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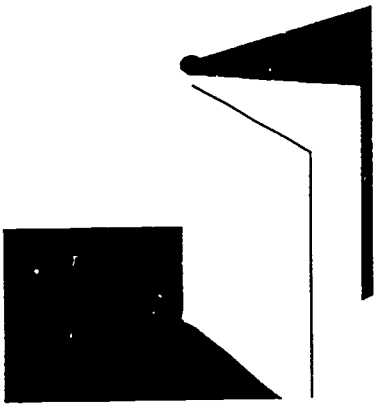
ABSTRACT

A theoretical framework for leadership development is developed in this paper that links prior research findings to a cultural theory of principal influence on school performance. Four core dimensions of principal work--supervision, administration, management, and leadership--are analyzed in terms of their contributions to underlying cultural processes, showing how these work activities encourage a different approach to teaching and other school-related tasks. The tension between "settlement" and "frontier" cultures is explored as a way of clarifying the difference between routinized and problem-solving approaches to the principalship. Five research hypotheses for empirical verification of the theoretical framework are developed. (12 references) (LMI)



Principal Leadership: A Theoretical Framework for Research

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Project Report

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In collaboration with

The University of Michigan

MetriTech, Inc.

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Principal Leadership: A Theoretical Framework for Research

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Abstract

This paper approaches leadership development by linking prior research findings to a cultural theory of principal influence over school performance. Four core dimensions of principal work--supervision, administration, management, and leadership--are analyzed in terms of their contribution to underlying cultural processes. This analysis shows how each of these divergent elements in principal work activities encourage a unique approach to teaching and other school-related tasks. The tension between "settlement" and "frontier" cultures is explored as a way of clarifying the difference between routinized and problem solving approaches to the principalship. The paper concludes with five research hypotheses which could be used to empirically verify the theoretical framework developed.

Principal Leadership: A Theoretical Framework for Research

Leadership is one of the more puzzling concepts in the lexicon of the social sciences. Nearly everyone talks about the importance of effective leadership; indeed, contemporary educational reformers seem convinced that quality leadership by principals and other key educators is absolutely essential to improve school performance. Paradoxically, these passionate commitments are not matched by clarity of thinking about how leaders secure the desired results. In addition, definitions of leadership differ sharply, and research on the essential elements of good leadership has produced a plethora of divergent and contradictory findings.

In more than 15 years of work on various factors influencing school policies and organizational behavior, two factors have been repeatedly confirmed in my own research. First, leadership style is an identifiable and consistent property, a characteristic that makes individuals recognizably consistent from one situation to the next. That is, leaders have individual coherent approaches to their work. They display patterns of action and belief that are

uniform over time and make it possible to understand, if not always predict, common themes in their responses to common organizational problems and opportunities. This suggests that, research literature to the contrary, individuals do have leadership traits or characteristics that, properly conceptualized, could be measured and used to guide school reform and improvement efforts.

A second consistent research finding is that leadership behavior is contingent upon both contextual variables facing an organization and the particular job or work role occupied by a leader. That is, individual coherence and consistency does not mean that individuals act in the same way in all leadership positions. To the contrary, they substantially alter their behavior when occupying different work roles or confronting different contextual situations. Studies of organizational behavior regularly find that current work roles outweigh previous training and personal experiences. Moreover, a "contingency" approach to leadership research has gleaned important contributions originating from the extent of uncertainty or "turbulence" in the organizational environment.

Therefore, in order to formulate and test a comprehensive theory of principal leadership development of a theoretical framework, capable of linking the elements of consistent personal work orientations with variations in each principal's organizational work role and school, contextual variations are necessary. After reviewing the key concepts found in previous research on leadership, I will delineate a tentative framework for studying principal leadership behavior and propose a line of research based on that framework.

Conceptual Framework

Culture is the core concept in the theory developed here. I will not, however, begin with a definition of the term culture. Rather, the meaning of the term will emerge from its usage. This indirect approach to defining the central term in the analysis is employed in order to allow the term to take its ultimate meaning from its use as a conceptual link between individual orientation and organizational context. The leadership theory that is being developed here has its special form just because it attempts to link coherent individual actions with the diversity of

organizational roles and contexts experienced by typical school principals. Thus, the term culture takes its meaning from the way in which this linkage is conceptually developed. In short, within the framework being developed here, the term takes on the specific meanings required to define linkage between individual orientations and organizational context which must be exposed to review and research if principal leadership is to be fully understood.

