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AUTHOR   Porter-Gehrie, Cynthia; And Others
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ABSTRACT
        The urban school principal is education's most
visible line administrator. The job is demanding, requiring highly
developed administrative skills and is a position about which little
has been written. Faculty from the University of Illinois at Chicago
began this study of a sample of Chicago public school principals in
early 1977, using ethnographic research methods, to determine how
principals operate in the midst of the many organizational
constraints of a large-city school system. This presentation focuses
on the methods of data collection and the determination of the study
sample. The preliminary findings center on the principal's use of
time, new problems in the relationship between principals and their
staffs, the impact of administrative transfer for racial integration,
and results that challenge some myths about urban school systems,
particularly in the areas of firing tenured teachers, "pushing
paper," and administrator isolation. (Author/IRT)

The Urban Principalship: Report on an Ethnographic

Study of School Administration in

Chicago

By:

Cynthia Porter-Gehrie,
Assistant Professor of Education

Robert L. Crowson, Jr.,
Assistant Professor of Urban Sciences and Education
Acting Director, Urban Planning and Policy Program;

Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr.,
Associate Professor of Education,
Assistant Dean, College of Education;

Van Cleve Morris,
Professor of Education

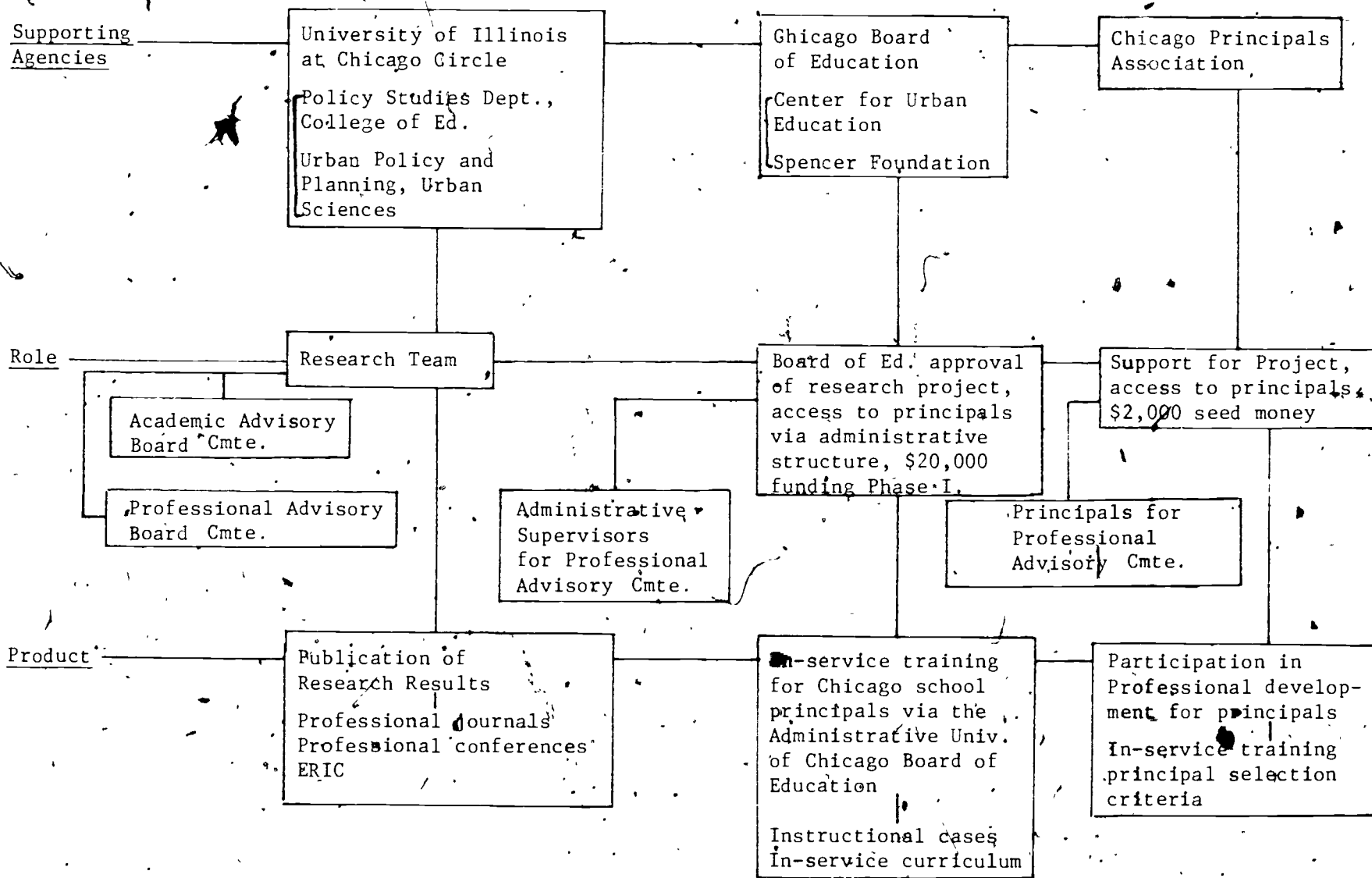University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

