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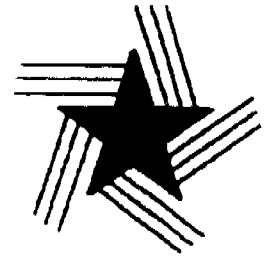
ABSTRACT

Factors that contribute to excellence in education, as well as those that have contributed to the failure of change efforts, are the subject of this document. It provides a summary of the literature on reform efforts; effective schools; new organizational perspectives derived from the business sector; organizational restructuring being tested in schools; the elements required to professionalize education; and how evaluation, professional development, and incentive programs can interact to improve the performance of educators. The first chapter, "The Reform of Public Education," argues against mandates issued by a central authority. Chapter 2, "Elements of School Effectiveness," maintains that culture is a major factor when examining the characteristics of effective schools. Chapter 3, "New Perspectives on School Organization," suggests that the organizational structure of public schools requires rethinking. Chapter 4, "Self-Management in Schools," discusses a shift of the authority to make decisions. Chapter 5, "Professionalizing Education," discusses the ramifications of the fact that teaching is not a full-fledged profession. Chapter 6, "Improving Professional Performance," presents the argument that provisions for professional growth should be an integral component of incentive plans. (251 references) (MLF)



Organizing for Excellence

by

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Organizing for Excellence

INTRODUCTION

This book is about factors that contribute to excellence in education. It is also about factors that have contributed to the failure of many efforts to change and improve the delivery of education. It provides a summary of the literature on reform efforts; effective schools; new organizational perspectives derived from the business sector; organizational restructuring being tested in schools; the elements required to professionalize education; and how evaluation, professional development, and incentive programs can interact to improve the performance of educators. The book is intended for all who are concerned about why rules, regulations, mandates, and standards fail to appreciably improve the performance of students in public schools.

Chapter 1: The Reform of Public Education

The first chapter presents an argument put forth by many writers and researchers that mandates issued by a central authority are not an appropriate, or possible, way to provide either significant educational improvement or excellence. These writers point out that educational practices have both persistence and power, and past reforms that have attempted to mandate changes in teaching and learning have been either transitory and superficial or inimical. Often, when policy makers attempt to devise policy solutions to ameliorate one problem, new problems are created or existing ones are made worse. The overwhelming difficulty with most current reform strategies is that they are based on the assumption that legislating conditions associated with successful schools and programs is sufficient to create them. While legislators and central authorities can, and should, establish standards and goals, what cannot, and should not, be established is the means by which those standards and goals are to be met at the local school site.

Chapter 2: Elements of School Effectiveness

The second chapter discusses the doubts and questions that researchers have raised concerning the appropriateness of the five Edmonds *Effective School Factors*. Although most researchers agree that schools or school districts should develop plans in response to their unique situations, many districts have simply taken plans developed in other districts and applied them with few, if any, modifications. A number of researchers and practitioners have reservations about such widespread acceptance of an overall prescription for improving schools. New insights have been gained from more recent research studies and reviews, from studies of effective school administrators, and from research on effective teaching practices. Most researchers agree that *culture* is a major factor when examining the characteristics of effective schools. There is agreement that individual characteristics or practices

often have little explanatory value alone. Their power comes from the way they combine to form a common *ethos* or culture. The culture determines how (and if) the organization adapts to change, what goals are chosen, and the way people interact in order to link or coordinate their organizational activities.

Chapter 3: New Perspectives on School Organization

In this chapter, it is suggested that the organizational structure of public schools in today's *information society* requires rethinking. Since teachers are *knowledge workers*, the organizational structure of schools should be one that makes the work productive and the worker achieving. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic structure of many school systems stands in the way of improvement at the school level, making the needs of the system more important than the needs of people. A major purpose of organizational restructuring should be to create schools that are places where ideas have currency, that are staffed by people who are comfortable with ideas, and that are designed so that such people can be as productive as possible. Successfully restructuring the education system requires developing a new approach to state and local control that provides greater discretion to individual schools.

Chapter 4: Self-Management in Schools

This chapter points out that public education is facing the same challenges that forced businesses to search for alternative organizational structures more suited to the demands of knowledge workers in an information society. Autonomous or self-managed work groups have developed in response to these challenges. The rationale for self-managed units is based on the belief that the work group is the most effective entity for allocating resources and delegating tasks to deal with unique work conditions. Projects to increase the autonomy of schools within public education have been undertaken in a number of countries including Great Britain, Australia, and the United States. The common theme in all of these endeavors has been a shift of the authority to make certain decisions from a central entity to the school. School-based management is focusing the full resources of the system at the school level and allowing decisions to take place at this level.

Chapter 5: Professionalizing Education

In this chapter, the ramifications of the fact that teaching is not a *full-fledged* profession are discussed. Few teachers in America today enjoy the authority, status and working conditions routinely taken for granted by professionals in business, government, and the non-profit sector. Teachers do not have policy-making roles; they do not control the technology of teaching, entrance into the profession, or the standards of professional performance; nor do they regulate the professional behavior of practicing teachers. Teachers' freedom to exercise professional judgment is constrained by a top-down bureaucratic system that largely dictates how and what

the teacher is to teach. Participative-management strategies have grown increasingly important in the private sector in the United States during the past five or six years. Although the trend has gained little momentum in the education sector, the implications for improving school management, where teachers are highly educated but usually have little involvement in decision making, are both significant and far-reaching.

Chapter 6: Improving Professional Performance

This chapter presents the argument that unless provisions for professional growth are an integral component of incentive plans, the chances are slim that leadership, teaching, or student learning will improve as a result of such plans. Incentive programs generally fall into two categories -- merit-pay plans and career-ladder programs. The concept underlying most merit-pay proposals is that staff can be motivated to perform more effectively if some form of monetary incentive is available for outstanding performance. The concept behind most career-ladder proposals is that compensation and career structures should be re-designed so they provide incentives for professional development much like those of other professional occupations. Depending on the goals of the incentive program, the evaluation process will be either formative (for improvement of performance) or summative (for personnel decisions). In practice, however, most evaluation addresses summative goals. Regardless of how well-designed the evaluation system is, improving teachers' instructional behavior depends on effective staff development. Properly designed mentor-teacher, master-teacher, and career-ladder programs have the advantage of providing an expanded source of leadership and support by and for teachers and can facilitate systematic plans for school improvement.

CHAPTER 1
THE REFORM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

In contemporary society, public education is valued more for what it can *do* for society than for its intrinsic value. Historical demands for mass processing and controlling large, heterogeneous groups of students have contributed to current educational practices. School practices reflect societal values and are resistant to change as long as those values are current. The *first wave* of reform generated by the early commission reports applied *top-down* mandates to raise standards and to insure accountability. However, the realities of school circumstances (e.g., limited time and resources) mitigate against the success of most top-down strategies. This is illustrated by the number of reforms that have either been subverted by the local school or district or that have created additional problems. A second wave of educational reform is occurring both as a result of the failure of the first wave and in response to changes in societal expectations. This second wave is accompanied by the recognition that change must take place at the local level and that the logical locus of authority, as well as responsibility, is at that level. This will require a realignment of the authority structure in most public schools.

The Historical Context of Reform

The Instrumental Value of Education

Policy makers have traditionally capitalized on the instrumental value of public education. For the most part, they have valued the educational system more for what it could do for the society than for its intrinsic value. Education has been delegated the task, at various times, of creating social and political harmony, of acculturating immigrants, of preparing a work force to function in an *efficient* industrial society, and of saving the nation from communism (Timar & Kirp, 1987). For example, state governments and the federal government have mandated reform measures to ensure equal educational opportunities for all. Such intervention has produced results where problems of inequity were the result of conflicts at the local level between those who had power and those who did not (Wise, 1979). It is logical for reforms of this nature to originate at the state and federal levels when it is necessary to broaden the vision of local districts that may be responding only to local values (Corwin & Borman, 1988). While it may be appropriate to solve the problems of inequity of educational opportunities and of the allocation of resources through mandates issued by a central authority, it is questionable whether this is an appropriate, or possible, way to solve the problem of providing quality education

(Wise, 1988). Some highly visible reform policies have tried to do this, yet have left untouched much of what goes on in schools.

Practices of Schooling Reflect Societal Values

Past reforms dealing with the technical core of education, teaching and learning, have been transitory and superficial. On the other hand, reforms that have expanded, solidified, and entrenched school bureaucracy seem to have had strong, enduring, and concrete effects (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988). In order to understand why reform efforts have had so little impact on the practice of schooling, one needs to understand that the basic tendency of institutions is towards the preservation of established practice. The norms, values, traditions, and practices that make up the institution of schooling are embedded in a wider pattern of societal rewards, obligations, and aspirations. Traditional practices persist in the classroom because they tend to fit teachers' (and students' and the community's) common-sense theories of education and perpetuate the kind of interpersonal relationships that those in the schools feel most comfortable with. Few districts or schools are willing to deviate from established, accepted practices, even in pursuit of excellence (Reid, 1986).

Americans, for example, are fairly consistent in their views of desirable and appropriate educational experiences for their children. The basic, core structure of schooling is determined by values and assumptions that are widely shared throughout society, and the core structure of American schooling is *nationwide* (Benham Tye, 1987). The early Protestant ethic reinforced the idea that quiet attention, obedience to teachers, and recalling and repeating material were evidence of learning. Children who wanted their own way were viewed as willful, disobedient, or devilish. Independence of mind, spirited inquiry, and a willingness to strike out on one's own were identified with sinfulness. Teaching had a strong didactic cast well into the 20th century; students listened, read, and accumulated what they were told. Learning was passive and knowledge was objective and stable. In both religious and secular practices, teachers were persons of authority with special knowledge that they were to pass on, intact, to students (Cohen, 1987).

The Persistence of Educational Practices

Shaped by conventional wisdom, tradition, and vested interests, educational practices have both persistence and power. Teacher-centered classroom tactics enable teachers to maintain order with large groups of children and, at the same time, convey content that the community deems appropriate (Cuban, 1986). This is one of the reasons that most American high schools are so much alike. There is general uniformity in the physical environment of classrooms across the 50 states. The standard high school classroom reinforces passive behavior of students and makes it easier for adults to contain and control them. It is large enough to accommodate between 20 and 35 people, but only if those people are engaged in activities

requiring them to be *seated* and *non-interactive*. They can watch a film, listen to a speaker, take a test, or read a book. The standard classroom is often not large enough for groups to carry on discussions without disturbing one another (Benham Tye, 1987).

Goodlad (1984) suggests that much of what goes on in classrooms is conditioned by the need to maintain orderly relationships among 20 to 30 or more students in a relatively small space. Elmore (1987) has pointed out that public schools are expected to provide daytime custody and education to a large and varied population of students who are, for the most part, required to attend school regardless of their interest or aptitude for academic learning. Schools are also expected to respond to various constituencies such as local boards, universities, business interests, parents, and legislators. Schooling is often reduced to *batch processing* where students are assembled into standard classes and are taught according to predictable steps or stages, within well-defined constraints of time and space (Elmore, 1987). This is considered by some to be the most efficient, predictable, and reliable way to handle the large volume of students that public schools are forced to accommodate within the limitations of allocated resources.

These traditional approaches to instruction have deep roots and persist despite repeated efforts to change them (Cohen, 1987). Large, graded schools; self-contained classrooms; 50-minute periods; multiple curricula; Carnegie units; and standardized tests have defined the organizational imperatives under which teachers function. Teachers have adapted by inventing teacher-centered classroom tactics - lecturing, large-group instruction, reliance on a textbook and chalkboard, seatwork assignments, recitation, discussion, and the use of teacher-made quizzes and tests. This practical pedagogy, forged from daily experience in the classroom, has worked for them (Cuban, 1986). Cuban (1982) reviewed past reforms that attempted to change what teachers did in classrooms. He found teacher practices that outlasted vigorous efforts at reform. Goodlad (1984) also found that the extensive reform movements of the previous 25 years have barely touched the classroom. This was true even at the peak of reforms aimed at introducing student-centered classroom practices.

Goodlad (1984) found little variation in classroom management styles in a study of 1,000 classrooms in 38 schools. Each student essentially worked and achieved alone within a group setting. McNeil (1982) observed, on the basis of her study of four high schools, that teachers may deliberately try to reduce students to passive recipients of information in order to minimize adversarial relations. Metz (1978) observed that the tension between keeping order in the classrooms and providing education for a diverse student population presented teachers with a dilemma:

> They exist to educate children, but they must also keep order. Unless the children themselves are independently dedicated to both these goals, the school will find that arrangements helpful for one may subvert the other. (p. 243)

The dilemma is, in part, a consequence of trying to impose uniformity within and among classrooms, on a heterogeneous group of students, in spite of variable conditions of teaching (Corwin & Borman, 1988). There is not much tension between order and diversity in those schools where most students arrive wanting to learn what the school teaches. But in schools where this is not the case, the adults strive to prevent students from openly challenging the worth of what is being taught and the rules and routines supporting order (Cusick, 1983).

Reforms That Have "Backfired"

Local Responses to "Top-Down" Mandates

A frequent accusation by educators is that the reforms to date have been too mechanistic a response to the variety of human circumstances that produce learning (Green, 1987). The problems inherent in attempting to make schools more effective do not lend themselves to generalized solutions imposed from above (Wise, 1979). For example, the *excellence reforms* that have been initiated in some states represent an unprecedented, highly directive effort to change the character of curriculum and instruction in the classroom (Kirst, 1987). Such attempts at reform have ignored the findings of the implementation literature, the research on teaching, and modern theories of management (Johnson, 1986; Rosenholtz, 1985). Externally imposed practices that are incompatible with local routines, traditions, or resources are likely to be rejected in time. This was born out by studies of the federally supported reform initiatives of the 1950's and 1960's. The reforms were rarely implemented because those responsible at various levels of the educational system responded in what "often seemed quite idiosyncratic, frustratingly unpredictable, if not downright resistant ways" (McLaughlin, 1987). Not only did program outcomes fall short of expectations but also there was enormous variability in the resulting *programs* in communities across the nation.

Symbolic Responses. It is difficult to mandate educational excellence not only because it depends upon government's dubious ability to change behavior, but also because the organizations responsible for implementing policies often lack the resources or the desire to implement such change (Timar & Kirp, 1987). Quite often, the local response to external pressures to change is purely symbolic. When change is sought by those outside the organization, those within engage in the ceremony of changing with pomp and circumstance. This is done to maintain the support and faith of the external environment. In reality, however, the actors have neither the intention nor the hope that important features within the organization will emerge differently (Lieberman, 1986). For example, Malen (1986) and Malen and Hart (1986), in their studies of decision making on career-ladder plans in the Utah legislature and in Utah school districts, document how the promotion and differentiated-salary aspects of career-ladder plans are being compromised at all

levels of the system. With few exceptions, they found that the reform is being converted into familiar practice.

Substitute Objectives. When organizations do not have the resources to meet the intent of policy objectives set for them, they devise strategies to substitute objectives that they can attain. What happens then is that meeting the specific reform strategies themselves becomes the goal rather than changing the conditions targeted by the reform. Policy *means* become policy *ends* and assume a life of their own, detached from the purpose they were intended to serve (Timar & Kirp, 1987). A good illustration of this is provided by reforms aimed at improving student performance. In California, for example, all public school systems are required to submit an annual performance report to the State Department of Education. This report is based on various measures of student performance, which are then compared to state *targets*. The intent is for districts to assure that students are progressing toward academic excellence. The problem is that schools lack control over the most important factors influencing educational outcomes. Consequently, they focus instead on what they can control -- numbers. As a result, California officials can report that, whereas in 1982 high school students spent, on average, 57,728 minutes in school annually, by 1986 the average had increased to 64,800. Other reports indicate how many students take academic courses and how many weekly homework and written assignments they complete (Timar & Kirp, 1987). Unfortunately, none of these numbers can assure that students are progressing toward academic excellence.

Select Another Set of Clients. Another strategy sometimes used for shifting from unattainable to attainable objectives is to identify another set of clients that better fits policy requirements. For example, when testing for student achievement, if all students cannot be made to get higher test scores, schools might test only those students who show promise of achieving high scores. This is the reason California's *Cash for CAPs* program, which provides $15 million annually to districts in which twelfth-grade scores on the California Assessment Program (CAP) increase, insists that at least 93% of the school's twelfth graders must take the test. This provision was added after state officials discovered that some districts were only testing those students most likely to do well (Timar & Kirp, 1987).

However, schools still found ways to circumvent the intent of the reform. Although across-the-board scores for seniors increased in the first year of the CAP program, that increase was accompanied by a record drop in numbers of students eligible to take the test (15,000 students disappeared from twelfth-grade rolls). While state officials attributed the high scores to "the movement to reform and excellence," Timar and Kirp (1987) suggest a more convincing explanation for the increased test scores is that schools simply redefined who was a twelfth grader for purposes of testing.

Re-define Status of School. Another strategy for meeting the goals of reform is to redefine the category or status-level in which the school belongs. In ranking its schools on the basis of reported performance measures, California takes into ac-

count the socioeconomic status (SES) of each school's students. Much of the data collection regarding social indicators is left to the judgement of school personnel. The state ranks schools in terms of pupil performance and compares schools on the basis of SES indices. Since schools with low SES indicators tend to have lower aggregate CAP scores than high SES schools, a high SES school that transforms itself into a low SES school makes its student performance appear to be much better. Some high SES schools in California "have made substantial gains toward excellence simply by metamorphosizing themselves into low SES schools" (Timar & Kirp, 1987, p. 321).

Reforms Often Create New Problems

Wayson and his associates (1988) studied school effectiveness for the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation. They found that very few personnel in *excellent* schools mentioned any of the reform recommendations as an incentive or stimulus for school actions. In fact, many of the programs and practices in those excellent school either went well beyond the recommendations, were different from the recommendations, or were directly opposed to the recommendations. The researchers found a number of negative consequences in those districts where the Effective Schools Model had been mechanically implemented with little attention given to the personal and organizational dynamics that characterize truly effective schools. They cited the following teachers comments to illustrate these negative consequences (p. 170):

> Our principal went to one of the School Improvement workshops and came back feeling that she had to *monitor* the program. Well, she monitors. We have to be on page so-and-so, and we are so tied up with recording and reporting results that we have no time to achieve anything.
>
> - teacher, Midwestern city

> Some of that gang of so-called *supervisors* went into a classroom in our building. Most haven't taught more than a year or two, but they are disciples and true believers and they will do whatever they are told to do. They don't really understand, though, what they are doing. The program that the superintendent bought says that a good teacher will "refocus the lesson frequently"; so, one team of these fools marked a first-grade teacher down for not saying the word *focus* frequently enough. Now the union is circulating a list of words to say when a team is in your room. The kids aren't getting anything out of that, and most of us in the building are thinking of early retirement. It just is no fun teaching anymore.
>
> - teacher, Southern city

It is not uncommon for policies to work at cross-purposes to one another. Often in attempting to devise policy solutions to ameliorate one problem, new

problems are created or existing ones are made worse. Gary McCloskey and his colleagues (cited in Wise, 1988) found that teachers questioned management when the solutions proposed had little correlation with the reality of classrooms. For example, in regard to mandated performance criteria for all students, teachers reported restrictions in dealing with variation in student ability and accomplishment. Moreover, teachers objected to standardized curricula and standardized methods of evaluating teachers and students because these methods did not match the heterogeneity of classrooms. Teachers believed that efforts to regulate educational quality through the enforcement of uniform standards actually reduced equity by preventing teachers from accommodating differences among students (Wise, 1988). In a study by Pfeifer (1986), teachers described discipline policies that involved so much paperwork that most of the teachers learned to tolerate disruption rather than deal with the administration. It was not always possible for teachers to determine when clear policies became meaningless bureaucratic red tape.

Another example is the school-reform initiative enacted by the Texas Legislature in 1984. The legislation limits class size in the primary grades to 22 students. However, another provision of the Texas reform package distributes state funds for teacher salaries on the basis of the number of pupils in average daily attendance, rather than on the number of teachers a school is required to hire. Timar and Kirp (1987) propose an example in which there are two first grade classes in a school with 22 students each. They presume that if a new first grader enrolls any time before the final 12 weeks of the school year, the school would be required to hire an additional teacher for that student. In their example, state funds would generally pay for less than 5% of the new teacher's salary to teach the one additional pupil; the balance would have to come out of local funds.

A Conspiracy of Good Intentions: America's Textbook Fiasco, a book published by the Council for Basic Education (Tyson-Bernstein, 1988), attacks the current system of textbook adoption as one that has filled the schools with "glossily covered blocks of paper whose words emerge to deaden the minds of our nation's youth." Over the last decade the drive for higher test scores has led educators to align the curriculum, the textbooks, and the tests to increase performance. Although noble in intent, the result has led to superficial adoption policies that make students enemies of learning. Officials in the 22 states that require a centralized textbook adoption system have increasingly begun to specify all the facts, terms, and topics that must be included in the textbooks they are willing to buy. Such requirements have resulted in simply *mentioning* certain facts to fit the requirements of as many states as possible, providing little of the context that gives the facts meaning. In addition, readability formulas have *dumbed-down* textbooks to meet state demands.

Many states have instituted new graduation requirements combined with regulation of the curriculum, standardized testing, and special monitoring techniques (e.g., computerized progress reports on the performance of students in each classroom). The rationale for curriculum standardization argues that centralized control offers advantages by economies of scale and the application of expert knowledge (Clune, 1987). While centralized control of the curriculum, especially at the district level,

may present some comparative advantages, such programs nevertheless face serious problems. In spite of claims of expert knowledge, states and districts apparently sometimes choose the wrong content (e.g., basic skills rather than higher order thinking). Carried too far, curriculum standards may interfere with flexibility in the classroom and cause deterioration in the working conditions of teachers (Clune, 1987). Reforms that make teachers into passive receivers of advice and knowledge from external experts; that use external prescriptions on content and performance to control what teachers teach; and that define the teacher's role through a vast hierarchy of rules, procedures, and sanctions serve only to reinforce the mediocre modes of practice they were designed to improve (Elmore, 1987).

A study of magnet schools in a large urban district illustrates the disastrous consequences of dictating a centralized curriculum policy for schools and a rigid assessment system for teachers (McNeil, 1988a). Months of observations in the school district and interviews with teachers and students in magnet schools revealed that teaching is very different in settings where teachers are not preoccupied with meeting bureaucratic standards. Prior to the implementation of *reform* measures, teachers in the magnet schools were more likely to demand the best of their students, to learn along with their students, and to use their professional knowledge to create exciting learning situations for their students. They exhibited a high degree of professionalism as they worked with colleagues and students. A common element among schools and teachers was a *passion for teaching* that made students participants in the learning process. School administrators were facilitators and supporters.

When the school district and state moved to enact *school reforms* and required conformity to a centralized model of practice, the results provided a dramatic illustration of how centralized school reforms have the power to create the very mediocrity that they were intended to eliminate. The district-level reforms removed the design of curriculum and student assessment from teacher control and instituted a *proficiency system* that relied on testing minimum competency of basic skills. The curriculum was redesigned to assure ease of *testing*. Teachers who followed the prescribed curriculum, numbered lesson plans to identify the proficiencies covered, and posted the proficiencies to be covered each day were able to *cover* the material in time for each test. They found, however, that the official *minimum standard* overwhelmed class time. Teachers who wanted to teach challenging material resorted to various techniques to minimize the intrusion of the mandated curriculum (McNeil, 1988b).

The state-level reforms dictated the teachers' role in the classroom, defined appropriate *teaching behaviors*, and unfortunately, reinforced the extreme of teacher-centered practices. Measurability was the guiding principle. Teachers who wanted to practice a more personalized, student-centered teaching style adjusted both the lesson and teaching behaviors for the assessment period. Teachers' merit pay, principals' bonuses, and comparison of schools were all linked to student performance on the competency tests. Teachers' progress through the career ladder was directly tied to the assessment process. Such attempts at reforms reveal a basic

mistrust of teachers' professional abilities and motivation. What is truly demoralizing to the many teachers who are innovative, enthusiastic, and dedicated is the mentality revealed by such reforms that will "throw out the baby with the bath water." In an effort to establish *minimums*, these reforms applied across-the-board generic remedies that served to stifle the creativity of the best teachers and did little to improve the worst. These top-down reforms actually reinforced many of the conditions that produce poor instruction (McNeil, 1988c).

A Second Wave of Educational Reform

Limitations of Centralized, Top-Down Change

Many of the earlier national reports advocated changing the schools from *without* (Silver, 1986). The *top-down* strategies that were first generated were intended to raise standards, increase accountability, and generally improve the caliber of public education (Michaels, 1988). However, those reforms, which were designed to achieve educational improvement at the school level, have instead fostered the centralization of authority at the state and district level. When state legislatures, state boards of education, and state departments of education press local school boards to reform the schools in particular ways, local administrators are forced to exercise tighter control at the central office level. Then, superintendents and school boards often try to *assign* responsibility to subordinates. The assumption is that individuals higher up in the bureaucratic structure know more about what is needed to improve the schools than do the individuals who staff the schools (Frymier, 1987).

The fallacies of trying to improve schools through a centralized decision-making process have been documented by Noblit (1986) as follows:

- Uniformity is the aim of this approach rather than quality or excellence.

- While this approach assumes that standards indicate quality, organizational studies indicate that standards produce routines and relatively undifferentiated products.

- Teachers are assumed to be passive recipients of policy.

- This approach assumes no fundamental change is necessary, that adjusting the current system and tightening standards is sufficient.

Supporters of centralized, state-level reforms appear to subscribe to the assumption that those who staff the nation's schools are to blame for the present condition

of the educational system and that transforming mediocrity into excellence means applying sanctions to alter the behavior of students and teachers. It has become obvious, however, that policy makers can't always mandate what matters. It may seem logical that increasing academic performance could be accomplished by making class periods longer, requiring more school days each year, promoting enrollment in academic courses, creating a curriculum that emphasizes basics, and curtailing students' extracurricular activities. These measures require some individuals, especially students, to change their attitudes about schooling. However, students go to school for a variety of reasons, and, for many students, school is simply a requirement to be tolerated. For high school students especially, school may be competing unsuccessfully with other interests (Timar & Kirp, 1987).

Similarly, improving the teaching profession requires strategies that alter entrenched patterns of behavior which are not susceptible to policy manipulation. For example, some urban schools are faced with a variety of problems and need committed and qualified teachers -- but they are the least likely to get them because of the working environment. Teachers, like students, have competing interests. State policies cannot mandate a reduction in negative attitudes triggered by working conditions; nor can they legislate enthusiasm, collegiality, or interest in students. It is obvious that there is a wide range of behaviors, attitudes, and incentives not within the scope of state policy (Timar & Kirp, 1987).

Interaction Between Policy, Administration, and Practice

Past reforms have been "marred by elements of schizophrenia, amnesia, and ignorance" about the role played by local educators in accepting or rejecting innovations (Boyd, 1987). As a consequence, reform strategies have often been incongruent with the realities of changing schools. Educational reform results from a complex interaction between three loosely connected levels: policy, administration, and practice. At the policy level, authoritative decisions are made on the purposes of education, on the responsibilities of individuals and institutions, on the money required to run the system, and on the rules required to make it operate effectively and fairly. While policy can *set the conditions* for effective administration and practice, it cannot predetermine how administrative decisions will be made or practice will be conducted. And, although at the administrative level decisions may reflect policy and set the conditions for effective practice, they cannot entirely control how teachers act in the classroom (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988).

Administrators are preoccupied with the maintenance and development of the organization and survive by learning how to juggle the competing demands of politics, organization, and practice. Administrators are paid to manage a specific piece of a complex system -- a school, a project, a district, a grant program -- and successful performance means turning conflicting demands into budgets, expenditures, staff responsibilities, and supervisory roles. The educational-practice level is mainly the world of classroom teaching. Because of the variety of students' responses to the same material, successful teaching depends heavily on spontaneity and

improvisation. Classroom teachers survive by having strong beliefs about the importance of the task, by developing knowledge of content and process, by developing strong interpersonal skills, and by learning how to maintain their positions in the school organization. Educational practice consists of the instructional decisions necessary to teach content, manage a classroom, diagnose and treat individual learning problems, and evaluate student performance and one's own teaching performance. These kinds of decisions are not always consistent with the kinds of decisions passed down from the policy and administrative levels (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988).

Conflicts among policy, administration, and practice are endemic to educational reform. For an elected official, reform means identifying the problems the public has with education, identifying a politically feasible set of remedies, and constructing the coalition necessary to turn the remedies into policies. For the administrator, reform means making decisions that extend general policies to *particular* settings. For the teacher, reform means changing established patterns of practice and translating broad, often unclear administrative directives into concrete decisions. Teachers see reform policies from the point of view of getting through the materials, adjusting their routines to new supervisors and new roles, meeting new reporting requirements, implementing new testing procedures, and communicating new expectations to students. Those teachers who have thought about their own view of practice and have strong professional convictions about how to teach effectively, are more likely to see conflicts between reform policies and their own work. Some of the *unresponsiveness* that has been observed in teachers stems, in reality, from factors that are preconditions for effective professional practice -- strong convictions, commitment to the task, and knowledge of content and teaching strategies (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988).

At each point in the implementation process, a policy is transformed as individuals interpret and respond to it. For this reason, it is necessary to shift the focus of analysis away from institutions and institutional goals to individuals and individual incentives, beliefs, and capacity. While it is true that local conditions such as size, inter-organizational relations, commitment, capacity, and institutional complexity shape responses to policy, the fact remains that organizations don't implement change, individuals do. Individuals responsible for carrying out a policy respond to professional and personal motivation that reflects the individual's assessment of the value of a policy or the appropriateness of a strategy. The attitudes, motivation, and beliefs that guide an individual's response to policy goals or strategies are not always open to policy intervention (McLaughlin, 1987). The overwhelming difficulty with the current reform strategy is that it is based on an assumption that legislating conditions associated with successful schools and programs is sufficient to create them. That strategy neglects the essential element of school change, which is change in people, not change in things (Clark, Lotto, & McCarthy, 1980). In the final analysis, while policy can enable outcomes, it cannot mandate individual motivation. Even the best planned, best supported, and most promising policy initiatives depend on what happens as individuals throughout the system interpret and act on them (McLaughlin, 1987).

Societal Expectations and Changing Practices

Changing practices that are congruent with the basic traditions of schooling will require a change in the expectations of the larger society of which schools are a part. Essentially, this means establishing new traditions. Reid (1986) provides an example of this in his discussion of how self-contained classrooms replaced large, open schoolrooms in the leading English independent boarding schools in the early part of the 19th century. At that time, instruction took place in a single large room that accommodated all the school's students. Instruction consisted essentially of assigning tasks and then *hearing* students individually to see if they had *learned their lessons*. This created a noisy, distracting atmosphere in which it was very difficult to provide anything other than very basic instruction. Many who were aware of these conditions were pressing for individual classrooms in which to conduct instruction.