This is not to say that the term culture is being used as a sort of nonsense syllable, a code word without any links to cultural theories developed by social anthropologists. To the contrary, the term was consciously selected to invoke the anthropologists' appreciation for how human action systems should be analyzed and explained. In this sense, the term is clearly referenced to the various cognitive mapping systems delineated by anthropological researchers trying to explain why all human communities display patterns of consistent action and engage in intense normative evaluation of the social actions of both cultural natives and foreigners. Beyond this general orientation, however, my intent is to avoid trying to resolve the differences between various schools of anthropological analysis (structural versus

functional views of action, for example). The goal is to formulate clearly a cultural theory of principal leadership. The question of which school of anthropological analysis is serving as the conceptual foundation for the proposed theory can be debated by others.

The theoretical framework proposed here is developed in three steps. First, I review the broad traditions of leadership research in order to identify key concepts to be used in the development of an overall analysis of principal actions. This review identifies four divergent approaches to leadership and poses the question: What combination of approaches offers the best hope of explaining effective principal behavior?

The second step utilizes the concept of "work orientation" developed by Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechofer, and Platt (1968) to differentiate among the alternative ways in which individual principals conceptualize their work roles and engage in leadership activities. The work orientation concept is used to distinguish among the core activities of supervision, administration, management, and leadership, as principals respond differently to organizational needs and contexts.

Finally, the cultural framework for the theory is presented as an explanation for how individual principals link their personal work orientations to organizational contexts by formulating normative judgments about the nature of the teaching and learning work that goes on in schools.

Elements of Leadership Research

The literature on leadership is vast and complex. Many reviewers criticize it as confused, incoherent, and inconclusive. No purpose is served by retracing the steps of these critical reviewers (see e.g., Stogdill, 1948; Hanson, 1985; or Wildavsky, 1987). Instead, some key concepts are highlighted and an integrative argument is presented to synthesize the entire corpus of literature into a relatively consistent view of the topic.

Two preliminary observations set the stage for the analysis that follows. The first, from James McGregor Burns classical analysis of Leadership (1979), distinguishes between "transactional" and "transformational" leadership. The second is the most enduring finding from all empirical work on leadership - the distinction between task definition or "initiating structure" and personal relationship

development or "consideration" approaches to leading an organization or group.

Leader/Follower Relations: Transaction versus Transformation

Burns (1978, using a political science approach to the problem, defines leadership as what happens when, "persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize resources so as to arouse, engage and satisfy the motives of followers." He insists that "the crucial variable," is, "purpose." That is, leaders "see and act on both their own and their followers' values and motivations" (pp. 18, 19).

The interactions which enable leaders to fulfill the purposes of their followers are of "two fundamentally different forms." The first form Burns calls "transactional" because it

> ...occurs when one person takes the initiative in making contact with others for the purpose of an exchange of valued things. The exchange could be economic or political or psychological in nature; a swap of goods or of one good for money; a trading of votes between candidate and citizen or between legislators; hospitality to another person

> in exchange for willingness to listen to one's troubles. Each party to the bargain is conscious of the power resources and attitudes of the other (Burns, 1978; p. 19).

The second is labeled "transformational leadership." He says,

> Such leadership occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality. Their purposes, which might have started out as separate but related, as in the case of transactional leadership, become fused--transforming leadership ultimately becomes moral in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both (Burns, 1978; p. 20).

This distinction between transactional and transformational leadership is critically important in any analysis of the contributions made by school principals to the operational successes of public schools. Transactional leadership has agreed upon and accepted roles, program

structures, and authority relationships; it is the basic ingredient in day-to-day school operations. Working within district policy, utilizing the power and authority of the office, and framed by the provisions of negotiated labor contracts, the principal routinely defines tasks, assigns staff to perform them, and interprets the consequences. These transactional routines cannot be expected to work, however, if the goal is to alter or reform school programs and/or teaching processes. The reason is simple: transactional leadership depends upon the pre-existence of agreed-upon goals and shared motives. Reforms, by contrast, are planned and instituted precisely because existing patterns of aspiration and established role relationships are not leading to effective programs and practices.

Transformational leadership is required if principals are to secure new modes of teaching and learning. Students and staff members must learn to aspire to new goals and to reconceptualize the basis of their working relationships with one another.

