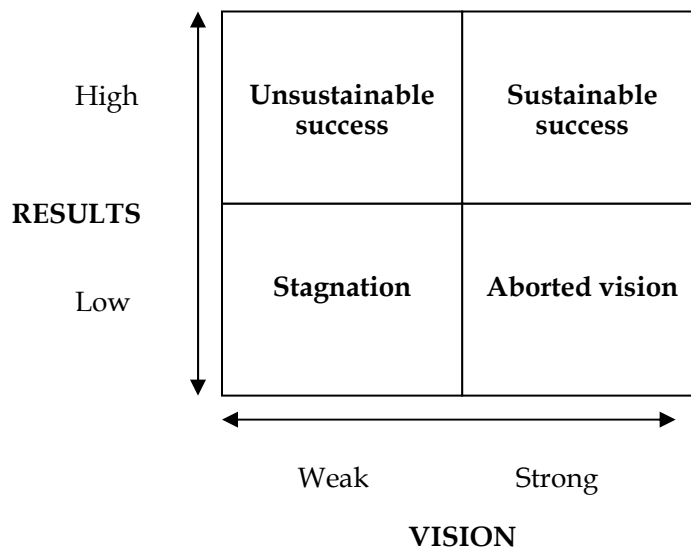


FIGURE 32 Vision, results, and sustainable success (source Kotter 1998)

Alava (1999, 180-203) used a strategic readiness and entropy model to describe an organization's ability to learn to respond to environmental uncertainty. Figure 33 describes the strategic readiness and entropy model. Alava used Gemmill's and Smith's (1985) dissipative structure model of organization's transformation's propositions as a basis for his model. In Alava's model "The higher the level of internal or external disorder experienced within the organization, the greater the probability of either transformation or entropy" (Alava 1999, 762). (cf. Morgan 1986, 46; Goldstein 1988, 21; Schein 1997, 298-302)

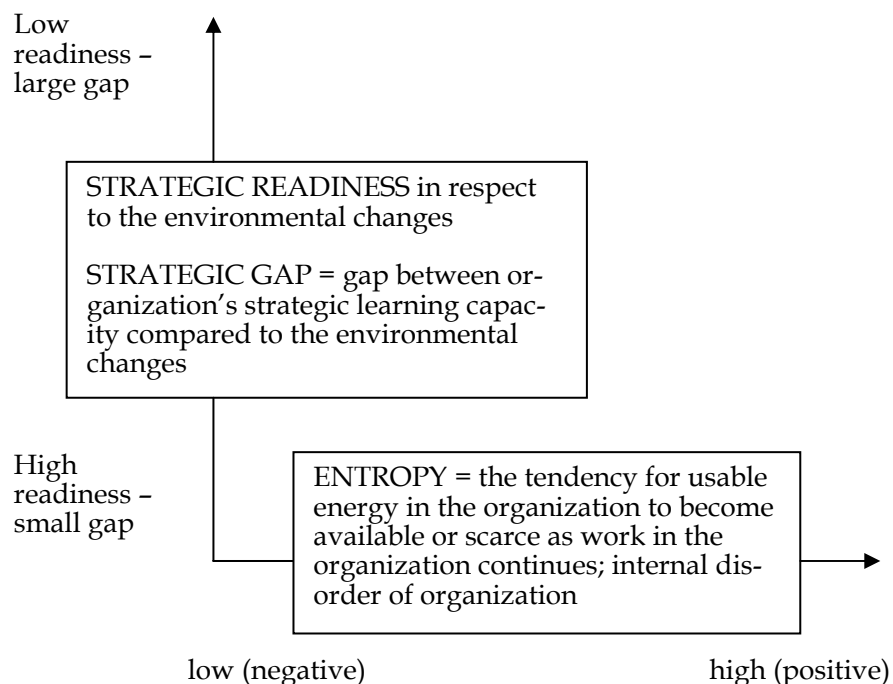


FIGURE 33 Strategic readiness and entropy (source Alava 1999, 192; cf. Leifer 1989, 907)

In school environmental changes in the legislation and in the curricula are sources of external disorder that might cause need for adaptation. Internal changes such as change in the personnel or in administration might cause internal disorder and need for adaptation. If the school is not able to respond to these needs the result might be maladaptation. I will discuss this in more detail in chapter 5.2.

From figure 33 and Leifer's (1989, 907) model of dissipative structures Alava (1999, 195) built a theoretical analyzing frame which is presented in figure 34. The organization is in balance in the low left hand corner in this figure: the gap between the strategic learning capacity and environmental change is small. When this gap grows the need to adapt to the environment grows but readiness to change is still low and that leads to imbalance. At a crisis point the organization has two options: to transform or to decline. If the organization is able to adapt to the environment it leads to transformation (cf. also figures 28, 29, and table 34, adaptation). If the organization is not able to adapt to its environment it leads into a 'vicious circle' (cf. also figures 28, 29 and table 34, maladaptation). Organizations have two options: to dampen the change and eventually decline or to adapt to the environment and transform and survive. Because the change process means using resources, the need for external/internal resources increases to get the net entropy to balance or become positive (Gemmill & Smith 1985, 754-755; Romanelli & Tushman 1986, 615; Leifer, 1989, 905; Alava, 1999, 191-193).

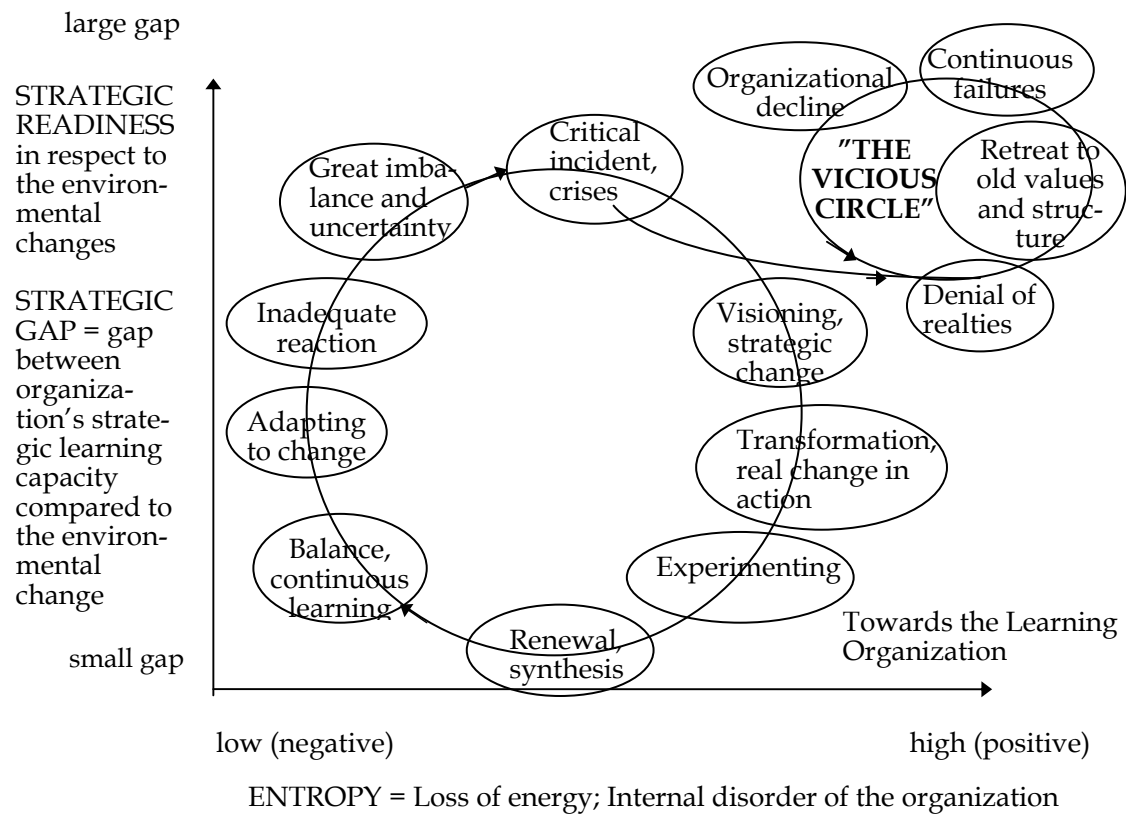


FIGURE 34 Vicious circle and the organizational learning (source Alava 1999, 195, modified by Kanervio)

In a school context external resources might be the Government's subsidy and internal resources might for example be a change in personnel or in administration. Earlier I mentioned that personnel and administration might cause disorder which is contrary to this later notion of resource. The way they respond to the need for adaptation makes them either a risk or a resource.

Because this model has the same factors as the earlier theories I introduced above, it fits well into the school's case. In my theory I use the vicious circle concept to describe the situation in the school in 1985. I will describe how the school fell into a state of vicious circle and how the school got out of it back to a survival mode. In this study I am not concentrating on organizational learning because I look at the phenomenon from a critical incidents point of view.

As seen above culture is an important factor in organizational change. According to Schein (1997, 51-69) an organization survival is dependent on its ability to adapt to its change in environment. Elements of the coping cycle are shared cultural assumptions: mission and strategy, goals, means, measurement, and correction. Because all these issues are usually leaders' primary tasks in the adaptation processes, leaders develop the culture, embedding or transmitting (socialization) (p. 2, 68, 211-253; cf. Handy 1985, 142-145). When an organization matures successfully (organizational midlife), its cultural assumptions are taken more and more for granted. In this situation leadership is defined by culture more than leaders create culture. When the environment changes the

organization is not ready to adapt quick enough and decline in the organization occur.

Politics is part of the culture. Individuals have their own values, goals or interests which they want to be taken seriously and because they achieve little on their own they make coalitions. These subgroups create their own culture and more and more the culture is believed to be the organization's culture. In crises this leads to resistance because the pressure and blocking subgroups protect their beliefs or resources. The battle is usually between 'conservatives' who cling to old values, and 'liberals' or 'radicals' who want to change the culture. Leaders must be sensitive to different subcultures. (Schein 1997, 255-275; Handy 1985, 206-221, 233-34; Morgan 1986, 120-128; Salancik & Pfeffer 1995, 354-355.) According to Handy (1985, 243-246) the tactics of conflict are information control, information distortion, rules and regulations, information channels, control of rewards, and denigration or tale-telling.

According to Schein (1997, 313-333) change in midlife, mature and declining organizations comes through promotion of selected subcultures, organizational development (planned change, Foster 1986, 117-146), technological seduction, infusion of an outsider (planned change), a scandal or explosion of a myth, coercive persuasion, a turnaround, and reorganization and rebirth. Leaders are important actors in above mentioned processes: they have to start the change in the first place. Often they have to provide disconfirming information to initiate the change process. At the same time they have to provide a feeling of safety and motivate the change.

The management of human assets is part of the organization's culture, such as: career planning, compensation systems, and development of the individual. With these actions employees might also be socialized into the organization. (Handy 1985, 263-284, 292-293.) As I earlier discussed in this chapter personnel might be a risk or a resource in the adaptation process depending on their attitudes toward the transformation. It seems that the socialization into the organization is one way to decrease the resistance.

Power relations are part of the organizations culture but also of the organizational structure. The school's organization is described in chapter 1.1.2. Because the structure is steered by legislation major changes in it are impossible. Only the way power is dealt is changeable.

In chapter 4.2. in core category 2 power resources are described in table 33 on page 129. (Cf. Bolman & Deal 1997, 161-175.) According to Salancik and Pfeffer (1995, 344-345) institutionalized power includes: authority, legitimization, centralized control, regulations, and modern management information systems. Those who have power have the ability to bring the outcomes they desire. As I noted above power is also used in subunits (politics). Because power tends "to buffer the organization from reality and obscure the demands of its environment" many declining companies failed to accommodate to the realities they face. Pfeffer (1995, 498) stresses that "Getting things done needs power." and continues

Innovation and change in almost any arena requires the skill to develop power, and the willingness to employ it to get things accomplished.