This paper reports preliminary findings of a study of urban school principals that still is in progress. The study is being conducted by a multi-disciplinary research team from the College of Education and the College of Urban Sciences at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. The study is sponsored by the Chicago Principals Association and the Chicago Board of Education. It is funded by the Spenser Foundation through the Center for Urban Education of the Chicago Board of Education. (See Chart One for a description of the interrelationship of researchers and supporting agencies.)

Two advisory committees assist the researchers. The project's professional advisory committee includes representation from the school system's central office administration, from the body of high school and elementary principals in the system, from the school system's district superintendents, from the officials of the Chicago Principals Association, and from the professional personnel of the Center for Urban Education.

The second advisory committee is representative of scholars who have established reputations in research on the school principalship and/or upon the large-city school organization. The committee met for a day in the early Spring of 1977 to advise the co-principal investigators on research design, theory and methodology. The committee at this first meeting was comprised of Professors Charles Bidwell from the University of Chicago, Paul Peterson from the University of Chicago, Russell Spillman from Ohio State University, and R. Bruce McPherson from the University of Chicago.

The primary data in this study are observational descriptions of the administrative behavior of a sample of Chicago Public School principals. Data collection is of the "non-participant observation" variety -- involving researcher access to the daily interactions which characterize the principal's job. The

CHART ONE: INTERRELATIONSHIP OF RESEARCHERS AND SUPPORTING AGENCIES

Supporting Agencies	University of Illinois at Chicago Circle — Policy Studies Dept., College of Ed. Urban Policy and Planning, Urban Sciences	Chicago Board of Education — Center for Urban Education Spencer Foundation	Chicago Principals Association
Role	Research Team; Academic Advisory Board Cmte.; Professional Advisory Board Cmte.; Administrative Supervisors for Professional Advisory Cmte.	Board of Ed. approval of research project, access to principals via administrative structure, $20,000 funding Phase I. Principals for Professional Advisory Cmte.	Support for Project, access to principals, $2,000 seed money
Product	Publication of Research Results — Professional Journals, Professional conferences, ERIC	In-service training for Chicago school principals via the Administrative Univ. of Chicago Board of Education — Instructional cases, In-service curriculum	Participation in Professional development for principals — In-service training principal selection criteria

research concentrates upon a small number of principals representing different
school settings and will attempt thereby to provide comparative information
on administrative behavior under varying situational conditions. Outlined
below in greater detail are indications of the variables to be operationalized and
the data collection steps to be taken.

A. The Variables

This study explores school principals' perceptions and usage of
administrative discretion within a framework of organizational constraints.
It is the assumption of the study that principals will have differing per-
ceptions of their discretionary authority and may display widely varying
methods or styles of approach to common administrative problems.

The term perceptions (of discretionary authority) is used to refer
to the expressed viewpoints as well as the actions of principals in dealing
with situations requiring a knowledge of school system directives, policies,
and procedures. It may be suggested that the principal's perception of his
authority is heavily influenced: (a) by the depth and adequacy of his know-
ledge of school system rules, policies, and operating procedures; (b) an
attitude or ideology which the principal brings to the interpretation of his
position. Dale Mann (1976), for example, found that principals in New York
City brought three differing styles of "role orientation" to their jobs.
The "trustee" type of principal depends upon his judgment and his profes-
sional training to decide what is best for his school and community; the
"delegate" principal attempts to understand and reflect the views and
wishes of his local school and community; while the "politico" displays both
styles at different times, depending upon the issue or the context
of a decision (1976: 15 - 35). In discussing the administrative style

of the "politico ," Mann writes:

> ...politicos were ingenious about the extent to which the board's
> orders might be enacted. For the most part, they did not propose the
> actual subvention of such orders, a response that contributed to the
> trustee categorization of those few individuals who chose it. Instead,
> they searched for ways to satisfy some amount of the directive's in-
> tent without damaging their own integrity. (Mann, p. 30)

The term "constraint" is used to refer to the limitations or boundaries

of organizational structure and procedure, as well as the many factors of

community relationships which surround the principalship. There are of course

legal arrangements, formal guidelines, governance mechanisms, and resource

capacity limitations (Buck, 1966) which accompany the operation of all school

systems. Peterson (1976), influenced by Graham Allison, also identifies the im-

portant effects of organizational interests, and the shared values of the members

of an organization -- as well as the internal conflicts and infighting which

"bedevils most large complex bureaucracies" (1976: 115). From the perspective

of the community, the principalship is constrained by formal mechanisms for

neighborhood "input" (e.g., a school-community advisory council); by informal

norms, arrangments and personal contacts; by the composition and socioeconomic

make-up of the community; and by questions of conflict, representation, and control

within the community (See Mann, pp. 51-65).