It is important to avoid romanticizing transformational leadership, however. Where educational programs and practices are sound, the more mundane actions of a

transactional leaders are often most appropriate. Moreover, even where changes are vitally needed, leaders may find transactional give-and-take leadership to be most effective in neutralizing some of the most serious threats to innovation or for securing the compliance, if not the understanding, of followers who are unwilling or unable to respond to the higher morality of reform.

Leader/Follower Relations: Task versus Person

A second critical lesson to be learned from prior research on leadership concerns the importance of distinguishing between task structuring and interpersonal relationship development as the most critical elements in leadership behavior. Over the last four decades, hundreds of studies have applied this distinction to the analysis of leadership differences. The Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) has been used countless times to distinguish "consideration" of follower needs and interests from the process of "initiating structure" in the definition of organizational processes and tasks (Stogdill and Coons, 1957). The Leadership Behavior Description Questionnaire studies have looked at this distinction in military,

corporate, medical, governmental, and educational settings. Across a broad range of organizational settings and individual leadership roles, followers have been able to reliably distinguish between these two aspects of their leaders' behaviors.

Scholars arguing for the importance of organizational "contingencies" as critical factors affecting leadership effectiveness rely on the distinction between task structuring and interpersonal relationship development. Fiedler (1967) developed a widely used research instrument for assessing contingency based leadership, the Least Preferred Co-worker (LPC) questionnaire. With it, he found that leaders vary their emphasis on these two leadership behaviors as environmental uncertainty or "turbulence" goes up and down.

The task/person distinction developed by sociological approaches to leader behavior is not identical to the transaction/transformation distinction developed by Burns, but the two are closely related. Transactional leaders concentrate on things and tasks, whereas transformation leaders concentrate on ideas and people. While Burns was more interested in the nature of the leader/follower

relationship than in characterizing the activities in which leaders engaged, his ideas are very useful in reducing the over-emphasis on leader behavior found in this sociological tradition.

By revising the task emphasis in the initiating structure scale of the LBDQ, and the person emphasis in the consideration scale with the transactional and transformational notions developed by Burns, it is possible to identify a broad line of cleavage running through leadership concepts throughout the social sciences. Table I, below, summarizes the differences found in the literature.

Alternative Approaches to Leadership

Heuristically, it is possible to delineate eight distinctive concepts of leadership by matching the task/person (or transaction/transformation) distinction against the four primary approaches to leadership analysis found in the social sciences. While many will complain that Table 1 does violence to their favorite leadership concepts and theories, the distinctions presented allow us to put the most important theoretical frameworks into a common perspective.

Table 1

Alternative Leadership Theories

	Task (Transaction)	Person (Transformation)
Trait theory (Psychological)	Intelligence/ ability (Domination)	Energy/ friendliness (Charisma)
Political theory (Political)	Trustees (Represent goals)	Delegates (Represent groups)
Action theory (Sociological)	Initiating structure (Incentives)	Consideration (Motivation)
Orientation theory (Anthropological)	Performance/demand (Thematization)	Engagement/ opportunity (Typification)
	Political/Governor	Priest/Shaman

Trait Theory: Dominant versus Charismatic Person

The oldest line of leadership research was developed by psychologists and concentrated on identification of various innate traits and abilities

that distinguished leaders from non-leaders. The most widely read review of this early research is Stodgill's 1948 essay in the Journal of Psychology. Stodgill concluded that there were no consistent patterns of leadership traits to be found in this line of research. The literature which he reviewed does provide some evidence that leaders are physically larger, somewhat more intelligent, friendlier, more verbally facile, possessed of greater mental and physical abilities, and more energetic than their followers. Stodgill found the literature inconsistent and unconvincing on virtually every studied attribute, however, and he reported that this line of research produced no reliable conclusions about leadership traits or characteristics. Guthrie and Reed (1986) hold a more moderate view, insisting that effective managers have "high need for achievement, self-confidence, need for socialized power, desire to compete with peers, high energy level, interest in oral, persuasive activities, and relevant technical, conceptual, and interpersonal skills" (p. 200).

Without debating the merits of the evidence on various traits, let me point out that the traits covered

in this strand of research can be divided between those associated with transactional leadership or task definition (e.g., intelligence, ability, clarity of purpose, technical capacity to perform critical tasks), and those associated more with interpersonal relationships and transformational leadership (e.g., energy, friendliness, persuasive ability). Moreover, the first set of traits are associated with the psychological capacity for domination of followers; the second are often seen as attributes of charismatic or inspirational influence.