According to Salancik and Pfeffer (1995, 344-358) in the strategic-contingency theory it seems that “power facilitates the organization’s adaptation to its environment – or its problems” (p. 345) and sometimes that also affects key leaders’ selection. In many cases power is not institutionalized but it rises from the social situation in which a person is able to do something and another is not but wants it to be done. Changing contingencies changes the basis for power. This way power might also be shared with subunits who later retain their power explaining their functions as critical to the organization (cf. chapter 4.2 core category 2; see also above mentioned politics). McWilliams and Sen (1997, 494; cf. Morgan 1986, 278-280; Worrell *et al.* 1997; Ryan & Wiggins 2004; Uzun *et al.* 2004) found that a common reason for CEO turnover has been periods of crisis or poor performance. (Cf. chapter 4.1, category 4.)

In the open systems theory Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) argued in their resource dependence theory that organizations are dependent on their environment for survival. This dependence creates external control situations especially when resources are externally controlled. Because all organizations exchange resources with the environment as a condition for survival they try to avoid difficult dependences. School organizations are usually dependent on their environment because they get funding from external sources such as the Government.

It seems that the leader is an influential person in the process of adaptation to environmental changes. The election of the leader is important especially in times of disorder. As I earlier discussed the administration could be a resource to balance the entropy caused by the change in the environment.

5.2 Theory building

As I earlier mentioned in chapter 5.1. I built a model of the school’s environment. The model is in figure 35. In the school’s environment:

The power outside the school (blue, left hand part) means legislation and other norms, the national curriculum, other means of control (e.g. collective labor agreement) and co-operational groups.

The power in the school’s surroundings (green, in the middle) means stakeholders, co-operational groups, and their effect on the school (e.g. Parents’ Council), local school authorities and local agreements.

The power culture and power relations in the school (yellow, circle) mean the actors’ capability of co-operation, flexibility and how objective-oriented they are.

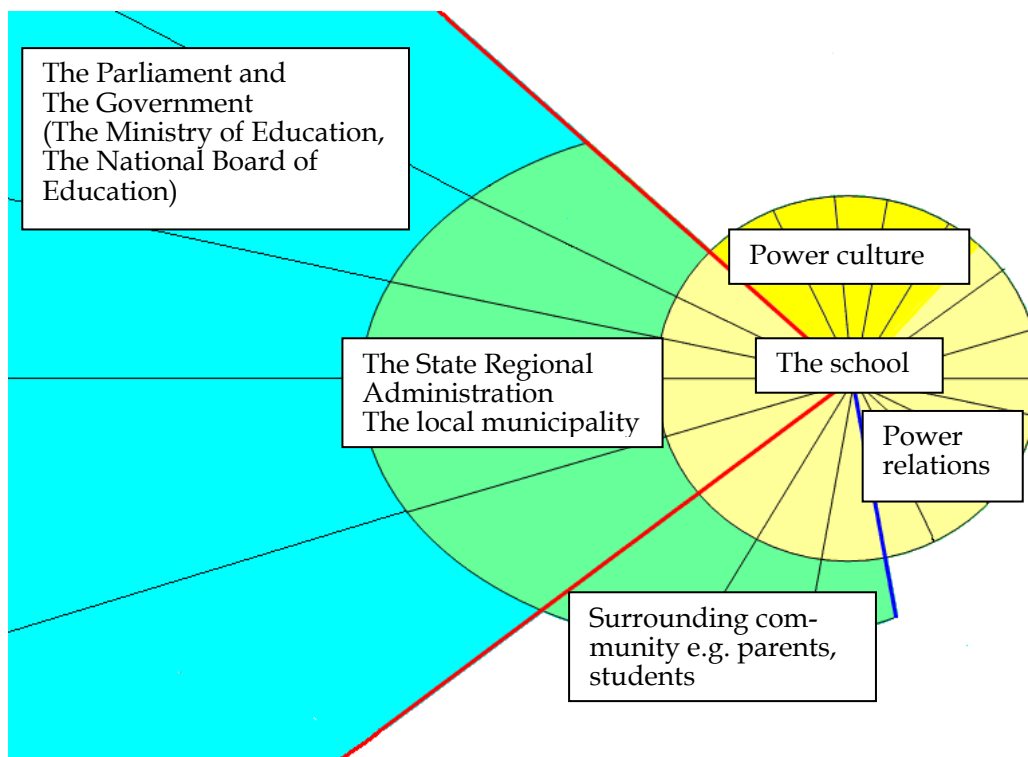
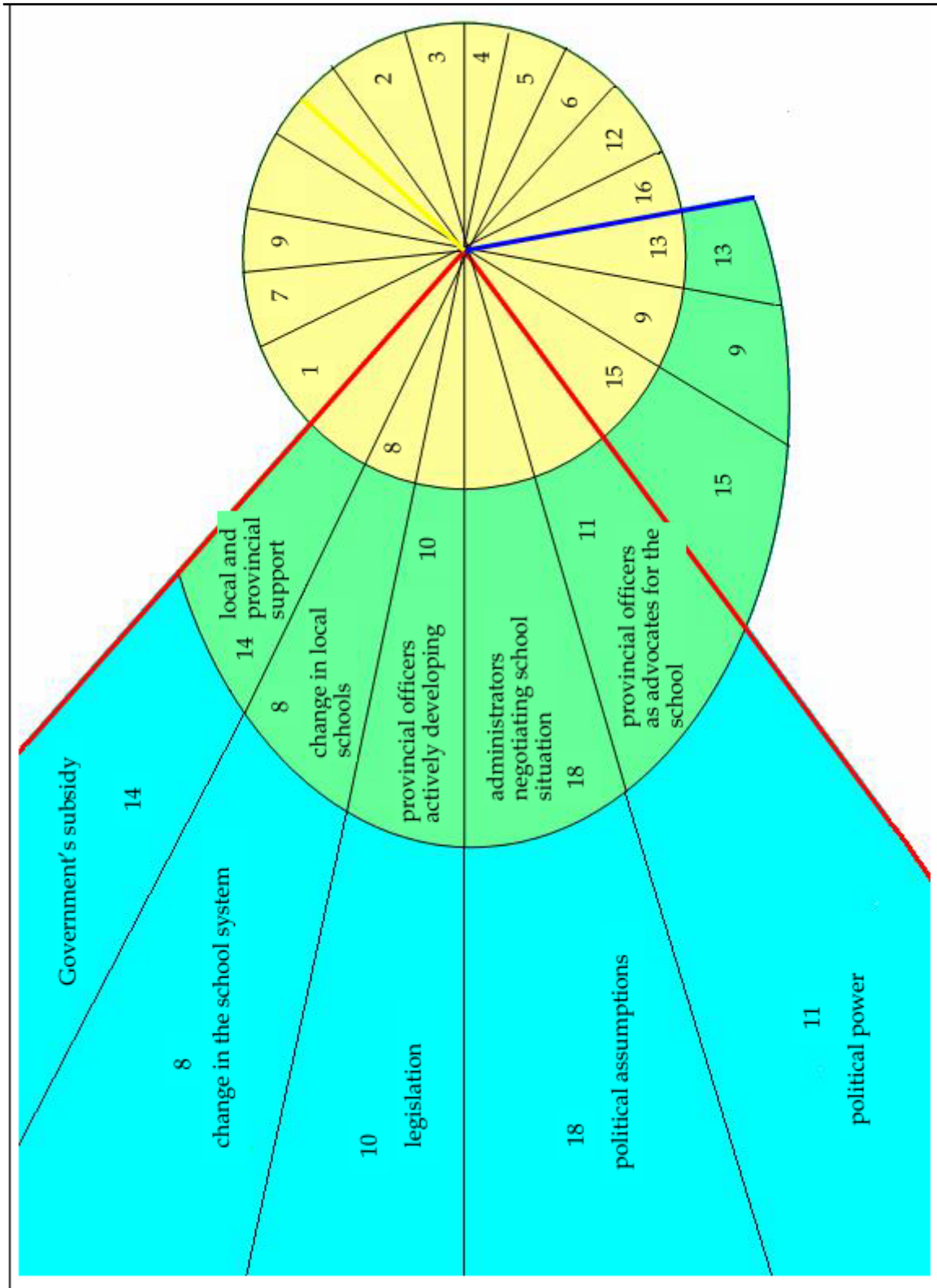


FIGURE 35 The school's environment

In this system of powers the school usually has great power to affect its own decisions, some possibilities to affect the local decision but hardly any effect on the national decision making, even though it affects the school (cf. Hirsch 1975; Aldrich & Pfeffer 1976, 90-91). For example students are outside the school power because they choose their school, so the school is able to affect their choice only partly or not at all. The school's success might affect students' interest in choosing the school and so the effect comes from the inside. When dealing with the schools' culture and power, an influential factor is how the management acts. (Cf. Bolman & Deal 1997, 52-53.)

I found 18 categories which are described in chapter 4.1 and in table 8 on page 79. I used the above mentioned categories to build the school's environment in figure 36. I have chosen only four categories for the culture part even though I used more when I described subcategory 3 in chapter 4.3. The difference comes from my observation that some of the events were also power relations and the use of power.

FIGURE 36 The School's environment with some notes



The categories are:

- 1 The commitment
- 2 The change of principals
- 3 The staff vs. principals
- 4 The principals vs. foundation
- 5 The foundation's significance
- 6 The principals' significance
- 7 The missing documents
- 8 The change and development
- 9 The scandal in the school
- 10 The school's own law
- 11 The external powers
- 12 The staff vs. foundation
- 13 The change in the administrative body
- 14 The school's economy and success
- 15 The customers vs. school
- 16 The teachers' significance
- 17 The change in the culture
- 18 The assumptions (in private schools)

When I found that it was more power than culture the category was set in power relations in this picture but I take notice that it also has a cultural element. Category 9, the scandal in the school, is set in culture and community relations because of the external pressure it caused for the school. That external pressure also changed the culture. I also place category 13, the change in the administrative body, in the community relations because the parents threat to keep students at home in a strike situation was the final reason for an agreement that the old BF resigned in 1994. Category 8, the change and development, goes throughout the levels down to the school because change also happened in the school even though it was not directly led from upper levels. Next I added to the school's environment the incidents which led to a crisis and the results of those incidents. These incidents are described in figure 37. In this figure I describe the changes in the environment which caused problems for the school. The change in the environment started with a change in political thinking at state level as described in chapter 4.3.

The school faced change in its external conditions when the comprehensive school system was started in the 1970s. The principal was able to save the school from communalizing, but because of the change in the legislation the school lost part of its public funding. Due to that an economical crisis started. It seems that from the 1970s the school's response to crisis was denial and retreat: dominance of traditional values and goals, use of old resources, limited functioning of the school, autocratic leadership, limited monitoring and planning activity, inter-groups self-protection, and reliance on old structure. Little by little the enrollment dropped and school did not get full funding from the municipalities as earlier told. The school did not have enough resources to solve the problem and the principal made conservative decisions because of her tiredness to run the business. That affected the BF's decisions

too. That was seen when the retired principal was still on the BF and gave support to the idea of closing the school. Because the school did not solve the problems it used the Foundations funds to run the school business. (Cf. Booth 1993, 104-107; figure 29 p. 145.)