The discretionary authority of the principal may be defined as a combi-

nation of : (a) the formally designated powers and responsibilities of the prin-

cipalship within the school system hierarchy, and (b) the informally estab-

lished norms and interpersonal relationships which pertain to the principalship

role. Simon (1965) suggests that the authority of each organization member is de-

lineated by the formal issuance of job descriptions, duty manuals, regulations,

instructions, channels of communication/clearance and the like. He points

out that authority is determined as well, however, by informal relations be-

tween actors and by distributions of power which are not specified in the
formal scheme or organization (1965: 147 - 148). In this regard, both
Simon and Barnard (1938) agree that authority depends heavily upon conditions
of mutual "acceptance," within the superior-subordinate relationship (1965:
133 - 134). Thus, the principalship in a large-city school system may be
expected to vary in its discretionary authority with differences in the
command relationship. In Chicago, each principal's immediate supervisor is
one of some twenty-seven District superintendents of schools.

B. Data Collection -- Observation of Site .

In the collection of data, each participating principal will be
accompanied by a field researcher for a minimum of twelve days. The
researcher will join principals in all of their functions and activities --
observing interactions with superiors, teachers, pupils, and parents;
watching how the principals handle telephone conversations, deal with
daily "crises," finish routine tasks and "paper work;" and observing
how principals generally interpret and respond to the demands of admin-
istrative decision-making throughout the working day. The researcher
will not, of course, seek to join the principal in meetings or conferences
which the principal deems to be too confidential and/or sensitive for
the presence of an outsider. The data collected through observation is
to be supplemented by informal interviews of school-teaching and non-
teaching staff and by the examination (whenever possible) of school
notices, reports, memoranda, and the like. The interviews are to be used
to solicit impressions at the teaching and school staff level of the var-
ious school system, community, etc. constraints under which each principal
must operate.

During the course of observation, each researcher will undertake the following, specific data collection tasks:

1. Maintain a "log" of each principal's working day -- with indications of the amount of time principals variously allocate to: (a) a "reactive" use of time, where principals are responding to issues, events, demands, requests, etc. initiated by other actors; (b) a "proactive" use of time, where principals are themselves iniating demands, actions, and events which have an impact upon other actors, and (c) an "active" use of time, where principals are involved in routine and/or system maintenance actions only. Within each category of time usage the researcher will seek to identify various resources used by principals (e.g., telephone contacts with colleagues, meetings with community representatives, a personal contact at school system headquarters) as well as any constraints experienced by principals (e.g., opposition from teachers, a veto by the district superintendent, a prohibiting board policy directive). In examining use of time, the researcher gains, as well, an initial indication of the principal's perception of his or her domain of responsibility and authority, noting with Weick that time spent in one manner is usually at the expense of other alternatives.*

2. Develop a "running summary" of principalship situations and communications, as well as a documents file of school memoranda, reports, bulletins, and principalship directives. Without using recording devices, each researcher will keep as accurate a record as possible of the comments of parties involved in the principal's various conversations, meetings, conferences, and the like. The researcher/oberserver will give special attention to as complete a portrayal as possible of the events, communications, decisions, and numbers of actors involved in each instance wherein the principal is responding to or is initiating action in accordance with school system policies, directives, and operating procedures.

3. Conduct a daily (day's end) interview with each principal -- asking the principal to comment regarding the problematic nature of the day's tasks and events, the constraints he or she believed himself or herself to be under in accomplishing each task, the resources he or she believed it was possible to bring to bear, and his or her sense of task areas of the day in which it is felt the principalship role can be effective and where it is less effective. Principals will be asked particularly to review their understanding of board policies, rules, and procedures which apply to the events of the day -- and to explain their view of the latitude permitted the principal in dealing with each event.

C. Pilot Study

In Spring, 1977 a pilot study was undertaken by the research team to determine the feasibility of the proposed research. Two volunteer subjects were selected from a pool of fourteen volunteer principals. One subject was a black female principal whose school was in a housing project populated totally by

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*Karl Weick writes: "The basic methodological point is that if one wishes to observe loose coupling, then he has to see both what is and is not being done. The general idea is that time spent on one activity is time spent away from a second activity". (1976: 10).

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black families. She was in her second year as principal and had been chosen by the local school parent council after having served for several years as vice principal of a school in the same district. The other subject was a white female principal of an elementary school which served a black lower-middle class community. She had been principal at the school for many years. She had been appointed principal after gaining eligibility for a principalship and moving up the eligibility list as openings occurred for principals in the system.