Political Theory: Delegates versus Trustees

Political science theorists are fond of approaching leadership through the concept of representation. Political leaders, representation theory argues, must choose between "trustee" and "delegate" definitions of their responsibility to constituents. This distinction was originated by the British philosopher Edmund Burke (1775) who noted in his "Speech to the Electors of Bristol" that delegates take their cues for policy directly from their constituents whereas trustees accept

personal responsibility for setting the goals of public policy. Delegates believe that they are bound by their selection to represent aggressively and faithfully only those issues and viewpoints espoused by their constituents. Trustees, by contrast, see themselves as selected for leadership in order to bring their own values and good judgment to bear on whatever issues arise in the course of their term in office. A third type of representation role is generally reported whenever Burke's concepts are applied to the analysis of real-world data. The third type, usually called "politico," is always taken to mean a person with mixed tendencies; however, it does not represent a truly different approach to leadership.

The match between the political science concepts of delegate and trustee leadership and the task/person (transaction/transformation) distinction shown in Table 1 is a bit complicated. The trustee orientation can be taken to approximate the task structuring, transactional approach to leadership identified by Burns, if we consider trustees to be committed to pre-existing goals and dedicated to the representation of those goals in

the political process. Trustees take the task or policy problem at hand into consideration rather than the expressed needs and interests of their constituents.

By contrast, delegates lead constituent groups by nurturing consensus and shared beliefs among them. Delegates do not concentrate on pre-existing tasks, but work with their constituents to form goals and guidelines for action as the policy process unfolds. Most Americans are a bit cynical about political leaders and tend to see delegate leadership at its worst, especially when moral commitments are not raised above the baser instincts of the constituents and followers corrupt the leaders and destroy their leadership function. While this kind of cynicism is often justified by the behavior of political leaders, truly transformational leaders become so by establishing a bond between themselves and their constituents that is based on shared moral commitments rather than a belief that the leader should use his own judgment and treat policy problems as matters of technical rather than moral judgment.

Action Theory: Incentives versus Motivation

The sociological analysis of leadership, pioneered by Stogdill and Coons (1957) and redirected by Fiedler's (1967) contingency theory approach emphasizes identification of the behavior or actions taken by effective leaders. Whether seen as a matter of abiding personal style, as early research studies suggested, or framed in terms of response to various environmental contingencies, this line of research insists that leaders are to be distinguished on the basis of whether their actions serve primarily to define work responsibilities and hold individuals accountable, or they focus instead on individual motivation and willingness to support the work effort.

Chester Barnard's classic work on The Functions of the Executive (1938) tackles this problem by distinguishing between the methods of "incentives" and "persuasion" used to secure worker compliance with the goals of management. Incentives, as Barnard uses the term, refer to the manipulation of material and objective rewards of the sort described by Burns when he is talking about transactional leadership. Barnard was

well aware that such leadership does little to transform the motives and interests of workers, concentrating instead on getting the work done by trading valued rewards for specific task performance.

Barnard's "method of persuasion" parallels the "consideration" scale of the LBDQ and connects leadership behavior with the transformational process outlined by Burns. Persuasion methods emphasize tapping into followers' motivational systems rather than their task performance capacities. Persuasion methods are needed when task structuring will not work and leadership has to redirect the belief and goals of the workers.

Orientation Theory: Thematization versus Typification

Work orientation theory, as developed by Goldthorpe et al. (1968), draws attention to the ways in which leadership actions shape the way followers think, rather than what they do. At first glance, work orientation theory appears to be linked entirely to Burns' transformational leadership definition. But that appearance is misleading. The framework of thoughts

created through cognitive work orientations can just as easily focus attention and effort on the performance of tasks and the creation of relatively formalized transactional leader/follower relations. This aspect of the work orientation process parallels what phenomenological anthropologists call the "thematization" experience, embodied in cultural norms and beliefs. Cultures, as Winter (1965) points out, have two critical functions in organizing human experience. The first is "thematization," the process of giving a temporal sequence or storyline to experiences that are otherwise merely incoherent and disparate "happenings" that hold no meaning. Thematic structuring tells us why we are doing particular tasks and activities, it tells us "what's going on here," and it invites us to become participants in the fulfillment of the goals of action.