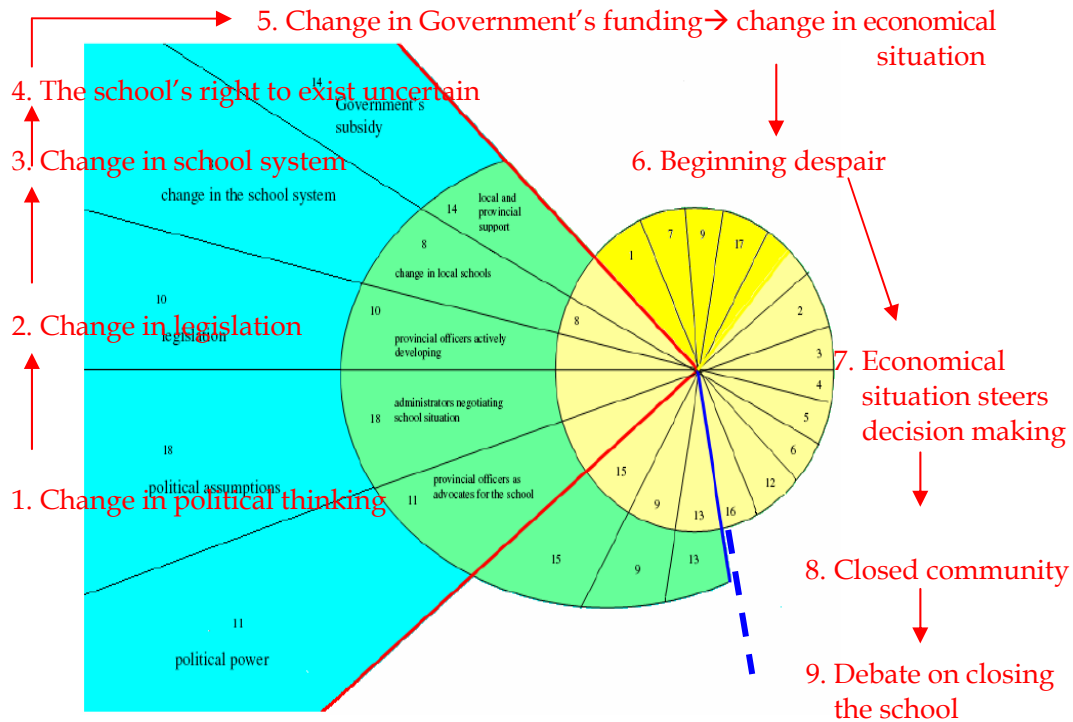


FIGURE 37 Nine steps into a vicious circle (1970-1985, red text)

When the crisis deepened, this led the school to maladaptation: failure to find new resources, functioning of the school threatened, autocratic leadership, restricted communication, isolated inter-groups, and old organizational structure. Suddenly in 1985 the school noticed that it was in a crises and time was running out. The only ways out seemed to be selling the school to the local municipality or closing the school. (Cf. Booth 1993, 104-107; figure 29, p. 145.)

The school was not ready for the change (gap) and lost its energy dampening the change. When the environment changed the school became increasingly misaligned with the respect of the environment. In this case the environments resource input was larger than the negative entropy: economical subsidy, help in form of an administrator, a new law. With these resources the school was able to change when it was ready for that change. (Cf. Gemmill & Smith 1985, 754-755; Alava 1999, 196, 33, 150.)

If we compare figures 33 and 36 we can see the change in connection to strategic readiness. When change in the political environment occurred and due to the change in legislation it caused a need to adapt to change. Because the school was not able to do it (inadequate reaction) that caused later imbalance and uncertainty and the school faced a crisis and fell into a vicious circle.

In the vicious circle the school used the Foundation's resources to fill the entropy gap again and again. Economical issues steered decision making. The school declined losing more students and due to that lost Governmental subsidy (continuous failures). The Foundation lost capital by filling up the economical gap and debate on closing the school started.

Eventually in 1985 the school responded to the crisis with adaptation. The school successfully used new resources such as political relations and special subsidy from the Government. It also increased functioning of the school developing the teaching and with increased enrollment. New plans e.g. in construction and an economical monitoring system were part of the adaptation. Later in the 1990s a new structure, participative leadership, open communication flow, and inter-groups coordinates were also adapted. When the new principal in 1985 realized the crisis she did not accept the idea of closing the school. She started a process that led the school into the survival mode. In this case the final change in the values and goals came after almost all the other things were changed. Norms were changed externally with a change in legislation. Figure 30 on page 146 describes the change process well in this case too. (Cf. Booth 1993, 107-112.) The school's process back into the survival mode is described in figure 38.

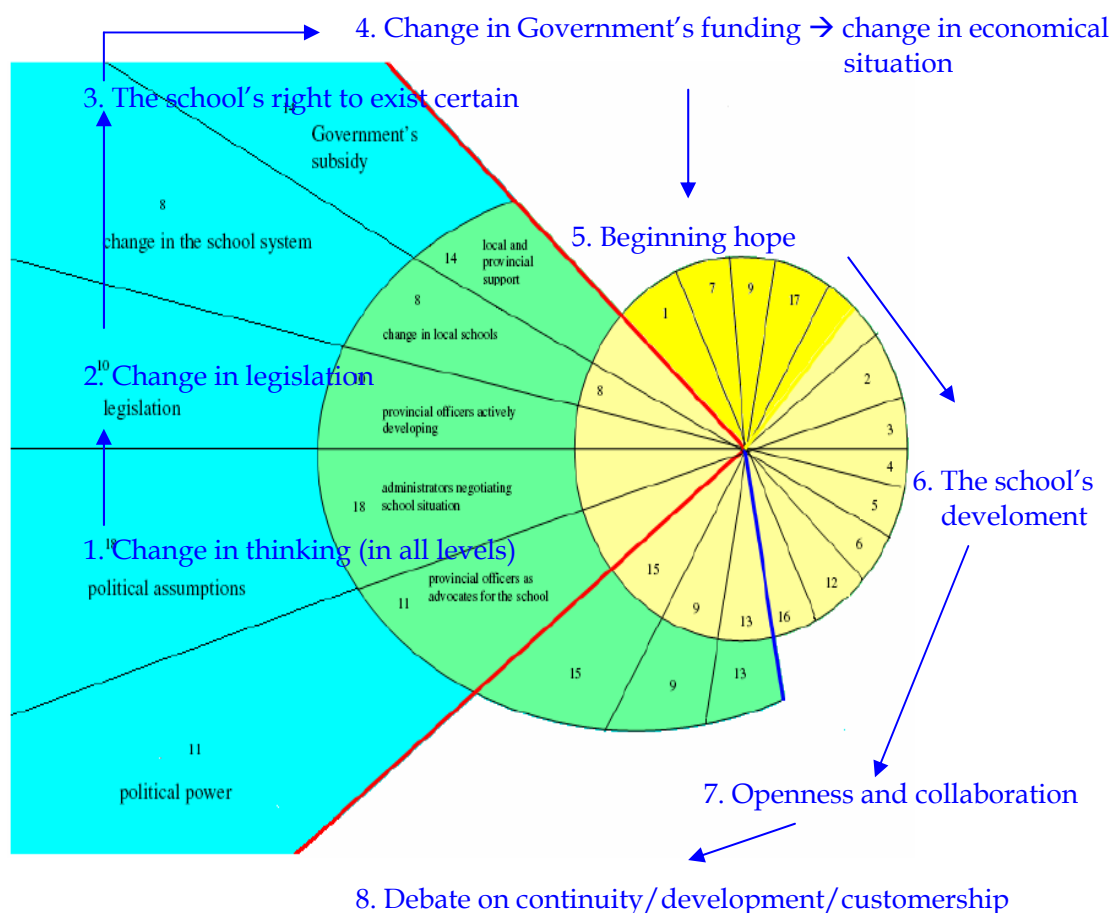


FIGURE 38 Eight steps out of the vicious circle (1985-2000, blue text)

The change started at the provincial level. The State Provincial Office had helped the school to get the Government's extra subsidy to fill the economical gap. The officers supported the school's applications for extra founding from the Government. In the crisis situation the State Provincial Office established a team, which the Minister of Education had suggested earlier during her visit, to consider a plan for the school, the ownership of the school, and developing of the school. This team made a final proposition for the school's own legislation. This was a new way to think about the problem. When the legislation was changed and the school got its own legislation the school's existence was secured.

Even though the economical situation was not stabile, the school began rebuilding and started development projects in 1990-1991. This was a remarkable achievement because Finland was in deep economical depress at that time. It is also remarkable that enrollment increased at the beginning of the 1990s even though the school charged for dormitory living expenses. It seems that good publicity and especially a TV program brought more applicants in 1992.

If we connect figures 33 and 37 the first change was in thinking. In 1995 the new principal neither denied the situation nor did she accept the declining thinking the BF represented. The school jumped to a new level of visioning and strategic change trying to get a change in the legislation. This was not an ordinary way of thinking but very innovative.

This kind of change in the school legislation was made in 1983 when in the new Secondary Education Act § 68 there was a special arrangement for the private Toivonlinna Junior College. This law stated that the private upper secondary school including classes from secondary school got funding from the Government. Toivonlinna did not have the same kind of problems with the Government's subsidy because of the law. The junior college had not been active in this case. (Anttila 2006.) An earlier province officer in the Province of Turku and Pori, Silvola (2006), remembered that he had been favourable of the Toivonlinna Junior College and had given favourable statements about the school and that might have affected the special arrangement in the Secondary Education Act. Because the school in this research was not an upper secondary school, this new Secondary School Act did not affect their situation. Because Toivonlinna and the school in this research were in different provinces the school's situation was not handled.

When the idea of the school's own legislation was introduced the next change was mental, a feeling of continuity. According to Leifer (1989, 908)

Since the collapse of faith in the old system, the organization's survival will depend on rekindling faith and optimism in the organization's potential for survival and success.

The circle of continuous failures was broken. When the legislation was changed the school returned to the survival mode.

According to Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, 228-230) the environment may affect the distribution of power and control within an organization which may affect the selection or removal of executives. The change in executives may affect the organizations actions and structure as adaptation to the environment.

The first change in administration was that the next principal was hired for a longer time. He started visioning and development in 1991 but had to leave the principal's post because of his poor health. A new visionary principal started in 1993. The real change and transformation started in 1994 when the old BF had left after staff members had threatened with a strike at the end of 1993. That was the next change in the distribution of power and control within the school. After that the school was ready to adapt to the next changes in the environment: e.g. the new curriculum in 1994-1995, and the new school laws in 1998.

The last part on the route back to the survival mode was the change in the culture in 1994. The principal was innovative and brought IT and an international Comenius program to the school. He also got the parents together to create the Parents' Council. The school was open and collaborative with its environment and also internationally. When earlier economical issues had led the decision making, now decisions were made with students in the center (cf. Björk & Gurley 2003, 50). This caused e.g. a development in the dormitories, and a teacher development program in which the unqualified teachers got their qualification.

Björk and Gurley (2003, 52-58) introduced a change process in Jasper County, Kentucky, in 1982-1991. Many of those changes are similar with this case: funding for buildings, funding for development, change in the education, and debate. In Jasper County these led to a community of learners. Elements of a learning community are: whole staff involvement, a shared vision and values, a focus on students learning, reflecting dialogue, and collaborative practice. (Boyd & Hord 1994, 27-29; Hord 1997, 14-24; DuFour 2004, 6-11; cf. Björk 2003.) The elements of a community of learners are seen in the school especially in 1994-2000.

5.3 Theory of renewal in the school

My main question was: What happened in the school when it renewed? This then raised questions for the research: What is the key to making a turnaround in a school? What is the management's role in the change? How did the change in the school culture take place and why? I have answered the first question in the story, analysis, and theory building chapter. In this chapter I will answer the research questions.

What was the key to making a turnaround in the school?

Answering this question I found that this has similarities with Booth’s model of crises resolutions (cf. figure 30, p. 146). The biggest difference was that in my model the change of the culture was the last change. It seems that the change in ethos was not possible before the school was in good shape. Figure 39 describes the turnaround process in the school. The stages of the processes are large and partly overlapping as seen in the figure 39.