The Royal Commission appointed in 1861 to "inquire into the revenues and management of certain colleges..." decided *against* the change to classrooms, decreeing that:

> it may admit of doubt whether ... schools are not moving faster than the world, for which they are a preparation, has followed or will be able to follow them. It is necessary at the Bar, and in other careers in life, and in the Houses of Parliament, that much mental work should be done of all kinds, amidst many outward causes of distraction (cited in Reid, 1986, p. 304).

Reid points out that the Commissioners recognized the conditions existing in the schoolrooms were not simply internal to schools, but were linked with the outside world. However, within 20 years conceptions of careers, methods of recruitment to the professions, and requirements for public success had changed. And, by this time, all lessons were being taught in classrooms. "The schools did not have to move faster than the world. They just had to keep up with it" (Reid, 1986). Reid made the point that when reforming practice one cannot simply be concerned with technical efficiency. A more important concern is that the internal and external meanings associated with the practice are consonant.

As noted above, traditions of practice do not exist in a vacuum; they reflect the values of the communities in which the school are located. Studies of attitudes about education find that less urbanized, more religious, working-class, or lower middle-class Americans hold quite traditional ideas about what should be taught in schools, and how. Support for new, student-centered techniques seems to be strongest in cosmopolitan and upper middle-class families in which parental discipline is relaxed and personal independence is highly valued (Cohen, 1987). However, with the practice of participatory decision making moving into business and industry and the value of critical thinking skills becoming more evident in the workplace, changes can be expected in attitudes toward what constitutes appropriate classroom techniques. As significant shifts occur in public perceptions of what schools should be

and should do, changes in the core structure of schooling will be called for (Benham Tye, 1987).

The Call for Restructuring School Organization

The purpose of educational reform should be to create the kinds of institutional arrangements and organizational structures that promote excellence (Timar & Kirp, 1987). Few policy makers, however, gave serious consideration during the first wave of reforms to the organizational or structural changes that were needed in order to create excellence (Cornbleth, 1986). Because of this, the first generation of reforms left a residue of "incremental changes and an outmoded educational structure still firmly in place" (Kearns, 1988). Fortunately, a second generation of educational reports is addressing a number of complex issues overlooked in earlier reforms. While previous reports called for leadership at the state level, the current wave calls for local involvement and reforms that improve what happens in the classroom itself (Green, 1987).

The current press for reform is for strategic changes that restructure the way schools are organized and operated (Kearns, 1988). More than a decade ago, Averch and his colleagues (1972, p. 158) concluded from a synthesis of the literature that, "... improvement in student outcomes, both cognitive and noncognitive, may require sweeping changes in the organization, structure, and conduct of educational experiences." The demand for alternative ways to structure schools has been energized by concerns about the growing number of children from disadvantaged backgrounds, the dropout rate, students' low scores on standardized tests, students' lack of critical thinking skills, and America's declining status in the international economy (*ASCD Update*, 1988). Political, business, and education leaders have called for a fundamental restructuring of the education system in reports such as *A Nation Prepared*, *Time for Results*, and *Children in Need*. These leaders recognize that the traditional structure and organization of schools will not satisfy the new challenges they face (Cohen, 1987). Theodore Sizer, who directs the Coalition of Essential Schools, agrees that schools must experiment with alternative structures. He states, "the primary issue is that the workplace is set up wrong and the learning place is set up wrong. The ideas behind how they are set up need to be reanalyzed" (*ASCD Update*, 1988).

This second wave of reform is distinguished by an exciting and markedly different agenda that provides the *means* to create different models of schooling (Michaels, 1988). This includes:

- focusing on the individual school as the unit of decision making;
- development of a collegial, participatory environment among both students and staff;
- flexible use of time;

- increased personalization of the school environment with a concurrent atmosphere of trust, high expectations, and sense of fairness;

- a curriculum that focuses on students' understanding what they learn -- knowing *why* as well as *how*; and

- an emphasis on higher-order thinking skills for all students.

Premises on Which to Base Successful Educational Reform

Changing institutions rather than maintaining institutions is what reform is about. This theme is seen in the writing on successful management (Peters & Austin, 1985; Peters & Waterman, 1982) where a wholesale abandonment of mechanistic explanations of human behavior are being combined with a discussion of how space can be created in organizations for diversity and creativity to flourish. It is time for educational reformers to acknowledge this trend and encourage the implementation of as many and as varied examples of good practice as possible in order to meet the social, political, and technological requirements for fundamental change (Reid, 1986).

Combs (1988) suggests the following premises on which to base a reform agenda that may have a greater record of success than have past efforts.

- ***Concentrate on changing people's beliefs.*** To change behavior effectively, educational reform must concentrate on altering the belief systems of the people who make the decisions and do the work. No matter how promising a strategy for reform, if it is not incorporated into teachers' personal belief systems, it will be unlikely to affect behavior in the desired directions.

- ***Emphasize processes, not preconceived outcomes.*** Changing people's beliefs is seldom accomplished by coercion. Neither is it generally achieved by lecturing, ordering, legislating, mandating, rewarding, or punishing. Changing people's beliefs requires creating conditions for change rather than imposing reforms. It calls for open systems of thinking that work best for problems: (1) that involve people, (2) where objectives are broad and complex, and (3) where outcomes cannot be precisely defined in advance. While the majority of problems in education meet the criteria for open systems, few reformers understand open systems or have the skills to put them in action.

- ***Determine what is important.*** Efforts at reform must be based on ideas that are important to those who must carry them out. Other-

wise, they are almost certain to misfire. Worse still, they will destroy morale.

- ***Begin from local problems.*** If people are going to be motivated to deal with it, they must own the problem. Reforms imposed without acceptance or commitment by those who must implement them only add to frustration, resentment, and burnout. How problems are defined from the perspective of legislators, parents, school boards, educational theorists, or administrators is often very different from the way they are interpreted by those in classrooms. Consequently, problems and solutions defined from higher levels are regarded by teachers and principals as interruptions, which only further complicates their already difficult jobs. Confronting local problems and facilitating the discovery of appropriate solutions is the most likely road to effective reform.

- ***Eliminate barriers to reform.*** Sometimes obstacles exist in the environment, sometimes in the definition of the problem, sometimes in goals or ways of operating. Once barriers have been removed or reduced, commitment is greater and innovations are more likely to be perceived as challenges rather than as threats or impositions.

- ***Encourage innovation and change.*** If educational reform is to occur from grass roots experimentation, somehow we must find ways to help our profession believe that "it's all right to make mistakes," that *not trying* is the grievous sin. Teacher confidence to experiment must, once again, be seen as a necessary and desirable characteristic of the profession.

Summary and Implications

Many writers and researchers have expressed grave doubts that mandates issued by a central authority are an appropriate, or possible, way to provide either significant educational improvement or excellence. Some highly visible reform policies have tried to do this, yet much of what goes on in schools remains the same. Educational practices have both persistence and power and past reforms that have attempted to mandate changes in teaching and learning have been either transitory and superficial or inimical. On the other hand, those reforms that have reinforced traditional bureaucratic practices seem to have had strong and enduring effects. This difficulty in mandating change from without is, in part, a consequence of trying to impose uniformity within and among schools serving heterogeneous groups of students in classrooms with varying conditions. Externally imposed practices that

are incompatible with local routines, traditions, or resources are likely to be rejected in time.

Reforms dictated by central authorities are rarely mentioned by those in *excellent* schools as an incentive or stimulus for school actions. In fact, many of the programs and practices in those excellent school either go well beyond the recommendations, are different from the recommendations, or are directly opposed to the recommendations. The fact is, it is not uncommon for policies to work at cross-purposes to one another. When policy makers attempt to devise policy solutions to ameliorate one problem, new problems often are created or existing ones are made worse. Reforms that make teachers into passive receivers of advice and knowledge from external experts; that use external prescriptions on content and performance to control what teachers teach; and that define the teacher's role through a vast hierarchy of rules, procedures, and sanctions serve only to reinforce the mediocre modes of practice they were designed to improve.

Many of the earlier national reports advocated changing the schools from *without*. The assumption is that individuals higher up in the bureaucratic structure know more about what is needed to improve the schools than do the individuals who staff the schools. It has become obvious, however, that policy makers can't always mandate what matters. It is difficult to mandate educational excellence not only because it depends upon government's dubious ability to change behavior, but also because the organizations responsible for implementing policies often lack the resources or the desire to implement such change. When organizations do not have the resources to meet the intent of policy objectives set for them, they devise strategies to substitute objectives that they can attain.

The overwhelming difficulty with the current reform strategy is that it is based on an assumption that legislating conditions associated with successful schools and programs is sufficient to create them. Such a strategy neglects the essential element of school change, which is change in people, not change in things. In the final analysis, while policy can enable outcomes, it cannot mandate individual motivation. Even the best planned, best supported, and most promising policy initiatives depend on what happens as individuals throughout the system interpret and act on them.

Educational reform results from a complex interaction between three loosely connected levels: policy, administration, and practice. For an elected official, reform means identifying public concerns, proposing a politically feasible set of remedies, and constructing the coalition necessary to turn the remedies into policies. For the administrator, reform means making decisions that extend general policies to *particular* settings. For the teacher, reform means changing established patterns of practice and translating broad, often unclear administrative directives into concrete actions. Some of the *unresponsiveness* that has been observed in teachers stems, in reality, from factors that are preconditions for effective professional practice -- strong convictions, commitment to the task, and knowledge of content and teaching strategies.

The purpose of educational reform should be to create the kinds of institutional arrangements and organizational structures that promote excellence. While previous reports called for leadership at the state level, the current wave calls for local involvement and reforms that improve what happens in the classroom itself. The current press for reform is for strategic changes that restructure the way schools are organized and operated. This second wave of reform is distinguished by a focus on the individual school as the unit of decision making; the development of a collegial, participatory environment among both students and staff; the flexible use of time; an increased personalization of the school environment with a concurrent atmosphere of trust, high expectations, and sense of fairness; a curriculum that focuses on students understanding what they learn; and an emphasis on higher-order thinking skills for all students.

If we aspire to excellence in schooling, it is necessary to face the fact that it cannot be accomplished solely by mandates originating from political entities. Such entities can, and should, establish standards and goals. What cannot, and should not, be established is the means by which those standards and goals are to be met at the local school site. Rather than achieving the desired objective of improving schools, detailed requirements are more likely to constrain competent teaching and restrict the school-site administrator in his or her attempts to lead.

It is time to look more closely at the elements that make *effective* schools effective and that separate the *excellent* schools from the ordinary. It is time to assess how the authority relations in school organization contribute to or circumscribe school improvement efforts. It is time to look at the profession of education and identify the changes necessary to build collegiality, foster a sense of responsibility for the success of the school, establish conditions within schools that contribute to excellence in teaching as well as administration, and ultimately, in student learning and achievement. It is time to look at the philosophy that guides our approach to evaluation and professional development to determine if it truly contributes to school improvement. And, lastly, it is time to become more experimental in our search for those structures that foster excellence. Then, political entities can, and should, establish the conditions and provide the resources that allow schools to incorporate those elements that will solve their problems and meet the needs of their students.

CHAPTER 2
ELEMENTS OF SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS

Serious concerns have surfaced concerning the validity of the original five *effective schools factors*. A number of the early reviewers cautioned that some of the conclusions drawn from this research were questionable. Recent studies of effective schools have produced a more diversified list of characteristics. Research on effective teaching and administration, as well as studies on school culture, illustrate the critical nature of the interaction between the school and the socioeconomic environment in which it functions. In addition, decision-making authority and collegial relations at the school level appear to have a strong impact on effectiveness. The essential lesson from the research is that there is really no blueprint for excellence than can be transported from school to school. Excellence is the result of "inspired leadership, committed personnel, and adequate resources" applied to the conditions found in each school.

Effective Schools Research Reconsidered

Edmonds' School Effectiveness Formula

The effective schools formula that was popularized by Edmonds (1979) and other researchers consists of five factors: (1) strong leadership by the principal, particularly in instructional matters; (2) high expectations for student achievement on the part of teachers; (3) an emphasis on basic skills; (4) an orderly environment; and (5) the frequent, systematic evaluation of students. The formula has been translated into an Effective Schools Model and the program has been widely embraced throughout the nation on the assumption that adoption of these factors would increase the achievement of minority students in inner-city schools (Stedman, 1987). There are, however, a number of researchers and practitioners who have reservations about such widespread acceptance of an overall prescription for improving schools.

A serious concern shared by many researchers is the low degree of fit between some of the effective-school studies' findings and the conclusions drawn by their authors. D'Amico (1982) suggests that some authors seem to have done a good deal of interpretation when translating their findings into conclusions. For example, Edmonds listed the five *indispensable* characteristics of effective schools. However, these characteristics were not the ones that Edmonds and Frederiksen identified in their 1979 study. The list from that study was both longer and more specific. The

authors were not clear about what research was used to arrive at these five characteristics (D'Amico, 1982).

Reviews of the Early Studies

Purkey and Smith (1982) conducted a major review of the early effective school studies. Their comments highlight the commonalities and the problems found in those early studies. For example, they examined the findings of the *outlier* studies and suggested that variations in the findings should serve as a caution to those who would reduce the findings of such disparate literature to five or six variables. In addition, they cautioned that those variations suggest that no variable in particular is crucial. They did, however, point out some consistency in the results. The consistent, common elements found by outlier studies were "better control or discipline" and "high staff expectations for student achievement." Each of these variables showed up in four of the seven studies. An emphasis on "instructional leadership by the principal or another important staff member" was found to be important in only three out of the seven studies.

Purkey and Smith (1982) examined six school case studies cited in various school effectiveness reviews. Taken together, the studies looked closely at a total of 43 schools, an average of a little over seven schools per study. In Purkey and Smith's opinion, the inherent weaknesses of the case-study approach and the small samples seemed "a frail reed upon which to base a movement of school improvement." They did, however, point out that the commonality of findings among the case studies and their similarity to other kinds of studies tended to increase their credibility. The five case-study factors that were common to most, but not all, of the six case studies were (1) strong leadership by the principal or another staff member, (2) high expectations by staff for student achievement, (3) a clear set of goals and emphasis for the school, (4) a school-wide effective staff training program, and (5) a system for monitoring student progress. It should be noted that the five factors the case studies uncovered are not identical to the five Edmonds factors.

Purkey and Smith (1982) looked at a third category of school effectiveness research -- program evaluation, which was considered methodologically stronger than the outlier or case-study research. However, the findings of the program-evaluation studies were consistent with the findings of other types of studies. Most schools with effective programs were characterized by (1) high staff expectations and morale, (2) a considerable degree of control by the staff over instructional and training decisions in the school, (3) clear leadership from the principal or other instructional figure, (4) clear goals for the school, and (5) a sense of order in the school.

Two findings were consistent across the three types of studies:

1. strong instructional leadership from the principal or other instructional figure, and

2. high expectations by the staff for student achievement.

These are also two of the variable identified by Edmonds. It should be noted, however, that in all three types of studies, instructional leadership is a function that can be performed by the principal *or another instructional figure*. "Clear goals for the school" was a common element in the findings from the case studies and the program evaluation studies. The case-studies findings shared the characteristic of "a system for the monitoring of student progress" with the Edmonds' list. While the program evaluation studies shared "a sense of order in the school" with the Edmonds' list. There were also findings that seem to have been overlooked in subsequent discussions of the effective schools research. "A school-wide effective staff training program" and "a considerable degree of control by the staff over instruction and training decisions in the school" are two of the findings that have failed to make the more popular lists of effective schools characteristics.

"Effectiveness Factors" Questioned

Stedman (1987) points out that the vast majority of the early studies provide little support for the *effectiveness factors* to be adopted as models for school improvement. He argues that:

1. Many of the schools characterized by the factors still had extremely low levels of achievement, with students averaging several years below grade level. This suggests that merely adopting the formula is not sufficient to produce effectiveness. In a widely cited study by the New York State Department of Education, for example, researchers credited strong instructional leadership with producing the success of a school they called Urban A. Yet two-thirds of Urban A's sixth-graders were performing two or more years below grade level. Even after three years of improvement, four of the six schools counted fewer than 39% of their students at or above the 75% level in reading. Furthermore, between one-fourth and one-half of their students could not pass 25% of the state objectives.

2. Researchers for the Maryland State Department of Education found that the teachers in high- and low-performing schools rated the quality of instructional leadership equally high. And, although principals of the effective schools reported spending slightly more of their time in classrooms, they spent less of their overall time in an instructional role. There were no differences in teachers' expectations for student achievement and little difference in teachers' classroom behavior.

3. Time-on-task data also failed to distinguish clearly between effective and ineffective schools: effective schools spent only three minutes

more per day on reading and math, and their overall teaching time was not statistically greater than that of ineffective schools.

There are also problems with how *effectiveness* is defined and measured. Good and Brophy (1986) point out that there are a number of problems in using student achievement on standardize test as a measure of effectiveness. For example, when defining an effective school, researchers have commonly used test results for only a single grade level. In addition, information about student achievement is only one of many dimensions of schooling that would have to be considered in assessing the general concept of effectiveness since schools are asked to influence many aspects of students' behavior and attitudes. Also, in attempting to explain differences between schools' average level of student achievement, most of the previous research fails to note that the greater part of the variance in student achievement (between 70% and 90%) actually occurs *within* schools (Good & Brophy, 1986).

Criticism of the Effective Schools Model

The criticisms of the *Effective Schools Model* have been summed up by Wayson and his associates (1988) in *Up From Excellence: The Impact of the Excellence Movement on Schools*. The criticisms point out some of the pitfalls to be avoided when developing a program to improve schools. Wayson cites the following (pp. 168-169):

- The Effective Schools formula is too simplistic. Defining effective schools by a brief list of general characteristics obscures what it really takes to make good school.

- The research base of the Effective Schools Model is not as solid as is claimed. A common overstatement is, "Research now shows what needs to be done to create effective schools." In fact, the research is spotty and claims of success and miracle cures have not been substantiated.

- The Effective Schools movement has been over promoted with the promise of quick results. Many entrepreneurs have climbed aboard the bandwagon to sell services or products that promise to create effective schools overnight.

- The Effective Schools program has been tried mostly in elementary schools in large city systems with a large number of disadvantaged students, where it has been considered as an appealing alternative to busing students in order to desegregate schools.

- The educational outcomes of Effective Schools programs are too narrow. By focusing primarily on improving standardized achievement test scores, the curriculum is restricted and teachers' creativity

and initiative are diminished. Instruction becomes inflexible; curriculum materials are unexciting. Sometimes the drive to improve achievement scores results in punitive practices with children.

- The Effective Schools program calls for a controlling form of supervision. The Effective Schools characteristic of "a strong principal dedicated to improving achievement" can be interpreted by a naive or insensitive administrator to mean heavy-handed, top-down control over both teachers and students. Such an authoritarian view of supervision is contrary to a participative leadership role in which an administrator works cooperatively with staff to help them develop the commitment and gain the skills needed to help children improve achievement.

- The Effective Schools program, with its stress on improving achievement test scores, could lead to manipulating test data to show quick results. Such pressure, when combined with competition among schools in a district to improve scores, creates conditions that encourage cheating in both subtle and blatant ways.

- In implementing the Effective Schools Model, some administrators confuse standards with expectations. Expectations come from the teacher's belief that every child can learn. If a child is not learning, then the teacher diagnoses the reasons for failure and devises more effective instructional techniques to help the child learn. Standards, as commonly used in schools, impose the responsibility for achievement on students and punish them when they fail, even though they might not have had effective instruction.

Despite problems with the data base available for designing school improvement plans based on the Effective Schools Model, many projects are in progress. Major cities including Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, San Diego, St. Louis, and Washington, DC, have established school improvement projects. Several community action groups monitor school performance using effective school check lists and many state departments of education have established effective schools programs based on the effective schools formula (Stedman, 1987). Although most researchers agree that schools or school districts should develop plans in response to their unique situations, some districts have simply taken plans developed in other districts and applied them with few, if any, modifications (Good & Brophy, 1986). Many researchers and practitioners question the wisdom of this approach. Finn (1983) reasons that effective schools have become so because they have developed their own goals, norms, and expectations.

Another Look at Effective Schools Research

Effective School Practices

A number of researchers and reviewers have cited a more diversified set of characteristics in schools identified as effective and those which have been given awards for *excellence*. Stedman (1987) concentrated on case studies of those effective schools that had achieved grade-level success with low-income students for several years. His analysis found that successful schools incorporated practices that fell into nine broad categories:

Ethnic and Racial Pluralism -- Teachers and principals in the effective schools committed themselves to breaking down institutional and community barriers to equality. They created a learning environment that was open, friendly, and culturally inviting. Using community resources, they acknowledged the ethnic and racial identity of their students. The schools also displayed a great deal of sensitivity toward linguistic minorities.

Parent Participation -- Effective schools involved parents in three major ways. First, they established good communication between the school and the home. Second, these effective schools made sure that parents were involved in their children's learning. Several schools required parents to sign their children's homework, and many schools stressed home learning and did not consider the parents' lack of education to be a barrier. And, the effective schools in the literature often included parents in the governance of the school.

Shared Governance With Teachers and Parents -- Instructional leadership at most of the effective schools did not depend solely on the principal. For example, various techniques included an executive team or steering committee composed of teachers to help run the instructional program and the use of team teaching and team planning. Parents shared in the governance of several schools, as well.

Academically Rich Programs -- Student development and the provision of a well-rounded academic program were the primary goals in many of the schools. Teaching was neither narrow, standardized, nor drill-based. These schools engaged students in their learning. Success in the basics was not achieved by abandoning a liberal arts education.

Skilled Use and Training of Teachers -- Effective schools placed their best teachers in what they considered to be the most important positions. Most made extensive use of inservice training. They used practical, on-the-job training that was tailored to specific needs of staff members and students.

The emphasis was on the exchange of practical teaching techniques and on making training an integral part of a collaborative educational environment.

Personal Attention to Students -- Effective schools used community volunteers, parents, teacher aides, and peer tutors so that they could provide close, personal attention to students. They lowered student/teacher rations, provided more time for adults and student to interact, and improved the monitoring of students' academic progress. Students were often grouped according to ability -- both across grades and across classrooms. However, the grouping was quite fluid, students were frequently moved between groups, and extra attention was given to slower students.

Student Responsibility for School Affairs -- Effective schools involved students in many of the day-to-day activities of running a school. Giving students responsibility produced several benefits, including improvements in discipline, self-esteem, and learning.

An Accepting and Supportive Environment -- Good discipline was the result of the schools' organization and positive learning environments. Effective schools were described as happy places, as providing encouragement and not accepting teacher unkindness, as having no written rules, and as taking a more relaxed approach to discipline. The approach of these effective schools was quite different from that of the typical school. The effective schools also took more direct steps to minimize discipline problems.

Teaching Aimed at Preventing Academic Problems -- Effective schools designed their programs to insure academic success and to head off academic problems. Many of these effective schools assigned their best teachers to the early grades, sponsored home learning programs, lowered the adult/pupil ratio, provided personal attention to students, and alerted parents to their children's minor academic difficulties before they became serious problems.

Stedman (1987) suggests that these factors should be thought of as a set of highly interrelated practices where efforts in one area will generally facilitate efforts in the others. For example, schools that are more responsive to students' ethnic and racial identities foster greater community support. As more parents become involved in the life of the school there is a greater pool of community resources and volunteers to draw on. Consequently, the school can enrich its academic programs and provide more individual attention to its students. As a result, its students are likely to learn at higher levels.

U. S. Department of Education Excellence Award Schools

In taking an in-depth look at those schools that received the U.S. Department of Education 1983 Excellent School Awards, Roueche and Baker (1986) found that

the schools selected as outstanding were not necessarily unusual nor was there anything atypical about the student populations they served. However, the schools in their study did exceptional things with average students and transformed typical environments into prototypical institutions. They found that people were the key variable in building excellent schools. This focus on people resulted in hard work, team effort, and a strong commitment to shared values and goals. Together, teachers and principals created a positive atmosphere conducive to student growth and achievement.

While every school had its own character, Roueche and Baker (1986) found certain common climate factors in effective schools that formed the foundation for student success. Those common factors included:

Effective schools possess a sense of order, purpose, direction, and coherence. This climate of order generates student achievement, a collective sense of identity, and a sense of decisive purpose. Overall coherence is achieved through clearly articulated goals expressed in a "plan of action" known to the whole organization.

Effective schools contain orderly classrooms. Teachers actively organize and plan for efficiency in a quest for more time to spend on instruction and learning.

Effective schools are student-centered. Student needs are given priority over other concerns. An atmosphere of cooperation and trust is created through a high level of interaction between students and teachers. While standardized assessment and careful monitoring of student progress is typical, the daily, face-to-face interaction within effective schools is personal, warm, and supportive.

Effective schools maintain quality in both academics and co-curricular activities. Student activities supported by the principal and faculty members create an excitement and school spirit necessary to establishing a positive school climate.

Effective schools have a climate of optimism and high expectations. Teachers in high-achieving schools firmly believe that all students can learn and feel responsible for seeing that they do. Furthermore, teachers in effective schools believe in their own ability to influence students' learning.

Effective schools possess organizational health. The administrative characteristics contributing to a climate of success are strong leadership, accountability, clear commitment to instructional excellence through inservice education and evaluation, and community involvement.

"Excellent" School Practices

Wayson and his associates (1988) reported their findings of what *excellent* schools did. Excellent schools focused on student learning in both basic and critical thinking skills. They established a foundation for learning by engaging students in experiences that required them to use basic skills in real-life situations. Such schools helped children who were not achieving; they did not reject or retain reluctant or slow students. A characteristic of many of the schools was their effort to serve all students. The staff in these schools created a positive climate that communicated to students that they were wanted and could succeed and created ways to involve students in the life of the school. Many of these schools created support networks to give students personal assistance in meeting academic expectations, knowing that students learn as much or more from one another as they learn in their classes. These excellent schools had programs that helped students meet their individual needs (Wayson, 1988).

The excellent schools also provided special programs for academically talented students, and some provided students with experiences specifically designed to teach critical thinking and creative problem solving. These schools attempted to broaden and enrich the curriculum with special in-depth courses, field trips, and independent study options. Not surprisingly, these *excellent* schools maintained extensive extracurricular programs for students (Wayson, 1988).

Excellent schools closely examined their testing programs to ensure that they were testing what was being taught in the school. The schools devised ways to diagnose student learning and to evaluate both individual student progress and instructional effectiveness on a continuing basis. They engaged in curriculum planning and evaluation on a systematic basis and some of the schools created new curricular structures by integrating traditional disciplines. Excellent schools acknowledged that time on task is important but recognized that time alone will not ensure more student learning. Curriculum planners in these schools emphasized interesting instructional activities, while also making sure that students had ample *chunks* of concentrated time for in-depth learning (Wayson, 1988).

Teachers in the excellent schools worked together in instruction, in planning curriculum, in solving problems, and in improving the school or organization. These cooperative working relationships clearly set these schools apart from the average schools. Excellent schools used teacher evaluation systems to help teachers improve their skills, and initiated and often implemented high quality staff development programs geared to identified problems and program needs (Wayson, 1988).

Parents were involved in volunteer programs, which extended resources for the curriculum and increased support for the schools. In addition, parents and the community provided resources to supplement what the district provided and to provide what the district could or did not provide. The staff in excellent schools communicated in a variety of ways with parents about the school's programs and about their children (Wayson, 1988).

Characteristics of Effective Teaching

Schools that are effective or achieve excellence provide a supportive environment for teaching and student learning and foster the development of teachers who are effective. Good teachers become even better teachers in an environment that values and rewards them. "It is possible to develop an image of the good teacher as a thoughtful practitioner who operates with considerable autonomy yet purposefully works toward a set of goals that is simultaneously differentiated and integrated" was the conclusion drawn by Porter and Brophy (1988, p. 81) from their review of the effective teaching literature. They pointed out that effective schools require professionals who exercise judgment in planning and delivering the education of their students.

Effective Teachers Accept Responsibility for Student Learning

Teachers' classroom practices are directed by their perceptions of the goals of education and by the responsibilities they accept for student learning. Teacher classroom autonomy accounts for important variations in the type of goals that teachers adopt and the differences in teacher practices and student accomplishments. Teachers who believe they have a responsibility for student outcomes are more effective than teachers who believe their students (or students' family backgrounds) are responsible for what students learn. For example, those teachers who have been identified as the most effective in coping with students who present sustained problems in personal adjustment or behavior, viewed the problems as something to be corrected rather than merely endured. In contrast, less effective teachers try to turn over responsibility for the problem to someone else or confine their personal responses to attempts to control student behavior through demands backed by threats of punishment (Porter & Brophy, 1988). Research in secondary science classes has shown that low-aptitude students have higher achievement if their teachers accept responsibility for seeing that all students learn science than they do if their teachers attribute the degree of science mastery primarily to student ability and motivation factors (Lee & Gallagher, 1986).

Effective Teachers Motivate Student Learning

Teachers motivate their students to learn by communicating to them what is expected and why. They do this by beginning their lessons with explicit statements about what is to be learned in the future, by providing explanations that go beyond the immediate school context, and by monitoring student understanding of the reasons behind assignments as well as how to complete the assignments. Teachers provide their students with strategies for monitoring and improving students' own learning efforts. Teachers also provide students with structured opportunities for independent learning so that students develop skills and procedures for learning

independently. In order to accomplish this, teachers explicitly model and instruct students in information processing, sense making, comprehension monitoring and correction, problem solving, and other metacognitive strategies for purposeful learning. Teachers also provide their students with opportunities to practice the strategies individually and in groups (Porter & Brophy, 1988).

Effective Teachers Teach for Conceptual Change

Effective teachers have a firm command of the subject matter and the strategies required to teach it. They adapt instruction to the needs of the students and the situation. Active instruction requires professional planning, thinking, and decision making by teachers (Clark & Peterson, 1986). Research has revealed that students who participate in active instruction and whose work is supervised by their teachers achieve more than those students who spend most of their time working through curriculum materials on their own (Brophy & Good, 1986). Effective teachers are aware of the misconceptions their students bring to the classroom that will interfere with student learning and adapt their instruction to students' preexisting knowledge and beliefs about the subject matter. The literature on *conceptual change teaching* points out that teaching is not a process of pouring knowledge into the empty brain of a student but involves inducing change in an existing body of knowledge and beliefs (Anderson & Smith, 1987). Conceptual change teaching confronts and changes students misconceptions. Although sometimes useful in teaching other subject matter, these strategies are essential to instruction in science, where student misconceptions abound (Porter & Brophy, 1988).