The second functional dimension of all cultures is their "typification" of experience. In this dimension, cultural norms and ideas serve to segment experiences, to separate the important from the trivial, the fulfilling from the frustrating, the potent from the impotent, etc. By typifying persons, objects, and

events, cultural belief systems enable the natives to orient themselves to each other and to important social processes and institutions. Typification brings elements in our everyday experience into a valued perspective, creates identities and social bonds, and brings color and life to the otherwise routine and meaningless experiences of daily existence. Only as cultural norms and values help to differentiate and typify the objects and events around us does the world present itself as a place of opportunity and engagement. Thus, cultural typification closely parallels the person-oriented, transformational leadership actions described in the right hand column of Table 1.

Toward a Cultural Theory of the Principalship

The leadership theories reviewed in connection with Table 1 can be linked to conceptions of principal leadership. The linkage is established by reviewing the relationship between the characteristic work roles adopted by principals and their ability to establish transactional and/or transformational influences in their working relationships with students, staff, and

parents. Four terms are found at the center of the literature on principal work roles: supervision, administration, management, and leadership. Typically, these terms are treated broadly so that they form overlapping synonyms for the same work orientations and activities. Thus, for example, schools of education train principals in departments of administration, but they rarely give departmental status to supervision, management, or leadership (though recent interest in leadership has lead to numerous name changes to include this concept in departments responsible for principal training). At the same time, principals are widely referred to as "middle managers" or as "members of the management team." They are called "site administrators" and are increasingly called to account for their responsibilities as "instructional leaders." Only rarely, however, are their supervision responsibilities given similar organizational recognition. One only needs to be reminded of the special potency of the National Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development to realize that the supervision work role is not entirely out of cultural favor.

It is not accidental, that federal investment in efforts to improve principal effectiveness have led to the creation of two National Centers for Leadership and that the state-based federal effort is called Project LEAD. Leadership has come into special prominence in recent policy deliberations--though it is a bit difficult to see how this emphasis is to be distinguished from administrative, supervisory, or managerial support for principal improvement.

How do supervision, administration, management and leadership differ? What cultural assumptions are made when we use one, rather than another, of these terms to describe the special contributions of principals to school effectiveness? How, if at all, do these four core concepts relate to the competing theories of leadership found in psychological, political, sociological, and anthropological studies of organizations? The answers to these questions provide the framework for a cultural theory of principal influence in school performance.

Table 2 represents an overview of the cultural theory of principal influence to be described in the remaining sections of this paper.

TABLE 2

Principal Orientation Options

	Transaction TASK (Demands) SUPERVISOR	Transformation PERSON (Opportunities) ADMINISTRATOR
Standardized Work activities	Diligent (Direct labor) MANAGER	Dedicated (Professional) LEADER
Problem solving Work activities	Capable (Skilled craft)	Energetic (Performing art)

Orientation to Task: Supervisor versus Manager

The columns for Table 2 reflect the same division of leadership and work orientation separating the columns in Table 1. On the left are transactional approaches to the principalship. The emphasis in these approaches is defining teaching and other required school tasks and using principal influence to insure the

prompt and proper execution of these tasks. The right column of the table describes transformational approaches to the principalship. Here the emphasis is on personal relationships and influence systems. The objective is to use the principalship to create attractive opportunities for individuals to engage in the processes of teaching and learning (and to make attractive other necessary activities).

The rows of Table 2 are not directly related to the four approaches to leadership described in Table 1. They are distinguished, instead, by the nature of the organizational context within which the principal is working. The top row of the table describes principal work role options when working in the context of standardized and agreed-upon programs and procedures. The bottom row describes principal work role options that arise when the organizational context is dynamic and uncertain. Under the latter conditions, principal work responsibilities are dominated by problem solving rather than implementation of agreed-upon programs and procedures.

Depending on how organizational context factors are interpreted by individual principals, there are two types of transactional and two types of transformational ways of fulfilling this role. Transactional approaches are best exemplified by the concepts of supervision and management. Supervision is a transactional, task-focused process, rooted in the assumption that organizational tasks can be routine and pre-planned. When principals adopt a supervisory view of their work, they believe that school effectiveness is a matter of conscientious implementation of known lesson structures using broadly agreed-upon teaching techniques. That is, principals giving primary emphasis to supervision are those who see teaching effectiveness as a matter of diligent effort, rather than individual talent, special knowledge, or unique sensitivity to the needs or interests of various students. These supervisors believe that all teachers can be effective if they will just implement the best available standard practices.