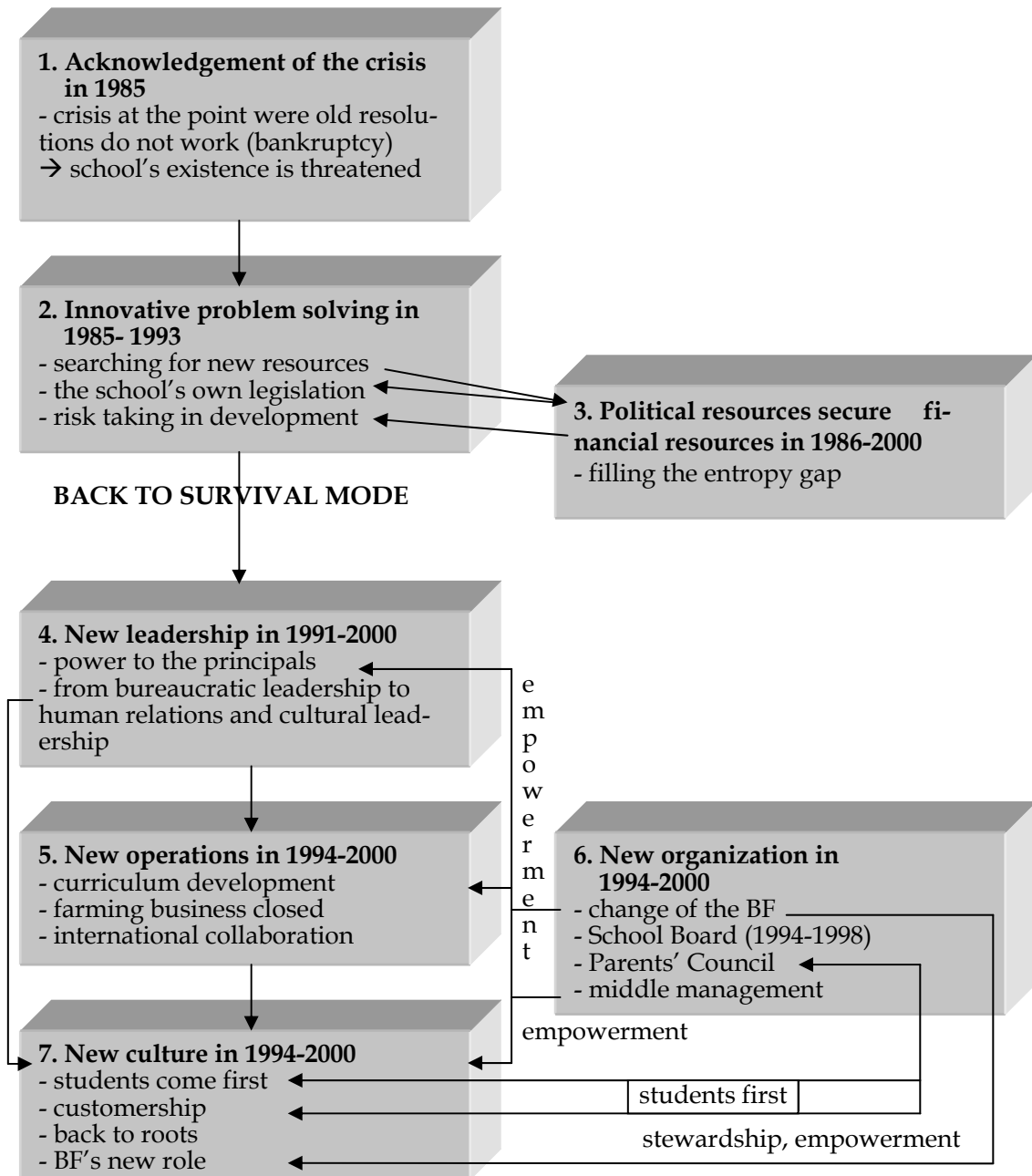


FIGURE 39 Turnaround in the school

In this process the political powers and new organizations are seen as resources for the school. In 1985-1991 the state level political power was the most

important resource to get the school back into the survival mode. This political power secured the school's existence with a new legislation and with the Government's special subsidy saved the school from financial catastrophe. (Cf. Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, resource dependence theory; category 11.)

The main keys to the turnaround were acknowledging the crisis, a new innovative way of thinking and special resources. The change continued but now the school was in the survival mode and was able to face the next crises: change in leadership, change in the organization, change in operations and the culture. Change in the organization and the BF's new role as the supporter for the school secured resources needed in these changes. Parents were a new power axis but also a new resource e.g. helping the school to build a cozier environment for the students.

Stage 1: Acknowledgement of the crisis

In a crisis situation it is important that leaders understand the reality the organization is living. According to Booth (1993, 88-89)

In crisis organizations' leaders often ignore, repress, or misinterpret the crisis. Even though the organization claims handling the crisis they in reality exacerbate the crisis.

It seems that the school slipped into the crisis slowly even though the marks were visible. The comprehensive school had started and the school had got a new schooling arrangement license after a fight. But the Government's legislation concerning funding was changed in the new Act of Governmental Funding of Co-operational Schools in 1968. That decreased the funding because municipalities were not paying their part of the schooling. The fail in the legislation was not corrected in 1983 even though the new Basic Education Act was implemented. The situation got worse little by little but the crisis was not acknowledged until the Foundation's possibility to fund the school was at a crisis point.

Stage 2: Avoiding traditional decisions in a crisis

Leaders usually use the easiest solution when making decisions. Managers ignore information which does not support their belief of the situation or make wrong decisions based on wrong assumptions. The decisions might be inadequate or not implemented. When everything seems to be all right a new change hits and the organization is not able to respond quickly enough. (Booth 1993, 107.)

After understanding that the school was in a crisis in 1984 the debate in the BF concentrated on closing the school or selling the school. To avoid economical disaster those alternatives seemed to be the only ones. After the old principal retired in 1984 she was still as a member of the BF pressing the opinion of closing the school. The new principal did not accept this solution and her actions led to search for other solutions. An innovative solution of the school's own legislation arose in negotiations with the state level school

administration. The school got its own law in 1998. As mentioned in the analysis this was a critical incident in the school's life. It also led the school to the survival mode (cf. Booth 1993, 108; figure 39).

In 1991 development and rebuilding of the campus was started even though the school's economical situation was not stable and Finland was in a deep economical depression. At the same time we can see that it was a wise resolution because building expenses were low due to the downswing of the markets. In 1994 the school developed then use of IT and was one of the leading schools in that sector in Finland. International cooperation was also started in a Comenius program. In all this development the school was not following old traditional secure ways of thinking but was rather innovative and also took risks. The school developed the way other schools did some years later. This gave the school market advantage.

Stage 3: New resources

The school had had quite good relations with the province level administrators but the school had lost the connection with political powers at state level. When the school started negotiations to save the school in 1985 the principal met several officers of the Board of Education and the NBVE. One local member of Parliament also arranged that the Minister of Education visited the school in 1986. This visit caused the State Provincial Office to establish a team to develop the school. After the Minister of Education was changed the following year, the new minister also visited the school. From these visits the school got new resources of supporters in politicians. It is obvious that this helped to get the school's own legislation. (Cf. Booth 1993, 73-74.)

The school also got extra funding for several years but after it got its own law the Government insisted that the school make plans to pay its debts. The BF applied for a supplementary allowance from the Government's optional funding to amortize the debts. The school got extra funding for that purpose. At the same time the school was asked to make a list of needs and especially building needs. That was passed through the State Provincial Office to the Ministry of Education and the school was taken into the Governments Projects Plan³⁵ in 1991. The school got promises for a new cafeteria building and two new dormitories. This building project continued into the new millennium. These extra funding decisions were an enormous resource for the school which had lost its traditional funding from the Foundation. (Cf. Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, resource dependence theory.)

As seen in the figure 39 I also see the new organization as a new resource. In 1994 the new BF decided that its aim was to help teachers to do their work and secure resources for the school. The school board was founded and its aim was to take care of the school's teaching. This led to empowering the principal and teachers, securing resources for schooling and also helping to create the new culture. Also The Parents' Council was taken seriously and their

³⁵ the Government's long term plans for public funding of projects such as building new schools, libraries etc. usually made for the next five years

contribution to the development of the school was remarkable. The parents especially developed dormitory life gathering extra funding and building a leisure room for the students. The extra funding was partly used for camp school activities.

Stage 4: New leadership from the time of the three last principals

For the first time the principal got power when a new principal started in 1991. He was an old officer from the Board of Education and he was more like a bureaucratic leader (Ouchi 1980; Scherer 1988). Due to that he had his own relations to the newly established FNBE³⁶ and to the Ministry of Education. He started developing in the school and because he knew the school legislation and funding procedures he used every resource the school was able to get from the Government as told above. It seems that for the first time the BF was pleased with the principal.

A second principal started in 1993 and he was an innovative leader who developed the school. He was interested in human resources (Bolman & Deal 1997, 99-158). A teacher development program was started to get all the teachers qualified. At the same time internal relations were developed. A new thinking of customership was introduced and in this thinking the student was put first e.g. increasing their coziness in the dormitories and developing the curriculum. In this customership the relations to parents were also developed and the Parents' Council was established.

In 1998 a third principal started. She was interested in the culture of the school (Bolman & Deal 1997, 213-262). She understood the strength of the school's old ideology and combined it with a modern thinking of education. In the school the students were doing vocational and comprehensive schooling at the same time. For the first time the vocational subjects and general subjects were put together. Also the vocational practical training was seen as part of the general schooling. The gap between vocational schooling and comprehensive basic schooling was partly closed.

All these three leaders in a row led the school into the new millennium: the first started building the facilities, the second developed curriculum and relations, and the last fostered the ethos of the school. This was possible because they had the power to do it.

Stage 5: New operations

The national curriculum was changed in 1994. This curriculum was developed including an idea of decentralization so that local municipalities and schools had power to make their own curricula. From this basis the school's new curriculum was developed in 1994.

Because Finland had changed from the 1940s agricultural society to the 1990s information society and service society there was not any more need for such a vocational schooling as there had been before. In the school's new

³⁶ the Finnish National Board of Education

vocational curriculum agricultural schooling was finished and the focus was changed to services and home economics. This also meant that the school's farm was closed and the fields rented to nearby neighbours.

In the comprehensive school's curriculum international collaboration was developed. Cooperation was arranged through a Comenius program. This made the school more attractive for the students. Because of the needs of the information society the school also started powerful IT programs and due to that was one of the leading schools in Finland using IT in teaching. It was needed to carry out the collaboration in the Comenius program.

The school was brought into modern times in quite a short time. This was also good basis for the next changes because the school was sharply following the changes in the environment as seen when the gap between vocational and comprehensive schooling was closed as told above.

Stage 6: New structure

In 1993 after the bullying scandal the new principal created good relations to the parents. The Parents' Council was initiated and they were very active from that point. They did some projects to get more convenient surroundings for the students: they built a place for students' free time activities, called "the Cave" and fixed the old dormitories.

After the threat of a strike in 1993 the old BF decided to resign and the new BF was chosen by the old BF. It seems that the Parents' Council was actively proposing members for the new BF. At least the new CBF and one of the members were proposed by the Parents' Council. The new CBF had a vision of the organization. A separate School Board was initiated and the tasks were divided so that the BF took care of the resources so that the school was able to function and the School Board made decisions on matters concerning education and teaching, chose students, and was a supporter for the principal.

The School Board functioned during the years 1994-1998. When the school board opposed the BF concerning the merger of local schools the BF dismissed the School Board at the end of 1998 and took some of the tasks and gave some tasks to the principal in 1998. Since then the BF has still taken care of the resources and the principal and teachers have taken care of the daily functioning of the school. This showed that the BF trusted to the principal's and teachers' ability to take care of the schools daily tasks.

The last change in the organization concerned forming a middle management. The dormitory got a head dean, and the canteen got a food supply chief who were responsible for their subdivisions. The Assistant Principal's tasks were clarified so that there was no power conflict with the Principal anymore. A student welfare officer took care of the students' welfare with a welfare unit. A new finance manager took care of the financial planning, not one of the teachers any more. This was done to avoid the conflicting

interests and irresponsible power. Most of the daily routine problems were also solved in an executive team³⁷.