Each of the three Co-Principal Investigators from the research team observed both principals for three days. To the extent that it was possible, the twelve days observing each pilot subject were sequential. Each researcher took extensive notes in the field for constructing the running summary, time notations for events, and interview material. Each researcher was responsible for writing up field notes so that they could be distributed to other team members. After reading one another's data, the team participated in several discussions assessing the means of data collection.

C1. Practical Issues

One concern that team members shared with the academic advisory board was whether it would be practical to observe a subject for an entire day. All three team members found that it was possible for them to collect data all day long, but that the task of writing up field notes and the physical exertion required in the field made it difficult to collect data on sequential days. It was decided, therefore, that researchers would observe principals for one or two days per week over several months, rather than in sequence.

Another concern that team members shared with the academic advisory board was the reliability of data collected by different researchers for developing case studies in administrative modes. The Pilot study showed that, although

different team members were sensitive to different specific aspects of the
subjects' administrative techniques, the general description that emerged of
the principal was similar from observer to observer. For example, the follow-
ing observations were made by two different observers of the same principal on
two separate days. They refer to a system of agressive patrol that this
principal used to control student movement in the hallways.

> Sample 1: "Back in school walks around bldg. first, catches
> some boys outside, tells them to report to her office. Con-
> tinues her tour of school -- finds library books all over,
> second floor hallway, checks with nurse on boy with hurt hand,
> discusses whether tetanus needed. Checks some additional
> classrooms and hallways -- asking kids where they're going,
> etc. Picks up paper and scraps in hallway continuously.
> Returns to office -- filled with kids sent to principal.

> Sample 2: "We find some kids in the upstairs hall. As usual,
> M stops and picks up paper littering the hall. We stand at
> the top of the stairs as kids come up. M asks for quiet and
> for them to "slow down." She stops two boys -- one who did not
> turn in 10 rules he was asked to write as a punishment that
> were due yesterday. She sends one of the boys to the principal's
> office. She stops a girl in the hall and sends her back to her
> class to get a pass. A girl with a note comes to M and explains
> that she was hit with a plastic bat. M goes to get ice to put
> on the sore spot.

In the next example, two different researchers, on two different days collected
similar information about another principal's concern for security of equipment
and expanding school facilities.

> Sample 1: (12:45) We go to an assembly. On the way we run into
> the lunchroom cook about the delivery of a stove -- they are trying
> to prepare a kitchen so that they can give hot lunches. (Now the
> children eat bag lunches). . . (1:35) We head back to the Prn. Office,
> but run into some older boys who are entering the building. They
> say they want to get some water. K tells them to leave the building.
> She is concerned about the security in the building, particularly the
> equipment being put into the new kitchen. She tells a Security Guard
> to keep the boys from going into the building.

> Sample 2: On way back to the office, stopped at the gym -- where a
> kitchen for hot lunches is being built in the old locker room. A
> refrigerator was left in the hall -- she's concerned that the thing
> be firmly locked -- doors can't be opened. A number of children are

having breakfast in the gym -- goes in to check, look over them, and talks briefly with staff. Mentions she's been trying to get the kitchen in for two years now and it's got to be in by Sept. Has to push it continuously, and is concerned about the work getting done.

In no case did team members have opposing concepts of the administrative concerns and techniques of the two Pilot subjects.

A third question that team members had was whether it was best for one researcher to observe one principal throughout the sequence, or whether more than one team member should observe the same principal. This question was decided after consulting the professional advisory board. Principals felt that a second researcher on a site would only "cover the same ground" that the first researcher on site had recorded. They recommended one researcher per site to get in-depth data. The research team felt that on-site interviews, in particular, would be more successful if one researcher had the opportunity to develop a consistent relationship with a subject. It was decided, therefore, that one researcher would observe each subject.

A fourth question concerned the spontaneity of interaction in the presence of an outside observer. As a protection for human subjects, it is necessary to inform persons interacting with the principal that they are being observed for the purpose of a research project. We instructed the principals to briefly state a sentence to the effect that "X is from the University of Illinois and is observing me for a research project, would you object to him/her staying in the room while we talk?" We also asked the principals to introduce us to the faculty as a whole or in groups so that they would realize who we were and it would not be necessary for the principal to interrupt short, quick interactions with faculty to explain our presence. We also told the principal that if at any time they felt that an interaction was too sensitive for the presence of an observer, that they should feel free

to ask us to leave for a few minutes.

The experience during the Pilot was that we were only asked to remove ourselves on two brief occasions in twenty-four days. Both instances involved a personnel problem. No parent or faculty member denied permission for us to observe. In some cases the presence of the observer did seem to effect the spontaneity of the interaction in that it became strained or was cut off abrubtly. There were a few instances where persons approached the principal out-of-school in order to avoid the presence of   rcher. We learned of these events from the principals, both of whom were willing to give us a summary of the events that we missed. In spite of these examples of the data that we did not get, there were in excess of one-hundred hours of interaction observed; most of it following the fast paced rhythm of school events, teacher conferences, parent conferences, multi-distiplinary staffings, and meetings at the District Office level.