Supervision lacks a transformational focus because everyone in the school organization is seen as a fixed entity. Students learn by mastering materials; teachers

teach by implementing established programs. Where student interests, needs, and abilities are seen as the determinants of the learning process and the teaching agenda, supervision loses its centrality in the definition of the principal's work role. Similarly, when teaching is conceptualized as a complex process requiring diagnostic skill and creative adaptation of techniques to changing students and circumstances, supervision is replaced by work role definitions that emphasize a broader conception of the principal's contribution to the educational process.

Supervision as a principal work role concept is linked to a set of simplifying assumptions about the nature of teaching work. Labor is the simplest and most direct definition of work in our society. Work is labor when the definition of tasks belongs to foremen or supervisors and when workers achieve the results for which they are responsible through implementation of "standard operating procedures." This concept of teaching is implied whenever it is assumed that any intelligent person could be a decent teacher by making a good-faith effort. It leads to broad acceptance of

emergency credentials and other efforts to limit teacher certification to checks on morals and the acquisition of basic skills.

The principal, as supervisor, can be brought into clearer focus by contrasting this work orientation with that implied when principals are described as managers. Whereas supervisors see effective task performance as a matter of diligent program implementation, managers see the issue as one of analysis and planning. Managers assume that the core technology needed for effective task performance is known; they see the work setting as more complex, requiring identification of specific problems and development of appropriate program elements for responding to the identified problems. In the school, this means that subject matter knowledge and pedagogical techniques are seen as well developed, but that assessment of student abilities, interests, and needs are viewed as a complex, but critical, part of the teaching process.

Manager principals, like their supervisor counterparts, emphasize task performance and concentrate on developing an effective transactional relationship

with teachers. From the management perspective, the most critical teaching tasks center on classroom processes rather then implementation of programs. Effective teachers are skilled in the diagnosis of student learning styles and problems and in the development of innovative techniques for addressing unique student needs. Thus, whereas supervisors see teacher diligence as critical, managers emphasize the importance of capability.

Conceptions of the essential character of teaching work accompany the shift from a supervisory to managerial conception of the principalship. Whereas the supervisor sees work as "labor intensive," when it involves implementation of straight forward, easily grasped techniques, the manager sees work as a skilled craft. Perhaps the most important difference between laboring and craft work is the extent to which responsibility for task definition passes into the hands of the worker. Skilled craft workers are expected to have a repertoire of techniques at their disposal and to take responsibility for selecting the appropriate technique for addressing the job at hand. In the case

of teaching, this means having student assessment and curriculum development skills that lead to the selection of appropriate materials and pedagogical techniques suited to individual students.

If the combination of skilled craft teaching and managerial principal work orientations sounds like the familiar refrain of the "effective school" movement, it is not accidental. Effective school research started with the assumption that student achievement is boosted in unusually effective schools by selection of appropriate teaching strategies. This strand of research set out to document the particular processes and techniques needed to accelerate learning; specially effective techniques were located and described. However, a collection of odd concepts--ones not amenable to the skilled craft/managed work framework--keep showing up in this literature. Phrases like "the belief that every child can learn" or "raising expectations" do not fit neatly into the skilled craft model. They imply a more transformational principalship and a less clearly defined repertoire of teacher skills.

Orientation to Person: Administrator verses Leader

The transformational, person-focused principal work orientations, shown in the right-hand column of Table 2, make very different assumptions about the nature of schools and the character of teaching work. Wherever principals see the organizational context of their work as standardized and routinized, administration is seen as the primary way of expressing their work responsibilities. Administrators, as the etiology of the word suggests, minister to the organization --facilitating and supporting work activities carried out by their key staff. An effort is made to divide production responsibilities by separating control over the organization and its internal processes from control over the task performed by the primary staff members. The work force is divided between support staff, over whom the administrator exercises supervisory control, and the production staff, who operate in a relatively detached manner, designing and implementing activities which the administrator may not fully understand and does not oversee.

The administrative approach to oversight is most appropriate when the productive work staff are operating out of a professionalized understanding of their task responsibilities. Law offices, hospitals, and architectural and engineering firms are all well suited to the administrative approach. In these organizational contexts, the form of the organization is stable and routinized while the day-to-day work of the production staff is highly individualized and not amenable to direct oversight.