As I earlier discussed, in figure 39 I see the new organization as a new resource empowering the principal and teachers, securing the resources for the schooling and helping to create the new culture.

Stage 7: New culture

New cultural aspects were customer-focus thinking, students in the centre of the schools actions, returning to the roots, the BF's new role, and openness and collaboration. I return to the change of the culture later in answering my last question.

What was the management's role in the change?

As I introduced in chapter 4 in category 6 the leader's significance in school improvement has widely been studied. Management's role in school improvement is obvious in those studies. The conclusions are: the dynamics and the sensitivity for changes, culture and identity, the making of infrastructure and results, are followed by the acts of management (the principal) (cf. Jarnila 1998; Määttä 1996). In my answer I summarize the management's role in change in the school, partly presented in answer above and in figure 39.

The new principal in 1985 did not deny the crisis in the school. She did not accept the conservative demand of closing the school but was open to new solutions in the crisis. Her negotiations finally led to the school's own legislation in 1989. In this situation the new CBF chosen in 1987 helped with her good connections to state level school administration. These management's actions saved the school.

In 1991 as well the new principal did not continue the traditional decision making pattern based on the poor economical situation but started a construction program to renew the old buildings. He negotiated for the Government's special subsidy to recover the school's debts and future needs for building new a cafeteria and dormitories. He also started the development of the school's education.

The next principal in 1993-1998 developed the teaching in the school. He changed the closed school system into openness and started collaboration with surrounding municipalities and international collaboration through a Comenius program. At the same time change in the structure of the organization led to the new supportive (stewardship) leadership, which changed the culture of administering.

The last principal developed the school's ethos, culture, returning to the school's roots in a modern application of the work school ideology. She also created a middle management empowering the middle management to solve

³⁷ see figure 3

the problems where they arose. This finally changed the problem centered decision making into a development centered decision making.

My results fit into the earlier findings of leadership's role in school improvement. Leaders' reactions are important because they form the basis for adaptation (cf. Schein 1997, 51, 237-238). Leaders were sensitive for the change in the environment and to the needs it caused. They also developed the culture and identity of the school. Two of the principals built the infrastructure for future needs of education in the school.

How did the change of the school's culture take place and why?

In the school the change of the culture took a long time. The first signs were in the air in 1985-1987 when the new principal did not accept the old ways of thinking and she introduced an idea of combining the vocational and comprehensive schooling. Because in 1987-1994 the BF had all the power the school was not able to change its culture before the old BF was changed. The real change of culture happened during years 1994-2000.

In the school's culture the students were put in first place. This was part of the new focus on customers brought by the Parents' Council and the new BF in 1994. The BF's new role as resource producer was part of the new culture, too. It gave more power to the principal and the teachers to take care of the daily routines. It also showed trust in the personnel's ability to do their tasks.

The next change was in openness. The school had been a closed community. In 1993 the new principal opened the curtain of secrecy and started collaboration with parents. The Parents' Council was started in 1993 and it showed to be a powerful weapon against the old BF in the threat of a strike in 1994. When the teachers threat with a strike it would have been powerless without the parents' supporting promise to keep the students at home during the strike. For the first time the school was united from students and their parents to the staff members. In 1994 international collaboration was also started and the school took part in a Comenius program. It was part of the collaborations and openness. At the same time was brought up an idea of local collaboration concerning the merger of local schools. That showed to be difficult to carry out because of the opposition of the staff and parents in each school.

An important part of the change of the culture was the development of the teachers. Teachers were asked to qualify themselves and the Foundation gave them the funding and an opportunity to do it. Teachers felt that they were valued and also got security of continuity in their job. Because the new school laws in 1998 demanded qualification of the teachers this was good strategic thinking too.

It seems that some of the changes happened because of the changes in the school's environment such as the earlier mentioned change from an agricultural society in the 1940s to a modern service and information society at the end of the 1990s. Parents were also much more interested and involved in the issues concerning their children and schooling. It can be seen that the change in the administration had impact on the change of the culture. As mentioned above the impact of administrations was also obvious in the renewal of the school. As

an example the last change was the return to the roots. For the first time the idea of uniting vocational and comprehensive education was introduced in 1987. Twelve years later the school developed the comprehensive and vocational curricula so that they were partly overlapping. Only an innovative leader and a supportive administration were able to make this last change in 1999.

Some considerations

According to Morgan (1986, 184) an action and progress and success following the action empower people. According to Handy (1986, 309) in decisions (power) should be delegated to the level where things happen. According to Schlechty (1997, 135-136) empowerment is not delegating additional power but enabling teachers to act. Then they feel that they are leaders. Bolman and Deal (1997, 128-129) argue that empowerment is autonomy and participation. Murphy (2005) sees that teacher leadership is one form of empowerment.

In this research empowerment was an important factor in the change process. As long as the old BF was in order the change was difficult. A new administration and new culture in the use of power enabled the change at all levels. It can be seen that the new administration was a source for the change in 1994-2000.

At this point it is impossible to see if the change is sustainable (Fullan 2005; cf. Kotter 1998). Some of the acts increased sustainability. The construction project increased sustainability because it brought the space for future growth. It also increased the students' coziness and made the school more attractive. This might have affected the enrollment which increased to 258 students in 2005. The use of IT made the school modern developing the teaching and use of e-learning methods. It also helped the students be in contact with the outside world and their families in their free time. Collaboration and openness developed the school and relations to the surrounding society and parents.

The above mentioned actions are the same as some of the actions Michael Fullan (2005, 65-74) mentioned at the systems level in his book *Leadership & Sustainability*: e.g. capacity building, ongoing learning, external partners. All the above mentioned concerning leadership fit into Fullan's (pp. 53-64) arguments that leadership at school level increases sustainability: assessment of learning, changing the school's culture, relations to the parents and community to develop the school, and openness with the environment.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I will evaluate the results and the whole study. I start evaluating the theory of renewal in the school developed in this study. Then I make some methodological considerations and broaden the thinking into utilizations of the theory. In the last part I consider future study challenges.

6.1 From school crisis to a theory of renewal

To summarize briefly, the theory of renewal developed in this study introduces seven overlapping points:

1. Acknowledgement of the crises. External and internal changes lead to a crisis threatening the status quo. Acknowledgement of the crisis is an underlying source of change and renewal.
2. Innovative problem solving. Old good solutions are usually worthless in a crisis situation. Sometimes the solution is so innovative that normally it is not an option in everyday thinking e.g. the change of legislation.
3. New resources. Because crisis situation causes entropy and organization needs new supportive resources to balance the entropy.
4. New leadership. In response to interest group pressures for change a new modern and innovative leadership is needed.
5. New operations. Updating the operations to answer the needs raised from the change in the environment (adapting).
6. New structure. In a crisis situation power is usually centralized but that is not always the solution when the organization is returning back to the survival mode. Old wrong administrative habits should be corrected and at the same time the members of the organization should be empowered.
7. New culture. All the above mentioned finally led to new culture in the organization. Points 3 and 6 are seen as new supportive resources in the organization (cf. figure 39 on page 162). External political and financial resources saved the school and internal administrative support allowed the development of the school.

The critical stage in the theory is stage one because it is there that the administrator becomes either the facilitator for change or resists the change. The appropriate choices by the administrative agent will then lead to the changes

needed to adapt to the environment's pressures. To summarize briefly, by viewing change as either planned and rational or simply the accommodation of external stresses, the existing literature fails to account for the processes through which pressures are translated into permanent changes (cf. Fullan 2005). According to Fullan (2005, xiii)

... it is possible, and necessary, to pursue a dual strategy that pays attention to short-term results while simultaneously laying the ground for sustainable engagement.

It seems that the theory of renewal developed in this study has many similarities with Fullan's (2005) eight elements of sustainability but it is impossible to see if the changes in the school are sustainable. The change functioned in short-term in the school. In 2006 the school was still functioning well and it has been successful in school achievement studies such as PISA³⁸. Also the school's enrollment was good because the enrollment was limited to 250 students in the Government's authorization to provide education and the school had 258 students in 2006. I will discuss this more in chapter 6.4. (Cf. Kotter 1998.)

The theory of renewal has also similarities with Hargreaves's (1995) six principles of school renewal and Booth's (1993, 108) Process model of crisis resolution (1993, 108). Fink (1999) studied change and continuity in Lord Byron High School, one of Canada's most innovative schools in 1970s, but was later caught by attrition of change. The school was innovative in 1970-1975, but met external changes required by the Ministry of Education for Ontario. The latter led to entropy in 1975-1985, but Lord Byron High School survived and its continuity was ensured in 1985-1995. Lord Byron High school had several similarities with the school in this study: external threat due to the changing policies of the Ministry of Education, several changes of principals in a short time, conflict between principals and teachers, and adaptation to the external pressures. In this process the school district and its administrative support ensured the continuing viability of Lord Byron High school.

Hargreaves (1995), Fink (1999) and Fullan (2005) see that the organization's capability to change is in the organization's capability to learn. Fink uses the term learning organization (cf. Senge 1994), Hargreaves uses organizational learning and Fullan uses the term organizational intelligence to describe a community of learners. (Cf. Björk 2000; Björk & Gurley 2003; Ouchi 2003, 157-180.) It seems that in this research the school became a community of learners especially in 1994-2000 when the school was developed innovatively and teachers had an opportunity to study to get professional qualification (life long learning). Through the school development and teacher development the teaching was developed and the final winners were the students.

In this research the school's adaptation to the environment resulted in returning to the survival mode and a successful school community. It seems that some of the stages in the theory might be universal but it does not mean

³⁸ Programme for International Student Assessment of the OECD

that the theory works in other (private) school. I will discuss this in more detail in chapters 6.3. and 6.4.

6.2 Methodological considerations

Building a theory through the inductive procedures identified by Glaser and Strauss (1967) led to a unique grounded theory of renewal in the school. The main question is: once the end of the study is reached, what is the exact status of the theory? Is it only an explanation of the original phenomenon, or is the theory grounded but needs to be further tested.

According to Miller and Fredericks (1999, 545)

...any process of theory development, within any area of inquiry, is initially (and must be) inductive.

Because of discussion on how categories are derived (eg. Miles & Fredericks, 1990; Piantanida *et al.* 2004) the term induction, as a feature of building a grounded theory, must be explained in connection with the process. The whole process is inductive: 1) open coding leads to more general categories, 2) categories are further refined, and 3) core categories are determined. Categories become valid through saturation which means that "additional information does not alter the meaning of the category or its associate properties" (Miles & Fredericks 1999, 545). If the theory is grounded following the procedures it produces unique interpretation and nothing else is needed. Eskola and Suoranta (1998, 211) argued that in qualitative research validation could be done throughout the evaluation of the process.

Qualitative research is criticized because of the validation of the results (e.g. LeCompte & Goetz 1982; Hinds *et al.* 1990). According to Backman & Kyngäs (1999, 151) grounded theory method has the same problem. The purpose of grounded theory is to create a theory which has connections with data. The problem is how the researcher is able to analyze the data to create a theory not only to discover a naive and concrete theory using the same terms as in data. It seems that in grounded theory study the readers are the most important critical evaluators of the process and results.

According to Glaser (1992, 16) the purpose of inductive research is to formulate a theory about a substantive area, which means formulating conceptual hypotheses. Testing of the theory is left to other researchers. Glaser (1992, 16, 29; cf. Glaser & Strauss 1967, 27-29) argues:

The research product constitutes a theoretical formulation or integrated set of conceptual hypotheses about the substantive area under study. That is all, the yield is just hypotheses. Testing or verificational work on or with the theory is left to others interested in these types of research endeavour (p. 16).

... I am talking about theoretical sensitivity that produces conceptual hypotheses and their integrations. That is all. These hypotheses are probability statements, not facts that can be verified. Grounded theory is not verificational. Its statements are probabilities that are readily modifiable as new data emerges properties of categories (p. 29).