Teachers Choose, Adapt, and Use Materials Effectively

Porter and Brophy (1988) suggest that effective teachers use published instructional materials in ways that contribute to instructional quality. While published instructional materials clearly have their faults, some researchers suggest that teachers have neither the time nor the training to develop their own materials and, therefore, choose and adapt material that is already available. It has been pointed out, that the constraints of the typical teaching assignment and the meager financial resources available make it questionable that teachers can achieve better results on their own (Ball & Feiman-Nemser, 1986). Porter and Brophy, therefore, assert that teachers (those who have the authority to chose their own materials) who select instructional materials that fit the curriculum goals and that are appropriate for their students will be able to devote most of their time and energy to practices that enrich the content. However, Wayson (1988) found that teachers in *excellent* schools tend to develop their own instructional materials rather than purchase commercial packages.

Characteristics of Effective Teachers Summarized

Based on ten years of studies at the Institute for Research on Teaching, Porter and Brophy (1988, p. 75) have painted a picture of effective teachers as semi-autonomous professionals who:

- are clear about their instructional goals;
- are knowledgeable about their content and the strategies for teaching it;
- communicate to their students what is expected of them -- and why;
- make expert use of existing instructional materials in order to devote more time to practices that enrich and clarify the content;
- are knowledgeable about their students, adapting instruction to their needs and anticipating misconceptions in their existing knowledge;
- teach students metacognitive strategies and give them opportunities to master them;
- address higher- as well as lower-level cognitive objectives;
- monitor students' understanding by offering regular appropriate feedback;
- integrate their instruction with that in other subject areas;
- accept responsibility for student outcomes;
- are thoughtful and reflective about their practice.

Leadership in Effective Schools

The importance of school leadership is underscored by Richard Andrews' concluding remarks in an interview by Ron Brandt (1987). Andrews, who is at the University of Washington, was interviewed about his research on teachers' perceptions of their principals' leadership. Andrews concluded with:

"Frankly, I never anticipated that we would find such a powerful relationship between leadership of the principal and student outcomes. .... But what we found is: the teachers' perception of their work environment is so

important, the power of the principal's leadership so pervasive, that it has a measurable impact on student learning."

Principals Affect Culture of Schools

Successful leaders in both schools and the private sector recognize that organizational enterprises operate far more loosely than the organizational chart depicts. Despite the efforts of management, most enterprises are characterized, in practice, by a great deal of autonomy for workers. Successful leaders realize that traditional management controls and other bureaucratic linkages do not always bring about coordination. Instead, such leaders emphasize cultural dimensions that function as *bonds* to provide the necessary connections. They recognize the task of the leader is to create a bond between people through a common culture rather than to link people and events through management design (Blase, 1987).

Sergiovanni (1987a) has identified these leaders as having a *Clockworks II* mindscape. In spite of the mechanical metaphor, a Clockworks II mindscape is one that is fluid, adaptable, and open to change. While the *Clockworks I* mindscape seeks to establish the teacher's relation to the work system through hierarchical controls, the Clockworks II mindscape views teaching more as a vocation engaged in by professionals. Quality control relates to what teachers and other school professionals believe, their commitment to quality, their sense of pride, how much they identify with their work, the ownership they feel for what they are doing, and the intrinsic satisfaction they derive from the work itself.

Management and Leadership

The Maryland Commission on School-Based Administration (1987) insists that principals must provide both educational leadership and managerial direction for the school. The Commission defined educational leadership as the initiation, implementation, and institutionalization of school-wide change that results in improvement in student educational achievement and opportunity. Principals of effective schools, for example, provide leadership by establishing a sense of purpose and direction through well-developed and clearly articulated goals. Educational management was defined by the Commission as maintenance of the stability and security of an organization as it is directed and controlled on its given course. Effective principals are also resourceful managers. Although both more- and less-effective principals tend to exhibit similar work patterns, effective principals have learned to be proactive within their work environment (Manasse, 1985). The Commission's definitions of leadership (fostering and guiding change) and management (maintaining stability) portray a principalship that is dynamic and involves interplay between change and stability.

Leadership without management can result in little other than rhetoric and disappointment, while management without leadership rarely results in substantive

or lasting changes (Sergiovanni, 1987b). However, the Maryland Commission counseled that a reduction in management activity combined with an increase in leadership activity is absolutely necessary to achieve school improvement. As managers, administrators must insure the effective use of fiscal and human resources in accomplishing organization goals. As leaders, they "must display the vision and skills necessary to create and maintain a suitable teaching and learning environment, to develop school goals, and to inspire others to achieve these goals" (Guthrie & Reed, 1986, p. 199).

Research supports those who look to school leadership to influence the social and cultural structures of schools. Blase's (1987) research found that dramatic changes in the culture of a school result from changes in leadership. In a case study (1983-1986) of factors that contribute to changes in teachers' work perspectives over time, Blase found that teachers' attitudes and behaviors tended to change significantly in response to changes in leadership. School principals seen as effective by the teachers appeared to contribute to cohesive school cultures. Interactions between those principals and teachers and between teachers and others were viewed as cooperative, empathetic, supportive, respectful, equitable, and productive. In contrast, principals seen as ineffective tended to create fragmented cultures. Interactions between those principals and teachers and between teachers and others were defined as distant, uncaring, non-supportive, conflictive, inequitable, and in many ways nonproductive.

Rather than images of *heroic leadership* or *gatekeeper of change*, however, teachers portray the principal's role as one of *enabling* effective instruction by teachers. Teachers identify the principal as the central actor in shaping the environment around their classroom. In a study of the sources of teacher effectiveness and job satisfaction, a research team interviewed 85 classroom teachers in five school districts in the San Francisco bay area (Pfeifer, 1986). More than 95% of the teachers responded that their school was different in some way as a direct result of its principal. From the teachers' perspectives, leadership in schools is a task of *enablement*, a task of providing the conditions that allow competent teachers to flourish and to maximize their effectiveness. The teachers expressed a need for principals to shape the norms and attitudes shared by staff and students in a manner that provides an enabling, affective school climate. This challenges school administrators to become problem solvers, not recipe followers, in their efforts to increase teachers' efficacy (Pfeifer, 1986).

Behaviors Characteristic of Leadership Effectiveness

Effective leadership entails making the bureaucracy work by constructing an environment that minimizes uncertainty and assures emotional support for teachers (Pfeifer, 1986). While different situations may require different actions, Roueche and Baker (1986) summarized the principal behaviors that appear to form the foundation for leadership effectiveness. Among those behaviors were the following:

- Effective principals are flexible in their approach to leadership and use an appropriate type of control for professionals who have specialized expertise in various areas. They encourage innovation and at the same time tolerate failure.

- Teachers are trusted as responsible professionals, and collaborative planning, direction, and order are established and maintained even while important changes and transformations are continually occurring.

- Effective principals build cohesiveness within the organization by communicating values shared by those within the school. They cultivate cohesiveness through open dialogue and friendly interaction with staff and students.

- Effective principals recognize and reward staff accomplishments as well as willingly confront unacceptable performance and behavior.

- Effective principals solve problems through collaboration. They are willing to communicate honestly and openly with staff for the purpose of arriving at solutions that work. They see the members of the staff as valuable resources when seeking viable answers for solving conflicts and meeting demands.

- Effective principals know their staff well and delegate tasks appropriately. Delegation is done clearly and efficiently. Autonomy in getting the job done is granted with minimal supervision. Follow-up clarifies any confusion and ensures quality of task completion.

Indispensable Attitudes

Harlan Cleveland (1987), Dean of the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, has pointed out that the leaders in our society have developed how-to-get-things-done skills. They recognize, in addition, that the most difficult part is not learning *skills* but changing *attitudes*. He cites the following attitudes as indispensable to the management of complexity:

- a lively intellectual curiosity, an interest in everything;

- a genuine interest in what other people think and what makes them tick;

- an attitude that risks are there not to be avoided but to be taken;

- the feeling that crises are normal, tensions can be promising, and complexity is fun;

- the realization that paranoia and self-pity are reserved for people who *don't* want to be leaders;

- the quality of unwarranted optimism -- the conviction that there must be some more upbeat outcome that would result from adding together the available expert advice; and

- a sense of personal responsibility for the general outcome of your efforts.

Factors That Influence School Effectiveness

The Cultural Perspective

There are four critical functions to which any organization must effectively attend in order to survive. An organization must (Sashkin & Huddle, 1986):

- adapt to change in the environment;

- identify goals that meet clients' needs;

- coordinate on-going activities of the people who operate the organization; and

- maintain a pattern of actions with respect to adapting, attaining goals, and coordinating people's activities.

School systems are confronted daily with problems that call these functions into play -- coping with the fact of limited funding; identifying goals; and developing the internal structures (committees, departments, etc.) that are needed to support norms of collegial cooperation and contact in the school. The patterns of actions needed to maintain these functions are developed through a set of common values, beliefs, and norms of behavior that form a shared organizational *culture*. The culture determines how (and if) the organization adapts to change, what goals are chosen, and the way people are dealt with and deal with one another in order to link or coordinate their organizational activities (Sashkin & Huddle, 1986).

Culture is made up, in part, of the recurrent and predictable behavior patterns of a social group. This normative structure defines both *what is* and *what ought to be* (Firestone & Corbett, 1988). Culture infuses life with meaning; provides stabil-

ity, certainty, and predictability; and through symbols, creates a sense of efficacy and control (Deal, 1987). Within the culture of a school, there are norms that define the *way we do things around here*. While regarded as the customary way, they are open to variation and to change. Certain norms, however, become *sacred* in that they form the foundation for professional identities and give meaning to organizational activity. Changes that tamper with the sacred norms elicit a reaction out of all proportion to the apparent importance of the issue (Corbett, Firestone, & Rossman, 1987).

The importance of culture is evident when examining the characteristics of effective schools -- individual characteristics or practices often have little explanatory value alone. Their power comes from the way they combine to form a common *ethos* or culture (Rutter, Maugham, Mortimer, Ousten, & Smith, 1979). This culture is a widely shared understanding of what is and what ought to be symbolized in student, teacher, and administrator acts. What sets the highly achieving school apart from the less effective one is not simply the presence of particular norms and values but the fact that most members support them in work and deed. Therefore, the most productive schools have a distinctive normative structure that supports quality instruction (Firestone & Corbett, 1988).

Research by Rutter and his colleagues (1979) identified a cluster of characteristics associated with the school culture as the differentiating aspect of effective schools. The study stands out in four respects: it was a longitudinal study carried out from 1970-1974; it examined secondary schools; it looked at 12 inner-city schools in London; and it attempted to measure school outcomes in terms of students' in-school behavior, attendance, examination success, and delinquency. The authors found that variations in the outcomes were associated with the characteristics of schools as *social institutions*, and that a school's *ethos* influenced students as a group. School ethos was defined as the *style and quality* of school life, patterns of student and teacher behavior, how students were treated as a group, the management of groups of students within the school, and the care and maintenance of buildings and grounds (Purkey & Smith, 1982).

As Little and Bird (1984) have pointed out, schools that prove successful, even under difficult circumstances, have certain characteristics, habits, and perspectives that make up the culture of the school. The staffs of these schools exhibit norms of collegiality and norms of continuous improvement. Teachers (and others) work closely together as colleagues, and teaching practices are openly scrutinized, discussed, and refined. These norms are part of the school's culture and the ability to build and sustain these norms is a measure of the school administrator's instructional leadership.

Berman and McLaughlin (1978) found that especially innovative school districts had cultures with the following characteristics:

- an emphasis on diversity in services delivered;

- the primacy of improved educational service over *bureaucratic or political* concerns;

- open boundaries to the environment that allowed for learning about new approaches and new resources; and

- norms of mutual trust and encouragement for risk taking.

Viewing effective schools from a school-culture perspective emphasizes that changing schools requires changing people, their behaviors and attitudes, as well as school organization and norms. It makes it clear that consensus among the staff of a school is more powerful than overt control; that school leadership should promote collaborative planning, collegial work, and a school atmosphere conducive to experimentation and evaluation (Purkey & Smith, 1982). Teachers and administrators, together, can shape a school's culture in favor of learning, but no single teacher's or administrator's effort is likely to exert much influence. Only a concerted faculty effort is likely to develop a firm, fair, and consistent system of discipline or a climate of favorable expectations for students (Bird, 1984).

Social Context Factors Affect School Culture

A school is affected by the social context of the community it serves and by the distribution of academic skills, social skills, work habits, perceptions, and behavior that its students bring with them into the school. These student behaviors are formed, in part, by the environment that surrounds them. That environment includes norms that define expected behavior, values that determine what is worthwhile, and attitudes that shape responses to people and events. These norms, values, and attitudes are first learned in the environment of infancy and early childhood -- long before the educational system sees the child (Bird, 1984).

Understanding the effects of the school social context is important to understanding the effective organization and management of schools. The research from urban elementary schools identified strong instructional leadership as a characteristic of effective schools. This finding has been consistently interpreted to mean that strong leadership by the principal is a prerequisite for improving schools, and school improvement programs typically carve out a uniform role for the principal regardless of the school context. Even if strong instructional leadership is necessary to generate improvement in low-income, urban, elementary schools, the appropriate style of instructional leadership in other schools may vary depending on both organizational and environmental factors (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987). For example, a study by Martinko and Gardner (1983) found that principals' behaviors varied significantly with grade level, staff size, district size, geographic location, socioeconomic status, and relative urbanization.

Instructional leadership in effective secondary schools, for example, differs from that in effective elementary schools. In high schools, the principal's ability to be

personally involved in all aspects of instructional management is limited by the size of staff and student populations, the multi-leveled organizational structure, and the specialized subject areas. Instead, the principal relies more on indirect, facilitative, and symbolic modes of expression, directly intervening only in selected situations (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987). Actions by a principal that are appropriate in one school might produce resentment or confusion in another (Pfeifer, 1986).

Socio-economic status has a pervasive influence on the conduct of education. Measures of student socio-economic status (SES) correlate highly with measures of student achievement and educational attainment. The findings in a study by Walberg and Fowler (1987) are typical. They found a correlation of 0.84 between student SES and ninth-grade writing scores. This means that the variance in student achievement scores accounted for by student SES was 71% -- not an unusual finding. The influence of the socio-economic environment goes beyond conditioning individual behavior, however, it also provides a cultural context in which the school functions.

Social class has a significant effect on the educational expectations and preferences of parents. These varying preferences influence the goals that schools actually pursue and the corresponding structure of their educational programs (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987). Parents of different social classes prefer schools to address different educational goals. In lower-class communities, parents often prefer an emphasis on social and vocational goals. Effective low-SES schools focus on improving instruction in basic reading and mathematics skills. This highly limited mission is often translated into a few explicitly stated, school-wide academic goals and the delineation of a few, specific priorities. Parents in wealthier districts are more concerned with the development of students' intellectual abilities. Evidence from a California effective school study indicates that successful schools in wealthy communities maintain an academically oriented mission that addresses a broad array of intellectual skills. Mastery of basic cognitive skills is accepted almost as a given. Successful higher-SES schools pursue more generally defined goals that require less consensus concerning the actual content of the school's mission and the specific means for achieving it (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987).

Parental involvement in schools varies according to SES. In general, parents in higher-SES communities are more involved in the school program than parents in lower-SES communities. In the high-SES schools, principals are constantly seeking efficient ways to involve a group of parents that take great interest in the school and that have substantial resources to offer. Principals in these schools spend more time mediating relationships between demanding parents and teachers, tend to be more open to group activities involving staff and community, and use more participatory decision making (Lortie, Crow, & Prolman, 1983). In low-SES schools, even those that have been labeled *effective*, there is a history of limited parental interest in the school, and school staff expect relatively little from the community in terms of support. In low-income schools in the California study, the principals acted as buffers, carefully controlling access to the school and filtering outside influences (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987).

Teachers generally accommodate their teaching styles to student subcultures (Metz, 1978). Corwin and Borman (1987) cite Everhart's studies at Harold Spencer Junior High, a blue-collar, predominately white school of about a thousand students. Classrooms were punctuated by acts designed to *bug* teaches who were disliked because they enforced many trivial rules and treated students like babies. Teachers who were not the targets of these episodes of laughing, gum chewing, and pencil tapping were those who varied the curriculum and allowed students to talk among themselves. These teachers were most successful, however, with higher-track students who enjoyed class discussion and a lively classroom atmosphere. The lower-track students liked teachers who didn't yell, provided highly structured seatwork, and kept students quiet and busy.

The social context also influences the structure of school-wide reward systems. Students from low income families generally come to school with few of the skills necessary for academic success and, in many cases, do not value schooling very highly. In such cases, the school must take systematic measures to reward and publicly recognize students for the behavior that the school seeks to promote. Principals in lower-status schools are often preoccupied with discipline issues and have more problematic relationships with faculty (Lortie, Crow, & Prolman, 1983). Students from wealthier families generally come to school with more of those skills necessary for academic success, a more positive attitude toward schooling, and higher parental expectations. Because of this combination of factors, students from higher-SES families experience success in school more quickly and learning becomes rewarding and less dependent upon frequent extrinsic rewards. The school in a high-SES community may need to resort to fewer concrete rewards in order to promote high expectations (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987).

Perhaps the most often quoted finding from the effective schools literature is that in effective low-SES schools, the principal and teachers hold reasonably high expectations for their students to master basic reading and math skills. The principal, however, must instill those high expectations without the benefit of continuing input from parents, who are less well schooled and who often are only peripherally involved in the life of the schools. The principal often becomes the key actor in developing and sustaining high expectations on the part of school staff. Their expectations are not as high, however, as those of staff in schools serving students in wealthier communities. The source of expectations also seems to differ in schools located in high-SES communities. Principals and teachers in these schools identify parents as the primary source of the school's expectations. There is an implicit assumption that the children of professional parents will succeed in school and the principal's job is to sustain the high expectations that prevail in the community. Since high expectations already exist, the principal's tasks are to ensure that the expectations are clear and consistent, and to translate the high expectations into appropriate school policies and programs (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987).

Principals of effective low-SES schools have a clear vision of how the school should be organized. They play a highly directive role in the selection, development, and implementation of curriculum and instructional programs and tend to

exercise relatively tight control over classroom instruction. They are forceful in establishing high expectations and standards for staff and students and in holding themselves and staff accountable for student achievement. Teachers describe these principals as being a major factor in the school's success. On the other hand, principals in effective high-SES schools exercise less direct control over classroom instruction, coordinate more from the background, and allow teachers greater autonomy with respect to instructional decision-making. Although they maintain a close watch over student outcomes, they tend to exert control over classroom instruction only when results fall below expected levels. Teachers describe these principals as strong instructional leaders but they do not identify them as *the key* to school success. Both formal and informal norms within the schools allow the principal in a low-SES school to assume greater authority than the principal in a higher-SES school (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987). Martinko and Gardner (1983) found that principals in high-SES schools used skills in delegating authority, managing change, and interacting with central administrative staff. Those in middle-SES schools more often used human relations approaches to leadership, while those principals in lower-SES schools had more knowledge of minority culture and more classroom teaching skills.

Lessons From Inner-City Schools

In reviewing current directions in urban school reform, Oakes (1987) concluded that the central lesson of the effective-schools research is that, under the right conditions, inner-city poor and minority children can learn. She cautioned, however, that those conditions are not necessarily the same for inner-city children as for more-advantaged, middle-class children, nor are they the same for urban children in one school as they are for children in another. Her analysis suggested several promising strategies for urban districts attempting to help inner-city students break the cycle of school failure, unemployment, and social disintegration. These strategies included the following:

- Build capacity at local school sites.
- Provide school autonomy and flexibility in designing and implementing improvement plans.
- Take a broad rather than a narrow view of curriculum and instruction.
- Reorganize classroom teaching and learning to promote urban children's positive self-perceptions, effort, and school performance.
- Provide real-life incentives for urban children to achieve at school.

- Coordinate efforts with the self-interests of other institutions and agencies to provide social and economic opportunities beyond the reach of the school.

Developing Conditions That Foster Excellence

Attaining educational excellence is difficult under the current organizational structure of public schools. That excellence is possible is proved by the fact that so many excellent schools exist in so many different settings. Yet the excellent schools are not models that can be duplicated and mass produced. "No formula exists to guarantee excellence; it is born of a persisting commitment to do well and to do well by others; it develops from a blend of inspired leadership, committed personnel, and adequate resources; it occurs as a result of initiative, perseverance, faith, and pluck" (Wayson, 1988, p. 202). Wayson identified the following common characteristics exhibited by good schools:

- They are not rigid; they are flexible and relaxed.
- They are not punitive; they accentuate the positive.
- They are not elitist; they welcome and encourage all students.
- They do not have a narrow curriculum limited to the basics; they offer a varied curriculum that is flexible and adapted to students' needs.
- They are not test-driven; their students do achieve well because they teach higher-order thinking processes.
- They do not rely on packaged programs; they do rely on their staffs' commitment and creativity.
- They do not have authoritarian principals, rather they have principals who have a vision of what the school should be and the determination to accomplish that mission.
- They recruit and keep staff members on the basis of merit and have procedures for removing those who do not contribute to the school's mission.
- They have intensive staff development.
- They know what they are trying to accomplish and have ways for assessing how well they are doing and for correcting any shortcomings they detect.

- They believe in themselves and their students and hold themselves responsible for instructing all children.

- They put student welfare above all other concerns.

- They have structures that foster decision making and problem solving by staff members as groups, not as individuals.

- They have a *cheerleader* who generates staff enthusiasm and participation and who solicits support from outsiders.

- They celebrate their successes and give recognition to staff and students for their achievements.

- They are loose (flexible) about means and tight (demanding) about ends.

Summary and Implications

The five factors of the *Effective Schools Formula* have been widely embraced throughout the nation in the belief that adoption of these factors would increase the achievement of students. In a major review of the early effective school studies, however, Purkey and Smith (1982) found only two findings that were consistent across the studies. Those were the following:

1. strong instructional leadership from the principal or other instructional figure, and

2. high expectations by the staff for student achievement.

While they were not present in all of the studies, there were two important findings that were overlooked in subsequent discussions of the effective schools research. "A school-wide effective staff training program" and "a considerable degree of control by the staff over instruction and training decisions in the school" failed to make the more popular lists of effective schools characteristics. Yet, current research is finding that these also are critical to school improvement and to school excellence.

Although most researchers agree that schools or school districts should develop plans in response to their unique situations, some districts have simply taken plans developed in other districts and applied them with few, if any, modifications. A number of researchers and practitioners have reservations about such widespread acceptance of an overall prescription for improving schools. Finn (1983) reasons

that effective schools have become so because they have developed their own goals, norms, and expectations.

New insights have been gained from more recent research studies and reviews. Stedman (1987) concentrated on case studies of those effective schools that had achieved grade-level success with low-income students for several years. His analysis found that successful schools incorporated practices that fell into broad categories. He suggested that these categories should be thought of as a set of highly interrelated practices where efforts in one area will generally facilitate efforts in the others.

While every school had its own character, Roueche and Baker (1986) found certain common climate factors in effective schools that formed the foundation for student success. Those common factors included: a sense of order, purpose, direction, and coherence; orderly classrooms; a student-centered focus; quality in both academics and co-curricular activities; a climate of optimism and high expectations; and organizational health. Wayson and his associates (1988) reported that excellent schools focused on student learning in both basic and critical thinking skills. He stressed that "cooperative working relationships among the staff" clearly set the effective schools apart from the average schools.

The importance of culture is evident when examining the characteristics of effective schools. Individual characteristics or practices often have little explanatory value alone. Their power comes from the way they combine to form a common *ethos* or culture. The culture determines how (and if) the organization adapts to change, what goals are chosen, and the way people interact in order to link or coordinate their organizational activities. The culture of a school is affected by the social context of the community it serves and by the distribution of academic skills, social skills, work habits, perceptions, and behavior that its students bring with them into the school.

Research by Rutter and his colleagues (1979) identified a cluster of characteristics associated with the school culture as the differentiating aspect between those schools identified as effective schools and those that were not. The authors found that schools which prove successful, even under difficult circumstances, have certain characteristics, habits, and perspectives that make up the culture of the school. The staffs of these schools exhibit norms of collegiality and norms of continuous improvement.

Socio-economic status has a pervasive influence on the conduct of education. Measures of student socio-economic status (SES) correlate highly with measures of student achievement and educational attainment. Social class has a significant effect on the educational expectations and preferences of parents. These varying preferences influence the goals that schools actually pursue and the corresponding structure of their educational programs. Teachers generally accommodate their teaching styles to student subcultures and the social context influences the structure of school-wide reward systems. Principals in lower-status schools are often preoc-

cupied with discipline issues and must take systematic measures to reward and publicly recognize students for the behavior that the school seeks to promote.

A clear picture of an effective school forms from the previous discussion of the factors that influence school effectiveness. Looking at the recent findings from research on effective schools, effective teaching, and effective school administrators, the following characteristics emerge:

- ***Effective Schools Are Student Centered*** -- They make an effort to serve all students; create support networks to assist students; involve students in school affairs; respect and celebrate the ethnic and linguistic differences among students; and have student welfare as a first priority.

- ***Effective Schools Offer Academically Rich Programs*** -- They address higher- as well as lower-order cognitive objectives; provide an enriched environment through a variety of options; have an active cocurricular program; provide in-depth coverage of content; and appropriately monitor student progress and provide feedback.

- ***Effective Schools Provide Instruction That Promotes Student Learning*** -- Teachers communicate expectations to students; hold themselves responsible for student learning; provide focused and organized instructional sessions; adapt instruction to student needs; anticipate and correct student misconceptions; and use a variety of teaching strategies.

- ***Effective Schools Have a Positive School Climate*** -- They have a distinctive normative structure that supports instruction. They have a sense of order, purpose, and direction fostered by consistency among teachers; an atmosphere of encouragement where students are praised and rewarded; a work-centered environment; and high optimism and expectations for student learning.

- ***Effective Schools Foster Collegial Interaction*** -- Teachers work together as colleagues in instruction, to plan curriculum, and to refine teaching practices.

- ***Effective Schools Have Extensive Staff Development*** -- The teacher evaluation system is used to help teachers improve their skills. Inservice is practical, on-the-job training that is tailored to meet the specific needs of staff members. Teachers are encouraged to reflect on their practices.

- ***Effective Schools Practice Shared Leadership*** -- School administrators understand and use a leadership style appropriate for professionals; solve problems through collaboration, team, or group decision mak-

ing; know their staff and delegate authority; communicate and build cohesiveness; and use their position to recognize and reward accomplishments of both staff and students.

- ***Effective Schools Involve Parents*** -- They establish methods for communicating with parents, involve parents in the activities of the school, include parents in the decision-making process, use parents as resources to extend the efforts of the school, and depend on parents to provide good public relations for the school.

The above distillation suggests that effective schools respond to the needs of students in their schools, build programs that will encourage responsibility and learning in their students, and adjust the workings of the school in order to help students function to their capacity. Such schools are not test driven, regulation bound, or focused on control. They are striving to meet the needs of all their students and all the needs of their students. Schools that build collegial norms, share authority and leadership, and use the results of teacher evaluation to improve performance are schools that are able to adapt to the changing requirements of both staff and students. It is highly probable, however, that schools which incorporate the above factors are expending a great deal of energy bypassing the bureaucratic constraints built into most school systems. And, increasingly, these schools are having to contend with mandates from legislatures or state boards of education that make the job of being effective even harder. It is imperative that the organizational structure within which administrators and teachers function be designed to facilitate rather than constrain teaching and learning.

CHAPTER 3
NEW PERSPECTIVES ON SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

The advent of the *information society* and *knowledge workers* has highlighted the dysfunctions that arise from bureaucratic organization. Unfortunately, too many schools are encased in bureaucratic organizations. They have developed in this manner because there are coordinating and controlling structures in a bureaucracy that make for *smooth functioning*. There are also dysfunctional consequences. These are particularly serious in *social service* institutions that do not have built-in mechanisms to signal when a practice has outlived its usefulness. Developing a capacity for change in the schools will require a restructuring of the authority relationships and the organizational structure.

Societal Changes and Organizational Change

The Information Society

The *informatization of society*, accelerated by the joining of computers and telecommunications, may turn out to be the most important and the most pervasive revolutionary change seen by our society. This revolution requires a rethinking of the very foundations of our philosophy -- about economics, governance, law, and management. Harlan Cleveland (1987), Dean of the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, suggests that management based on hierarchy is one of the most important areas that needs rethinking. Systems that operate by *recommendations up, orders down* are no longer viable in a society where most people are information workers. Knowledge is power. The wider the spread of knowledge, the wider administrative authority needs to be spread. This requires flatter pyramids of organizational power and more work being done by what the Japanese call *consensus*, and U.S. businesses call *committee work* or *teamwork*. In the information society, decision making will have to proceed by consultation and networking.

The Knowledge Worker

The emergence of knowledge work and the knowledge worker is a phenomena of the information society. A new breed of worker has come into existence -- highly educated young people who, in the developed countries, are challenging the traditional management of workers and the traditional organization of the workplace. More than a decade ago, Drucker (1973) pointed out that the central economic and

social problem of the information society would be structuring the workplace so that the knowledge worker could be productive. The productivity and social cohesion of developed countries rest on the ability to make knowledge work productive and the knowledge worker achieving.

Productivity for most knowledge work is difficult to define, let alone measure. Knowledge work does not result in a product. Rather, it results in a contribution of knowledge to somebody else. The knowledge worker's output always becomes somebody else's input. It is not always evident in knowledge work whether the work has results or not. Achievement for the knowledge worker is even harder to define since only the knowledge worker can identify what it is about the work, job performance, social status, and pride that contributes to personal satisfaction. The knowledge worker is not productive under the spur of fear; only self-motivation and self-direction can make a knowledge worker productive (Drucker, 1973).

The structure and character of work in our society has shifted to the extent that workers now expect it to mean more than just making a living. Drucker (1973) identified the following five dimensions of working that affect the worker's sense of achievement and productivity:

The Physiological Dimension. The human being is not a machine and does not work like a machine.

The Psychological Dimension. Work is an extension of personality. It is achievement. It is one of the ways in which a person defines himself or herself, measures his worth, and his humanity.

The Social Dimension. Work is a social and community bond. It becomes the primary access to society and community. It largely determines status. Work, since time immemorial, has been the means to satisfy man's need for belonging to a group and for a meaningful relationship to others of his kind.

The Economic Dimension. Work is a "living." The moment people ceased to be self-sufficient and began to exchange the fruits of their labor, work created an economic hierarchy.