The reason administrative work is predominantly transformational in character is that professional workers have to be socially knitted into a coordinated unit before high productivity results from their individual efforts. Individual professionals must retain discretionary control over when, and how, to perform various tasks. That is why professions strive to create and preserve direct, uncontrolled links between the professionals and their clients. In the highest professions--law, medicine, and to a less extent the ministry--this special client relationship is explicitly protected from intrusion by either

organizational superiors or law enforcement agencies. In education, this impulse is responsible for the development and protection of the "egg crate" classroom structure of the school, separating individual teachers from direct oversight and intrusive social pressures.

It is when productivity depends upon the coordinated efforts of a number of professional workers, or is built on a base of closely supervised and managed labor and craft work, that administration becomes an intensely transformational and person-oriented form of work oversight. Individual professionals have to be socialized into a common understanding of the goals and missions of the organization, learning to operate within the constraints of available resources and allowing support staff to be organized and coordinated by others. Without this knitting together of the professional work force, professional services become fragmented and curtailed in scope to that which a single professional can deliver.

The administrative approach to defining principal work roles is probably the strongest in most school organizations. This work orientation, if accepted by

both principals and teachers, leads directly to the widely held beliefs that: a) a principal's worst failing is be unable or unwilling to "support" the teachers, and b) the worst criticism to be leveled at a teacher is that he/she is not "dedicated" to the profession. The assumed work setting behind these two complaints is that teaching is professional work and that principals administer that work in the same way that law offices or hospital administrators support the work in these professional settings. It is a short step from the presumptive world of teaching as an administered profession to the belief that close supervision expresses a lack of professional respect and support. And it is a similarly short step from there to the belief that managerial planning and coordination results in interference with needed professional autonomy and discretion. Hence, whenever principals enter a school where the presuppositions of teaching as an administered profession are widely shared and try to actively supervise or manage teacher work efforts, they are likely to encounter resistance that springs from a lack of shared beliefs rather than a lack of capacity or

willingness to implement good teaching practices. By the same token, where teachers adopt a laboring or skilled craft notion of their work, an administrative view of the principalship will be extremely difficult to operationalize. Whereas professionals resist direct supervision, laborers resist accepting responsibility for the results of their work. Whereas craft workers want to decide what techniques to apply to a particular problem, professional workers want to decide what problems need to be solved. Hence, labor-oriented teachers will seek transactional, task-oriented principals and will see efforts to socialize and mobilize them as silly and unnecessary. Skilled, craft-oriented teachers will want their autonomy, but they will want a principal to utilize transactional and task-directed management techniques and will perceive over-reliance on transformational and person-centered techniques as unfair and arbitrary.

Leadership conceptions of the principalship, the special interest of the National Center for School Leadership, represent a fourth, and still different, emphasis. As suggested by its placement in Table 2,

leadership role definitions arise when a transformational, person-oriented approach is utilized in an organizational context that is not clearly defined and routinized. There is a natural tendency to use the term leadership to apply to all forms of effective principal behavior. Such an approach to the concept of leadership, while common throughout the literature, confuses the issue and makes it difficult to recognize the importance of developing a repertoire of actions appropriate to particular school problems and contexts.

Leadership, at least within the theoretical framework developed in this paper, is a second form of the transformational person-oriented approach to the principalship. As distinguished from administration, a leadership work orientation assumes that the organizational context, within which work activities are performed, is problematic and not amenable to routinization or stabilization. When productivity depends on how well key staff adopt the creative, high energy and deeply engaged techniques associated with the performing arts, leadership will be the most effective approach to coordinating and integrating staff work. To

the extent that teaching is like the work of a repertory drama group--with constantly changing audiences and work settings accompanied by continuous revision of the script--principal leadership will be essential to the process of nurturing common commitments, maintaining intense engagement, and developing creative approaches to the educational process.

Leadership is the natural skill in the work role definition whenever an administrator faces pressures for organization reform or improvement. So long as the issue is the productivity of individual workers, supervision and administration approaches seem to make good sense. These two approaches are intended to nurture the best possible performance out of individual workers in a context where everyone knows what needs to be done and where the workers are either professionally capable of defining tasks or where close supervision provides direct control over their efforts. Where the workers are diagnosed as deficient, there is a tendency to emphasize management skills and to seek improvements in training and staff development programs. Where organizations are diagnosed as deficient, however, the

problem solving skills of all staff members will be integrated into a revised production system only if a leadership work orientation is developed.