Glaser (1978, 4-6; 1992, 15, 116) propose that criteria for judging a grounded theory are: fit, work, relevance and modifiability. Fit means that the categories of the data have a connection to the data and should not be raised from pre-established theoretical perspective. When the comparison of the incidents to the concepts is well done and the concepts of the theory are closely related to the incidents they are representing the theory fits. Work means that the theory is able to explain the phenomenon. The theory works when it explains how the problem is being solved with much variation. If the theory fits and works it has achieved relevance. The theory should be modifiable when new data occur. Criteria are closely internally related (cf. relevance) and the fit is the basis for the other three criteria. A grounded theory is never right or wrong, it just has more or less fit, relevance, workability and modifiability. (Cf. Lomborg & Kirkevold 2003, 198-199.)

Criteria 1: Fit

In this research the building blocks of the generation of the formal theory of renewal are from substantial categories raised from the empirical data and in other material closely connected to the theory found in theoretical integration. In creation of the theory process I have tried to critically evaluate the fit of the empirical material to the theory of renewal. The evaluation of the fit of the categories I raised from the interview data I did throughout the analysis process searching for new points of view to the categories. At the same time I evaluated the categories to the story which I wrote and which was accepted by the interviewees. I also evaluated the categories of the written material, such as minutes of the BF, I collected earlier in 2005.

Because of its nature grounded theory is not verified using earlier findings in research literature (Miller & Fredericks 1999). I tried to see if there were similar findings made before, even though my interpretation in the categories might have been different. In the integration of research literature I mostly used school research findings, but because the school was private, and a kind of schooling business, I also used business research findings in fitting parts of the categories.

The theory fits the general environmental adaptation theories and resource dependence theories (eg. Romanelli & Tushman 1986; Booth 1993; Schein 1997; Deal & Kennedy 2000; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003; cf. category 11). The main differences are that in this case the environment was seen as a resource and change in administration in 1994 changed the administration's character into a resource too. In earlier researches the environment is often seen as a threat.

Private schools have been studied very little earlier, and not at all from this point of view, in Finland. Due to that this research and the theory of

renewal are pioneering. Because of the uniqueness of the school the results are also unique and have no connection to earlier school research in Finland. This means that that I was only able to raise the theory and categories from the data. This does not mean that my world view has not influenced the research. I earlier discussed this in chapter 2.2.

Criteria 2: Work

With working of the theory Glaser (1978, 4) means that the theory explains what happened, anticipating the coming events and interpreting what is happening in the area of the theory at the moment. Work and fit are related to each other. Fit is a way to express the correspondence to social reality and the theory could be more or less relevant to practice (Lomborg & Kirkevold 2003, 198-199).

The theory of renewal works because it explains all the behaviours occurring within the substantive setting and accounts for variation in those behaviours. In this case the theory explains what happened in the school in 1985-2000. Because I have visited the school several times I know that the school has been successful since 1991. Today the school has more than 250 students and its economy is in balance. The school has also had good results in learning achievement studies such as PISA. At least the changes have been successful and if I described it right the theory of renewal in the school works.

Each reader who is a staff member in a private school or interested in private schools can estimate how the theory works in other situations in other private schools. How it works in another situation is not a basis of the theory's credibility. Even though someone might estimate that the theory works and fits in her/his situation or in the theoretical basis of research it does not tell anything about the credibility. It only tells that the theory is interesting and might work as a theoretical basis for other research.

Criteria 3: Relevance

According to Glaser (1978, 5) the theory should be relevant concerning the issue. He argues that relevance is not a problem because the theory is based on the core questions and processes raised from the data. As I earlier discussed relevance is achieved if the theory fits and works.

Grounded Theory generates a theory about how the main problems in a substantive area are being continually resolved. It focuses on what is really going on and what is immediately relevant to the participants. It allows core problems and processes to emerge keeping it relevant and trustworthy for the people in the substantive area.

In my study relevance was achieved by ensuring that true issues were allowed to emerge. The theory of renewal developed in this study emerged from the data and demonstrated how the school and administration attempted to find ways to solve the school's problems. To ensure that I had understood the phenomenon I wrote a story. The interviewees read the story and I made some corrections in the story following the interviewees' notions. With the story every reader could evaluate the relevance of the theory.

Change in the school and school development have been important research issues for several decades. (cf. Morriss-Olson 1995; Hallinger & Heck 1996; Björk 2003.) This debate on change in the school still continues in today's research. The discussion on private school has also been vivid during the past years in Finland. Due to this the research handles issues that are relevant at the moment. I will discuss this in more detail in chapter 6.3. The final evaluation of the relevance is done by the readers who are interested in issues concerning the theory.

Criteria 4: Modifiability

A theory should be modified according to new situations and new knowledge. The theory of renewal in the school developed in this study was built on the basis of the organization's adaptation to the environment. Due to that the theory should also be adaptive to environmental changes. This factor seems to be most applicable as new data emerge and to see how the theory can be modified to fit new understandings. This criterion might be better assessed in the future than at the present moment.

The Grounded Theory methodology has led to a theory of renewal which I believe has fit and relevance, works for people within the substantive area, and can be modified by future research. Also the literature review on similar theories has given indications of fair relevance, workability, and modifiability.

Delimitations and limitations

All studies have inherent delimitations and limitations. It is important to evaluate the results and the whole study. The present study has delimitations and limitations which have to be taken into account when considering the study and its contributions. Delimitations describe the object of the research. Delimit means to define the limits inherent in the use of a particular construct or population. Limitations refer to limiting conditions or restrictive weaknesses in the study.

This study focused on one private school. This school had around 150 students and around 30 staff members (including teachers). In this research I interviewed only those staff members (7 persons) who had been working in the school during years 1985-2000. One of the teachers was not interviewed because she refused. I interviewed most of the principals (5 persons) from the years 1985-2000. I was not able to interview one principal because of his ill health. I also interviewed all the CBFs from the years 1985-2000 and some of the members of the BF (7 persons).

It is certain that two planned interviews which were cancelled might have brought some new perspectives into the data, especially an interview with the one principal. In the principal's case I tried to fill the gap with annual reports, and other interviewees' stories. Because the categories were saturated after the sixth interviewee, it seems that new interview data might not have brought more significant factors into the categories.

One of the most difficult things about doing qualitative research is working with human beings. In chapter 2.5 p. 29 and in core category 3 I found

a culture of uneasy silence (Herr 2005; cf. multivoicedness, Quantz & O'Connor 1988). Some of the members of the BF and members of the staff had agreed on sealed lips concerning the agreement in 1993 between the staff and the BF. In that agreement the members of the BF agreed to leave the BF. The culture of uneasy silence and missing minutes of the BF from years 1991-1993 caused trouble to get enough information from those years. I was also not able to interview the principal from years 1991-1993 because of his ill health. In this part of the history of the school there is a gap and I was not able to fill it. On the other hand this is a result too, because it tells about the culture of secrecy.

During the study I found that because the study was restricted to years 1985-2000 I had to bring more data from earlier years to understand the situation in the school during years 1985-2000. I chose to start from the 1970's when the comprehensive school system was created. Still my focus was on years 1985-2000 and on the renewal of the school.

Critique can also be presented concerning the way the theories are applied to categories in the study. The theoretical material in the categories can be described as being fragmented as it includes such a wide variety of different perspectives. The different perspectives were chosen because the theory integration I conducted during the study is based on the different perspectives in the categories. In some cases I have been able to discuss the differences and similarities between the different perspectives and how they are related to each other. Still there are some theories that are presented in only one category leading no further in the study (cf. e.g. category 1 and category 9).

This research is done sensitively because I promised to do it anonymously. This has been very difficult because of the uniqueness of the school. One of my friends read a short part of the study and used an internet search engine and found the school in a few seconds. It seems that even though I have not used the name of the school or the place where it is situated it is almost impossible to keep this school unknown by the readers. I discussed this problem with a school's representative (Anon. 2007) and she agreed that due to the school's uniqueness it is impossible to hide the school in our information society.

My master thesis was done with quantitative methods in 1983. I started this study thinking that I would like to try a new method and this time it would be qualitative. First I was skeptical of how the theory can emerge from data. After reading literature on grounded theory it seemed to be more and more interesting. When I noticed that there were two different grounded methodologies I was caught in the classical 'glaserian' grounded theory methodology because of its methodological freedom.

Due to my earlier history in research I had to fight against the positivistic way of thinking. I mostly had problems trusting intuitive thinking but while I read and analyzed the data I was surprised at how it began to form into categories. Another problem was to follow the right methodology because in grounded theory the methodology was quite broad-mindedly described in different references (cf. Piantanida *et al.* 2004). I tried to be faithful to classical grounded theory methodology, but if someone notices that I have failed, it

should be seen as one false step in my learning process. Glaser (1999, 842) argues

In the future of grounded theory, there frequently will be poor grounded theory research, but it must be seen as developmental. It takes time to fully learn to do grounded theory. The realization process takes more than a year and often a few research studies.

I am pleased that I was able to create the theory of renewal in the school from my starting points. This was a major learning process for me as a researcher.

6.3 Utilization of the research results

My research questions were: What was the key to making a turnaround in the school? What was the management's role in the change? How did the change of the school's culture take place and why? Because of my ontological and epistemological assumptions (cf. chapter 2.1.) this research tries to describe, understand and explain a phenomenon. I do not try to find universal, generalized truth. Due to that the result in this research is not generalized to all school's or organizations in the universe. (Cf. Denzin 1983, 130-134; Alasuutari 1994, 28-45; Tellis 1997a; 1997b; Eskola & Suoranta 1999, 65-68.)

This does not mean that there cannot be similarities with other research results and with other organizations. Even though there are similarities that do not lead to a generalized truth. Because the school in this research is unique it is more understandable that the result is the theory of renewal in the school.

Two of the critical incidents were changes in legislation. Both times the change affected the school. In international research literature legislation is seen influencing organizations legitimizing their existence and actions. (Cf. Parsons, 1956a, 68; 1956b, 227; Edelman & Suchman 1997; Miner *et al.* 1990, 690; Mitchell 1995, 175; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, 191, 214; Björk 2006.) That is quite obvious. Different policies also steer schools' every day life. Due to that it is important to know what is going on in preparation of legislation. In this area the results can be utilized as seen in the following example.

Early in 2006 the status of private schools was a major political issue in Finland. At the beginning of 2006 the Social Democratic Government Minister of Education decided that some private schools could not renew their authorization to provide education even though they had had temporary authorizations for several years. This started quite a vivid debate on the situation of private schools. Student enrollment was decreasing in all schools and the Minister of Education explained his decision using this as an argument favoring the public school system. If local public schools were threatened because of the lack of students, private school licenses in that local area should be cancelled. (Finnish Government 2003; 2006a; 2006b.)

The objective of the Project to Restructure Municipalities and Services is a sound structural and financial basis for the services that municipalities are currently responsible for in order to secure the organization and provision of such services in the future with due regard to the required standard of quality, effectiveness, availability, and efficiency. Both organization and production of the services will be considered in the project.

Behind the project there are the major changes in the operating environment of municipalities, which the Finnish society is facing in the coming decades. These demographical and economical changes provide challenges for the municipalities' ability to provide services to the citizens. The term of the project is October 1st 2006 to May 31st 2007. The Government has made a proposal to Parliament for an Act on Restructuring Local Government and Services and for Acts amending the Act on Local Authority Boundaries and the Asset Transfer Tax Act. (Ministry of Interior 2005a; 2005b; 2006; Finnish Government 2006c.)