C2. Data Collection Tasks

The second focus of the Pilot Study was to examine the nature and quality of the data that would be gathered through our observational methods. On site, researchers kept a running summary of events while making notations of times corresponding to these events in the left hand margin. In this manner the data for the "log" and the "running summary" are collected concurrently. Time notations are made at the beginning and conclusion of each "event". Some events conclude within a few minutes, others may last the better part of an hour. After the Pilot study, a protocol was adopted by the staff for use in writing up field notes. It is adapted from a protocol used by Ray Rist. The format for the protocol is reproduced on the following page:

Protocol Number:
Name of Researcher:
Date of Observation:
Subject of Observation:

Time

Narrative

1.
    (Running summary will be
    double spaced, with each
2.
    line numbered for reference
    during analysis).

3.

4.

Subsequent pages are identified according to Page Number and Protocol Number
in the upper left hand column. Write ups are typed in this form by a secre-
tary from either dictaphone tapes or hand written materials prepared by each
researcher.

The daily interview with the principal evolved in two forms. It was
possible on most days to spend some time at the end of the day to discuss the
events of the day with the principal. Not only did this lead to additional
information about events, but it also led to information about the principal's
attitudes and beliefs about school administration. It also was learned, however,
that the subject began to offer a running commentary on events as they took
place. While going from place to place, or when there was a pause in the
action, both principals began to use this time to fill the researchers in on
previous and related events to the action. Frequently the principal would
offer information as to her reasons for doing things as she was doing them.
She also often offered insight into what effect she predicted her actions
would have, her opinions of the people she "had just" or was "about to" inter-
act with, or her feelings about the situations in which she found herself.
These action interviews often seemed to offer some of the most candid and insight-
ful moments on site. In the following example from these field data, the principal
hears a parent's complaint about a teacher, and then takes advantage of a
brief break in contact with the parent to offer her opinion regarding the

situation to the researcher.

The principal in this example is a black female of a school with pre-school and primary grade programs. The student body is totally balck and is drawn from one of Chicago's housing projects. The project has a reputation in the city for its extreme poverty and high crime. She has a Ph.D. from a major research university and is addressed within the school as Dr. Robinson.* She raised her family in the general area, but not in the project; and still lives a few miles from the school. During her stay, the achievement scores of the students have improved significantly -- particualry in the pre-school. She is youthful, energetic and seems to be very well liked by the students. She also has an active parent's associ- ation -- something that never had been true of this area before she became principal. The following incident occurred during the third day of the second week she was being observed.

It is just after 10:30 A.M. Dr. Robinson and I are in her office where a meeting with the school social worker has just con- cluded. A mother comes into the office with her young male child. His name is Jordan Russel. Mrs. Russel tells us that Jordan came home last night with dried blood in his nose. When she asked him about it he told her that his teacher, Mrs. Briggs, hit him on the nose with a ruler.

Dr. Robinson asks Jordan to come to her. She sits in the chair beside her desk and he stands directly in front of her. They are face to face. Her tone is soft and gentle as she asks him to tell her what happened:

Jordan answers, "That boy was talking to me."**

What boy? asks Dr. Robinson.

Tony, he says.

What was he talking about, she wants to know.

Casper.

A Cartoon?

Yes.

What were you supposed to be doing?

Doing work, he says.

And the teacher, she did what? She asks.

The tacher hit me across the nose with a ruler.

---

*Not her real name. All names have been changed to protect the identity of subjects. Some circumstances have been altered for the same purpose.

**Words in quotes are direct, otherwise dialogue is paraphrase.

Did it hurt? she asks.

Uh huh.

Did it bleed a lot?

A lot of blood came up.

What did the teacher do?

Put a towell on it.

Was your nose swollen?

No.

She hit hard enough to make your nose bleed, and there was not redness or swelling? she inquires.

At this point the child's mother interrupts and says to Dr. Robinson that "it was red last night," Dr. Robinson turns back to Jordan and asks him, "Did you cry?"

Yes, he responds.

How much, a lot?

No!

Did you cry when she hit you?

No (he reverses his position.)

All that blood, and none on your clothes? she asks.

Jordan says nothing, but starts to say Uh, uh, uh, uh.

Did the other children see it? Dr. Robinson asks.

Yes.

What will they tell me, will they tell me the same thing? she asks.

No, he shakes his head.

You know that I'm going to ask them, don't you? Don't you think they will tell the truth?

Yes, he says.

Well, then, what will they say?

"The teacher hit me across the nose." he says.

What were you doing when she hit you?

Nothing.

You mean that you weren't talking and she hit you,
and Tony was talking and she didn't hit Tony?

I don't know, he says.

Did the teacher hit you before? She asks.