The Authority Dimension. There is always a power relationship implicit in working within an organization. Decisions have to be made by someone. Authority is inherent in the fact of organization.

These dimensions of working always exist together and have to be managed together. The organizational structure should be one that stimulates managers to find solutions that make the work productive and the worker achieving. This can not be accomplished by continuing the practices of the last 200 years. Organizations will have to develop new approaches, new principles, new managers, and new methods. Managing knowledge work and knowledge workers will require extraordinary imagination, remarkable courage, and bold leadership (Drucker, 1973).

Organizing for Knowledge Work

The Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (1986) pointed out that, in a country dependent on trained intelligence, schools must be institutions in which ideas and their application are central. Teachers must not only be knowledgeable but must also be skilled in communicating ideas to others. People with such skills are the most valuable resource in a knowledge-based economy. David Kearns (1988), chairman and chief executive officer of the Xerox Corporation, suggests that schools ought to look like high-tech companies -- with lean structures and flat organizations. He asserts that today's smart companies trust professionals and managers with the authority to get their jobs done and hold them accountable for their performance. Delegating control of significant decisions to practitioners generates professional collaboration, pride, and ownership over policies and programs that professionals have adapted to meet their own circumstances (Corwin & Borman, 1988).

Effective leadership consists of establishing and assessing the achievement of goals and minimum standards for the organization rather than applying highly specific and prescriptive directives that conflict with local needs for flexibility and adaptation (Peterson, 1981). Research suggests that academically effective schools are merely schools organized to pursue learning consistently. In such schools, principals, teachers, students, and parents agree upon the purpose, justification, and methods of schooling; systematically spend their common energies on teaching and learning; and are dedicated to the proposition that children can and shall learn in school (Good & Brophy, 1986). State legislatures and centralized bureaucracies cannot create such a focus through directives and regulations. The bureaucratic structure, rather than helping, stands in the way of improvement at the school level, making the needs of the system more important than the needs of people (Frymier, 1987).

The Mechanisms of Bureaucracy

Positive Functions of Bureaucratic Organization

Rules and regulations are characteristic of bureaucratic organization. Organizations need mechanisms to assure reliable behavior on the part of members, to protect members from unjust demands, and to assure the coordination of various tasks (Abbott & Caracheo, 1988). These mechanisms are provided in a bureaucracy through an emphasis on the use of rules and procedures. There are a number of positive functions provided by rules (Anderson, 1969):

1. Rules give direction to organizational behavior, communicate expectations for role performance, and clarify relationships among staff.

2. Rules make frequent supervision unnecessary as they become known and accepted at all levels of the organization, making it possible to control behavior from a distance.

3. Rules de-personalize authority relationships and legitimize administrative authority by specifying the conditions under which such authority may by exercised.

4. Rules both legitimize punishment by giving advance notice of possible sanctions for non-compliance, and protect subordinates from unjust punishment.

5. Rules provide the means for administrators to bargain with subordinates through selective enforcement of the rules.

6. Rules serve as a buffer between employees and external demands, minimizing the risks and reducing the anxiety associated with role performance.

Most public schools in the United States operate under the bureaucratic model of organizational structure. Bureaucratic linkages (e.g., roles, rules, procedures, and authority relations) are perceived as necessary to coordinate the activity of the people who work in schools (Firestone & Wilson, 1985). Bureaucracy traditionally has provided mechanisms by which school systems regulate the activities of teachers and other school professionals and limit and control the amount of discretion those individuals exercise. The bureaucratic model requires clear lines of authority; rules formulated by superiors to govern subordinates; and centralized evaluation, planning, and decision making (Bacharach & Conley, 1986).

The Dysfunctions of Bureaucratic Organization

Dysfunctional Consequences of Rules. There are a number of aspects of bureaucratic organization that produce dysfunctional consequences. For example, the use of rules in a bureaucracy is intended to reduce the visibility of power relations, reduce the need for close supervision, and reduce the level of interpersonal tension and conflict. Rules tend to define the minimum acceptable behavior. This often leads, however, to less than optimal performance on the part of employees, and this, in turn, leads to an increase in personal supervision, the condition that the rules were intended to eliminate. The increase in closeness of supervision leads to an increase in the visibility of power relations, which leads, in turn, to an increase in the level of interpersonal tension and conflict. In addition, adherence to rules also leads to rigidity on the part of administrators and employees. Too often, in those cases where it is necessary to choose between exercising judgment and adhering to rules, the rules tend to win (Abbott & Caracheo, 1988).

Schools organized on the bureaucratic model are good illustrations of the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy. They tend to overemphasize specialization of tasks, routine operating regulations, and formal procedures in organizing for teaching and learning. They are characterized by a proliferation of regulations, formal communications, centralized decision making, and sharp distinctions between administrators and teachers and between teachers and students (Sergiovanni, 1987b). Standard operating procedures are emphasized for teachers; standardized outcomes are established for students. When organizational authority becomes imbedded in a set of rules, the use of rules as *bearers of authority* leads to the following dysfunctional consequences (Anderson, 1969):

1. Rules take on an aura of compulsion -- what were intended to be means become ends, and unquestioning compliance with rules rather than their judicious enforcement becomes the norm.

2. Rules tend to discourage creative efforts in responding to problems, to justify minimal performance, and to produce apathy.

3. Rules become substitutes for personal judgment, and difficult problems tend to be ignored since the inability to resolve them could be interpreted as failure.

4. Rules become sacrosanct -- they are to be followed, not questioned.

Bureaucratic Organization May Focus on Wrong Goals. The fact that bureaucratic organization serves a coordinating function has been used as justification for the way schools are run. The argument proposed is that a *smooth-running* school facilitates learning. However, when smooth-running becomes the priority and controls the educational practice in a school, educational quality is reduced rather than enhanced. McNeil (1988b) studied the ways in which the knowledge taught in schools is shaped by the organization of the school. She found many of the same conditions within schools as did Goodlad (1984) -- a disturbing sameness permeating an environment characterized by flattened content, ritualistic teaching, and disengaged students. In attempting to identify the underlying causes that created these conditions, McNeil's study pinpointed the organizational dynamics of the schools. The causes appeared to lie in the "tension between the expectations of teachers and students that schools should educate, and the tendency of administrators to value those aspects of schooling that keep the halls quiet or keep the students on the path toward a diploma." When the goals of a school are focused on credentialing and processing students rather than on educating them, teachers question whether educational purposes are being taken seriously. Under such circumstances, teachers have a tendency to resort to boring, mechanical teaching that reveals little of their knowledge of a subject or of their judgments about what students need to know. In addition, teachers tend to control their students in much the same way as they are controlled by administrators (McNeil, 1988c).

Poorly Conceived Policies Create Dysfunction. There are a number of other dysfunctional consequences resulting from bureaucratic organization. First, poorly conceived policies and their implementation impede effectiveness. A great deal of time and effort is spent in "the mundane work of making a bureaucracy work" (Pfeifer, 1986). Some administrators execute policies without considering fully the consequences in their particular school situations. Policies are often made and implemented based on an over-simplified view of what is, in fact, a complex role in a complex undertaking. Teachers in a study by Pfeifer (1986) recounted numerous examples of administrative actions that actually generated incompetence rather than reducing uncertainty and enabling effectiveness. Descriptions of the pernicious effects of poorly designed and implemented school policies suggest that many policies instituted to facilitate the improvement of instruction serve, instead, as a major source of frustration for classroom teachers.

"Creative Insubordination" is Dysfunctional. Second, effective principals are forced to develop strategies to circumvent the bureaucracy. In order to protect their schools from the effects of such policies, effective principals often resort to strategies that have been labeled *creative insubordination*. Principals use discretionary decision opportunities to keep their schools in an acceptable state of balance. In using *creative insubordination* -- the wisdom of knowing where and how to disobey -- principals protect the integrity and operation of their school (Morris et al, 1981). Recent accounts of schools that have dramatically increased in effectiveness include tales of principals' circumventing district office rules and regulations. Most of the effective principals say they make things happen in spite of district policies, not because of them (Oakes, 1987). In the attempt to protect the integrity, working rhythm, and morale of their schools and teachers, these principals deliberately ignore, misunderstand, or actually disobey orders from superiors (Jones-Wilson, 1984).

The use of such strategies raises questions about policies and procedures that compel effective principals to be insubordinate in order to work in the best interests of their students. It is unrealistic to expect principals to have vision, and to set and communicate goals for their schools without also providing a fair measure of building-level autonomy. Principals must be free to set appropriate agendas for their particular school's circumstances (Manasse, 1985). Schools should not have to depend on the heroism of school leaders who are willing to circumvent district policies in order to be effective (Oakes, 1987).

Resource Allocation Used to Control. A third consequence results from the state's or district's allocation of resources. Gamoran and Dreeben (1986) have described how resource allocation serves a coordinating and controlling function in school systems. They point out that by controlling the allocation of resources needed for teaching, administrators -- by intention or not -- shape the conditions under which teachers work. The control and distribution of resources substitute for rules, orders, and supervision that are weak in loosely coupled systems. Control over resources is a source of power in organizations. Through the preemptive control of resources that support classroom instruction, administrators have the

capacity to define the conditions under which teachers work, to facilitate or limit teachers' ability to make the strategies of teaching work. Administrators have the power to impose their will by establishing limits on time and materials and by shaping the composition of classrooms. Teachers' actions become sharply circumscribed.

Centralized budgeting seldom provides incentives for efficiency. Frequently, it fails to foster diversity through which more efficient and effective approaches to teaching and learning may be identified, and it invariably excludes key actors such as administrators, teachers, parents, and students who have perhaps the most powerful motivation to see that resources are used to best advantage (Caldwell & Spinks, 1988). In addition, as Pfeifer's (1986) interviews with teachers and national surveys have indicated, teachers are frustrated with the meager material resources with which they are expected to accomplish their work.

Authoritarian Methods Fostered. The fourth consequence is that authoritarian methods are fostered. The bureaucratic structure of schools often limits the effectiveness of good principals, but what is worse, has a tendency to produce principals who subscribe to those bureaucratic values and procedures that actually obstruct teaching (Seeley, 1985). Despite the claims of the Effective Schools Model advocates, research findings on the effects of the characteristics embraced by the Model are insufficient to explain why some schools are more productive or effective than others (Wayson, 1988). For example, the characteristic that seems to support a tightly structured, hierarchical system of curriculum and instructional control over teachers and students is often associated with poor achievement rather that with success (Astuto & Clark, 1985).

Bureaucracies provide a haven for the type of *mindscape* described by Sergiovanni (1987a) as *Clockworks I.* A mindscape is composed of mental images, theories, and sets of beliefs that shape a person's reaction to problems, their definition of what is important and unimportant, and provide them with a rationale for guiding actions and decisions. Clockworks I administrators view schools as a tightly structured entity with a pattern of operation that resembles the mechanical workings of a clock. Quality control is a management problem that they can solve by coming up with the right controls -- scheduling, prescribing, programming, monitoring, inspecting, testing, and checking. Teaching is conceived as a job, and the teacher as a worker. Clockworks I focuses on *power over* -- that is, controlling people and events so that things turn out the way the administrator wants (Sergiovanni, 1987a).

Dependent Staff Behavior Developed. Fifth, authoritarian, hierarchical behavior reduces the effectiveness of staff. Bureaucratic administrators arrange schedules and control behavior; maintain tight personal control over money and supplies; and dictate curriculum, goals, and means. While this type of behavior may result in a certain amount of stability, it creates a dependent relationship between the administrator and staff and practically eliminates flexibility and creativity. Staff members are immobilized and afraid to move without orders (Barth, 1987). Traditional

bureaucratic managers who maintain control over all activities decrease the responsibility felt by subordinates for the success or failure of any effort. Staff abilities are ignored or under-utilized, resulting in lowered staff motivation.

It becomes evident that under the current distribution of authority, the bureaucratic structure of the work place has a greater influence on what professionals do than personal abilities, professional training, or previous experience. Frymier (1987) concluded from a study of 183 professional educators from nine urban schools that by circumstances and by law the educators were forced to deal with factors over which they had almost no control. Events and mandates required them to engage in activities that would not help their students perform well in school. There is a discrepancy between the practices that teachers use and those they might use if they were faced with different constraints of time, resources, organization, and student attributes (Elmore, 1987).

Communication Problems Exacerbated. The sixth dysfunctional consequence is an obstruction of communication that allows problems to compound and *solutions* that are not always the most effective. Information does not flow freely and easily throughout the system and, therefore, information needed to make appropriate decisions is often missing. Problems go undetected until they assume major proportions because subordinates do not feel responsible for identifying the difficulties. In most cases, there are no mechanisms in place to report problems to superiors (Duttweiler, 1987). In addition, people who consistently call superiors attention to problems are accused of being *malcontents*, of being *disloyal*, or of *rocking the boat*. The result of this is that important information is frequently withheld. Often, when problems *are* reported, the underlying causes are not addressed. The information that is passed upward is screened by successive layers in the hierarchy in order to protect the vested interests of those relaying it. In addition, bureaucratic authority allows administrators to restrict the possible solutions and approaches to those they feel competent in using. This often results in decisions of a lowered quality, in faulty problem solving, and a normative structure that values the status quo (Bradford & Cohen, 1984).

Changing Authority Patterns

Perceptions of, or attitudes toward, authority are considered to be a part of the culture of an organization that is transmitted and transformed by the members. Authority is defined as *shared beliefs* about power or influence and is vested in an individual or an organization by the members of the organization or by society (Heller, 1985). Beliefs about the nature of authority are undergoing a challenge as the result of shifts in the society as a whole. A *loss* or *erosion* of authority can be seen in the decline of public confidence in institutions and institutional leaders, the loss of loyalty and commitment of organizational members, the decline in willingness to be bossed, a loss of desire to be *the boss*, and in a trend toward rating oneself as *better than* the boss on desirable traits (Heller, 1985). Ritchie's (1982)

studies suggest managers have lost whatever authority (*expert* power) that may have come from being seen as *better than* one's subordinates.

The contemporary worker appears to be disillusioned with bureaucratic managers and no longer automatically assigns them power. The decline in willingness to submit to the authority of the boss is fairly recent. In 1969 almost 70% of the young accepted authority with few reservations. Ten years later, 70% said that they need not take orders from a supervisor at work if they disagreed with the orders (Rosow, 1979). A 20-year study of management trainees at AT&T summed up the loss of willingness to submit to authority and be bossed as an attitude of "the hierarchy be damned" (Howard & Bray, 1981). Another 20-year study of business school students described results that clearly indicate a decline in "positive attitudes toward authority" (Miner & Smith, 1981). These analyses indicate that the *boss* has lost a measure of the authority that previously came automatically with the role (Heller, 1985). The fact that authority patterns appear to be changing suggests a redefinition of school management is needed toward something different from the hierarchical arrangements of the past (Sergiovanni, 1987a).

Increase in Task Complexity

The loss of authority and *expert power* of hierarchical positions has paralleled the increase in task complexity. Task complexity virtually insures that no one person can have all the knowledge necessary to carry out a number of complex tasks. Occupants of hierarchical positions frequently do not have the technical competence to make decisions about issues that involve specialized, professional knowledge (Abbott & Caracheo, 1988). In previous decades, it was possible for leaders to understand, and often to execute, all school tasks better than their subordinates. Compared to the administrator, teachers had a minimal education, which guaranteed a significant expertise gap. In today's schools, however, teachers and other school staff are usually as well-educated as administrators. They often have a better understanding of what is needed to assure the maximum productivity of their students (Schlechty & Joslin, 1986).

Traditionally, the principal has been the formal authority in a school. As the chief administrative officer, the principal, in addition to managing the school, is expected to provide teachers with leadership, advice, supervision, and evaluation. The principal, however, is seldom seen by teachers as an expert on classroom practice. Some teachers resent the fact that the person responsible for judging their competence knows less than they do about what is going on in their room or what methods are appropriate. The fact that principals have the status and authority while teachers have the expertise creates feelings of ambivalence on the part of teachers toward their principal. When the principal places higher value on the impersonal, bureaucratic, and standardized aspects of schooling, a real conflict develops between the requirements of the administration and what the teachers consider necessary for good teaching (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986).

Today in teaching, and in most other fields, the expertise gap has become more pronounced. Those who have the authority to act, typically don't have the necessary technical ability, and those with the ability to act, typically don't have the necessary authority (Sergiovanni, 1987b). Testimony before the California Commission on the Teaching Profession (Commons, 1985, p. 35) indicated that "old fashioned bureaucracy is poorly suited for the management of trained professionals." The Commission concluded that teachers must participate in the task of managing and reforming their schools. Successful leaders recognize that leadership by empowerment -- providing the necessary authority to act to those with the expertise and ability -- is the most pragmatic way of managing organizations (Sergiovanni, 1987b).

Restructuring School Organization

Changing Social Service Institutions

Schools have a need for stability and are resistant to change, and this press for equilibrium obstructs efforts to accommodate to new conditions (Joyce, Hersh, & McKibbin, 1983). The difficulty in effecting any deep and lasting change in the public schools can be explained, in part, by the criteria by which their survival is determined. The survival of public schools is based on the same set of criteria that determines the survival of other social service institutions. These criteria for survival have a great deal to do with the entrenchment of practices in such institutions and the difficulty of changing them. Businesses and social service organizations differ in the way they are funded. Businesses make money only when they produce what the customer wants and is willing to pay for. Satisfying the customer is, therefore, the basis for assessing performance and results in a business. Social service institutions, including schools, are funded out of a governmental budget. Typically, social service institutions have captive clients who have no choice. This changes the definition of successful performance or results. Social service institutions are rewarded for what they deserve rather than for their productivity. They are paid for good intentions, for programs, and for not alienating important constituents (Drucker, 1973). Kearns (1988) charges that public education today is *a failed monopoly*.

In a business where performance and results determine survival in the marketplace, the unproductive and obsolete will change or go under. Multinational corporations that compete successfully have done so because they have an unrelenting focus on output standards that drives their management and production processes (Mann, 1988). In a budget-based institution no such discipline is being enforced. Being budget-based makes it even more difficult to abandon the wrong, the old, the obsolete (Drucker, 1973). Too many goals and too few resources combine to make maintenance and survival, rather than reform and restructuring, the top priorities

in most places (Mann 1988). As a result, service institutions are often "encrusted with the barnacles of inherently unproductive efforts" (Drucker, 1973).

Schools, as all social service institutions, need to impose discipline on themselves in the following ways (Drucker, 1973):

- They need to *define their function and mission* by answering the question, "what is our business and what should it be."

  They need to *derive clear objectives and goals* from their definition of function and mission.

- They have to *identify priorities* of concentration that enable them to select targets, to set standards of accomplishment and performance, to set deadlines, to work on results, and to make someone accountable for results.

- They need to *define measurements of performance*.

- They need to use these measurements to *provide feedback* on their efforts.

- Finally, they need to *discard objectives* that no longer serve a purpose or that have proven unattainable, programs that exhibit unsatisfactory performance, and activities that are obsolete or unproductive.

The last requirement may be the most important one because it is difficult to abandon yesterday's success. Yesterday's success too often becomes *policy*, *virtue*, and *conviction*. To keep pace with a changing society, however, it is necessary for institutions to rethink their missions, objectives, and priorities, and to build in feedback control from results and performance to guide future policies, priorities, and action. A success that has outlived its usefulness may, in the end, be more damaging than failure (Drucker, 1973).

Developing Schools' Capacity for Change

Changing the structure, climate, and culture of an organization should be attempted only when changes in the environment make organizational values ineffective or when an organization is mediocre or worse. Levine (1986) contends that such indicators not only describe the conditions of schools today but probably describe conditions that have existed for some time. The organizational structure of the schools has become an obstacle to teacher and school effectiveness.

Studies of change have found it is not easy to alter educational principles and methods that are well entrenched and sanctified by tradition, especially those that

have become part of the core structure. In trying to explain this difficulty, a number of barriers to change have been identified (Waugh & Punch, 1987). For example, organizational and interpersonal climates that are *closed*, *austere*, and *authoritarian* can inhibit change. The climate of a school is partly affected by teachers' attitudes toward a change effort and these attitudes play a significant role in its success or failure. Unfortunately, it is quite difficult to change people's basic attitudes, values, and behavior.

Teachers' perceptions of the *practicality* of a proposed change affects their attitudes toward it. Teachers judge the proposed change on whether it will allow for classroom contingencies, whether it fits their self image and mode of relating to students, and whether the effort involved in making the change will have worthwhile results and be rewarded (Stern & Keislar, 1977; Waugh & Punch, 1987). Lack of a clear understanding of the change proposal and lack of the skills and knowledge to perform a new role increase the uncertainty inherent in change situations. Participation in the decision-making process, feedback on performance, and assistance with problems during the implementation phase are necessary to alleviate the fears and uncertainties that accompany change (Waugh & Punch, 1987).

Fullan's (1985) examination of how change processes work suggests that an awareness of the conditions of change is critical if effective school reform is to occur. That awareness should include the following:

- Change takes place over time.
- The initial stages of any significant change *always* involve anxiety and uncertainty.
- Ongoing technical assistance and psychological support are crucial if the anxiety is to be coped with.
- Change involves learning new skills through practice and feedback; it is incremental and developmental.
- The most fundamental breakthrough occurs when people can understand the underlying conception and rationale with respect to "why" this new way works better.
- Organizational conditions within the school (peer norms, administrative leadership) and in relation to the school (e.g., external administrative support and technical help) are important.
- Successful change involves pressure, but it is pressure through *interaction* with peers and other technical and administrative leaders.

Decision Making at the Implementation Level

Over the past decade, increasing interest in the development of alternative perspectives for viewing organizations has been reported in organizational and administration literature. Rather than viewing the organization as a passive structure upon which practices, programs, and policies can be layered, the new perspectives view organization as an ongoing process (Weick, 1982). These perspectives center on the behavior of people in groups: how they interact, cooperate, and compete, how they view themselves within the organization; and how they view the organization in relation to themselves. Organizations can be judged, in general, by the effectiveness with which they meet the following needs (Lotto, 1982):

Need to act - Organizations need to engage in collective activity. Action is the centrifugal force that orders, structures, and gives meaning to organizations.

Need to attribute meaning to their actions - When actions are ordered and interpreted, individuals and subunits can use them to "spin webs of significance."

Need individual participation - Organizations are collectives, and excluding individuals weakens the organization's potential for action. Efforts must be made to maintain the good will, self-determination, and participation of all organizational members.

A major purpose of organizational restructuring should be to create schools that are places where ideas have currency, that are staffed by people who are comfortable with ideas, and that are designed so that such people can be as productive as possible (Tucker, 1988). Cohen (1987) argues that so sweeping a challenge cannot be adequately addressed through incremental changes in schooling practices. Successfully restructuring the education system requires developing new approaches to local control that provide greater discretion to individual schools. A policy framework is needed that makes success at the school level possible (Cohen, 1987).

Goodlad (1984), Sizer (1984), and Boyer (1983) have consistently pointed out that reform in education requires change to take place at the building level. Reform cannot be imposed from the top down. The implication of this is that the people responsible for the school must be responsible for enacting change (Levine, 1986). Unfortunately, those searching for improved schools and for excellence in education often place confidence in external knowledge, resources, people, or policies. This philosophy of external expertise has a number of flaws. The first is that the available research and the existing policies may not be adequate or powerful enough to create excellence. The second is that such an approach encourages practitioners at all levels to look outside rather than within for solutions to problems, criteria for improvements, or directions for change. However, neither excellence nor improvement can be applied or mandated from outside. These qualities can only be developed within a school community from collective conversa-

tions, behaviors, and attitudes among teachers, administrators, students, and parents (Lieberman, 1986).

A third flaw in relying on external expertise is that organizational variables at the local level are the crucial elements in reform efforts. Educational organizations are particularly sensitive to the numerous, changing priorities of their constituents. As seen in the chapter on effective schools, a number of studies confirm that a variety of contextual variables influence the nature of organizational leadership and that an organization's mission must conform to the demands of its environment (Hallinger & Murphy, 1987). Berman and McLaughlin (1978), in a major study of the implementation of federally sponsored innovations, found that the guidelines and management strategies of the federal change agent programs were simply overshadowed by local concerns and characteristics. Such research demonstrates the essential link between educational outcomes and organizational context. The critical variables related to improvement, change, and effectiveness are organizational rather than programmatic in nature. The education system is structured so that the climate in each site has a more powerful effect on the experience of the learner than any particular program or product. It is the configuration of individuals and resources -- the organizational variables -- that are most powerfully associated with school and program success (Lotto, 1982).

Just as the research on change points to the building as the appropriate level for any change effort, the literature on school effectiveness demonstrates the essential link between educational outcomes and organizational context. This highlights a fourth flaw in the philosophy of external expertise -- the belief that mandates and regulations apply equally to all schools. Yet, what seems to distinguish successful schools from not-so-successful schools are the organizational norms and belief systems that characterize the individual school (Lotto, 1982). Schools differ in their mix of students and staff, the characteristics of the communities they serve, the problems they face, and the histories of their efforts at improvement. Attempts at instructional improvement will be successful only to the extent that schools are given sufficient latitude to adapt new policies or practices to their unique circumstances and to develop their own solutions to problems (Cohen, 1983).

Cohen (1987) notes that many functions are typically performed at the central office level on a uniform basis for all schools. The standardization of these practices across all schools, without regard to variations in local building conditions, is incompatible with the discretion required at the school site to improve educational productivity. Even though legal authority for many policy decisions are vested in the school board, it will be necessary for school boards and central offices to either delegate to or share authority with individual school sites.

The school improvement literature cautions that for significant change to occur, districts must provide schools with a combination of autonomy and flexibility and technical assistance and support. Regardless of these cautions, many district *effectiveness* policies are highly prescriptive and regulated (Oakes, 1987). Research on school improvement efforts suggests that many district policies do not provide

schools with the autonomy and flexibility they need in order to improve (Pink, 1987). One study found that even in schools that perceive their district administration to be supportive of their efforts, districts' demands, regulations, and priorities were almost never in line with the vision of the local staff (Oakes, 1987). Another study of urban high schools involved in effective-schools projects, found that district-level pressure for a particular brand of effectiveness diverted enormous amounts of time and energy from the improvement process itself (Miles et al., 1986).

The complexity and professional discretion involved in running schools and in teaching require an approach that maximizes the ability of staff and fosters the problem-solving capacity of professionals (Elmore, 1983a). According to organizational experts, practitioners' motivation is minimized when significant decisions are made at a central level and only routine decisions are left up to those at the implementation level (Frymier, 1987). As Elmore (1983b) points out, when it becomes necessary to rely mainly on hierarchical control, regulation, and compliance to achieve results, the game is essentially lost. Reliance on hierarchical control means moving from reliance on existing capacity, ingenuity, and judgement on the part of the professional to reliance on rules, surveillance, and enforcement procedures. "Regulation increases complexity and invites subversion; it diverts attention from accomplishing the task to understanding and manipulating rules" (Elmore, 1983b, p. 358).

Recommendations for Facilitating Change

Levine (1986) drew on the experience of both schools and business for the following recommendations to facilitate change at the school-building level:

Size - What appears to be important is the ability of the leadership to create feelings of community within the organization. Through structure and management they must be able to make the individual feel empowered, a part of the community of shared values, and part of the whole. This may be easier to achieve in small organizations, but is by no means limited to them.

Structure - There must be simultaneous *loose-tight* coupling among state, local, and building-level organizations. Schools' goals must be tightly articulated with the goals established by the state, but autonomy must be given at the school level to implement programs to meet those goals. The people in each school building must participate in defining the implementation process in order to feel ownership.

Staff development - Staff development should be designed to improve teaching effectiveness and should grow out of the needs of the teachers and the school.

Evaluation - The evaluation system should be based upon a professional definition of teaching that includes an expectation of teachers' mastery of

certain skills, techniques, and a theoretical knowledge base; and the expectation for professional judgment, decision-making, diagnosing needs and prescribing solutions, and evaluating outcomes and growth. Such an evaluation system for teaching requires peer governance and peer standards.

Career Ladders - Career hierarchies will attract better-qualified, career-oriented people and they will create changes that have validity in terms of fulfilling the educational goals of schools.

Rewards and Incentives - Money, status, and power are valued extrinsic rewards. Beyond these extrinsic rewards, however, are equally important intrinsic ones such as honor, acknowledgement, mentoring, public roles, and increased visibility.

Removing Barriers/Providing Resources - There are barriers of time, space, and resources, as well as barriers of attitude and of expectations. There are important physical barriers. Some teachers have no access to telephones, no permanent classroom, or share a desk with another teacher. Teachers rarely have the time to follow up on something, to plan with other teachers, to observe in another classroom, or to visit another school. These are barriers to teachers' efforts to improve their skills and their effectiveness. They are also barriers to developing a sense of community and collegiality in the school.

Summary and Implications

The *informatization of society* requires a rethinking of the very foundations of our philosophy -- about economics, governance, law, and management. Management based on hierarchy is one of the most important areas that needs rethinking. Knowledge is power. The wider the spread of knowledge, the wider administrative authority needs to be spread. Today's smart companies trust professionals and managers with the authority to get their jobs done and hold them accountable for their performance. Delegating control of significant decisions to practitioners generates professional collaboration, pride, and ownership over policies and programs that professionals have adapted to meet their own circumstances.

In a country dependent on trained intelligence, schools must be institutions in which ideas and their application are central. Teachers must not only be knowledgeable but must also be skilled in communicating ideas to others. People with such skills are the most valuable resource in a knowledge-based economy. The organizational structure of schools should be one that makes the work productive and the worker achieving. This cannot be accomplished by continuing the practices

of the last 200 years. The bureaucratic structure of school systems, rather than helping, stands in the way of improvement at the school level, making the needs of the system more important than the needs of people.

There are a number of aspects of bureaucratic organization that produce dysfunctional consequences. When organizational authority becomes imbedded in a set of rules, the use of rules as *bearers of authority* leads to the following dysfunctional consequences: rules take on an aura of compulsion; rules tend to discourage creative efforts, to justify minimal performance, and to produce apathy; rules become substitutes for personal judgment; and rules become sacrosanct. Schools organized on the bureaucratic model are good illustrations of the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucracy. The fact that bureaucratic organization serves a coordinating function has been used as justification for the way schools are run. However, when *smooth-running* becomes the priority and controls the educational practice in a school, educational quality is reduced rather than enhanced.

There are a number of other dysfunctional consequences resulting from bureaucratic organization. First, poorly conceived policies and their implementation impede effectiveness. Second, effective principals are forced to develop strategies to circumvent the bureaucracy. In order to protect their schools from the effects of such policies, effective principals often resort to strategies that have been labeled *creative insubordination*. The use of such strategies raises questions about policies and procedures that compel effective principals to be insubordinate in order to work in the best interests of their students.