In this project one of the issues is changes in the funding of the services. Concerning the funding private school funding is part of the issue because their status might be changed in the new legislation. Discussions on casting the funding of private schools to the municipalities had also been in the air lately. (Tiihonen 2007.) If this is done the private schools' financial problems might return to the same level they were at in the 1970s and 1980s because the municipalities did not pay the costs of the students which were in private schools. This might cause the closing of some private schools. This is also in line with statements given by the the Minister of Education. The Minister of Education explained that if local public schools were threatened because of the lack of students, private school licenses in that local area should be cancelled. (Finnish Government 2003; 2006a; 2006b.)

We have this example in history and due to that the knowledge of what might happen if the legislation is unfavorable to private schools. The results of this research could also help the Government in decisions concerning private schools' funding. Much is dependent on political will in this discussion.

As I earlier discussed someone might estimate that the theory works and fits in her/his situation or in the theoretical basis of research she/he is doing. It tells that the theory is an interesting phenomenon and might work as a theoretical basis for other research. It might also lead to some other modifications in other situations.

6.4 Extension study challenges

The conclusions as well as limitations of this study bring forth some possible avenues for future research that might be needed in relation to the issue of the study. As I earlier discussed in chapter 6.2. Glaser left testing of the theory to

other researchers. In chapter 6.1. I discussed sustainability of the renewal. Both these discussions might lead to future research challenges.

In Finland we have around 40 private schools and many of them with a long history. There are also some private schools which have similar characteristics as the school in this study: rural schools getting students from all around the country. This gives an opportunity to test the theory in another private school. I also mentioned one such school, Toivonlinna Junior College, in chapter 6.2. That school had similar problems with Government funding after the comprehensive school system was started. Toivonlinna is also going through a major renewal project at the moment. Because the school in this research was unique it is impossible to find a similar school anywhere in the world.

Testing the theory in an international private school environment could bring some more interesting details and test the modifiability of the theory, especially because the school systems are quite different in other countries. Because the change in the legislation was a critical incident it might be critical incident in other countries too.

Both (1998) and Fullan (2005) were interested in sustainability of the change. Fullan (2005) introduced eight elements of sustainable change in the educational system. Kotter (1998; figure 32, p. 150) argues that long term results and strong vision bring sustainable change. Kotter introduced eight steps of (sustainable) change (cf. chapter 5.1. table 35). It seems that the change was sustainable in the school because it has also been successful in years 2000-2006. The environment is changing at increasing speed. How the school is able to answer future demands and external pressures could also be interesting to study. This might also answer the question of sustainability of the change.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä tutkimus valottaa erään suomalaisen yksityisen koulun selviytymistä ongelmista, jotka alkoivat, kun peruskoululainsäädäntö ei huomionnut yksityiskouluja ja niiden rahoitusta. Koulu oli ajautunut 1980-luvun puoliväliin mennessä konkurssin partaalle. Koulua ei kuitenkaan lakkautettu ja tänä päivänä se on elinvoimainen. Tämä sai minut pohtimaan, mitä koulussa tapahtui sen uudistuessa. Tutkimuskysymyksiäni olivatkin: Mitkä ovat muutoksen tekemisen avaimet? Mikä on hallinnon merkitys muutoksessa? Miten ja miksi koulun kulttuuri muuttui?

Tutkimusote on laadullinen. Tutkimuksessa käytettiin grounded theory (aineistolähtöinen) tutkimusmetodia, jossa aineistosta nostetaan hypoteesit, ilman ennakko-oletuksia, tarkoituksena kuvata tapausta teoreettisesti. Tutkimusote sopii erityisesti alueille, joita aikaisemmin ei ole tutkittu. Suomessa yksityiskouluja on tutkittu hyvin vähän.

Aineistona käytettiin vuosien 1985-2000 aikana syntyneitä asiakirjoja, kuten vuosikertomukset ja kokouspöytäkirjat, mutta myös koulun omaa historiaa (Kailanpää 1995). Tämän lisäksi haastattelin noina vuosina koulussa olleita opettajia, johtokunnan puheenjohtajia ja rehtoreita, yhteensä 18 henkilöä. Lisäksi tein yhden haastattelun koskien aikaisempia aikoja, koska aikaisemmilla tapahtumilla oli vaikutusta koululla syntyneeseen tilanteeseen. Tästä materiaalista kirjoitin koulun tarinan vuosilta 1985-2000. Haastatellut saivat lukea tarinan ja ehdottaa siihen korjauksia.

Analyysin kohteena oli edellä mainittu haastattelumateriaali. Analyysissä noudatin glaserilaisen ns. klassisen grounded theoryn analyysimetodia edeten yksittäisistä tapauksista kohden yleisiä kategorioita. Näistä kategorioista muodostin yhdessä muistioiden kanssa teoreettisen kuvauksen tutkimuskohteen olleen koulun muutosprosessista.

Tutkimuksessa nousi esille kyseisen yksityiskoulun muutoksen teoria, jossa on limittäin seitsemän kohtaa:

1. Kriisin tunnistaminen. Ulkoiset ja sisäiset muutokset johtivat kriisiin. Tämän kriisin tunnistaminen oli muutoksen lähde koulussa.
2. Luova ongelmanratkaisu. Kriisissä vanhat ratkaisut ovat yleensä arvottomia ja joskus ratkaisu voi tuntua mahdottomalta, kuten tässä tapauksessa lainsäädännön muuttaminen.
3. Uudet resurssit. Kriisi aiheutti entropian ja kouluorganisaatio tarvitsi uusia resursseja tuekseen tasapainottaakseen vajeen.
4. Uusi johtajuus. Vastavoimana muiden osallisten aiheuttamaan paineeseen tarvittiin modernia luovaa johtajuutta.
5. Uudet toiminnot. Uusien toimintojen oli vastattava vaateisiin, jotka nousivat muuttuvasta ympäristöstä.
6. Uusi rakenne. Kriisissä valta yleensä keskittyy, mutta se ei aina ole vastaus, kun organisaatiota palautetaan selviytymispolulle. Vanhat johtamistavat tuli korjata ja valtaistaa organisaation jäsenet.
7. Uusi kulttuuri. Kaikki edellä mainittu johti uuteen kulttuuriin koulussa.

Kohdat 3 ja 6 nähdään uusina tukevina resursseina koulussa. Ulkoinen poliittinen ja taloudellinen resurssi pelasti koulun ja sisäinen hallinnollinen tuki johti koulun kehittymiseen.

Kriittinen kohta teoriassa on kohta yksi, koska siinä hallinnosta tulee muutoksen katalyytti tai muutoksen vastustaja. Hallinnon toimet johtavat parhaimmillaan tarvittaviin muutoksiin vastaamalla ympäristön paineeseen. Muutos voidaan nähdä joko suunniteltuna ja rationaalisena tai mukautumisena ulkoisiin paineisiin. Fullan (2005, xiii) pitää kuitenkin tärkeänä muutosta, jossa on suunniteltu lyhyen tähtäimen muutos ja pitkän tähtäimen muutoksen pysyvyys. Tässä tutkimukseni koulu näyttäisi onnistuneen.

Johtuen tutkimuksessa käytetystä laadullisesta tutkimusotteesta, tämän tutkimuksen tulokset eivät ole yleistettävissä muihin yhteyksiin. Vaikka yhtäläisyyksiä saattaakin esiintyä muiden tapausten kanssa, vain tutkimalla voidaan selvittää, onko tutkimuksessa esille noussut muutoksen teoria käyttökelpoinen myös muissa tapauksissa.

Avainsanat: grounded theory, johtajuus, muutos, organisaatiokulttuuri, oppiva organisaatio, resurssit, yksityiskoulu

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I read following newspaper to find background for the case

The Kunnallistiedot Newspaper in 1985-90. Kangasala. Kangasalan lehtipaino.

The Sydän-Häme Newspaper in 1990-2000. Pirkanmaan Lehtipaino Oy. (Former Kunnallistiedot Newspaper.)

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Example of the open coding in Finnish (translation on next page)

oli kyllä täällä ja se oli tietysti mieleen jäävä sitte ku se oli tämmönen³⁹ ja sitten, mistä tässä nyt vois kertoa, sillonhan ei ollu asuntolanhoitajia, silloin hoiti ammatillisen puolen opettajat hoiti vuoroviikoin ton asuntolapuolen sillon ihan aluks. Mä en muista, minä vuonna tänne tuli ensimmäinen asuntolan hoitaja sitte, mutta tota sitten joskus siinä varmaan sitte kun mä olin niin ku tullu uudestaan tänne.⁴⁰ Rehtori L oli silloin vielä -84 vuoteen astiko hän oli ja sitten oli LT⁴¹ siinä ja sitten meillä alkoikin semmoset niin sanotut rehtorivaihtovuodet⁴², että rehtori oli RT oli sillon ja RT sitten meni naimisiin ja hänest tuli T oli sit kolme vuotta⁴³ ja sitten oli näitä vuoden rehtoreita LS⁴⁴ ja SP⁴⁵ ja sitten tuli RK⁴⁶, joka oli rehtori isolla R:llä tässä mun perspektiivissäni niin kaikista miten nyt sanois semmonen rehtori ku rehtori pitäis olla⁴⁷ ja hän jäi sitte, hän tuli -90, siinä oli sitten näitä ET oli siinä, kun hän oli varmaan apulais, taikka hän oli rehtorina muistaakseni siinä hetken aikaa⁴⁸ ja ES oli kun oli näitä, näitä vararehtoreita tai apulaisrehtoreita, millä nimikkeellä ne nyt sillon oli, niin ne joutu sitte tuuraamaan, kun oli, ja -93 vuoden alussako sitten oli taas ES⁴⁹ hetken aikaan ennen kuin EL tuli⁵⁰ ja sitten ELT -98.⁵¹ Täs oli rehtorikavalkaadi⁵².

H: Ai kavalkaadi! Saanko esittää kysymyksen tässä vaiheessa? Sanoitte, että RK isolla R:llä. Mitä se tarkoittaa?

H1: Minusta hän oli semmonen rehtori, joka otti kaikki huomioon sekä opetushenkilöstön että muun henkilökunnan⁵³, häntä ei pyörittäny ainakaan opettajista kukaan⁵⁴, eikä mun mielestäni säätiökään⁵⁵ eli jos, tää säätiöhomma on aika ongelmallinen⁵⁶, kun ne täydentää itse itsensä⁵⁷ ja luulevat tietävänsä paljon

³⁹ päättäjäiset mieleen jäänyt tapaus

⁴⁰ ei asuntolan hoitajaa

⁴¹ rehtori vaihtuu (L → LT)

⁴² rehtorinvaihtovuodet

⁴³ rehtori vaihtuu (LT → RT)

⁴⁴ rehtori vaihtuu (RT → LS)

⁴⁵ rehtori vaihtuu (LS → SP)

⁴⁶ rehtori vaihtuu (SP → RK)

⁴⁷ rehtori isolla R:llä (RK) vrt. 959, 966

⁴⁸ rehtori vaihtuu (RK → ET)

⁴⁹ rehtori vaihtuu (ET → ES)

⁵⁰ rehtori vaihtuu (ES → EL)

⁵¹ rehtori vaihtuu (EL → ELT)

⁵² rehtorinvaihtovuodet

⁵³ RK otti huomioon ihmiset

⁵⁴ opettajat eivät pyörittäneet RK:sta

⁵⁵ S äätiö ei pyörittänyt RK:sta

⁵⁶ S äätiö ongelmallinen

⁵⁷ S äätiö täydentää itsensä

enemmän kuin mitään tietävät asioista täällä, ymmärtävänsä ainakin⁵⁸, niin siinä nähän oli just tää , säätiönhän kanssa niitä ongelmia oli sitten näillä rehtoreilla⁵⁹, et ne ei kerta kaikkiaan kestäneet sitten tätä, mitä se nyt sitten olikaan,⁶⁰ mut minun mielest RK pärjäs säätiönkin kanssa⁶¹, et hän oli ollu opetus- siis jossakin virassa hän oli kansakoulun opettajana alkanu, mutta hän oli sitten ollu jossakin opetushallitus

⁵⁸ säätiössä luulevat tietävänsä asioista

⁵⁹ säätiö ongelmallinen rehtoreille

⁶⁰ rehtorit eivät kestä säätiötä

⁶¹ RK pärjäs säätiön kanssa

Example of the open coding in English

it was here and it was of course impressive when it was this kind³⁹ and then what could I tell more about, there were no dormitory deans back then, practical subject teachers took care of the dormitories in turns each week in the beginning .I just can't remember in which year the first dormitory dean came here, but it was after I had returned here.⁴⁰ Principal L was here, was it upto year 1984 she was, and then came this LT⁴¹ there and then started so called years of changing principals in our school⁴², the principal was RT then and RT was then married and after that and she was here for three years⁴³ and after that came these principals LS⁴⁴ and SP⁴⁵ and after that came RK⁴⁶, who was a principal with a capital P in my opinion the most as principals how could I say, such as principals should be⁴⁷ and he was, he started in 1990, and then there were these, ET was in for a moment, because he was the associate principal, if I can remember he was the principal for a moment⁴⁸ and ES was because there were these vice principals or was it associate principals, whatever they were called then, even though they had to take over for the principals then, , and then at the beginning of year 1993 was it again ES⁴⁹ for a moment before EL started⁵⁰ and then ELT in 1998.⁵¹ This was the principal cavalcade⁵².