He says, Yes, right here, and points to his leg.

His mother injects here that the last time he complained that the teacher
had hit him she found a mark on his leg that stayed for a week. Mrs.
Russel explains that she didn't come to school the first time because
Jordan was hit on the leg, and then she adds, "but I don't think
she had any business to hit his face." Dr. Robinson turns to Jordan
and asks, "Did she ever hit you on the face before?"

No, he replies.

Dr. Robinson stands and says, "Let's go see the teacher."

She explains to Mrs. Russel that Jordan's class is taking achievement
tests now, so they will have to wait about ten minutes before they can
talk with the teacher. Dr. Robinson asks the mother "Can you wait that
long?" She says that she can.
    Jordan and Mrs. Russel leave the office to wait in the hall. Dr.
Robinson turns to me and says, "I have told her before, put that ruler
down." She adds that she has warned Mrs. Briggs that if she teaches with
a ruler in her hand, it is only a matter of time before she strikes a
child with it. She tells me that she thinks the situation is more dif-
ficult because it involves a white teacher and a black student. She also
tells me that unless she feels that there has been a "major transgression,"
it is her responsibility to defend her teacher.

The kind of data collected through observation in this study proved to

include: the amount of time spent on each event and a sequence of events, a

running account describing the various events, exact wording and paraphrase

used by the principal and others during interaction, and interview material

from the principal obtained either after a day's events or during brief breaks

in the action.

D. Data Collection -- Supplimentary

As a supplement to the observations of principalship behavior, the

research team will undertake three additional data collection activities.

First, the researchers will review in detail statements of board policy, ad-

ministrative guidelines, contractural arrangements, data collection and

reporting procedures, channels for administrative "clearances," headquarters
and regional office memoranda, etc. -- which provide the school system's
formalized framework for the principalship. The focus will be upon those
rules, procedures, guidelines, and the like which pertain to issues and actions
(e.g., pupil discipline problems, a teacher transfer matter) which are under
current observation in the schools.

Second, the researchers will conduct a series of interviews with admin-
istrative and supervisory personnel (other than principals) throughout the
school system hierarchy. These actors (e.g., area superintendents, budget and
personnel officers, curriculum directors, the general superintendent and his
various deputy superintendents) will be asked for (a) their perceptions of the
discretionary authority of the principal vis-a-vis selected issues and admin-
istrative actions; (b) their assessment of both the normative and organizational
constraints which surround the work of the principal; and (c) their understand-
ing, knowledge, and ways of learning about events and activities within the
individual schools.

Third, the research team will carry on a series of continuing informal
discussions with an advisory committee composed of representative principals
and area superintendents, plus selected other representatives of both "head-
quarters" and the Principals Association. As issues and events are observed
in the schools, they will be brought periodically before the advisory committee
for review -- asking the committee to indicate their perceptions of the con-
straints which have surrounded the principal in each situation, as well as
the resources which he or she could have brought to bear upon the situation.

E. Selection of Research Sample

The Chicago Public School system, one of the nation's largest urban
school systems, has 540 schools. Of these, 66 are high schools and 474 are

elementary schools. Our goal was to select a sample pool of elementary and high schools that would reflect the diversity of setting and subjects found in this urban school system.

E1. The Setting

Aside from the common grouping of schools into elementary (up to grade eight) and high schools (grade 9 - 12), there is diversity among schools in the system. In the Chicago Public Schools there are branch schools, schools with child-parent centers, schools for the handicapped, vocational schools, large schools, small schools, open campus schools and closed campus schools, ESEA schools with extensive federal funding, schools in high rises, schools with multiple building campuses, new schools, old schools, magnet schools, rehabilitation schools, commercial schools, technical schools, adjustment schools and alternative schools. The economic and ethnic context varies within the system. Schools serve professional communities, middle class communities, housing projects, and port-of-entry communities. Whereas some communities have a stable population, others are in transition.

E2. The Subjects

Although most of the literature on school administration describes a principal who is both white and male, one-half of the principals in the Chicago Public School system do not fall into this category. The following data describe the subject population as of May 1977.

Race of Subject Population

White	71.7 percent
Black	27.2
Hispanic	.9
Asian	.2

Sex of Subject Population

Male	66.4 percent
Female	33.6

Subject Population by Race and Sex

White males	49.2 percent
Black males	16.5
Hispanic males	.5
Asian males	.2
White females	22.6
Black females	10.6
Hispanic females	.4
Asian females	0.

In selecting a sample pool, the goal was to identify subjects that reflected the variety of principals and settings found within the Chicago Public School system. We hoped to obtain two kinds of data. First, we wanted a discription of school administration in urban systems which represents a greater variety in race and sex of principals than is currently reflected in the literature. Second, we wanted to observe interaction between the central administration and the on-line administrator in a varity of school settings.