A third consequence results from the state's or districts' allocation of resources. By controlling the allocation of resources needed for teaching, administrators shape the conditions under which teachers work. The fourth consequence is that authoritarian methods are fostered. The bureaucratic structure of schools often limits the effectiveness of good principals, but what is worse, has a tendency to produce principals who subscribe to those bureaucratic values and procedures that actually obstruct teaching. Fifth, authoritarian, hierarchical behavior reduces the effectiveness of staff. Traditional bureaucratic managers who maintain control over all activities decrease the responsibility felt by subordinates for the success or failure of any effort.

Beliefs about the nature of authority are undergoing a challenge as the result of shifts in the society as a whole. The loss of authority and *expert power* of hierarchical positions has paralleled the increase in task complexity. Task complexity virtually insures that no one person can have all the knowledge necessary to carry out a variety of complex tasks. Occupants of hierarchical positions frequently do not have the technical competence to make decisions about issues that involve specialized, professional knowledge. Today in teaching, and in most other fields, the expertise gap has become more pronounced. Those who have the authority to act, typically don't have the necessary technical ability, and those with the ability to act, typically don't have the necessary authority.

The difficulty in effecting any deep and lasting change in the public schools can be explained, in part, by the criteria by which their survival is determined. Social service institutions, including schools, are funded out of a governmental budget. Typically, social service institutions have captive clients who have no choice. This changes the definition of successful performance or results. In a business where performance and results determine survival in the marketplace, the unproductive and obsolete will change or go under. In a budget-based institution no such discipline is being enforced. Being budget-based makes it difficult to abandon the wrong, the old, the obsolete. Too many goals and too few resources combine to make maintenance and survival, rather than reform and restructuring, the top priorities in most places.

The climate in each school site has a more powerful effect on the experience of the learner than any particular program or product. It is the configuration of individuals and resources -- the organizational variables -- that are most powerfully associated with school and program success. The organizational structure of most schools has become an obstacle to teacher and school effectiveness. A major purpose of organizational restructuring should be to create schools that are places where ideas have currency, that are staffed by people who are comfortable with ideas, and that are designed so that such people can be as productive as possible. Successfully restructuring the education system requires developing a new approach to state and local control that provides greater discretion to individual schools. Effective reform cannot be imposed from the top down. The people responsible for the school must be responsible for enacting change.

Timar and Kirp (1987) quote from a report by the Committee for Economic Development in which the affirmation of local control is treated as central to the reform effort itself.

> Our recommendations are grounded in the belief that reform is most needed where learning takes place - in the individual schools, in the classroom, and in the interaction between teacher and student. As businessmen worldwide have learned, problems can best be solved at the lowest level of operation. While structures are needed, bureaucracies tend to focus on rules and regulations rather than result, thus stifling initiative. Therefore, we believe that school governance should be retained at the local level, and not be supplanted by statewide boards of education or national dictates (*Education Week*, 11 September 1985, p. 17).

The current regulatory focus at the state and district levels should shift to an emphasis on building local-school capacity. Policy makers should set targets for improvement and establish clear accountability mechanisms focused on improved student outcomes. The most effective policies, however, are likely to be those that allow schools, districts, and states to negotiate specific goals and improvement indicators. Logical, reasonable district policies should be created so that effective school practices such as genuine site-based planning and program development make sense to most school principals (Oakes, 1986). School decision-making and

governance patterns will need to change as well. Greater authority at the school level should include teachers and parents in shaping the school's program through involvement in decision making (Cohen, 1987). There is much to be learned from those who are trying different approaches to school organization.

CHAPTER 4
SELF-MANAGEMENT IN SCHOOLS

Self-management is a concept embraced by many successful businesses as a means for decentralizing the decision-making process to the level of production. Self-managing units have the authority to decide how to meet established goals and how to allocate personnel and resources in order to do so. The concept of self-managing units can be applied directly to public schools. It requires the establishing of new roles and relationships between the staff within the school and between the school and the central office. There are a number of school-based management efforts underway in the United States, Great Britain, and Australia.

Learning From Business and Industry

Problems Lead to Changes in Management

The problems facing the public schools are similar to the problems faced by the business sector in the United States. Businesses are experiencing decreasing quantity and quality of production, worker dissatisfaction, high levels of turnover and absenteeism, and counterproductive employee behavior. There is an increasing interdependence, complexity, and uncertainty in the environments of these organizations (Manz & Sims, 1987). Schools are experiencing lowered academic achievement, teacher dissatisfaction reflected by many leaving the profession, and problems in motivating school staff.

American business management has been forced by competition abroad and changes in the structure of the society at home to experiment with less hierarchical, more democratic organizational forms. A number of forces have pushed this experimentation. These forces include efforts to increase productivity, to accommodate an accelerated rate of technological change, to make increasingly complex decisions, and to foster innovation and creativity (Heller, 1985). American education is being forced by these same pressures to search for alternative organizational structures more suited to the demands of knowledge workers in an information society. This search includes examining the lessons learned by the business sector.

Self-Managing Work Groups

Successful businesses and industry have discovered that control-oriented management produces outcomes that subvert the interests of both the organization and

the people who work in it. Hackman (1986) asserts, "The question for today's managers is not whether to design organizations for high involvement and self-management, but how to do it, and how to do it well" (p. 85).

Autonomous or self-managed work groups have developed to meet this challenge (Manz & Sims, 1987). This approach engages the commitment of employees in order to achieve a competitive advantage in contemporary markets. A change in organizational structure -- from control to commitment -- requires a fundamental change in management. Top-down controls can no longer be relied on to elicit and enforce desired behavior. Rather, organizations have to promote member self-management in the pursuit of collective objectives (Hackman, 1986).

The development of self-managing units involves a shift in focus from individual methods of performing work to group methods. Self-managing units usually are characterized by a group task; members who each possess a variety of skills relevant to the task; group discretion over such decisions as methods of work, task schedules, and assignment of members to different tasks; and feedback about performance of the group as a whole. The rationale for self-managed units is based on the belief that a work group is the most effective entity for allocating resources and delegating tasks to deal with unique work conditions. Members of a self-managing unit define their work roles in terms of their value as contributors to the group's primary task rather than in relation to their specific jobs (Manz & Sims, 1987).

Organizational Functions

In his chapter, "The Psychology of Self-Management in Organizations" in *Psychology and Work: Productivity Change and Employment,* Hackman (1986) discusses four different functions that must be performed in an organization and presents arguments to support greater management authority at the level where the work is accomplished. The four functions are as follows:

1. Someone must set direction for the organization.

2. Someone must structure tasks, decide who will perform them, establish norms of conduct in the work setting and arrange for needed organizational supports for the work, making sure people have the resources and supports they need to carry out the work.

3. Someone must monitor and supervise the performance of the workers and the work process.

4. Someone must actually apply personal energy (physical or mental) to accomplish tasks.

The distribution of authority for these four functions determines the degree of self-management in an organization. For example, when the manager has the

authority for carrying out the first three functions, the members have responsibility only for executing the task. In such a manager-led unit, the manager monitors and supervises performance, structures the work of the unit and its context, and sets overall directions. In a self-managing unit, the members have the responsibility not only for executing the task, but also for defining how the task will be structured and the resources needed to accomplish it. In addition, the members of a self-managing unit have the authority for monitoring and supervising their own performance.

In self-designing units, members have full authority to do what needs to be done to get the work accomplished. While managers set the direction for self-designing units, members have the authority to modify the design of the unit itself or aspects of the organizational context in which the unit functions in order for the unit to accomplish the goals set for it. Finally, there are self-governing units. In these, members have the authority to perform all four functions. They set the goals, structure the unit and its context, monitor their own performance, and actually carry out the work (Hackman, 1986).

Self-Managing Units

The type of unit that appears to have the greatest applicability for school organization is that which Hackman identified as the self-managing unit. A self-managing unit is distinguished by the following behaviors (Hackman, 1986):

- Members take personal responsibility for the outcomes of their work and show in their behavior that they feel personally accountable for the results of what they do.

- Members monitor their own performance continuously, actively seeking data and feedback to learn how well they are accomplishing their tasks.

- Members supervise their own performance, taking corrective action at their own initiative to improve their performance.

- When members do not have what they need to perform well, they actively and constructively seek from the organization the guidance, help, or resources they need for excellent performance.

- While members make sure that their own responsibilities are being met, they also have a vested interest in reaching out to help others. They are willing to make the effort to help members in other areas improve their performance, thereby strengthening the performance of the organization as a whole.

Because self-managing units have no organizational controllers to provide early warning that problems are developing or to mandate corrective action, smoothly

functioning traditional units will usually outperform poorly designed self-managing units. Hackman points out, however, that well-functioning self-managing units can achieve a level of synergy and flexibility that cannot be preprogrammed by organization planners or enforced by external managers. Members of such units respond both to clients and to each other quickly and creatively. This results in both excellent task performance and increasing growth in personal and collective capability.

Criteria of Effectiveness

The effectiveness of a work unit can be evaluated by its level of success on the following three criterion dimensions (Hackman, 1986):

1. The degree to which the unit's productive output meets the standards of quantity, quality, and timeliness of the clients who receive, review, or use that output.

2. The degree to which the process of carrying out the work enhances the capability of organization members to work together interdependently in the future.

3. The degree to which work experiences contribute to the growth and personal well-being of unit members.

Conditions That Support Effective Self-Management in Schools

Effective self-managing schools are not created by simply professing democratic ideals, by simply tearing down organizational hierarchies, or by instituting a one-person-one-vote, decision-making processes. Instead, certain conditions must be in place for a self-managing school to have a real chance of achieving a high standing on the three criterion dimensions discussed previously. The following are conditions that foster and support effective self-management (Hackman, 1986):

A. Clear Engaging Direction

Effective self-management is not possible unless someone exercises authority to establish goals that set direction for the school. A clear statement of goals orients school staff toward common objectives, energizes members by adding to the meaning and purpose they find in their work, and provides criteria for school members to use in testing and comparing alternatives for their behavior.

There are problems associated with setting clear and engaging goals for self-managing schools. The external managers (district administrators) sometimes decline to take a position on anything, even if that turns out to blur the direction of the enterprise and to withhold from the school staff the guidance they need to manage their own behavior. A second problem has to do with the focus of managerial authority. Although external managers in positions of legitimate authority should define the ends, they must take care not to exceed their authority by trying to define the specific means by which those ends are to be sought.

B. An Enabling School Structure

Three *process criteria* must be present for effective self-management. Schools must: (a) exert sufficient effort to get tasks accomplished at acceptable levels of performance, (b) bring adequate levels of knowledge and skill to bear on the tasks, and (c) employ performance strategies that are appropriate to the work and to the setting in which it is being performed.

There are certain structural features that have special relevance to the process criteria. They are as follows:

1. Task Design

Members of self-managing schools exert the effort to perform well when a task creates *internal work motivation*. Internal motivation is a means for sustaining task-focused effort in the absence of external controls and direct supervision, and contributes to one's overall perceptions of self-efficacy. It is, therefore, a key ingredient in a self-managing school. Internal work motivation is more likely when the following three *task-induced states* are present. Those state are:

a) School staff experience tasks as meaningful. This occurs when: tasks require the use of a variety of relatively high-level skills; tasks have continuity, are clearly related to established goals, and have readily discernable outcomes; and/or tasks have outcomes that are significant and have positive consequences for others.

b) School staff experience personal responsibility for the outcomes of their work. This occurs when tasks provide substantial autonomy for performers to decide how the work of the school will be carried out.

c) School staff experience knowledge of the results of their performance. This occurs when executing the

tasks generates trustworthy and informative feedback.

2. *School Composition*

Self-managing schools have responsibility for making decisions about the work, not just executing it, which means that what members know (and know how to do) has high impact on school outcomes. Attitude is also important. Some people are more responsive to opportunities for self-management than others. These factors need to be considered when individuals are being selected for positions in a self-managing school. The principal of the self-managing school holds a crucial position and should be firmly committed to participatory management.

3. *Expectations About Behavior*

The expectations that district administrators communicate to school members are critical. School members must understand that they are responsible for regulating their own behavior and that they are obligated to continuously assess the situation (with particular attention to environmental changes) and to actively plan how they will proceed with the work of the school based on those assessments.

C. *A Supportive Organizational Context*

Organizational supports can dramatically foster the effectiveness of a self-managing school. The following three specific features of the organizational context are particularly significant in supporting self-managing schools:

1. *The Reward System*

A reward system that recognizes and reinforces excellent school performance can complement and amplify the intrinsic motivational incentives.

2. *The Professional Development System*

The professional development system can help fill in gaps in member talent and contribute to the development of school staff knowledge and skill.

3. *The Information System*

The information system is critical to a school's ability to plan and execute an appropriate strategy. To develop a good performance strategy, school members need a clear understanding of the perfor-

mance situation. It is especially important for members to have information about (a) task requirements, constraints, and opportunities that may limit or channel strategic options; (b) the resources that are available for use; and (c) the characteristics of the students.

D. Expert Coaching and Consultation

Coaching is a critical support for staff of self-managing schools, who must learn how to regulate their behavior in often uncertain work situations. School staff often need coaching in self-management skills, particularly when group members have relatively little (or predominantly negative) experience with collaborative work. Too often a task is tossed to group members with the assumption that "they'll work it out among themselves." And too often members do not know how to do that. A leader or consultant can do much to promote team effectiveness by helping members learn how to work together as self-managers.

E. Adequate Material Resources

Insufficient material resources often are a major roadblock to performance effectiveness in self-managing schools. Even when they have clear and engaging direction and a working situation that promotes the process criteria, schools eventually will fail if they do not have (and cannot get) the resources they need to do their work.

Leading Self-Managing Schools

Research on External Leader Roles

Manz and Sims (1987) investigated the role of the external leader of self-managing groups. A problem in studying a work system designed around self-managing teams is identifying the appropriate role and behaviors for external leaders of the group. They used the term *coordinator* to indicate the external leader and *support team* to identify the upper-level managers of the organization. They found that there was some confusion over the role of coordinator. People were not sure about the appropriate role for a coordinator when a group is supposed to lead itself.

Their study took place in a non-unionized small-parts plant owned by a large corporation. There were three distinct hierarchical levels in the organizational structure. The upper plant management (the support team) was formally responsible for the supervision of coordinators of the self-managing teams. The support team generally played a supportive rather than directive role in the plant's opera-

tion. The work-team coordinators occupied the next hierarchical level. The self-managing work teams were the third level. Within each team, there was an elected team leader who received higher pay than other group members but who, for the most part, did the same work as the other employees. A distinguishing characteristic of the work system was a noticeable lack of status symbols (Manz & Sims, 1987).

The work teams were trained in conducting meetings and group problem solving. The teams engaged in various problem-solving activities during weekly scheduled and ad hoc meetings. While the elected team leader usually organized and conducted the meetings, other team members had the opportunity to speak freely. The external coordinator or members of the upper-management support team were often invited to work with the self-managing team in dealing with specific issues and problems but did not attend on a routine basis. These meetings were characterized by a relatively sophisticated level of discussion and problem solving. There was a persistent focus on reaching a solution, on improving work performance, and on various concerns of individual team members (Manz & Sims, 1987).

Because of the inherent contradiction in placing an external leader over self-managing teams, the coordinator role was originally ill-defined. It emerged largely through trial and error and at the time of the study still had some degree of ambiguity about what coordinators were actually contributing and ought to be doing. However, the emerging theme of leadership practice was to encourage and support the work group so that the members would be able to do things themselves, rather than for the coordinators to exercise direct control or do it for the team. There was a deliberate and calculated effort to encourage independence rather than allow the dependence that is fostered in more traditional work groups. There was a notable absence of direct commands or instructions from the coordinators to the team (Manz & Sims, 1987).

While some of the leader-behavior variables identified in this research were similar to those found in other studies, a fundamental difference existed in terms of the shift in source of control from the manager to the group. The uniqueness of the self-management coordinator's role lay in the commitment to the philosophy that the work groups should successfully carry out the leadership functions for themselves. The dominant role of the external leader was to lead others to lead themselves (Manz & Sims, 1987).

The implicit assumption underlying self-management practices is quite different from that of the earlier, more traditional practices. Instead of a top-down philosophy of control, self-management implies a bottom-up perspective. The assumption is that subordinates can perform leadership functions for themselves and the external leader's job is to teach and encourage subordinates to manage themselves effectively. In the self-management system, organizing, directing, and monitoring functions, all part of traditional notions of leadership, are located within the group (Manz & Sims, 1987).

Critical Leadership Functions

Hackman (1986) identifies critical external leadership functions for self-managing units in business and industry. These functions are equally applicable for a self-managing school. They are activities that contribute to the establishment and maintenance of favorable performance conditions. This involves two types of behavior: (a) obtaining and interpreting data about performance conditions and events that might affect them, and (b) taking action to create or maintain favorable performance conditions. For the first function, a leader would seek the data needed to answer the following questions:

- Does the school have clear and engaging direction?
- Is it organized for self-management?
- Does the district provide a supportive organizational context?
- Are adequate coaching assistance and staff development available?
- Does the school have adequate material resources?

The second function, action-taking, follows these assessments of the situation and involves behaviors intended to create favorable performance conditions or to remedy problems (or exploit opportunities) in existing conditions. Of the five key conditions, only two (setting direction and coaching/consultation) centrally involve district administrator and school relations. The other three (structuring the school, tuning the organizational context, and providing material resources) are concerned with the situation in which the school functions. Although the district administrator's responsibility is to ensure that these functions are fulfilled, this does not mean that he or she must handle them personally. Leadership is appropriately shared at every level in districts with self-managing schools (Hackman, 1986).

Designing Leader Roles

Hackman (1986) provides the following questions to be considered when designing external leader roles to support self-managing schools:

- From what *perch* would an external leader be best able to provide direction to the school?
- How can leadership roles be designed so as to foster rather than undermine the autonomy a school has in managing its own affairs?
- How much influence will the external leader require to create supportive structural and contextual conditions and to marshall needed resources?

- What information will the leader require, and with whom will he or she need to coordinate on a regular basis?

A number of alternative organizational designs should be tested. After applying the above considerations to the various alternatives, it is likely that one or another of the designs under consideration or a new and better alternative will emerge as dominant. What is essential is to have a design process that will generate an answer that is right for particular organizational circumstances (Hackman, 1986).

Self-Management in Education

A number of countries have undertaken projects to increase the autonomy of schools within public education. In Britain, for example, the conservative leadership has proposed giving control of their own budgets to all secondary schools and many primary schools. These schools would be released from control by the local education authority and receive grants directly from the Department of Education and Science. In Australia, more than two thousand state schools now have school councils that include parents, teachers and, for secondary schools, students. The councils have the power to set the educational policy and budget of the school within guidelines established by the Minister of Education. In the United States, there have been a number of districts where changes have been made in the financial focus of the district and school-site or school-based budgeting has been instituted. In relatively few districts, a more comprehensive approach has taken place where teacher and community involvement in decision making has been incorporated. This is described as school-site or school-based management. The common theme in all of these endeavors has been a shift in the authority to make certain decisions from a central entity to the school (Caldwell & Spinks, 1988).

Many attempts in the U.S. have focused on local-site management of finances. School-based management, however, is more than just budget decentralization. It is focusing the full resources of the system at the school level and allowing decisions to take place at this level (Dade County Public Schools, 1987). Increasing the autonomy of schools can only be achieved if resources are allocated to meet the priorities and special needs that have been identified by the school. In a self-managing school, there is a comprehensive approach to school management that links goal-setting, needs identification, policy-making, planning, budgeting, learning and teaching, and evaluating (Caldwell & Spinks, 1988). School-based management, therefore, is defined generically as a decentralized form of organization in which decisions are made by those who are closest to the source of education: the principal, teachers, parents, community groups, and students. Each school becomes a decision-making unit (Richardson, 1986). In such an organizational framework,

each school has authority to make decisions related to curriculum; to the technology of teaching and learning; to the acquisition of materials and the use of facilities and equipment; to the allocation of people in matters associated with teaching and learning; to those aspects of administration, scheduling, teaching, learning, and staff professional development that deal with time; and to the allocation of money (Manz & Sims, 1987).

An Australian Experience -- The Collaborative School Management Model

Caldwell and Spinks (1988) describe a system for school-based management developed as the result of a study of resource allocation in highly effective government and non-government schools in two states in Australia (Tasmania and South Australia). The model was the focus of an extended consultancy in Victoria, Australia, where the government was initiating self-management in schools. The Collaborative School Management Model has six phases:

1. goal-setting and needs identification;
2. policy-making, with policies consisting of purposes and broad guidelines;
3. planning of programs;
4. preparation and approval of program budgets; and
5. evaluating.

In summary, its general characteristics are as follows:

- The management cycle integrates goal-setting, needs identification, policy-making, planning, budgeting, implementing, and evaluating.
- The approach secures appropriate involvement of staff, students and the community.
- The focus is on the central functions of schools -- learning and teaching -- and, accordingly, organizes the management of the school around *programs* that correspond to the preferred patterns of work in the school.
- The *policy group*, the composition of which varies according to the setting, has responsibility for: goal-setting and needs identification, policy-making, approving the budget, and evaluating the extent to

which goals and policies are being achieved and needs are being satisfied.

- The *program teams*, which usually consist of teachers working within a framework of policies and priorities set by the *policy group*, prepare plans for the implementation of policy and identify the resources required to support those plans.

- A program plan and the proposed pattern for resource allocation to implement that plan, together constitute a program budget.

- Implementing and evaluating are largely the concern of program teams.

- While responsibilities are clearly designated, there is overlap in activity to the extent that some people may be members of the policy group as well as of one or more of the program teams, and that members of program teams frequently provide information for the policy group (e.g., in preparing policy options and a program budget).

A well-implemented system of Collaborative School Management offers many benefits. Among the benefits listed by Caldwell and Spinks (1988) are the following:

1. Successful implementation ensures that all resources -- teachers, time, space, facilities, supplies, equipment and services -- reflect plans to achieve priorities in programs for learning and teaching.

2. The approach integrates the often fragmented approaches to goal-setting, policy-making, planning, budgeting and evaluation in a manner that establishes a clear, unambiguous and continuing role for the policy group in each phase of the management process.

3. The attraction of capable people to serve on policy groups. Collaborative School Management makes service on a policy group an attractive investment of time for those who may have been discouraged from such involvement in the past.

4. The approach provides for accountability, with a substantial and readily understood information base on how resources are to be allocated and why, and with a systematic approach to program evaluation that ensures the policy group can assess the extent to which policies have been successfully implemented.

5. Collaborative School Management is a systematic approach to policy-making and planning that constitutes a framework wherein

school administrators can work with and through others to ensure that goals unique to the school are set, needs are identified, policies are formulated, and plans are devised for the implementation of policies.

6. Collaborative School Management gives teachers a role in management and the opportunity to contribute according to their expertise and stake in the outcomes of the decision-making process.

7. The approach provides a framework wherein teachers, working in program teams, can make a substantial contribution to decisions concerning the allocation of resources in their area of interest.

8. A well-implemented system of Collaborative School Management ensures that goals and policies are translated into action.

9. The approach provides a valuable framework for the management of conflict because of the opportunity it affords for collaboration and openness. Commitment is more likely to result when teachers have had the opportunity to collaborate. Conflict is minimized when teachers have the opportunity to differ on the basis of good information about the interests of others.

10. Collaborative School Management provides an opportunity for many teachers to exercise responsibility. This benefit may be seen as fostering job satisfaction as well as commitment to achieving a high degree of school effectiveness.

School-Based Management Experiences in the United States

The Office of Research and Evaluation of the Fairfax County Public Schools (Richardson, 1986) solicited information on school-based management from more than a dozen U.S. school systems that professed to be implementing such a system. The results of the survey proved disturbing. The general impression was that in many school systems an enormous amount of activity occurred with very little change at the school level. It appeared, also, that school-based management resulted, in some cases, in greater centralization. The most significant finding about school-based management was that, even though districts generally subscribed to the same definition, each district interpreted it, organized for it, and practiced it differently.

The major difference between the school districts examined by the study was found in the degree of delegated authority. The degree of autonomy principals had

in the decision-making process depended greatly on the school system's philosophy concerning shared decision making and responsibility. Some systems were more centralized than others at the start of the process. Centralized systems were those in which major decisions were made at the district level, the central, or area level. Decentralized systems were those in which principals, faculty, parents, and community groups had more flexibility in determining how their schools were to operate (Richardson, 1986).

Each district's approach was different. State mandates and district controls were not eliminated with school-based management. The responsibility for operating schools remained with the school board. Whether or not there were state mandates, as in Florida and Ohio, the districts adapted the process to local conditions. The study found the following: tightly centralized school-based management versus monitored but highly flexible decentralization; heavy community involvement in development versus community participation later in the process; and heavy faculty participation versus little faculty involvement. Even in districts under the same state mandate, differences in approach could be traced to what appeared to be differences in philosophy concerning the appropriate degree of authority to delegate to the local school (Richardson, 1986).

Cincinnati and Cleveland School Districts

In Cincinnati, the process of school-based budgeting involved establishing a standard-resource-allocation for each school (including personnel positions) that was prepared by a central budget office. In addition, each school received "a plan for spending the money to which it is entitled." A Local School Advisory (Budget) Committee, composed of school staff, parents, students, and community members, reviewed alternative ways to allocate resources and recommended procurement of other non-budgetary resources to meet school goals. The resulting proposal was presented to the local school community for approval or amendment and then presented to the Central Administration. Differences between the original standard-resource-allocation and the one submitted by the Local School Advisory Committee were negotiated before the Superintendent included the school budget in the proposal to the Board. The impression Richardson (1986) gained was that the Cincinnati central office was unwilling to take the risk that principals, even with training, could be trusted to make significant decisions on their own without very close supervision. His interpretation was that Cincinnati's decentralization appeared to be aimed more at increasing community involvement than at increasing principals' educational responsibility and accountability.

On the other hand, in the Cleveland district, operating under the same statewide limitations as Cincinnati, each school was notified of the total amount of non-personnel money it would receive. The principal was responsible for planning the allocation of the designated total amount. The local-school budget proposals were incorporated in the Superintendent's proposal to the School Board and adopted as submitted, on the condition that they conformed to legal requirements and Board

policies. Richardson (1986) suggested that the Cleveland district appeared to be willing to take significant risk to achieve professional educational leadership at the local level. The district developed a monitoring system that continuously informed principals how they were doing relative to the agreed targets.

Salt Lake City School District

In order to broaden the decision-making base in the district to include teachers and parents, the Salt Lake City Board of Education adopted a shared governance policy. The policy required each school to create a School Improvement Council (SIC) composed of administrators, teachers, and members of the non-certified school staff and a School Community Council (SCC) composed of parents and members of the SIC. The councils were to operate under the principle of parity. Principals, teachers, and parents were to have equal power in making school-level decisions. A study of the councils participation in decision making, however, revealed that SICs made few binding decisions. The binding decisions that were made by SIC were on issues on which the principal was either neutral or eager to *dump* the issue. Similarly, the SCCs were generally perceived as making few decisions of their own. They made recommendations, discussed issues, and affirmed others' decisions (Richardson, 1986).

Most council members consistently described their involvement as an obligation rather than an opportunity, as yielding to collegial or institutional pressure. However, all principals interviewed for the "Study on School-Site Councils" were rather enthusiastic about their involvement (Malen & Ogawa, *Salt Lake School District Shared Governance Project*, cited in Richardson, 1986). The results of the study led the Salt Lake City school system to conclude that the shared governance councils, rather than breaking new ground, had simply maintained the traditional authority relationships. Clearly, the central actors in decision making were the principals and district office. Parents used their position primarily as a channel through which they provided support (Richardson, 1986).

Saint Paul Independent School District

The Saint Paul Independent School District established school-based management in order to place the principal in control of staff and instructional improvement. During the 1984-85 academic year, a task force developed a proposal to implement a school-based improvement program to "raise achievement of the entire student body." Principals would be responsible for decisions about such things as staffing, resources, inservice training, and programs in their schools. The concept was based on the belief that the school, not the district, should be the unit of change and improvement. This required the central office to provide enough autonomy so that individual schools could respond to the needs of their teachers, parents, and students (Richardson, 1986).

The shift in the role of the principal prompted changes in the Central Office administrator's role to one of responding to the goals in school-based improvement plans and monitoring the attainment of improvement goals and student achievement. These changes in practices required a comprehensive, effective staff development program. Teachers and administrators realized that staff development was essential to increasing the quality and effectiveness of the staff in their schools. The allocation of staff development money to the individual schools gave principals and teachers the opportunity to address school needs and to select and/or design staff training to meet those needs (Richardson, 1986).

Responsibilities and Roles at Various Levels. With the move into school-based improvement, the roles of the Board of Education, the Central Office, the principal, and the school changed. The responsibilities for each of these groups are summarized as follows (Richardson, 1986):

The Board of Education would be responsible for:

1. establishing and revising current policy to promote and support effective decision making and improvement of programs and practices in each of the schools,

2. identifying improvement goals,

3. monitoring progress toward achieving the district goals,

4. budgeting funds to support the achievement of the district improvement goals, and

5. serving as a public advocate for the school improvement process and implementation of the district improvement goals.

The central office (the district management team) would be responsible for:

1. translating board policy and priority goals for improvement into short- and long-range district plans for implementation,

2. providing and managing district resources to support school/instructional improvement plans to achieve District goals and priorities,

3. approving and monitoring school/instructional improvement plans and goals for each school,

4. evaluating all aspects of district operation,

5. providing staff development to accomplish desired goals and objectives of approved school improvement plans, and

6. modeling, in all aspects of their operations, the behaviors expected of principals and their school-based improvement teams.

The principal would have the key leadership role in the improvement of professional practice and achievement of district goals. The principal would:

1. have increased control over decisions about staff selection, budget, allocation of human and fiscal resources, and inservice training for staff with a focus on improving instruction and student achievement;

2. involve school staff and those served by the school in processes to develop goals and program plans for improvement; and

3. be responsible for designing, implementing, and evaluating school and/or instructional improvement with the planning teams.

The school teaching staff would be responsible for:

1. working collaboratively with the principal, central office staff, and representative parents (and in high school, students) to select 3-6 of the district's priority improvement goals to achieve over the next four or five years.

Several recommendations were made for the staff development department, including the following (Richardson, 1986):

1. Define the role and mission of staff development.

2. Plan a systematic, research-based, comprehensive procedure for designing staff development that focuses on school-based change.

3. Develop a resource catalogue of inservice workshop leaders and programs available in the district.

4. Develop a computerized information management system.

5. Develop a two- or three-year professional growth program to enable the administrative team to work effectively together and develop the skills and understanding necessary to carry out their roles in decentralized management of school and instructional improvement.