The Cultural Foundations of Principal Influence

The foregoing discussion has highlighted diverse themes in the leadership literature and focused attention on the need to link these themes into a comprehensive picture of alternative approaches to the definition of principal work roles. The fundamental distinction between transactional task-oriented and transformational person-oriented approaches to leadership research were crossed with the distinction between routinized and problem-solving organizational contexts to identify four distinctive principal work orientations: supervisor, manager, administrator, and leader.

These work orientations involve assumptions about the nature of teaching work as well as the characteristics of principal influence. They are appropriately described as cultural (as opposed to psychological, political, or sociological) conceptions

of organizational influence. That is, they express the cultural processes of thematization and typification of principals' experiences in the school.

Thematization dominates in the development of the supervisory and managerial principal work orientation. Here, the primary problem of school level influence is the specification of what is to be produced during the teaching process. The supervisory principal work orientation conceives of schooling as acquisition of "basic skills" or other socially agreed-upon bodies of knowledge and skills. Since it is assumed that producing these agreed-upon results is primarily a matter of willingness to diligently apply broadly understood, perhaps even common sense, teaching techniques to students who are expected to come to the school motivated and prepared to learn, the approach to work oversight laid out in Taylor's (1911) classic Principles of Scientific Management is viewed as a natural approach to the principalship. The scientific management approach places responsibility for task definition in the hands of managers (called supervisors in terms of the theory developed here) whose work

consists of closely defining worker responsibilities and then closely monitoring how well they perform assigned tasks.

From the perspective of those taking a managerial orientation toward the principalship, the basic theme of schooling is preparation for adult life. This preparation is defined in terms of functional capacity, rather than acquisition of a specific body of knowledge or set of skills. Outcomes for students are more differentiated and the production of those outcomes are much more technical and complex processes. Thematically construing education as preparation for adult life means that teaching is much more individualized. Student learning styles are diagnosed, as are the various aptitudes and interests. Responsibility for development and appropriate use of effective teaching techniques devolves to the teachers themselves. Manager principals encourage scrutiny of teachers' capacities and monitor their ability and willingness to use those capacities in response to students' individual differences.

Cultural thematization does not, of course, proceed without the companion process of typification of

personal roles and critical events in the school. Supervision, for example, typifies teaching as labor--a form of work that involves implementation of common sense processes within an organizational form that is routinized and stable. Management, by contrast, typifies teaching as a skilled craft--a form of work where effectiveness depends on mastery of a repertoire of special techniques that deferentially apply to various learning problems. This is problem-solving work conducted within a context of stable organizational forms and well specified roles.

While thematization dominates and leads the typification process for principals adopting the supervisory or managerial work orientations, typification is the leading edge of the cultural process for those who adopt the administrative or leadership approaches to influencing school performance. Cultural typification focuses more on the stimulation and engagement of persons within the productive process rather than the specification of the ends that those processes are intended to achieve.

The administrator orientation toward the principalship typifies teachers as professional workers--workers who are themselves responsible for defining the goals of schooling and who depend on the application of diagnostic skills and development of appropriate techniques to evaluate student needs and prescribe the goals of education for individual children. While these professional teachers attend closely to individual differences among students, they view the system of treatment--the school and its programs--as well-established and stable. Professional teaching assumes not only high discretion for the individual teacher in the implementation of programs and the conduct of lessons, but also that the form of the school is well-established and designed primarily to provide a supportive environment within which teachers establish personal relationships with their student clients.

The leadership work orientation typifies teachers as performing artists--workers who are intensely engaged in their work and constantly accommodating environmental changes in order to be successful. This approach to the

principalship is uniquely suited to organizational goals that are constantly open to review and revision. It is especially compatible with a view of the school organization as problematic and in need of reform or improvement.

Unique cultural thematizations of experience are also found within the administrator and leadership work orientations. Whereas supervisors and managers produce student outcomes, administrators and leaders see the productive process in terms of school operations. Administrators produce an orderly environment to support the work of dedicated and sensitive professional staff. They do not know what each child should achieve, but they do know what a well run school looks like. Leadership-oriented principals, by contrast, seek change rather than smooth operations within the school. They thematically construe the school as a place of continual adjustment and change, a place of excitement and innovation, a place where the end point is not as clear as the processes of engagement needed to reach it.

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