The subject pool. 'The pool of subjects was selected in two stages. Stage one involved the classification of elementary schools according to size, geographic location, and the mobility of student population.

School Size: Small, medium and large schools were identified for both elementary and high schools. Classification was as follows:

Large, elementary	over 847 students
Medium, elementary	577 - 846 students
Small, elementary	below 577 students

Geographic Location: There are 27 school districts in the Chicago Public Schools. Districts are drawn geographically. Each school was identified by school district.

Mobility: Schools with high, medium and low student mobility were defined according to the number of students leaving and new students enrolling in the annual school population. Classification was as follows:

High student mobility	over 30 percent
Medium student mobility	20 - 29 percent
Low student mobility	under 20 percent

THE CHICAGO PRINCIPALS STUDY   June 1977

THE VARIABLES GPID

TYPE OF SCHOOL		SCHOOL POPULATION/STAFF CHARACTERISTICS		
	Enrollment Size of School	High Student Mobility (Over 30%)	Medium Student Mobility (20-29.9%)	Low Student Mobility (Below 20%)
Elementary Schools (K-8 or less)	Large (over 847 students)	n=62	n=55	n=41
	Medium (577-846 students)	n=50	n=50	n=57
	Small (below 577 students)	n=47	n=41	n=71
Secondary Schools (9-12)	Large (over 2300 students)	(over 25%) n=6	(15-22%) n=7	(below 15%) n=10
	Medium (1800-2299 students)	n=10	n=4	n=7
	Small (under 1800 students)	n=7	n=11	n=4

Using the categories, nine cells were created for elementary schools and nine cells were created for high schools.

In preparation for <u>Stage two</u>, a list was made for each cell of the schools in the cell. The geographic school district was listed next to the name of each school. These materials were presented to the professional advisory board.

During Stage two, the advisory board was asked to select 5 schools from each elementary cell and two schools from each secondary cell. They were asked to use their knowledge of the specific schools and their principals to help identify a variety of subjects and settings. They were also asked to select subjects from every geographic district in the system.

The university research team met jointly with the professional advisory committee during the selection process. The resulting subject pool was somewhat larger than originally requested. Six schools were selected from elementary cells one and three. Five schools were selected from each remaining elementary cell. One secondary school was selected from cell 5; two from cells 3, 4, and 9; three from cells 1, 2, 6, and 7; and four from cell 8. The variation is the result of the advisory board's enthusiasm to make sure that the sample included a full reflection of the variety of subjects and settings abundant in the Chicago Public School system. The total subject pool is 47 elementary school principals, 23 high school principals, for a total of 69 subjects. Schools were selected from each of the 27 geographic districts. Subjects were selected from this subject pool. Four initial subjects were selected because they were new to their school. This included one black female, one black male, and one hispanic female, all of whom were newly assigned to their school. A white female was selected because she had newly acquired a branch school in addition to her continued assignment as principal of an elementary school.

Unlike the Pilot subjects, these principals were not volunteers. The following system was used to contact them and persuade them to participate in the study. First, each principal was phoned by the President of the Chicago Principals Association and invited to participate in the study. In addition to describing the study, the President told them that the study was sponsored by the Chciago Principals Association and that it had contributed seed money to financing the study. All four principals agreed to participate in the study.

Second, the district superintendent of each principal's district was contacted by the Director of the Center for Urban Education of the Chicago Board of Education. They were asked to give their permission for the principal they supervised to participate in the study. One District Superintendent refused permission on the basis that the subject was running for political office in the district. The District Superintendent was willing to let other principals in the district participate in the study, however.

Letters were sent to the three remaining subjects, officially inviting them to participate in the study and signed by the research team members. The letter also invited them to attend a meeting with the research team where the study would be described in detail and they would have an opportunity to ask questions of the research staff. All three attended the meeting. Within two weeks members of the research team were on site collecting data on the initial group.

Once the initial group was under way, a second group was selected. One was a white female who was newly assigned to a school. She was selected from the same cell as the subject from the initial group who was denied permission to participate by the District superintendent. Four principals were selected because they had been at their schools for a minimum of five years. This

sample included two white males (one elementary and one high school), one
white female and one black female. The sample population for the study is
summarized on the following page.

This second group of principals was contacted in the same manner as
the first group. All five agreed to participate in the study. Their District
Superintendents all granted permission for them to participate. Only two
attended the orientation meeting. The others said that they were too busy
to come to a meeting, but observations could begin at the convenience of the
research team.

F. Preliminary Findings

As of mid-January, 1978, seven research sties have been activated and
thirty-six days of observation have been completed by the co-principal
investigators. As is consistent with this type of research, topics of analysis
and early interpretations of events have begun to emerge. These will be
examined more closely and tested through unobtrusive means during the remainder
of the data collection phase. They are presented here for the purpose of
gaining feedback from professional colleagues. Observations concerning the
perception and accuracy of data, and theory relevant to these data are invited.