Two Examples From Florida

In 1971, the Florida Citizen's Committee on Education was appointed to make recommendations to improve schools. The Committee concluded that the complexity of education dictated a change. "Complexity," said the Committee, "is best handled *where* and *when* instruction occurs." School-Based Management was recommended as the vehicle for improvement. The concept was based on following principles (Dade County Public Schools, 1987):

1. Funds are allocated to schools based on needs of children in schools.

2. Specific educational objectives for a school are set by people associated with the schools.

3. Decisions on how funds for instruction are to be spent are made in the school center.

4. Organization of instruction is determined at the school level.

5. Parents participate in school decision making.

Monroe County School District

Monroe County, Florida, allocated funds to each school employing the same apportionment system used by the state. The budget process at the school level analyzed needs assessment information, developed plans for school instructional improvement, placed the needs and plans in priority sequence, estimated costs of the plans, and correlated cost requirements with the total allocation. The budget and the plans for instructional improvement were subject to review by the Area Superintendent. After a budget was completed, the school then developed an evaluation design for the plans for improvement. The Monroe system specified that the major elements of the system include: a colleague-type, shared decision-making process rather than a top-down hierarchical process; parent and community participation in educational planning and decision-making; and team management rather than line-staff management whenever possible (Richardson, 1986).

School-based management efforts moved the Monroe system from being a centrally controlled system to one that allowed school-level control of educational resources and programming. Old roles and relationships between levels of the organization were no longer relevant. Under the new rules, authority was not gained from status or position, but rather from job requirements based on the specific needs of the schools themselves. The changing roles led to a great deal of frustration. It took time and effort to sort out the details of exactly what decisions

would be made by whom. In addition, both central-district staff and school staff were insecure about their new relationships with others in the system (Richardson, 1986).

Principals were required to take on a tremendous amount of responsibility for the success of the school program. They were accountable for the budget planning, program planning, and evaluation. At first, principals objected to these new responsibilities. Their feelings of *ownership* increased, however, when a new salary schedule went into effect that placed them on a par with or above assistant superintendents. Teachers, also, were confused by their new role in the system. Being involved in budget and school-program decisions was a new experience and new role definitions took time to evolve. Once convinced that their input carried weight, however, teachers became involved and developed a sense of ownership in their school's programs (Richardson, 1986).

In the process, the district's central office staff was reduced. This was caused, in part, by the pressures of inflation and the resulting budget squeeze. However, a large part was because in the new system the local schools decided what services would be needed, rather than the district making these decisions and hiring the personnel to do the job. The district decided which positions to eliminate by asking the principals to rank-order the services they felt their schools needed, and then identify those the schools could provide themselves. The result was that the district office provided fewer services but more money to the schools (Richardson, 1986).

The move to school-based management was projected as a five-year plan. Some of the important aspects of the system existing at the end of the five years were the following (Richardson, 1986):

- a team approach to management at both the school and district level,
- an active process of school lay-advisory committees,
- the development of comprehensive educational plans at the school and district level,
- a program audit/evaluation system, and
- a comprehensive budgeting and accounting system.

Dade County Public Schools

During the last several years, the Florida State Legislature has mandated that the school become a primary center in educational decision making. The individual public school is the basic unit of accountability in Florida and the primary unit for information and assessment. The Dade County School Board has been moving

toward budget decentralization and school-based management since 1973. In 1973-74, schools were allowed greater discretion in the management of expenditures for materials, supplies, and equipment. For 1974-75, the School Board further modified its system of allocating resources to schools by establishing certain personnel allocations as discretionary, permitting school officials to shift funds for those allocations within their budget. During the 1977-78 school year, school principals were made responsible for all substitute-teacher dollars used at the school level. Experience during this period showed that more than 130 schools managed to save dollars that were earmarked for substitute teachers. Eighty percent of the dollars saved were used by school principals for direct service to students (Dade County Public Schools, 1987).

In 1978 when the State Legislature appropriated funds for the study of school-based management, the Superintendent recommended that Dade County apply for a portion of those funds. The school system has had a Board adopted plan for limited school-based management in operation for approximately ten years. However, it became apparent about two years ago that the plan was not being used by all principals to the extent it could be and, in effect, was not adequate in achieving the full potential of school-based management (Dade County Public Schools, 1987).

A School-Based Management Pilot Program was developed that incorporated a planning and decision-making process including those persons at the school level who deliver the educational services to students. Schools that wanted to be part of the pilot project were invited to submit proposals describing their plans for a School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making Program. Guidelines for the district's pilot program included (Dade County Public Schools, 1987):

1. A training program for administrators and faculties, as designated by the Superintendent, that would cover the following aspects of School-Based Management:

   a. School level performance objectives;

   b. Curriculum -- course requirements, offerings, subject area frameworks, textbooks, materials, and curriculum improvement;

   c. Student services -- rules, policies, and punishment;

   d. Reporting -- grades and reporting to parents;

   e. Public relations;

   f. Budget -- internal accounts and tax monies; and

g. Personnel -- recruiting, screening, interviewing, recommendation of assignment, initiating dismissal, evaluation, and contract management.

2. Principals using School-Based Management would involve their staff and teachers in joint problem solving and creative thinking in developing a program that would not only best meet the needs of the students in the school but would also be exciting, innovative and would, in fact, revitalize the total school operation.

3. Teacher professionalism would be stressed, allowing for continuing opportunities for professional growth. There would be a strong emphasis on the role of the department heads.

4. Parents would be involved in an advisory capacity and would form a supportive and helpful partnership with the school.

5. One of the major components of the pilot School-Based Management program will be to provide principals in the program with the utmost flexibility and freedom to enhance current programs, initiate new programs and to work in concert with teachers and community members to provide an exemplary program. A selection process would allow each principal the opportunity to volunteer for the program.

6. It would be understood that all schools are unique in nature and should be evaluated on a school-by-school basis.

During the 1986-87 school year, the Office of Educational Accountability planned to develop an evaluation process that might include some of the following attributes and indicators (Dade County Public Schools, 1987):

- Clear academic goals
- High expectations for students
- Order and discipline
- Rewards and incentives for students
- Regular and frequent monitoring of student progress
- Opportunities for meaningful student responsibility and participation
- Teacher efficacy (leadership qualities)
- Rewards and incentives for teachers

- Concentration on academic learning time
- Positive school climate
- Administrative leadership
- Well-articulated curriculum
- Evaluation for instructional improvement
- Community support and involvement
- Student performance on standard achievement tests, minimum competency test, and subject area tests
- Student attendance
- Student success in the next level of school, i.e., junior high, senior high
- In a high school, the numbers of students who go on to post-secondary school, enlist in the military service or find employment

The pilot program is scheduled to be in operation for four years. The first year was used to select the schools, develop and implement a training program, develop an evaluation process, and update the computer program that had been designed for the school-based management process. The next three years are to be used for implementation with ongoing evaluation. Principals and teachers will be interviewed about positive aspects of the program or about recommendations for any changes they believe are necessary.

Principals in the pilot schools report to the Superintendent or a designated deputy. The district believes it is important to assure the schools maximum operating flexibility and freedom in order to provide the best program for students. It was anticipated that teacher professionalism would be a part of the pilot program. Teachers would be expected to provide the principals with input and advice about the various aspects of the program. The district defined the goals of professionalizing education as follows (Dade County Public Schools, 1987):

1. Educator responsibility and accountability for the classroom: specifically, the ability of principals and teachers to make firm decisions in matters related to their own schools, classrooms, and students.

2. Collegial control of the profession:

   - teachers identifying the elements of good teaching in others;

- teachers seeking and receiving the advice of peers on ways to improve their curriculum and instruction;

- performance-based evaluation and compensation, including career ladder mobility; and

- higher entry standards for the teaching profession, including establishment of national licensing boards.

3. School-based planning, budgeting, and management including:

   - a *team* attitude among faculty, administration, and support staff, particularly as it relates to decision making, development of a common set of goals, and acceptable teaching methods for their school;

   - a significant reduction in the bureaucratic regulation of school processes;

   - capable administrative leadership of school principals; and

   - discretion in budgetary allocations that will permit flexibility in management at the school building level.

While budget decentralization was a major factor in decentralizing decision-making processes from the central and/or area offices to the school level, School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making is intended to include decision making in other important areas. Decentralized decisions should include curriculum planning, program planning in general, collegial decision making, and comprehensive planning as a vehicle for improving school-centered programs and for establishing priorities. School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making focuses the full resources of the system on the school level. The district expects School-Based Management/Shared Decision Making to provide (Dade County Public Schools, 1987):

- increased focus of school district resources and increased shared decision making at the school level;

- greater flexibility in budget development and management;

- increased collegial planning and implementation of the instructional program and delivery system;

- greater opportunities for flexible scheduling and staffing;

- increased teacher involvement in staff development activities; and

- increased opportunities for community, business, and parent participation.

The pilot project guidelines suggested procedures for shared decision making at the individual school site for those schools submitting proposals to be among the pilot schools. The components of the process for shared decision making were not expected to all be in place at the beginning. Components could be added during the implementation of the models by mutual agreement of the principal and the faculty, and by submission for approval. Also changes, modification, additions or deletions could be considered during the implementation of the plan. The district guidelines for the pilot proposal's shared-decision-making components recommended that shared decision making at the school level should be viewed as a process. Each school was urged to be innovative and creative in developing a shared-decision-making model as part of its proposal to be one of the pilot schools. The following list was given as examples of items that could be included as part of the decision-making process. It was stressed that not all of the items had to be included at the same time (Dade County Public Schools, 1987).

Staff development activities

Provision of support services

Student discipline

Security measures and procedures

Maintenance and renovation needs

Curriculum objectives and content

Flexibility in instructional methodologies

Expenditure of funds

Required meetings

Issues of staff morale

Peer review/evaluation

Selection and retention of staff

Selection of equipment, supplies, textbooks, and library materials

Flexibility in class loads, grouping, and scheduling of students

Utilization of staff including paraprofessionals and other support personnel

Implementation of special programs

Procedures governing field trips, athletic programs, student performances, and other outside events

Teaching assignments, schedules, and room assignments

Any issues, matters, and/or recommendations to improve the school and its instructional program

Student grading guidelines and procedures for notifying parents of student progress

Required reports and other forms of paperwork including lesson plans, charts, grade books, etc.

Involving parents and community

Recommendations from the principals' committee. A committee made up of principals recommended that the pilot schools have the flexibility to use the allocations for personnel to best meet the needs of their school and students. They recommended the following (Dade County Public Schools, 1987):

1. Special services such as psychologists, placement specialists, visiting teachers, speech therapists, hearing specialists, vision specialists, occupational specialists, etc., should be provided through a pilot school co-operative (co-op) pattern concept. This co-op pattern would be a group of schools in close proximity who are in the pilot program and who wish to work together utilizing various resources. The value of funds for special-services personnel used at the pilot schools would be pooled and redistributed as needed throughout the co-op pattern.

2. Hourly and/or part-time teachers should be used whenever possible. These teachers should have a college degree.

3. Consultants and hourly personnel that are specialists in their field should be used and may not be required to have a degree -- for example, a musician, a sculptor, or a teacher of a special subject such as Hebrew or Japanese. These consultants would work directly with a teacher.

4. Various schools in the pilot program could pool their clerical staff.

5. Pilot schools could hire hourly clerical personnel through the use of discretionary funds where feasible.

6. Schools would receive the dollar value of partial units for clerical personnel. This would allow them to hire additional hourly clerks.

7. The pilot schools could share custodial help when the need arises. More experienced custodians could help with recommendations and training of new personnel. A monitoring process will be determined.

8. Funds for special services not allocated to the area offices should be allocated directly to the pilot schools.

9. The security monitor allocation, based on need, should go directly to the pilot schools.

10. The allocation for cafeteria monitors should go directly to the pilot schools.

11. Handling surplus personnel would be handled directly between the pilot school and a personnel liaison.

12. Hiring of new personnel would be handled directly between the pilot school and the personnel liaison.

13. Zone mechanics should be provided to the pilot schools through the maintenance department, or equivalent dollars.

14. The same food services should be provided to the pilot schools that they are currently receiving along with a proportional share of supervisory personnel.

15. All the services that are currently available from Staff Development, the Teacher Education Center, etc., should continue to be provide to the pilot schools.

Summary and Implications

The problems facing the public schools are similar to those faced by the business sector in the United States. American business management has been forced by competition abroad and changes in the core beliefs and structure of the society in the U.S. to experiment with less hierarchical, more democratic organizational forms. Public education is being forced by these same pressures to search for alternative organizational structures more suited to the demands of knowledge workers in an information society. Successful businesses have discovered that control-oriented management produces outcomes that subvert the interests of both the organization and the people who work in it. It would appear that education could benefit significantly from that same discovery.

Autonomous or self-managed work groups have developed in response to these challenges. The rationale for self-managed units is based on the belief that the work group is the most effective entity for allocating resources and delegating tasks to deal with unique work conditions. In a self-managing unit, the members have the responsibility not only for executing the task, but also for defining how the task will be structured and the resources needed to accomplish it. In addition, the self-managing unit has the authority for monitoring and supervising their own performance.

There are certain conditions that need to be in place for effective self-management. There needs to be clear and engaging direction to meet the goals and standards established for the school by external policy makers. There needs to be an enabling school structure that provides tasks which create *internal work motivation*.

The structure should allow for the selection of members who have the necessary skills and knowledge. The principal should be firmly committed to participatory management. School members must understand that they are responsible for regulating their own behavior and that they are obligated to continuously assess the situation and to actively plan how they will proceed with the work of the school based on those assessments.

There are three specific features of the organizational context that are particularly significant in supporting self-managing schools: the reward system, the professional development system, and the information system. Coaching is critical for staff members of self-managing schools, who must learn how to regulate their behavior in often uncertain work situations. In addition, adequate material resources are vital to the success of self-managing schools. Even schools that have a clear and engaging direction and work within a properly structured system, eventually will fail if they do not have (and cannot get) the resources they need to do their work.

Manz and Sims (1987) investigated the role of the external leader of self-managing groups. The emerging theme of leadership practice was for the external coordinator to encourage and support the work group so that members would be able to do things themselves, rather than for the coordinator to exercise direct control. There was a deliberate and calculated effort to encourage independence rather than allow the dependence that is fostered in more traditional work groups. There was a notable absence of direct commands or instructions from the coordinator to the team. The uniqueness of the self-management coordinator's role lay in the commitment to the philosophy that the work groups should successfully carry out the leadership functions for themselves. The dominant role of the external leader was to lead others to lead themselves.

Projects to increase the autonomy of schools within public education have been undertaken in a number of countries including Great Britain, Australia, and the United States. The common theme in all of these endeavors has been a shift in the authority to make certain decisions from a central entity to the school. School-based management is focusing the full resources of the system at the school level and allowing decisions to take place at this level. In a self-managing school there is a comprehensive approach to school management that links goal-setting, needs identification, policy-making, planning, budgeting, learning and teaching, and evaluating. School-based management, therefore, is defined generically as a decentralized form of organization in which decisions are made by those who are closest to the source of education: the principal, teachers, parents, community groups, and students. Each school becomes a decision-making unit.

The Collaborative School Management Model is a system for school-based management developed as the result of a study of resource allocation in highly effective government and non-government schools in two states in Australia (Tasmania and South Australia). The model was the focus of an extended consultancy in Victoria, Australia, where the government was initiating self-management in schools. The Collaborative School Management Model has six

phases: goal-setting and needs identification; policy-making, with policies consisting of purposes and broad guidelines; planning of programs; preparation and approval of program budgets; and evaluating.

A number of schools in the United States that professed to be implementing school-based management systems were surveyed by the Office of Research and Evaluation of the Farifax County Public Schools (Richardson, 1986). It appeared that school-based management resulted, in some cases, in greater centralization. The major difference between the school districts examined by the study was found in the degree of delegated authority. The most significant finding about school-based management was that, even though districts generally subscribed to the same definition, each district interpreted it, organized for it, and practiced it differently. The districts discussed in this section are Cincinnati, Cleveland, Salt Lake City, Saint Paul, and two examples from Florida, Monroe County Schools and Dade County Public Schools.

In order for school-based management to work, state legislatures will have to rescind some of the state level mandates and regulations that constrain the efforts of local schools to meet the needs of their particular students. Legislatures will have to revert to making policy and setting goals. There will have to be a shift at all levels of the organizational structure to vest local schools with real authority as well as accountability. This will mean a change in the functions carried out by the central district.

School-based management has the potential to overcome many of the dysfunctional aspects of bureaucratic organization that were discussed in Chapter 3. For example, goal setting by external political entities is more likely to focus on those areas that contribute to student learning when schools have the authority as well as the responsibility for meeting such goals. When teachers and administrators monitor their own progress toward meeting goals, they are more likely to identify areas that need improvement. Teachers and administrators should be less subject to carrying out *poorly conceived policies* once legislators and local school boards begin to concentrate on facilitating the work of the schools rather than regulating every detail. Principals will no longer spend their energies on circumventing the system in order to create the conditions that make their schools effective. Teachers will no longer have to spend time *teaching to a test* and using textbooks that skim the surface of subject matter.

When the success or failure of a school depends on team work and shared responsibility, authoritarian management will have to give way to shared decision making and problem solving. No longer able to hide their failure behind *rules and regulations* passed down from above, schools will have to dig in and face the problems that are interfering with student success. Teachers will no longer be able to shut the door of their classrooms and reject their responsibility for seeing that the school as a whole is a place of learning. And this can happen if there is a true change in the structure, authority, roles, and relationships from the state level down.

School-based improvement and management, teacher empowerment, and shared decision making are the current *buzz* words in the literature. Although national commissions and researchers endorse the idea that educational improvement occurs at the building level, there is evidence that merely labeling a program *school-based improvement* does not necessarily make it so. Farrar (1988) examined the implementation of school-based improvement and effective teaching programs in five urban high schools in Cleveland, Boston, New York City, New Jersey, and California. She found that the external context in which urban high schools operate constrained their ability to control those aspects of the organization that either constitute or deeply influence teaching and learning. State mandates, district policies and procedures, court requirements, and the interests of bargaining units competed and interacted in ways that severely restricted school authority. While decentralizing authority to the school was considered a key-factor in all the programs, the formal authority and informal influence of these outside groups, in effect, re-centralized authority to the district or state level.

The ostensible aim of the programs studied by Farrar was to improve schools by giving faculty the opportunity to develop a school-improvement program. The reality was, however, that school-improvement goals were set by the state, district, or court in every case. The decisions over how to improve achievement were made outside the school and required the school to be responsible for the effective implementation of policies established by others. With state and district policies and mandated testing objectives superceding school-developed initiatives, the schools found themselves with little authority to control the improvement process but increasingly accountable for improvement results. It is not surprising that the faculties in the schools showed little enthusiasm for implementing the programs and felt little ownership. The degree of teacher participation appeared to depend on whether they agreed with the improvement objectives and derived satisfaction from the program. Farrar notes that none of the states or districts provided schools with the training or implementation assistance that might have generated faculty support (Farrar, 1988).

It is clear that school-based management will work no better than past attempts at reform if the commitment to it is guarded and half-hearted, with some higher entity establishing all the parameters under which the school functions and waiting to pull the string at the first sign of trouble. It is vital that schools be given the latitude to design programs to meeting the needs of their own students and the resources to carry out those programs. And priority should be given to providing resources for faculty and administrator inservice and professional development. Without resources for professional improvement, programs generally fail. Wholehearted commitment to school self-management requires faith that those entrusted with management and teaching in the schools are competent at their jobs. It is no longer feasible to *teacher-proof* the curriculum. It has not worked before and it won't work now. Removing instructional decisions from the teacher's authority has resulted in watered-down textbooks and mechanistic, whole-group instruction that stifles thinking. Generating public trust in educators requires that education attain the status of a true profession.

CHAPTER 5
PROFESSIONALIZING EDUCATION

When compared with other *professions*, teaching lacks many of the characteristics of a true profession. Teachers have little authority over their work, lack the minimum amenities and working conditions expected by other professionals, and lack the rewards and status of other professions. The conditions of teaching are reflected in attrition rates; in particular, the rates at which more-qualified teachers leave the field. Transforming education into a profession is part of the solution for achieving excellence in the schools. This means establishing professional standards, insuring professional delivery of service, furnishing a professional working environment, and providing educators the freedom to exercise their professional judgement. Participative management, shared decision making, and the development of teacher leaders are ways of establishing education as a true profession.

The Teaching "Profession"

Characteristics of A Profession

Although we talk about the teaching *profession* and teachers as *professionals*, teaching is not a *full-fledged* profession. Corwin & Borman (1987) define a profession as a work group that has acquired a legal monopoly over expertise associated with an abstract body of knowledge. Further, a professional work group monitors the performance of members and controls licensing standards; and that endorses independent occupational norms that may be in conflict with certain policies and practices of the organizations that employ members of the profession. The Carnegie Task Force described a profession as characterized by:

1. the freedom to do what one was trained to do and to exercise professional judgment;

2. a body of knowledge specific to the profession;

3. rigorous academic preparation;

4. high earning potential and salary structures that reward increased competence, leadership, and productivity;

5. working environments in which support staff and services are available to free professionals for the tasks worthy of their skills and

salaries thereby making much more productive use of these highly trained and paid people than would otherwise be possible; and

6. extensive self regulation regarding standards for entering the profession and advancing within it, and demanding examinations that must be passed to demonstrate one's competence as a professional.

Teaching Lacks Characteristics of a Profession

Few of the characteristics listed above apply to teaching. The Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (1986) pointed out that few teachers in America enjoy the authority, status and working conditions routinely taken for granted by professionals in business, government, and the non-profit sector. Teaching as an occupation has been shaped by a strong tradition of local, lay control over education, by the growth of complex school districts, and by an increasing burden of federal and state mandates and regulations. Teachers do not have policy-making roles. They do not control the technology of teaching, entrance into the profession, or the standards of professional performance, nor do they regulate the professional behavior of practicing teachers (Corwin & Borman, 1987). Teachers' freedom to exercise professional judgment is constrained by a top-down bureaucratic system that largely dictates how and what the teacher is to teach.

In general, the practicing teacher functions in a context where the beliefs and expectations are those of a profession but where the realities in actual practice compare more to a trade (Goodlad, 1984). Teachers have little voice in the most fundamental policies pertaining to school-district and school-wide practices. Both teaching and learning are significantly affected by practices such as attendance requirements; discipline policies; assignments of students to schools, classes, and ability groups; the processes of credentialing teachers; and codifying knowledge in the forms of courses, programs, credit hours, and required textbooks. However, the policies that establish and regulate these practices are dictated by state law, tradition, local school boards, and district administrators (Corwin & Borman, 1987).

Lack of Authority. Some writers point to teacher classroom autonomy as evidence that teachers have authority and the power to make decisions. For example, Huberman (1983) suggested that teachers have considerable power in classroom-related matters regardless of their lack of legal organizational authority. However, in discussions about the discretion of teachers, isolation has sometimes been confused with autonomy and autonomy with power. Autonomy is having the authority to choose from a range of possible goal selections as well as the means to achieve those goals. And, if teachers had power, they would have the authority both to establish the goals and to effect the means of achieving them. It is interesting to note that as late as 1976, Pellegrin underscored teacher autonomy by noting the range of teachers' authority over instructional decisions within classrooms. He asserted that teachers decisively control the scheduling of classroom activities, homework assignments, grading, pupil promotion, choices regarding teaching meth-

ods, grouping practices, scope and sequencing of subject matter, content, supplementary materials, and the like (cited in Corwin & Borman, 1987). This is no longer the case in a number of states where even teachers' autonomy has been attenuated. They no longer have control over many of these decisions. In too many cases, teachers have neither power or autonomy, they simply have isolation.

Authority is the currency with which people influence what goes on in an organization. Authority is the freedom to act within the framework provided by policy and law, the opportunity to make decisions within an area of professional expertise (Frymier, 1987). Lack of authority is one of the most frustrating conditions of the work of teaching to those bright, creative individuals who are essential to the improvement of our schools. Schools have difficulty recruiting academically able persons to teach for the same reasons schools have difficulty retaining the services of these people once they are in the classroom. The academic character of the education required to prepare for teaching and the intellectual nature of the task is contradicted by the isolated, non-scholarly, and non-self-renewing character of the setting in which teaching takes place (Burden, 1985).

Whatever authority teachers have had in the classroom is being eroded by reforms that transfer their expert authority to external sources. It is not surprising that many students have little respect for the knowledge or competence of their teachers. Student attitudes reflect the organizational priorities of the schools they attend. There is little left in the work of teachers that involves acquiring or creating knowledge. If there were, time would be allocated in teachers' schedules for reading and writing in their areas of professional interest, for discussions and planning with colleagues, for observing others' teaching, or for learning and experimenting with new teaching techniques. In reality, teachers' work is organized to preclude any serious involvement in the development of what they teach. They have little choice but to rely on external sources; to treat teaching as telling, learning as accumulation, and knowledge as facts; and to view themselves as conduits for other peoples' expert knowledge (Elmore, 1987).

Lack of Rewards. A study by Roueche and Baker (1986) found that the nation's best teachers and principals are among the most poorly rewarded professionals in the public sector today in terms of both their work environment and job demands. The rewards of teaching are, for the most part, intrinsic. They are derived from the success of students, feelings of efficacy, a sense of professional growth, the satisfaction of service, and support and respect from colleagues and supervisors (Bird, 1984). Extrinsic rewards such as humane and comfortable working conditions, adequate clerical support, rewards or recognition for outstanding performance, opportunities for promotion to greater responsibility, suitable pay, and fringe benefits are the expected conditions of work in every profession except teaching. However, the tasks for which support staff are routinely responsible in professional work environments are typically done in schools by the teachers themselves. Researchers estimate that between 10% and 50% of teachers' time is devoted to tasks that have nothing to do with instruction, while time to teach, to plan, to grow professionally, and to work with their colleagues on improving student performance is limited

(Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986). In a Metropolitan Life survey of former teachers, the majority believed that salaries, professional prestige, control over one's work, equipment availability, and the chance to be stimulated intellectually were all increased in their new vocations (*Education Daily*, March 17, 1986).

Lack of a Professional Working Environment. The Carnegie Task Force decried the fact that school organization is "continuing the practices of the last 200 years" in relation to the management of teachers. In fundamental ways, the structure of most schools guarantees the dissatisfaction of teachers. Even though a teacher can experience personal success, in terms of fostering student learning, there is often a sense of professional failure because the process of teaching can be frustrating, unrewarding, and intolerably difficult (McLaughlin, Pfeifer, Swanson-Owens, & Yee, 1986). John J. Creedon, president and CEO of Metropolitan Life, stated, "The bitter truth is that, although we might call teaching a profession, we treat teachers as if they are low-level workers whose only hope for advancement comes with leaving " (cited in Roper & Hoffman, 1986). While some of the current reforms may produce new teachers who are better prepared to teach their subjects, nothing will prepare them for the "indifference, monotony, incoherence, and rampant aimlessness of the institution itself" (Timar & Kirp, 1987, p. 328).

A number of researchers have cataloged a broad range of organizational features that combine to circumscribe teachers' professional satisfaction and effectiveness. Schlechty and Vance (1982) suggested several conditions existing in the public schools that dissuade the academically proficient from entering and remaining in teaching. A study of California's schools (Commons, 1985) identified problems that have eroded the attractiveness and contribution of the teaching profession. ASCD (1985) compiled a list of the organizational characteristics that discourage excellence in schools. The following is a synthesis of these findings:

- Teachers are isolated in the classroom, with rare opportunities or incentives for collegiality. Peer-support systems that encourage excellence in other professions are absent in most public schools.

- Teachers are expected to *act* like professionals but are not *treated* like professionals. They are paid relatively low salaries and have subordinate status within the schools. There has been a loss of public esteem for the work and those who perform it.

- Resources to support the educational process are inadequate. Facilities, supplies, instructional materials, support personnel, and time are insufficient to perform adequately, let alone, achieve excellence.

- Teachers are rarely involved in meaningful discussions and decisions on matters that directly affect their work. There is a tendency for

school administrators to resist shared decision making and problem-centered analytical discussions among adults.

- Instruction time is reduced because of poor school administration, too many interruptions, too much paper work, and bureaucratic requirements.

- Teachers have little control over staff-development programs. There are deficiencies in professional training and support.

- Teachers lack career choices and opportunities within the profession. There is a lack of a clear career ladder and career staging.

- School organization discourages collaboration. There are no processes for self-directed review and revision. Increased conflict between teachers and administrators inhibits cooperation in school improvement. There is a tendency for the informal culture of schools to be dominated by a management structure that is punishment-centered and bureaucratic.

The Conditions of Teaching

Job Factors, Job Satisfaction, and Burnout

There is little attention paid in most reform efforts to factors in the working conditions of teachers that contribute to job satisfaction, motivation, and human relations. It is clear that most of the rewards that teachers experience are intrinsic or psychic. For example, Chapman and Lowther (1982) found that the morale problems of teachers are closely related tc *internal* factors suh as the lack of potential for personal growth, for opportunities to learn, and for leadership responsibilities. While teachers were not satisfied with their salary levels, it was their prospects of achieving eventually "at the level of my potential capability" that were rated especially low. Morale problems were more closely tied to bureaucratic pressures, a negative public image, and the lack of recognition and rewards (Corwin & Borman, 1987).

Engelking (1986) studied the factors affecting job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction of public school teachers from two school districts in Pacific Northwest states. Participants were asked to report one or more specific, recent incidents when they felt exceptionally good about their job as a teacher and one or more specific, recent incidents when they felt exceptionally bad about their job as a teacher. They were also asked to clarify each incident further by stating why they had this particular feeling. An analysis of the data indicated that *recognition* and

achievement stood out as playing an important role in teacher satisfaction with significantly greater frequency than the other factors of satisfaction. In fact, these two categories comprised 78% of all the factors of satisfaction mentioned. Four factors accounted for much of the dissatisfaction of teachers: *relations with students and parents, lack of achievement by students or teachers, district policy and its administration*, and *communication with administrators*. These categories accounted for 72% of all the incidents of teacher job dissatisfaction reported in the study (Engelking, 1986).