Interviewer: What a cavalcade! May I ask a question now at this stage? You said, that RK was a principal with capital P. What did that mean?

Interviewee1: My opinion is that he was such a principal, who took all into consideration both teachers and other staff members⁵³, he was not changed, not at least by any of the teachers⁵⁴, and if I can remember not by the Foundation either⁵⁵ in other words if, this Foundation was quite problematic⁵⁶, because they chose the members themselves⁵⁷ and they believed that they knew much more than what they really knew about the things in the school, at least understood⁵⁸, there was this thing, and principals had problems with the Foundation too⁵⁹,

39 impressive closing ceremony

40 no dormitory dean

41 change of principal (L → LT)

42 years of changing principals

43 change of principal (LT → RT)

44 change of principal (RT → LS)

45 change of principal (LS → SP)

46 change of principal (SP → RK)

47 principal with capital P (RK) cf. 959, 966

48 change of principal (RK → ET)

49 change of principal (ET → ES)

50 change of principal (ES → EL)

51 change of principal (EL → ELT)

52 years of changing principals

53 RK considered every person

54 teachers did not sway RK

55 the BF was not able to sway RK

56 the BF was problematic

57 the BF chose new members for the BF themselves

58 the BF believed that it knows all things in the school

59 the BF was problematic for principals

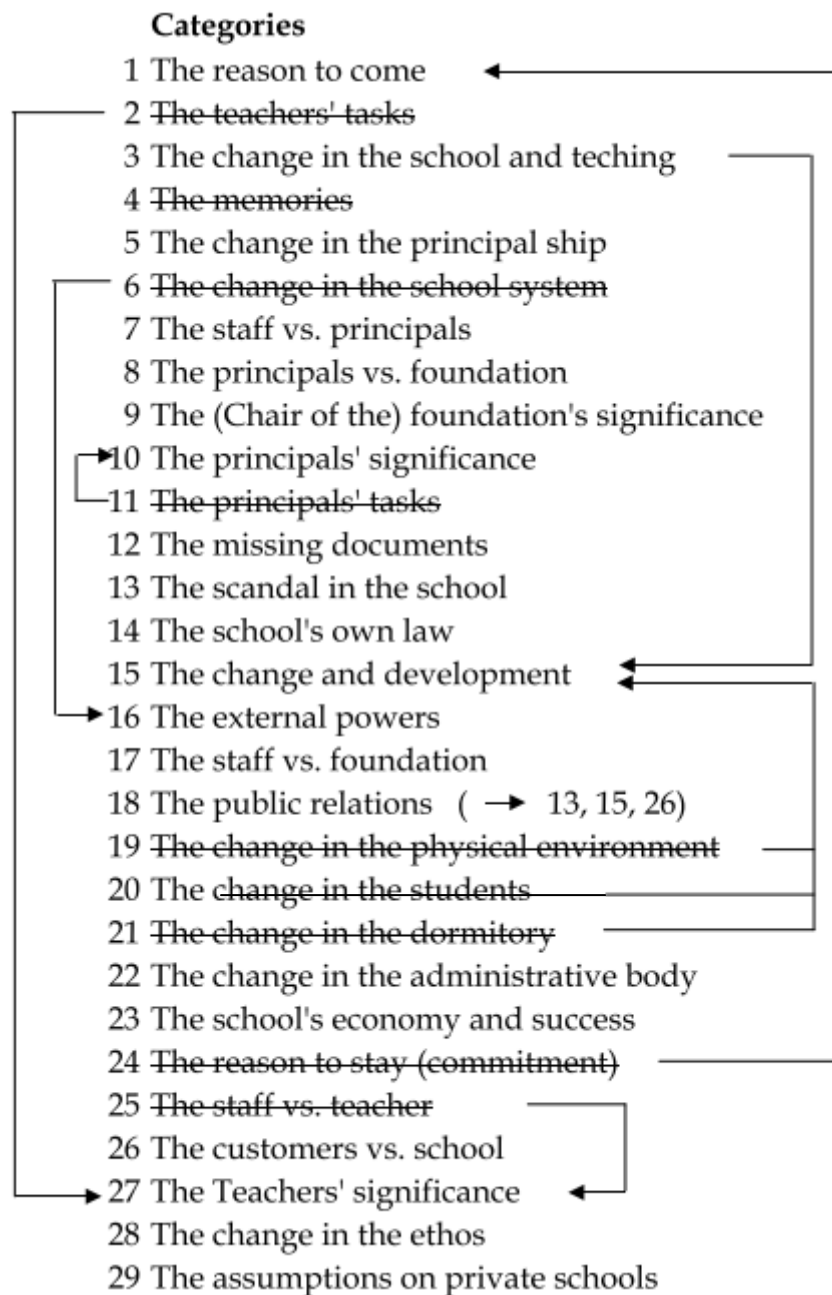
that they could not take this, whatever it was,⁶⁰ but my opinion is that RK did well with the Foundation⁶¹, and he had been in teaching - , I mean somewhere he had started as a class teacher, but had been on the National Board of Education before, or was it the Board of Education, somewhere in such a place⁶², that he was as,, he had the nerve to say, that

⁶⁰ principals could not stand the BF

⁶¹ RK coped well with the BF

⁶² RK was an experienced administrator

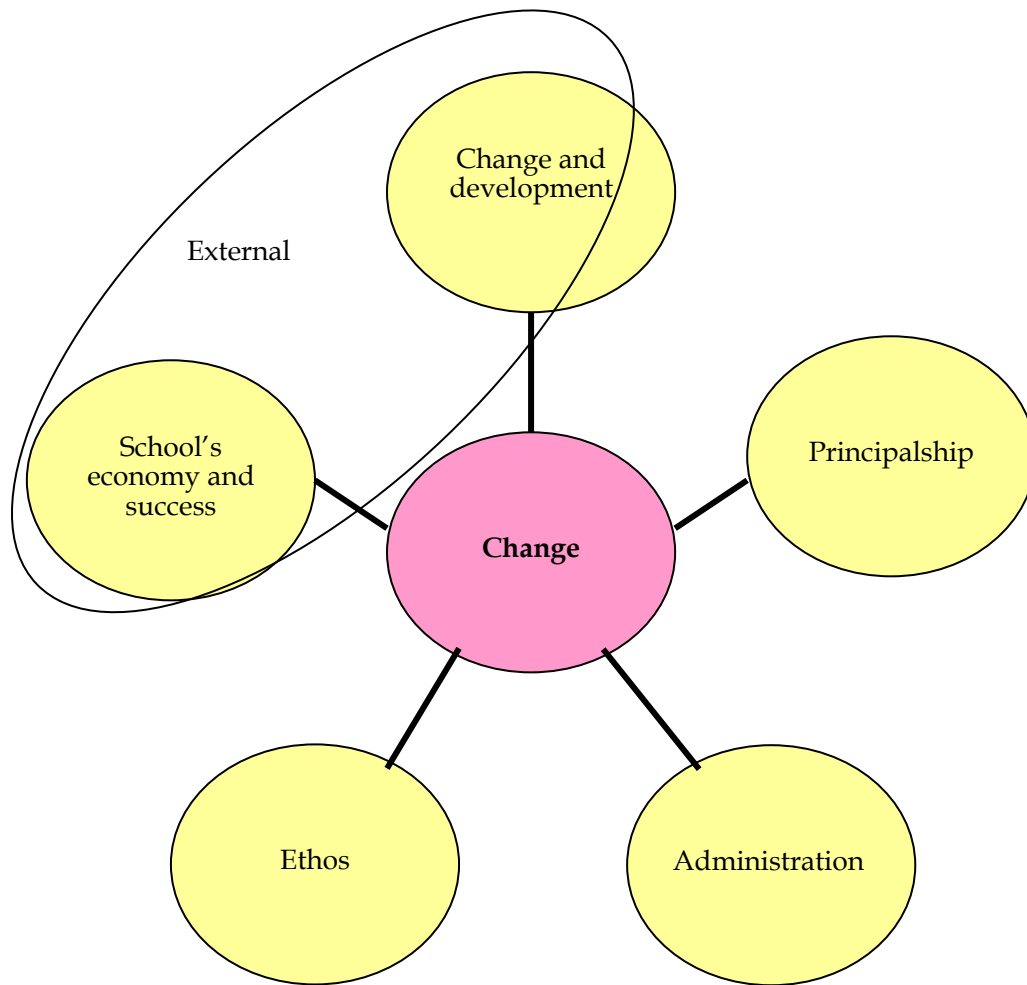
Appendix 2 Re-categorizing the categories



Appendix 3 Example of the memos

Schedule	Memo	Footnotes
After reading the documents	When operations were more organized and planned the school was doing better (economic review 1986, curriculum and agricultural plans, annual planning 1998)	621, 629-631, 941, 1009, 1029
	At the crisis point it seems that a governing structure of the school was very unclear and all stakeholders had different views on how to develop the school.	599, 600, 615, 626, 785, 957, 1045, 1133
After interviews	The school's own law was a key to school development: it brought a secured finance and changed staff members' mind to a optimistic trust in the future of the school.	63, 340, 380, 391, 415, 444, 751, 841, 982, 1016, 1069, 1226, 1398, 1588
After the first reading in open coding	Thinking from problems and problem solving to a development of the school. Problems were solved where they had arisen on. Prevention of the problems. Self-repeating organization?	318, 321, 549, 1029, 1049, 1256, 1447-1449, 1465, 1472, 1478, 1562
	An organizational renewal, ownership and pedagogical leadership separated (foundation's board and school board)	1592, 1595, 1596
	Quality thinking in operations	1576, 1577, 1578, 1593, 1599, 1600, 1602, 1605, 1631, 1632, 1635, 1636, 1643
	Return to roots, deepening the original idea into modern teaching	1603, 1606, 1647
	The Alava's vicious circle	cf. above
After the second reading	Testing the theory with a new research Generalizations on private schools made by the interviewees: more reclamations to the County Government, school staff is more committed, principals as superintendents, an economy, a dormitory	1025-1028 , 1030, 368 , 387, 388, 610, 1315, 1461, 1477, 1478, 1643, 831 , 1084, 1443 , 1444, 1445, 1555, 1556, 1574, 691 ,
In categorizing	25 categories after the first interviewee, 1 more category after the second interviewee (The customer vs. school) and two integrated (The reason to come to the school and The workers' statuses -->The reason to come). After the third interviewee 1 more category (Principals' tasks). After the fifth interviewee 1 more category (The teachers' significance). After the sixth interview 2 more categories (The change in the ethos and The assumptions (in the private schools)). After that new categories were not found → Saturation?	

Significant events



Significant relations