1. The principal's use of time has emerged as a focus for study. Many
tasks are completed in under three minutes through conversations with staff.
fellow principals, and others. We are seeking to understand the effect of
these quick exchanges on establishing and maintaining long term policy trends
within a school. We also are trying to distinguish between the nature of
these tasks and those tasks which must be completed over longer periods of
time. Another observation is that principals in the sample seem to stick
with a task until it is completed, become frustrated with tasks that cannot

Code	Cell	District	Sex	Race of Principal	Race of Students	Experience in School	Type of School
A	5	8	F	White	75% Black 23% Hispanic	New Branch	Elementary
B	9	12	M	Black	White	New 9/77	Elementary
C	8	12	F	Black	White	New 9/77	High School
D	1 (permission denied by D.S.)	5	F	Hispanic	37% Hispanic 60%, Black	New 9/77	Elementary
E	1	13	F	White	Black	New 9/77	High School
F	7	4	M	White	White	>5 years	High School
G	6	7	F	White	White	>5 years	Elementary
H	7	22	F	Black	Black	>5 years	Elementary
I	5	11	M	White	Black	>5 years	Elementary

be completed immediately, and consciously expose themselves to situations where new tasks are likely to emerge.

2. Current trends in school management have introduced new problems into the relationship of principals to their staff. Uncertified staff such as teacher aides, CETA workers, parent volunteers, security police, and maintenance engineers in schools frequently are in conflict with the certified educational staff. The principal is expected to resolve these tensions. For example, security staff sometimes challenge the disposition of student cases referred for discipline. Teacher aides are sometimes assigned responsibility by teachers in excess of their job description. Parent volunteers are sometimes assertive in their criticism of specific teachers. We are documenting and analyzing such conflicts and the response that principals give to them.

Reductions in staff due to dropping enrollment and financial problems threaten staff morale throughout the school system. Staff fear being "bumpped" from their positions by persons with greater seniority. In Chicago, large numbers of teachers have been transferred to other schools within the system in order to enhance racial integration of faculty. Both teacher transfers and position closings operate within a tangle of new, complex policy guidelines. Within these guidelines, principals must negotiate conflicting demands. They must welcome new faculty to their school and ease their transition into a new position, but they must also detect unsatisfactory new faculty and find means of weeding them from the staff. They must cooperate with the Central Administration in implementing policies that close out positions, while keeping the trust and confidence of their staff. There are many differences between initiating inexperienced faculty into a school staff, and accepting

experienced faculty, many of whom arrive mid-year, who join the staff as the
result of administrative transfers. Principals may require new skills to work
with transferred faculty.

The standardization of curricula system-wide has introduced new problems
in schools where faculties are accustomed to designing their own systems of
instruction, testing and record maintenance. Principals respond differently
to these demands by the Central Administration. These differences are being
observed and documented.

3. In order to enhance racial integration of school administration,
many principals have been newly assigned to schools in Chicago. Our sample
includes three schools where principals were assigned in September 1977 to
new schools across racial lines. These include a white female principal
assigned to a high school with a black student body, a black male principal
assigned to an elementary school with a white student body, and a black
female teacher assigned to a high school with a white student body. On these
sites we are observing how the principals "take charge" of a new school.
We are also observing how they perceive the race issue in their work setting
and how this effects their administrative behavior. Since Chicago has a
history of community involvement in principal selection, these principals are
unique within the system because they are administrative appointments. We
are trying to observe the effects of this selection process on principal
behavior by contrasting it to other subjects who were selected by their com-
munities. In particular, we are observing the relationship between the
principal and the community and the relationship between the principal and
the Central Administration. Administratively appointed principals appear to
be more receptive to the central administration, whereas the community selected

principals seem to put community and staff relations above their relationship to the central administration.

4. Other observations appear to challenge some "myths" about urban school systems. Although it is frequently said that principals cannot remove unsatisfactory tenured teachers from their teaching staffs, we have collected data to the contrary including firings of tenured staff and other internal transfer policies that are used to remove unsatisfactory teaching staff. Although the central administration has followed a trend of pooling resources and distributing them centrally, we have collected data that illustrate how principals manage to generate resources that are within their control and administer them locally through community and staff advisory groups. Although there is an image of the principal as a "paper pusher", our data shows that the system operates much more from interpersonal interaction than from written directives. Finally, although the principal in a large urban system is frequently perceived as isolated in the school from the central administrative team, we have documented principal-to-principal networks that seem to compensate, in part, for the structural isolation inherent in a loosely coupled system.

We are currently working with our advisory committees to develop methods which will help us to pursue these preliminary findings through the collection of onobtrusive measurements, supplementary interviews, document searches for statistical back up and policy statements. Field data is being shared with the advisory committees and among team members to solicit responses that will aid in analysis of observational data.