Lack of control over the conditions of one's work contributes to *burnout*. Control involves the perception of influence on decision making regarding such issues as work scheduling and the development of policies that directly affect the work environment (Schwab, Jackson, & Schuler, 1986). Schwab, Jackson, and Schuler studied the potential causes of job burnout, the levels of burnout (level of emotional exhaustion and fatigue, negative attitudes toward students, and feelings of low personal accomplishment on the job), and the consequences of burnout (behaviors related to job effort and quality of personal life). The results of the research indicated that burnout affects both the quality of service delivery by the organization and the quality of the individual's life outside teaching. Individuals suffering from burnout were more likely to expect to leave teaching; to exert less effort teaching than they once did; to have difficulty relaxing, controlling their temper, and relating to family members; and to be absent. Those experiencing higher levels of emotional exhaustion were more likely to leave teaching and be absent from work. Those experiencing depersonalization and low feelings of personal accomplishment tended to exert less effort. All experienced varying degrees of home and personal problems (Schwab, Jackson, & Schuler, 1986).

Teacher Dissatisfaction Reflected in Attrition Rates

The most disturbing aspect of this situation is that a disproportionate number of the most able and experienced teachers in the profession are contemplating leaving. Schlechty and Vance (1982) compared teachers who identified themselves as *committed teachers* with those who said they were *confirmed defectors*. They found that those with high ability who enter teaching are more likely to leave teaching than those with low ability. Another study found that, after six years, only 37% of teachers in the top 10% of measured verbal ability remained in the teacher work force, while more than 60% of those in the lowest 10% were still teaching (Rosenholtz, 1985). According to Heyns (1988), however, it may be premature to assume that the occupation is depleted of its most talented teachers. She found that while the most talented were more likely to leave, they were also more likely to re-enter. Those teachers in her study who *took breaks* from teaching were more likely to come from relatively advantaged families and were nearer the top of the ability distribution.

Although a large majority (82%) of the teachers in a study by Swanson-Owens (1986) reported being more satisfied than dissatisfied with their work, 10% said

there was a 50-50 chance they would leave in the near future and nearly one quarter of them indicated that it was likely that they would leave the profession within the next five years. It is disturbing, however, that those most inclined to leave the profession were teachers in mid-career, those who had between six and 15 years experience. These teachers recognized the increasing costs of staying and were exploring career alternatives (Swanson-Owens, 1986).

The decision to leave teaching was made as often by women as by men. Female teachers have become sensitive to what Lortie (1975) called the *subjective costs* of choosing teaching over other careers. Women were as likely as men to acknowledge the kinds of costs involved in working in a job that did not provide the emotional, financial, and technical support they believe they need and deserve. Given the tenuous link between work effort and reward in teaching, it is not surprising that many teachers eventually seek alternative careers in which payoffs can be more readily secured (Swanson-Owens, 1986). It is unrealistic to expect even the most altruistic individual to choose, when choices are available, a career that offers no opportunity for advancement, where time and activities are so circumscribed and regulated that there are few occasions for collegial exchange or professional growth, and where the individual has little input into or control over the policies that govern the conduct of her or his professional life (Duttweiler & Ramos-Cancel, 1986).

Transforming Education Into A Profession

Establishing Professional Standards

The arguments in favor of transforming teaching into a profession are similar to the arguments that led to the development of other professions -- a need to exercise control over the quality of services provided to a client who knows less than the service provider. All occupations that require the exercise of discretion and judgement in meeting the unique needs of clients seek to guarantee high-quality service by individual members. These professions have arrangements with the state, whereby they have both the right and the obligation to control the quality of members of their profession (Wise, 1988).

Other professions have boards that establish standards and regulate the licensing of individuals into the profession. Standards make an explicit statement about what is worth knowing, how it should be learned, and how it should be demonstrated. A major goal of licensure is to increase the probability that those admitted to practice can make appropriate decisions and teach effectively. In other professions, the professional examination is an important tool for assuring this goal. Professional boards devote considerable energy to clarifying and refining the professional knowledge base represented in the examinations. The examinations are designed to test discrimination, judgment, and reasoning, as well as knowledge of

facts; they call for demonstrations of ability to apply knowledge through extended case scenarios, exhibitions of task performance, and competence in essay responses or oral examinations. The Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (1986) recommended the creation of a National Board of Professional Teaching Standards to establish such licensing procedures for the teaching profession.

Finally, if a major goal of certification is to assure that those admitted to practice can make appropriate decisions and teach effectively, the licensure decision should require not only evidence that these skills have been learned but also the opportunity to learn them. Because the acquisition of teaching skill is so dependent on developing judgement in complex, non-routine situations, the prospective teacher should have an opportunity to encounter and work through many of the common problems of teaching. Teachers learn to exercise this judgement when making decisions over a sustained period of time on behalf of many students with diverse needs. Other professions provide for the development of skill in practice by requiring a form of structured internship before licensure. Such an internship should be an integral component of teacher education and a prerequisite for certification. An internship that is a prerequisite for licensure would give teachers an opportunity to learn to put theory into practice, to learn those aspects of the job that cannot be taught in the preservice college classroom, and to practice complex decision making under the supervision of experienced practitioners. The knowledge and skills acquired in teacher education are put into practice through the gradual assumption of personal responsibility for student learning. As interns gain in knowledge and skill, they are given greater freedom to make decisions and teach students (Wise & Darling-Hammond, 1987).

Establishing Professional Delivery of Service

In order to join the ranks of the true professions, teaching will have to organize the delivery of services to its clients in a way that makes the most efficient use of highly trained and experienced professionals. Professionals have an obligation to acquire and use new options, knowledge, or techniques and to apply them appropriately. However, even the available limited research on effective teaching and administration exceeds the capacities of most schools and districts to use it systematically. Most schools are not organized to support the systematic improvement of teaching. The school day, year, and budget do not include improvement as a significant activity incorporating those components that produce improvements in performance (Bird, 1984).

The Freedom to Exercise Professional Judgement

High-quality service cannot be prescribed in detail. The most essential tasks performed by professionals are *active* tasks. Active tasks are not routine. Although various strategies and operations may be available to accomplish the task, these may not always produce predictable results. No one best method will guarantee the

accomplishment of an active task. Therefore, the probability of success is increased by engaging the judgment and expertise of the professional (Roper & Hoffman, 1986). Teachers make decisions based on their knowledge of the student, of the subject matter, and of instructional techniques in order to create the right conditions for learning (Wise, 1988). The potential for success is increased by bringing together the combined judgment and expertise of a group of professionals. Collegiality is crucial when dealing with active professional tasks (Roper & Hoffman, 1986).

Making teaching a profession means augmenting teachers' rights and responsibilities (Green, 1987). Teachers, working together with administrators, must be free to exercise their professional judgement within the context of a limited set of clear goals set by state and local policy makers. The exercise of professional judgement includes the prerogative to strongly influence a wide range of decisions such as the materials and instructional methods to be used, the staffing structure to be employed, the organization of the school day, the assignment of students, the consultants to be used, and the allocation of resources available to the school (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986).

Establishing a Professional Working Environment

Professionalizing teaching, according to Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, means:

> ...higher salaries, smaller class sizes, a manageable work load, and relief from non-teaching duties. It means working conditions that other professions so take for granted that they often go unmentioned: an office, a desk, a telephone, a quiet place. It means enough textbooks to go around, equipment that doesn't fall apart, school buildings that are clean and safe. It also means time for preparation and new learning and for discussion and work with one's colleagues.

Shanker adds, however, that true professionalism requires more than this. It requires that teachers be *empowered*. This requires that they have control over the standards of their profession and the conduct of their work (cited in Tomlinson, 1988, errata sheet).

The Carnegie Task Force described a professional environment for teaching as one in which there would be more time for all teachers to reflect, to plan, and to discuss teaching innovations and problems with their colleagues. In order to provide the amount of time required for this, however, additional staff would be needed to support the professional teachers. This would require a radical reorganization of work roles to assure the most efficient use of professional staff in such an environment. School systems based on bureaucratic authority would have to be replaced by collegial systems in which the professional competence of both administrators and teachers is recognized. Schools must become collegiums in which

the staff works collaboratively and takes collective responsibility for student progress (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986).

Participative Management

A Remedy -- Participatory Management

Participative-management strategies have grown increasingly important in the private sector in the United States during the past five or six years. Carnoy and Levin (1985) suggested that participative strategies have been adopted in business because of the greater number of better-educated workers who have higher expectations for involvement in work. Although the trend has gained little momentum in the education sector, the implications for improving school management, where teachers are highly educated but usually separated from decision making, are both significant and far-reaching (Benson & Malone, 1987). Since change must occur at the most local level of operation, effective leadership in either a business organization or a school requires the recognition that nothing will change unless the people in that organization *buy into it*. *Excellent* organizations establish internal structures that build intrinsic motivation, that create in people the belief that their job is inherently worthwhile and will make some difference. Such companies allow for autonomy and entrepreneurship through a decentralized structure while simultaneously maintaining a strong centralized focus through the establishment of key values (Levine, 1986).

Leadership in developing environments that help people function more effectively, that is directed toward empowering people, is what distinguish well-run companies from mediocre ones. The success of an organization is dependent upon creating conditions that will increase the effectiveness of the people in the organization. This is the most vital lesson schools can learn from well-run companies. Well-run, successful companies do not create systems of control to compensate for the weaknesses of their personnel or to overcome personnel limitations. Rather, successful companies develop management styles and characteristics aimed at empowering people (Levine, 1986).

Quality of Work Life

Louis (1988) reviewed quality of work life constructs from studies of industry and found six criteria particularly relevant to teachers and schools. The quality of work life is likely to be high when there:

- is frequent and stimulating professional interaction among peers (e.g. collaborative work/collegial relationships) within the school;

- is the opportunity to make full use of existing skills and knowledge (self-development) and the opportunity to experiment;

- are structures and processes that contribute to a high sense of efficacy and relevance (e.g., mechanisms that permit teachers to obtain frequent and accurate positive and negative feedback about the specific effects of their performance on student learning);

- are adequate resources to carry out the job, including a pleasant physical working environment;

- is a sense of congruence between personal goals and the school's goals (low alienation); and

- is respect and status in the larger community.

When presented with the above factors, the teachers in Louis' study did not rate them as equally important. Three of the indicators appeared to have a greater influence -- the more the teacher experienced them, the higher the quality of work life was perceived to be. These indicators included the opportunity to influence the immediate conditions of work, the opportunity to engage in meaningful collaborative work that was directly related to improving their classroom performance and student learning, and the opportunity to better know and understand the relationship between what teachers do in the classroom and students' performance (Louis, 1988).

Involving teachers and other professional school staff in the leadership of the school not only has the potential for providing a more challenging and satisfying workplace for teachers, but also may have significant outcomes in efforts to raise student achievement (Benson & Malone, 1987). In studying the relationship between leadership and school context variables, Blase (1987) found that effective principals were willing to delegate authority to teachers. The teachers expressed their belief that this was important to the school, since principals' time and relevant knowledge were limited. The willingness of principals to delegate authority meant timely decisions and more efficient work processes.

Participation and Rewards

Research by Jackson (1983) suggests that increasing participation in the decision-making process is an effective way to prevent job-related stress, or, at least, to minimize its effect. Participation enhances employees' perception of control over their work environment. For example, a study conducted by the Newark, New Jersey, school system that was designed to identify the types of rewards and incentives valued by the teachers in the system (Azumi & Lerman, 1986) found that the highest ranked rewards/incentives were:

1. having input into policy making and participating in educational decision making; and

2. participating in curriculum development, working with other teachers, and developing and presenting workshops.

The lack of promotion opportunities complicates the task of rewarding teachers. The occupation is organized around principles such as experience, seniority, tenure, full-time employment, and formal preparation programs that are characteristic of occupations with orderly career patterns. Yet, teachers hold undifferentiated formal positions with little power or authority, there is a narrow range of salary gradations based on experience and education, and the promotion opportunities within teaching are relatively limited. There is little opportunity for movement upward into more specialized, higher paying positions or into positions of higher authority, responsibility, or social prestige (Corwin & Borman, 1987).

In a survey of 3,577 school superintendents and principals conducted by the National Center for Education Information, the proposal the greatest proportion of all administrators felt would make teaching a more true profession was, "Have upward mobility within the ranks of teaching." Eighty-seven percent of superintendents, 88% of public school principals, and 80% of private principals agreed having upward mobility within the ranks of teaching would enhance it as a profession. In a 1986 survey, 80% of pubiic teachers and 84% of teachers in private schools agreed the reform would make teaching a more true profession (*Teacher Education Reports*, 1988).

It is clear that shared leadership, collegial interaction, and teacher involvement in school problem solving and decision making are conducive to teacher job satisfaction. These elements are found in effective schools. Given the critical nature of these factors, one would expect to see them wide-spread throughout school systems. Yet, too few systems have an organizational structure that incorporates these activities. The conditions in most schools do not encourage collegial problem solving or shared leadership. Goodlad's study (1984) found few opportunities for teachers to share in school leadership or decision making. Instead, the study found that inside schools links for collaborative school improvement were weak or nonexistent. There were no infrastructures designed to encourage or support teachers to collaborate in attacking school-wide problems.

Participation, Involvement, and Influence

Societal pressures and management practices are increasing the demands for all members of an organization to have greater participation in management decisions (Hatfield, Blackman, & Claypool, 1986). Benson and Malone (1987) surveyed 311 teachers from urban and suburban systems. They asked teachers to indicate how much influence they had, as well as how much influence they wished to have, in the instructional tasks of the school (technical-operational functions) and in the pro-

curement and use of resources (managerial support functions). Depending on the response, an individual was recorded as feeling *deprived* (less influence than was wanted), in *equilibrium*, or *saturated* (more influence than was wanted). The survey found that in technical areas, urban teachers had higher rates of deprivation (87%) than did suburban teachers (79.3%). The same pattern held in the managerial areas: urban (97.5%) and suburban (93.7%). That such a large percentage of the teachers felt deprived of influence in both categories of school decision making suggests that few teachers are satisfied with their present level of influence.

Teachers are often reluctant, however, to participate in *professional partnerships* and resist serving on school *decision-making* committees. A study by Duke, Shower, and Imber (1981) investigated the reasons for teachers' reluctance to become involved in school decision making when opportunities for responsibility were offered to them. The study found that one reason for teacher reluctance was the awareness that the time and effort spent in decision-making activities frequently did not result in any meaningful influence. Teachers may have been *involved* but they had little *influence*. When participation is little more than a ratification of decisions already made by someone else, it is unlikely that teachers will have further interest in involvement (Benson & Malone, 1987).

The reason for this lack of meaningful involvement is illustrated quite well by the results of a recent survey of 3,577 school superintendents and principals conducted by the National Center for Education Information. School administrators responded quite favorably to several proposals for ways to make teaching more truly a profession. Eighty percent of superintendents, 87% of public school principals, and 92% of private school principals agreed that giving teachers greater participation in decision making at the school building level would make teaching more truly a profession. A significant majority of all groups of administrators surveyed -- 63% of superintendents, 79% of public principals, and 81% of private principals -- responded that giving teachers greater participation in decision making at the district level would enhance teaching as a profession. However, it must be noted that, on another question that included "Give teachers authority in the running of schools" as one of the proposals for ways to improve America's educational system, administrators were less enthusiastic. Only 22% of superintendents, 35% of public principals, and 50% of private school principals agreed that giving teachers *authority* in the running of schools would be a way to improve the educational system (*Teacher Education Reports*, 1988). Participation, yes! Authority, no!

There are conditions, however, under which participation seems to work and not work (Firestone & Corbett, 1988):

> First, participation takes time. It does not routinely build ownership and a sense of commitment to change. When planning and decision making infringe on other staff obligations, participation becomes a cost rather than a benefit. Few staff members have sufficient time to accomplish the numerous tasks already assigned. Any additional responsibility is likely to impinge on other valued activities. Freeing the teacher from classroom duties

through proctors or substitutes does not necessarily reduce this cost. If the project becomes a source of dissatisfaction, the commitment to it will drop concomitantly.

Second, the content of decisions also affects teachers' perceptions of participation's value. Essentially, there is a zone of acceptance within which staff grant an administrator the freedom to make decisions without consulting them.

Third, the way participation is structured affects staff sentiments. *Over-control* by administrators leads to *mock* participation. This occurs when teachers are told they will have influence, and input may actually be solicited, but the final decision does not reflect their input. This tactic provokes anger and distrust. Participation requires a real sharing of control. *Under-control* results when administrators announce an innovation's adoption but drop planning and execution in the teachers' laps. Teachers, then, plan in a vacuum with little administrative guidance or support. Often teachers cannot contact key administrators to obtain clarification, resources, or changes in regulations or procedures needed for successful implementation of decisions.

Shared Decision Making

No organization can function well without strong and effective leadership. However, the single model for leadership found in the schools is more appropriate to the hierarchical structure of the military than it is to the function of education. Once the idea is accepted that the primary source of expertise for improving schools is internal, then many ways to organize for leadership are possible (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986). Educational leadership should be thought of as a process of influencing others to commit their energies and efforts to accomplish organizational goals and improvement objectives. In order to insure that the process works, principals and teachers must develop a collaborative and collegial professional partnership in the leadership of schools. They must work together to establish a school in which each professional staff member finds challenge, support, appreciation, and satisfaction (Maryland Commission on School-Based Administration, 1987).

A study by the Heritage Foundation of 65 secondary schools honored by the U.S. Department of Education in 1983 for excellence in education asked the principals of those schools what *leadership factors* they considered the most critical in running their schools effectively. Topping the list -- mentioned by 80% of the principals -- was faculty participation in decision making. As one principal noted, collective decision making takes longer, but the resulting decisions tend to stand firmer, last longer, and gain greater acceptance (cited in *The Executive Educator*, 1984, pp. 6-7).

A number of research studies on administrator competencies support this finding. Researchers at the University of Oregon's Center for Educational Policy and Management (Russell, Mazzarella, White, & Maurer, 1985) identified effective principal behaviors that included:

- listens actively to staff and faculty ideas and creates opportunities for staff to express ideas,
- provides resources and a supportive environment for collaborative planning,
- establishes school-wide goals and programs through staff input and participation, and
- staffs committees with representatives from all sides.

Leithwood and Stager (1986) studied the problem solving of 22 moderately and highly effective principals. They found that highly effective principals encouraged extensive involvement of staff in making decisions. These principals, when asked why they involved others in problem solving, gave reasons such as: to gather information, to increase ownership of others in the solution, and to bounce solutions or ideas off others. In addition, they included others in problem solving in order to help with school-wide problem management, produce better solutions, and help staff develop problem-solving skills.

Sergiovanni (1987a) points out that a successful leader is concerned with *power to*. A successful leader uses power to help others become more successful, accomplish the things that they think are important, and experience a greater sense of efficacy. Successful leaders distribute power among others as a way of enhancing their own power. They have a sophisticated view of power investment. Their focus is on exercising power over the achievement of organizational purposes, rather than exercising power over people and events. They empower teachers to act by giving them the necessary authority, thereby releasing the potential of teachers and making their actions and decisions count.

Including teachers in school leadership, decision making, and problem solving has the potential to provide overburdened administrators with assistance in a number of areas, from instructional leadership to evaluation. It also provides teachers with an incentive they value *if* they believe there is potential for real influence, not merely token or passive involvement (Guthrie & Reed, 1986). "Having input into policy making and participating in educational decision making" was among the highest ranked incentives in a study conducted by the Newark, New Jersey, school system to identify the types of rewards and incentives valued by the teachers in the system (Azumi & Lerman, 1986). Where there is group participation, feelings of satisfaction are enhanced and creativity is encouraged (Guthrie & Reed, 1986). People who solve problems build a sense of commitment to and concern for the organization. If people have invested in decisions, they have a stake in seeing

solutions work. Conversely, uninvolved people may have a stake in seeing solutions fail. Participatory management patterns such as talking to, listening to, and involving people not only tap the resources of personnel to solve specific problems, but also engage their willing cooperation and commitment (ASCD, 1985).

Substitutes for Leadership

School administrators need to explore the possibilities of using different management strategies to establish conditions for effective teaching and learning. As the effective schools research indicates, principals do not exercise instructional leadership alone. Such leadership is often the collective task of the principal and other members of the organization (DeBevoise, 1984; Gersten & Carnine, 1981; Hall, Hord, Huling, Rutherford, & Stiegelbauer, 1983; Stringfield & Teddlie, 1987). Conditions within the school will determine the extent to which an administrator needs to *lead*. *Substitutes for leadership* (Kerr & Jermier, 1978) are conditions that exist when the characteristics of subordinates, task, or organization are such that administrative leadership is not likely to make a difference in desired end-results such as commitment, motivation, or performance.

Research conducted by the Instructional Management Program at Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (Bossert, 1985) indicated that there is no single formula for effective instructional leadership. By analyzing the situation, knowing the abilities of their staff, and evaluating the requirements of the task, effective administrators make decisions about where to use their own limited personal resources, time, and attention (Manasse, 1985). For example, the characteristics of the teaching staff determines the kind of leadership required. Principals use more indirect leadership techniques with a highly experienced and professional staff. However, when a staff is largely inexperienced or *under fire* by community and district criticism to improve instruction, more direct supervision and management are exhibited (Bossert, 1985). In situations where subordinates clearly understand their roles, know how to do the work, are highly motivated, and are satisfied with the job, there will be less need to provide leadership through structuring subordinate tasks and roles. Experienced subordinates, however, will still expect the administrator to provide support and express concern for their personal welfare (Pitner, 1986).

Teacher Leaders

Developing Norms of Collegiality

The Maryland Commission on School-Based Administration (1987) identified three areas in the professional work environment of teachers that need improve-

ment: the reduction of bureaucracy, more professional autonomy for teachers, and more leadership opportunities for teachers. Extending professional roles will require the introduction of teacher leaders and of *instrumental status differences* among teachers where they do not now exist. In schools characterized by collaborative relationships, principals support the idea that any problem of any teacher can be worked on collectively, and teachers assist colleagues who need help (Lieberman, 1988). The more teachers work closely together and see each other's work, the more likely they are to find that some teachers are more energetic, more knowledgeable, more dedicated, or more skillful than others. Status equality, which is possible when teachers work in isolation, will become impossible as teachers see each other at work. Those with more knowledge and skill will acquire greater status with regard to teaching and schooling; others will defer to that status (Bird, 1984). In this way, teachers will become recognized as leaders.

Expanding the leadership team to include teachers, however, means more than just creating a few new roles or giving the principal some help. It means finding new ways of organizing schools to create an open, collaborative mode of work to replace teacher isolation. The process of changing the roles and responsibilities of administrators and teachers will stir up and disturb the deeply rooted beliefs that make up the core structure of schooling. Such changes will not come easily, not because current arrangements are effective, but because it is always easier to stick with the familiar (Lieberman, 1988).

Teachers traditionally work in isolated settings. Consequently, they have little access to knowledge of alternative ways of working and little peer support for trying to gain or apply such knowledge (Lieberman, 1986). While they see one another in the lunchroom, in staff meetings, and through-out the building, teachers seldom see these as opportunities to discuss their work or to collaborate on shared problems. In many schools there are norms against asking for help or telling a peer to do something different (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). Where such norms prevail, teachers have peers but no colleagues. The psychological effects of isolation leave the teacher feeling alone with problems; depending on personal resources; and having no interaction with others for stimulation, change, or control (Sarason, 1982). The result is that teachers believe they ought to cope with their problems on their own, and this has come to be accepted as the norm in teaching (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). This *egalitarian ethic* embodies the view that teachers are all equal no matter how experienced, how effective, or how knowledgeable (Lieberman, 1986). As a consequence, teachers cannot easily turn to one another for help and support.

The experiences of those schools and districts that have incorporated teacher-leader roles into their organizational structure demonstrate that collegiality among educators is not something that just happens. In order to change the prevailing norm of teacher isolation, collegiality must be developed and nurtured in a climate characterized by open communication, sharing, and willingness to learn. Efforts must be made to develop mutual respect and trust, or suspicion, competitiveness,

and inflexibility will defeat any attempt to establish collegial relationships (Ruck, 1986).

Little's research (1982) identified four types of practices that distinguished more successful from less successful schools, more adaptable from less adaptable schools. She labeled them the *critical practices of adaptability*. She found that continuous professional development appeared to be more thoroughly achieved when:

- teachers engage in frequent, continuous, and increasingly concrete and precise talk about teaching practice;

- teachers are frequently observed and provided with useful (if potentially frightening) critiques of their teaching;

- teachers plan, design, research, evaluate, and prepare teaching materials together; and

- teachers teach each other the practice of teaching.

In the successful and adaptable schools in Little's study, all four classes of *critical practice* occurred widely throughout the building and throughout the work week. Collegial experimentation was a way of life that pervaded the schools. By contrast, in the less successful schools teachers were more likely to report that formal meetings were restricted to administrative business and that the faculty lounge was considered off limits to *serious* topics. As schools are currently structured, there are relatively few occasions during the course of the school day where teachers routinely find themselves in one another's presence. The more of those occasions and places that are considered appropriate for professional work, the more support there appears to be for visible, continuous learning on the job (Little, 1982).

The development of collegial norms is important. Such norms represent a form of group problem-solving in which ideas are shared by teachers and alternative, better solutions to classroom problems are found. The social support and ongoing professional development fostered by such norms help good teachers, working with other good teachers, improve even more. In such a relationship, teachers work together in a school and take mutual responsibility for the curriculum and instruction. They think together and individually about the substance of their work -- children's learning -- and how to make themselves better at it (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986).

Current Practice

Participation of teachers in leadership roles, which extend beyond direct teaching responsibilities, has been a widely used practice in public schools for many years. The New York City Teacher Center Consortium has had eight years of

experience in providing teacher leadership. A study of the roles of those teacher-leaders found that they provide powerful models of professionalism for their peers, afford leadership in a variety of content areas, and help create a positive climate in difficult environments (Lieberman, 1988). Hatfield, Blackman, and Claypool (1986) studied the kinds of roles teacher-leaders played in selected Michigan schools and districts, the organizational conditions affecting those roles, and the skills and responsibilities of teachers involved in the roles. Teacher-leaders were defined as having a specific responsibility within the school organization in addition to classroom teaching.

Based on information obtained in this study, teacher-leaders, with extended professional roles in public schools, constituted more than 10% of the teaching force and were involved in a wide variety of major leadership activities across most areas of the school program. Extended role assignments not only involved a variety of different job titles but also multiple responsibilities within these assignments. These responsibilities were related to all aspects of the school and its constituencies and to programmatic activities. Nearly all teacher-leaders (91%) appeared to work directly with other teachers. These responsibilities were obviously important to the school operation and reflected a form of leadership that is frequently without formal sanction, but that provides a significant contribution to the institution (Hatfield, Blackman, & Claypool, 1986).

The study identified several major organizational factors that respondents indicated influenced the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of teacher-leader roles within a given school. Those factor included the following (Hatfield, Blackman, & Claypool, 1986):

Job Description and Expectations. Respondents indicated that specific, explicit, definite, and well-planned job description guidelines are crucial when defining the roles.

Selection. The vast majority of respondents noted they were selected for the role by administrative appointment. There is a dysfunction when those in the group being represented and benefiting from the leader role have no input into the selection process. The group's participation in the selection of the teacher-leader appears to be of great importance to the acceptance and status of the role.

Training. The respondents believed the training necessary for the extended role included problem-solving techniques, stress management, and role-specific inservice. They also indicated a need to attend conferences, a need for administrative "know-how", and a need for "being updated on current instruction practice."

Time. Release time or, preferably, a reduced teaching schedule is essential to carrying out teacher-leader functions in addition to classroom responsibilities.

Attributes Needed. Respondents suggested that teacher-leaders should have the qualities of being: (a) adept in dealing with people; (b) skilled in communications (oral and written); (c) flexible, patient, and objective, (d) competent in the subject field and respected by their peers; (e) organized; and (f) committed to the role.

Administrative Support. The need for good administrative support was cited. The most significant criticism of the extended-role position dealt with the lack of support. Comments were offered such as: "have no authority," "in no-man's land," "principals feel threatened," "little attention from administration," and "need to develop better relationship with administration." As perceived by respondents in this study, the school administrative role appears to be conflict with the teacher-leader role.

Communication. The need for better communication surfaced. Communication appeared to be vague and non-directional. Provision should be made for a defined information network among colleagues and with administrators.

Despite the difficulties they experienced, few teacher-leaders indicated any interest in discontinuing their multiple role, or in shifting to a more formal administrative position. All teacher-leaders indicated a high level of satisfaction, feelings of success, and the belief that their role provided opportunities for advancement in the profession. This suggests that existing teacher-leader roles have the potential to provide guidelines for expanded leadership roles for teachers. The role of teacher-leader can provide support for other teachers, a means for better achieving the operational tasks and goals of the organization, increased teacher participation in organizational management and decision making, an added career choice for teachers who want more involvement but do not want to give up all teaching responsibilities, and greater rewards and recognition to capable teachers (Hatfield, Blackman, & Claypool, 198[illegible]

Summary and Implications

Teaching is not a *full-fledged* profession. A profession is a work group that has acquired a legal monopoly over expertise associated with an abstract body of knowledge. The professional group monitors the performance of members, controls licensing standards, and endorses independent occupational norms that may be in conflict with certain policies and practices of the organizations that employ members of the profession. Few of these characteristics apply to teaching. The Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession (1986) pointed out that few teachers in America today enjoy the authority, status and working conditions routinely taken

for granted by professionals in business, government, and the non-profit sector. Teachers do not have policy-making roles. They do not control the technology of teaching, entrance into the profession, the standards of professional performance, or regulate the professional behavior of practicing teachers. Teachers' freedom to exercise professional judgment is constrained by a top-down bureaucratic system that largely dictates how and what the teacher is to teach.

Some writers point to teacher classroom autonomy as evidence that teachers have authority and the power to make decisions. In discussions about the discretion of teachers, however, isolation has sometimes been confused with autonomy and autonomy with power. Autonomy is having the authority to choose from a range of possible goal selections as well as the means to achieve those goals. Lack of authority is one of the most frustrating conditions of the work of teaching to those bright, creative individuals that are essential to the improvement of our schools. Whatever authority teachers had in the classroom is being eroded by reforms that transfer their expert authority to external sources.

The current structure of most schools guarantees the dissatisfaction of teachers. Most of the rewards that teachers experience are intrinsic or psychic, and the morale problems of teachers are closely related to *internal* factors. These factors include the lack of potential for personal growth, for opportunities to learn, and for leadership responsibilities. Lack of control over the conditions of one's work contributes to *burnout*. The most disturbing aspect of this situation is that a disproportionate number of the most able and experienced ones currently in the profession are contemplating leaving. Given the tenuous link between work effort and reward in teaching, it is not surprising that many teachers eventually seek alternative careers in which payoffs can be more readily secured. It is unrealistic to expect even the most altruistic individual to choose, when choices are available, a career that offers no opportunity for advancement, where time and activities are so circumscribed and regulated that there are few occasions for collegial exchange or professional growth, and where the individual has little input into or control over the policies that govern the conduct of his or her professional life.

The arguments in favor of transforming teaching into a profession are similar to the arguments that led to the development of other professions -- a need to exercise control over the quality of services provided. Other professions have boards that establish standards and regulate the licensing of individuals into the profession. Standards make an explicit statement about what is worth knowing, how it should be learned, and how it should be demonstrated. Standards exert a powerful influence on both training and practice. A major goal of licensure is to increase the probability that those admitted to practice can make appropriate decisions and teach effectively. Teachers must be free to exercise their professional judgement within the context of a limited set of clear goals set by state and local policy makers. Somehow, "the vast bureaucratic heap that puts teachers at the bottom" must be changed to allow teachers to exercise more professional judgment.

Participative-management strategies have grown increasingly important in the private sector in the United States during the past five or six years. Although the trend has gained little momentum in the education sector, the implications for improving school management, where teachers are highly educated but usually have little involvement in decision making, are both significant and far reaching. Since change must occur at the lowest level of operation, effective leadership in either a business organization or a school requires the recognition that nothing will change unless the people in that organization *buy into it*. Well-run, successful companies do not create systems of control to compensate for the weaknesses of their personnel or to overcome personnel limitations. Rather, successful companies develop management styles and characteristics aimed at empowering people.

Societal pressures and management practices are increasing the demands for all members of an organization to have greater participation in management decisions. Participation enhances employees' perception of control over their work environment. It is clear that shared leadership, collegial interaction, and teacher involvement in school problem solving and decision making are conducive to teacher job satisfaction. Yet, too few systems have an organizational structure that incorporates these activities. In addition, teachers are often reluctant to participate in *professional partnerships* and resist serving on school *decision-making* committees. Research suggests that one reason for teacher reluctance is their awareness that the time and effort spent in decision-making activities frequently does not result in any meaningful influence. Teachers may be *involved* but they have little *influence*. When participation is little more than a ratification of decisions already made by someone else, it is unlikely that teachers will have further interest in involvement.

As the effective schools research indicates, principals do not exercise instructional leadership alone. Such leadership is often the collective task of the principal and other members of the organization. Conditions within the school will determine the extent to which an administrator needs to *lead*. *Substitutes for leadership* are conditions that exist when the characteristics of subordinates, task, or organization are such that administrative leadership is not likely to make a difference in desired end-results such as commitment, motivation, or performance. In situations where subordinates clearly understand their roles, know how to do the work, are highly motivated, and are satisfied with the job, there will be less need to provide leadership through structuring subordinate tasks and roles.

Expanding the leadership team to include teachers, however, means more than just creating a few new roles or giving the principal some help. It means finding new ways of organizing schools to create an open, collaborative mode of work to replace teacher isolation. Teachers traditionally work in isolated settings where they have little access to knowledge of alternative ways of working and little peer support for trying to gain or apply such knowledge. The experiences of schools and districts which have incorporated teacher-leader roles into their organizational structure demonstrate that collegiality among educators is not something that just happens. In order to change the prevailing norm of teacher isolation, collegiality must be developed and nurtured in a climate characterized by open communication,

sharing, and willingness to learn. Such a climate can best be developed in schools and districts with organizational structures more hospitable to the concept of shared leadership and local-site decision making than is the traditional bureaucratic structure.

Creating a professional environment for teaching in schools will be impossible unless teachers, administrators and school boards cooperate in the effort to make it happen. States, however, will have to create many of the enabling conditions and have the power to shape local incentives. It will be up to the states to set clear standards and requirements and to remove from the books rules that create much of the current bureaucratic environment that constrains how teachers do their job (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986). Somehow, "the vast bureaucratic heap that puts teachers at the bottom" must be changed to allow teachers to exercise more professional judgment (Green, 1987). In some cases, states may have to change state law in order to allow teachers to assume greater responsibility for school decision making in exchange for greater accountability. Governors and other state leaders will need to develop a political consensus that involves administrators, school boards, teachers, and all other major parties whose cooperation will be required to implement the agenda as it unfolds (Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, 1986).

CHAPTER 6
IMPROVING PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCE

Merit-pay and career-ladder programs are being offered as mechanisms by which teacher and administrator performance can be both rewarded and improved. Successful incentive programs provide opportunities for educators to expand their scope of authority and responsibility in addition to providing rewards for demonstrated ability. The basis for any incentive program is a valid and reliable evaluation system. Well-designed staff development is a prerequisite for improving performance, and should be a vehicle for using the abilities of those who are identified as outstanding educators. Successful incentive programs couple evaluation, reward, and staff development. Peer coaching and collegial supervision are two ways in which incentive programs, evaluation, and staff development combine to improve the knowledge and skills of educators.

Incentive Programs

Goals of Incentive Programs

Merit-pay and career-ladder programs are being offered as a response to problems such as current and predicted shortages in the number of qualified teachers and administrators, a decline in the academic ability of new entrants to teaching, the lack of a career path in teaching, the need for improving administrators' leadership ability, and the need to reward outstanding performance (Palaich & Flannelly, 1984). Programs linking incentive rewards to performance evaluation generally have identified one or more of the following as goals of the program:

- improving administration, teaching, and learning;
- improving schools as organizations in order to make schools more effective places to teach and to learn;
- changing the composition of the teacher work force by attracting more outstanding teachers and/or retaining talented teachers;
- improving the leadership of administrators; and
- strengthening community confidence in the schools.

Most incentive systems are expected to achieve all of these goals. The assumption is that incentives will reward deserving teachers and administrators for outstanding performance and motivate others to improve, thereby increasing learning, improving schools, and strengthening community confidence. Unfortunately, incentive programs are rarely designed to achieve the stated goals, nor do the programs define how the evaluation and reward systems contribute to the achievement of those goals. Unless provisions for professional growth are an integral component of an incentive system, the chances are slim that leadership, teaching, or student learning will improve (Bird, 1984).

Potential of Merit-Pay plans Versus Career-Ladder Programs

Incentive programs generally fall into two categories -- merit-pay and career-ladder programs. There is a difference in the basic concepts underlying the plans. The concept underlying most merit-pay proposals is that staff can be motivated to perform more effectively if some form of monetary incentive is available for outstanding performance. The concept behind most career-ladder proposals is that compensation and career structures should be re-designed so they provide incentives for professional development much like those of other professional occupations (Darling-Hammond, 1985).

There is evidence that proposals to provide merit bonuses for outstanding performance may be counterproductive. The small amount of research that exists suggests the competition inherent in merit-pay plans may have undesirable side effects. For example, in-school competition for a limited number of merit-pay bonuses can interfere with the collegiality that is necessary within an effective school (Koehler, 1985). Some forms of merit pay have been instituted that reward superior teachers or administrators but virtually ignore the needs of the average or less-than-average. According to those who run successful merit-pay programs in their school systems, only disaster can result from the practice of using money to punish some while giving *merit* money to a handful of others selected as superior (Cramer, 1983). Nor do merit-pay programs generally fulfill the goals for which they were originally instituted. In a study by Cohen and Murnane (1985), merit pay did not appear to have strong effects on improving teachers' classroom performance.

True career-ladder programs, however, appear to have the potential to provide intrinsic rewards in the form of recognition and status for excellence, options for diverse work responsibilities without leaving the classroom entirely, opportunities for career advancement, career options within teaching and control over these options, opportunities to assist beginning teachers, greater collegial interaction with peers, the chance to use a wider spectrum of abilities, and opportunities for professional growth. Career ladders could provide districts with an evaluation system that establishes a context in which individuals could set goals for professional growth. In addition, career ladders could provide an incentive for teachers and administrators

to meet the higher criteria and to undertake other duties in order to move to higher levels on the career ladder (Burden, 1985).

Components of Successful Incentive Programs

Regardless of how they are structured or what goals they are designed to meet, career ladders should have the following components in order to be successful (Palaich & Flannelly, 1984):

1. performance standards and the procedures used to evaluate teachers and administrators,

2. the changes in school organization that accompany the system's implementation, and

3. training for the people who will take on new responsibilities once a new compensation system is in place.

A fourth component should be added to the above list. If career ladders are to improve the lot of educators and, thereby, increase student learning, provisions for the professional growth of teachers and administrators should be integral to the program. Establishing criteria for advancement will produce professional improvement only if the means by which such improvement can be achieved is an important, on-going component of the program.

Purposes of Evaluation Systems

Depending on the goals of the incentive program, the evaluation process will be either formative or summative. When the purpose of the evaluation is to improve performance, then formative evaluation is necessary. The goal of formative evaluation is to identify the individual's own strengths and weaknesses and plan appropriate professional development activities. Formative or improvement-related evaluation must be capable of yielding descriptive information that identifies sources of difficulty and suggests courses for change (Wise, Darling-Hammond, McLaughlin & Bernstein, 1984).

When the purpose of the evaluation is to determine who gets retained, promoted, or rewarded, summative rather than formative evaluation is necessary. Summative evaluation provides a base for administrative decisions. The primary function of summative evaluation is to compare performance to predetermined criteria to assess how well individuals have performed, rather than to diagnose problems. Therefore, summative evaluation must be capable of yielding objective, standardized, and externally defensible information about performance (Wise, Darling-Hammond, McLaughlin & Bernstein, 1984).

If the evaluation is to be used to reward those individuals who exhibit above-average or outstanding ability, then the evaluation system must be capable of yielding results that discriminate between average and above-average ability. It is not sufficient to merely determine whether individuals are minimally competent. The measurement system should be able to distinguish gradations of performance and, therefore, be able to discriminate between individuals relatively close together on the performance continuum. A system that can distinguish reliably only between *unsatisfactory* and *satisfactory* performance has too low a discriminating power to be useful for apportioning rewards (Barro, 1985).

Clearly, formative and summative evaluations serve different purposes. Summative evaluations are designed to ensure that only qualified educators enter the profession and continue in it and that they are rewarded for excellence. Formative evaluations help those already in the profession to develop and refine vital skills (Stiggins & Bridgeford, 1985). Although the personnel policies of most school districts include both accountability and improvement in their statement of goals, few systems are designed to provide teachers and administrators with the systematic feedback on performance that they need in order to plan their own professional development. There are three reasons for this (Duke & Stiggins, 1985):

1. few models exist to guide districts interested in linking evaluation and staff development;
2. teachers and administrators lack the time and resources to change their existing practices to any great degree; and
3. the evaluation process often creates anxiety and a lack of trust between those evaluating and those being evaluated.

Administrator Assessment and Professional Development

Administrator evaluation has been, and in most places still is, a haphazard activity. Most principals, geographically separated from central office personnel, are contacted infrequently and rarely supervised or evaluated on a regular basis (Murphy, Hallinger, & Peterson, 1985). Nor has professional development for principals been any better organized. Principals' work is not conducive to reflection or self-improvement; it is extremely fragmented. It consists of constant interruptions, pressing crises, and unexpected problems usually involving face-to-face, verbal interactions with others, particularly subordinates (Peterson, 1986). Principals learn how to function as best they can during their work activities -- there is no magic book with all the answers. These characteristics -- brevity, variety, fragmentation, and unexpected demands -- make it difficult for others to socialize and train principals or for principals to improve their skills on their own (Peterson, 1986). While

these characteristics may be less descriptive of the work of central office administrators, they illustrate that the conditions of the administrator's job make individually devised professional growth extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the beleaguered administrator.

In the past, administrator professional development has been characterized as a jumble of *quick fix* sessions designed to deal with specific topics (Fielding & Schalock, 1985). In many cases, little encouragement and/or financial support is given at the district level to provide comprehensive administrator development. Those activities that exist are most often disjointed and modest efforts. The common practice is programs that are topic specific, content loaded, short term, held out of the district, and appropriate for awareness-level conceptual development but not for building skills or substantial behavior change (Caldwell, 1986). This type of training seldom resembles the comprehensive, long-term, professional development program that is likely to significantly increase a principal's effectiveness (McCurdy, 1983). As a result, few principals are convinced that staff development will be either interesting or helpful to them in running their schools (Barth, 1986).

The U.S. Department of Education's Leadership in Educational Administration Development (LEAD) program is an effort to fill the void in administrator professional development. The establishment of LEAD Centers in each state and territory is expected to encourage the use of research-based information in both the kinds of professional-development programs offered and in the design of the programs themselves. In fact, two previous SEDL publications, *Dimensions of Effective Leadership* and *Resources for Administrator Assessment and Staff Development*, have addressed these expectations.

Teacher Evaluation

Problems in Evaluating Classroom Performance

The lack of rigorous, comprehensive personnel-evaluation systems in schools makes performance-based incentives extremely difficult to implement (Podemski & Lohr, 1985). Teacher evaluation, as it is currently practiced, is time consuming, potentially disruptive to staff and administrator relationships, often distrusted and criticized by teachers, and seemingly ineffectual in improving instruction (Stiggins & Bridgeford, 1985). The tests of pedagogical knowledge such as the NTE Professional Knowledge examination and components of subject area tests that deal with pedagogical approaches, present a narrow ideological view of good teaching while over-simplifying the nature of teacher decision making. Such tests rely solely on multiple-choice responses to brief statements of professional problems and fail to represent the complexity of the decision-making process or the full range of the professional knowledge base (Wise & Darling-Hammond, 1987).

Some states have included performance assessments as a part of their professional certification or evaluation requirements. The state-mandated instruments used in these types of performance assessments are generally based on two assumptions (Wise & Darling-Hammond, 1987). The first assumption is that there is a set of discrete teaching behaviors that can be observed on a few occasions in diverse classroom settings, and that these discrete behaviors are equally effective for all grade levels, subject areas, and students. The second assumption is that teacher competence can be measured by assigning a quality level to each of the identified behaviors (but not allowing for a variation from the approved/mandated strategy) or by noting the number of times a particular teaching action occurs. The attempt to ensure *objectivity* has resulted in a process with low generalizability and extremely limited validity. High-scoring teachers do not necessarily possess better teaching skills than low-scoring teachers (Wise & Darling-Hammond, 1987).

In the practice of teaching, ethics, best strategies, and the handling of specific classroom problems are often highly context-specific. The effect of different teaching behaviors varies for students of different socioeconomic, mental, and psychological characteristics and for different grade levels and subject areas. Research indicates that some teaching behaviors that are effective when used in moderation can produce significant, negative results when used too frequently or when used in the wrong circumstances. These findings make it difficult to develop rules for teaching behaviors that can be generally applied or easily tested with simple statements (Wise & Darling-Hammond, 1987). In addition, there is evidence that there are adverse effects from a too restrictive use of performance-based evaluation. Teaching methods become rigid and innovative practices are inhibited (Levine & Levine, 1986). Teachers develop a rote delivery of approved techniques or are afraid of trying anything not included on the evaluation instrument. Where there is no specific feedback concerning strengths and weaknesses, teachers may believe the evaluation was biased or unfair (Duttweiler & Ramos-Cancel, 1986).

Evaluation and Professional Development

The increase in state mandates regarding teacher evaluation raises questions about whether the mandated evaluation systems promote or constrain teacher development. Local decisions still determine most evaluation processes. Most states leave control of evaluation procedures to local districts, very few states specify the criteria to be evaluated, and still fewer provide quidelines for the development of local systems (Stiggins & Bridgeford, 1985). Knapp (1982) contends evaluation has not really changed in schools despite strong recommendations for the use of multiple information sources, involvement of students and peers, and more objective means of collecting data. Principals are still the major observers, staff are seldom involved in planning, and there are few efforts to use evaluation outcomes in designing constructive staff development (Stiggins & Bridgeford, 1985).

Stiggins and Bridgeford (1985) conducted a study in four Pacific Northwest school districts. As part of the study they obtained teacher responses to a question-

naire on teacher evaluation practices. The goal of their study was to identify barriers to the use of evaluation results for teacher growth and development. In the questionnaire, teachers were asked for their perspectives on (a) needed changes in the teacher's role in evaluation, (b) needed changes in district procedures, and (c) ideas for improving the quality of teaching in the district. Recommendations for improvements in the overall evaluation system were extensive. Teachers suggested more frequent formal and informal observations, greater use of peer observation and self-evaluation, and more effective preparation and training for evaluators. More than half (53%) the teachers spontaneously urged more opportunity for collegial observation and for self-evaluation through goal setting and videotaping. In addition, they called for better observational strategies, more effective communication of results with emphasis on specific suggestions for improvement, increased skill among evaluators, and better general management of evaluation. Teachers also noted that they need quality inservice training to improve their skills (Stiggins & Bridgeford, 1985).

There is a growing recognition that changes in evaluation systems are needed, especially with the introduction of career-ladders. For example, as a result of the implementation of Utah's career-ladder program, there have been a number of changes in district evaluation practices (Garbett, 1986). In the past, administrators commonly were the only ones evaluating teachers. More than half the districts (53%) are now using an evaluation committee composed of peers, administrators, and others, either alone or in addition to administrator evaluation. There has also been a significant increase in some Utah school districts in the number of sources of information used in evaluation. Explicit evidence of student achievement, e.g., pre- and post-tests, is a provision of 53% of the school districts. This is leading to an improvement in the techniques used to assess student progress. Peer review is a feature of 31% of the plans. Newer lines of evidence in some of the plans included parent surveys, attention to professional development, and documentation of human relations.

Teachers Need Staff Development to Improve Performance

While almost every teacher wants to perform better each year, the opportunity or support for improvement is usually missing. Teachers often express concern about the lack in their districts of provisions for staff development to improve performance areas or to acquire skills that are needed for advancement. Pfeifer (1986) found that many of the teachers in his study doubted that they would receive even the basic training needed to implement district and school-wide policies. In addition, the teachers characterized district training efforts as being unrelated to issues central to classroom instruction. If inservice and staff development programs are not designed to address the competencies on which teachers are assessed, there is little hope that those teachers who need to improve will be able to do so. And, as Bird (1984) points out, it is an extraordinary accomplishment for teachers to substantially improve their performances on their own.

In practice, teachers cling to conventional teaching practices because of the circumstances of their classrooms, the models with which they are most familiar, and the limited amount of information to which they have access. The conditions of teaching make it difficult for teachers to do other than what they have already learned to do. Goodlad's (1984) study of schooling found little to suggest that there were active, ongoing exchanges of ideas and practices across schools, between groups of teachers, or between individuals even in the same schools -- activities that would make it more likely that teachers could improve on their own. Even in schools where grade-level teams meet regularly, interaction often centers on procedural matters. Showers (1982) suggested that without the support and norms resulting from school-wide inservice programs, teachers find it difficult to sustain the effort necessary for changing their classroom behavior.

Incentive Plans and Improving Teacher Performance

The following policy recommendations for an effective teacher performance improvement and incentive system were suggested by Darling-Hammond, Wise, & Pease (cited by Levine, 1986)):

- The formative and summative evaluation processes should be separate. Summative evaluations can be done by an external group with the building principal on the team; and the formative observation by in-house supervisors, master teachers, and principals.

- The evaluation system must focus on building teacher efficacy.

- The evaluation system should include opportunities for self-assessment and the use of relative measures of performance.

- The evaluation system should be tied to a professional reward system that includes recognition for professional competence and being identified and valued as a mentor or peer teacher.

- The reward system should not establish quotas or rewards that would have the effect of increasing professional isolation and reducing collegiality.

- The evaluation and reward systems should identify and include among desirable behaviors collegial interaction and support for school-wide improvement and provide rewards and incentives for these behaviors.

Regardless of how well-designed the evaluation system is, improving teachers' instructional behavior depends on effective staff development. An evaluation system can establish criteria for the behavior expected of teachers (a form of job description), it can identify teachers' strengths and weaknesses in relation to that

criteria, but it cannot insure improvement. If there is no provision for staff development, teachers may feel helpless and defeated in attempts to change their teaching behaviors. Most of those who have investigated change efforts in schools have concluded that on-going, intensive inservice is an important implementation strategy (Joyce, Hersh, & McKibbin, 1983).

Problems in Linking Evaluation and Professional Development

The problem of linking evaluation and professional development is compounded by the organizational nature of schools. The loose coupling of school systems contributes to the lack of predictable effect of one component on other components. For example, staff development is typically disconnected from any overall agenda or program for school improvement, including personnel evaluation (Fielding & Schalock, 1985). In a study of the California staff development program, Stern, Gerritz, and Little (1988) found that much of the staff development in districts was tied to developing *specialists* for categorical programs, that regular classroom teachers were involved in less than 10% of the hours offered, and less than 3% of the participant hours were targeted for beginning teachers. Rather than developing programs to fit the needs of district teachers, administrators looked for well-packaged programs suitable for all. The study found staff development to be a *menu* driven, homogeneous catalogue of offerings. There was little effort made to tailor programs to participant needs and few staff development programs were faculty initiated or controlled. Nor was there any overall evaluation of the effects of the entire program. Although the California mentor-teacher program is funded with staff development money, there is no specific provision -- no explicit statement -- that the goal of this program is to benefit the other 90% of the teachers.

Lack of resources to commit to professional development is another source of problems. Communities either cannot or will not provide the resources -- either fiscal or human -- that would enable those in the schools to make the kinds of changes needed to create excellent schools for everyone. In the private sector, it takes a substantial commitment of resources to make fundamental changes in an organization. It may take between 10% and 20% of an organization's resources to make significant changes. Public schools rarely allocate as much as 1% of their budgets for change efforts, and professional staff members are often expected to donate their time (Eubanks & Parish, 1987).

Characteristics of Effective Staff Development

Enough research has been done to identify the components of effective professional development. The following synthesis of that research appeared in *Resources for Administrator Assessment and Staff Development* (Duttweiler & Hord, 1987).

Context

An important aspect of professional development is the context in which it takes place. This context can be viewed as consisting of three broad dimensions: technical, interpersonal, and cultural (Fielding & Schalock, 1985). The technical dimension is made up of the procedures and resources that help teachers and administrators accomplish their work. For example, accessibility of supporting materials, the appearance of the facility, the room temperature, and the lighting and sound system have a subtle but definite effect on how people learn (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986). In addition, staff development that takes place at the end of the school day has less chance of being successful than if it is offered when staff is fresh. Whether staff members take part voluntarily or by order, they need time away from regular activities for the training. It is suggested that staff development activities will be more successful if they provide opportunities for teachers and administrators to be away from the workplace (Pitner, 1987).

The interpersonal dimension concerns patterns of communication, support, and cooperation (Fielding & Schalock, 1985). A critical factor in this area is related to incentives and the need for increased commitment to professional growth. Social climate, trust, open communication, and peer support for change all influence the success of professional development programs (Caldwell, 1986). The cultural aspect has to do with the beliefs, values, and norms that are shared among members of the school community (Fielding & Schalock, 1985). Staff development should facilitate organizational socialization. London (1985, p. 20) defines organizational socialization as:

> . . . the process by which an employee learns the values, norms, and required behaviors that permit participation as a member of the organization. This process may also mean relinquishing attitudes, values, and behaviors that do not fit. Socialization establishes shared attitudes, habits, and values that encourage cooperation, integrity, and communication.

The Rand study on effective teacher evaluation practices (Wise, et al. 1984) discovered that effective and ineffective evaluation plans were not distinguished by their philosophical differences, but by whether the plans were organizationally congruent with district norms. Considering this, it would be appropriate for districts to look carefully at the beliefs or norms on which their professional staff development programs are based to insure congruency with district norms before these programs are adopted (Odden, 1985).

Administrative Support

Successful professional staff development requires support from administration and school boards to facilitate the training necessary to implement educational programs and increase staff effectiveness in their school districts (Caldwell, 1986;

Wood, Thompson, & Russell, 1981). The level of support from the district administrators must be genuine and visible (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986). Adequate economic support is essential, particularly to provide time for the sustained effort needed. In addition, there should be active participation as well as verbal commitment on the part of key central-office administrators to the staff development effort (Dillon-Peterson, 1981).

The most valuable ingredient in developing a staff development program is a written school board policy underscoring the value of professional development of all personnel. The AASA Critical Issues Report, *Staff Development: Problems and Solutions* (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986, pp. 28-29) includes "A Checklist: Writing a Policy on Staff Development." The checklist provides a mechanism for school boards to use to draft a staff development policy. The checklist provides nine policy elements from which to make choices when designing a staff development policy. The elements include the board's responsibility for staff development, purpose and goals, who is served, types of programs authorized, types of activities possible, assignment of responsibility, nature of participation, financial support, and evaluation.

Under each of the policy elements are possible choices that help in specifying the details of the policy. For example, in *defining the purposes and goals* of the staff development program, the checklist provides the following choices:

- to improve instruction in order to raise student achievement
- to help staff develop skills needed to meet district goals
- to orient new staff members to the school and district
- to help staff implement new curriculum and instructional techniques
- to help ineffective employees
- other

Under financial support, the board policy can specify:

- annual budget allotment
- sufficient funds for materials, resources, outside speakers, salary for staff development coordinator
- funds to pay substitutes to provide release time for teachers
- sums allotted each building for its staff development program

Participant Involvement in Planning

Staff development works best when participants take part in planning objectives and activities (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986). Research has shown that the most successful staff development activities are those in which participants have maximum opportunities for involvement and self-help (Levine, 1985). This allows them to personalize their training to meet their own special needs (Pitner, 1987). Decisions concerning the objectives, experiences, and assessment of inservice education should be cooperatively developed by those involved and affected by the training program (Wood, Thompson, & Russell, 1981).

Expressed Needs and Opportunity for Choice

Professional staff development should be based on a continuous assessment of staff needs. Need can be defined as the gap between the expected professional performance and actual performance in the work setting (Wood, Thompson, & Russell, 1981). Those designing staff development programs need to be aware of the kind of concerns, expectations, and experiences that participants are likely to bring to training activities (Fielding & Schalock, 1985). For this reason, those who are going to be *developed* should be involved in both the needs assessment and the planning of the staff development program (Dillon-Peterson, 1981). This is one way to insure that the *needs* identified by the assessment are representative of the skills in which participants perceive a need for greater competence. Further, improving competency in those skills should be perceived as essential to performing their professional roles in their local school districts (Wood, Thompson, and Russell, 1981).

Training works best when individuals have freely chosen a particular kind of development activity (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986). Motivation for growth and learning comes from within; the act of choosing involvement is, therefore, important (Levine, 1985). Since staff development has a greater opportunity for success when participants are committed to change because of intrinsic motivation, the challenge for inservice planners is to design experiences that take these intrinsic motivators into consideration (Caldwell, 1986). Staff taking part in training should know what is expected of them during the activities, what they should be able to accomplish once the training is over, and how they will be evaluated (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986).

Content

Professional staff development programs should address three major content components: (1) attitudes, (2) skills, and (3) substantive knowledge (Wood, Thompson, & Russell, 1981). It appears that one condition necessary for the development of job-related skills in most vocations and professions is the exploration of the theory of the skill through lectures, discussions, readings, or other media

(Joyce & Showers, 1983). The programs should be demanding, should set high but reasonable standards of performance for participants, and should prepare educators to implement research findings and best practice related to carrying out their job responsibilities (Wood, Thompson, & Russell, 1981). Good programs will also include opportunities for participants to reflect on their actions (Pitner, 1987).

Evaluation of inservice education should be both formative and summative and should examine the immediate effect on participants, extent of transfer to the work setting, and the effect on achieving institutional goals (Wood, Thompson, & Russell, 1981).

Continuity

Significant improvement in educational practice takes considerable time and is the result of systematic, long-range staff development (Caldwell, 1986). It is important to build on the experiences of administrators and to foster cumulative learning (Pitner, 1987). Professional development activities that are planned and organized around a theme and linked to district goals are more effective than a series of one-shot seminars (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986). Long-term commitment to a particular direction or program enables the learner to proceed in an orderly way from orientation to in-depth exposure to integrated practice (Dillon-Peterson, 1981). In addition, it is advisable to develop an in-house cadre of knowledgeable leaders who can carry on the training once the expert has departed (Dillon-Peterson, 1981).

Process: Practice and Feedback

Three other conditions necessary for the development of job-related skills in most vocations and professions are (1) the demonstration of the skill or its modeling in settings that simulate the workplace; (2) opportunities for practicing the skill; and (3) productive performance-based feedback (Pitner, 1987). The closer the training setting approximates the workplace the more transfer is facilitated (Joyce & Showers, 1983). Professional staff development should be based on experience, with opportunities to select, adapt, and try out new professional behaviors in real and simulated work settings (Wood, Thompson, & Russell, 1981). Opportunities for practice should follow immediately after the attainment of a new skill (Dillon-Peterson, 1981: Joyce & Showers, 1983).

In addition to taking part in demonstrations or supervised tasks, individuals also need to receive constructive criticism (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986). Feedback about performance greatly facilitates skill development (Joyce & Showers, 1983). Feedback should provide an opportunity for learners to engage in considerable reflection about the purpose of the skills being learned, as well as the ways in which those skills are congruent with their understandings of and personal definitions of leadership (Daresh, 1987). The provisions of technical feedback helps keep

the mind of the participant the business of perfecting skills, polishing them, and working through problem areas (Joyce & Showers, 1983).

Process: Collegiality and Coaching

Effective staff development provides an opportunity for adults to share their expertise and experience. Affiliation -- that is, joining with others in a common endeavor -- can be a strong incentive for participation in staff development activities (Caldwell, 1986). Those activities in which participants share and help each other are more likely to attain their objectives than those in which participants work alone (Elam, Cramer, & Brodinsky, 1986). When the development of interpersonal relationships is encouraged and adults talk with one another about their work, feelings of isolation are reduced (Levine, 1985). Adults who work in schools seldom have the chance to share their experience in contexts where they will be valued rather than evaluated. When they do, however, they report feeling energized, empowered, supported, and validated (Levine, 1985). It should not be assumed, however, that simply putting peers together is sufficient. Provision should be made for training those who will model behaviors or coach others (Pitner, 1987).

The Peer-Assisted Leadership (PAL) program developed by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (Barnett & Long, 1986) uses a process of *shadowing* and *reflective interviews to help principals become better instructional leaders*. After selecting partners with whom to work, the principals learn how to *shadow* and conduct *reflective interviews*. The program's goals are to: help principals develop skills they can use to analyze their own and other principal's management behaviors, give participants opportunities to observe how others lead their schools, provide support systems for principals, and help principals integrate the PAL framework of instructional leadership into their own schools.

Professional staff development programs should also provide mechanisms for follow-up assistance to participants after they have been trained (Wood, Thompson, & Russell, 1981). Wherever possible, participants should not be left to solve their problems in isolation from their colleagues (Daresh, 1987). Joyce and Showers (1983) consider it essential for trainers to assist participants in developing self-help teams that will provide coaching. Ideally, *coaching teams* are developed during the training program. Coaching has four major functions (Joyce & Showers, 1983, pp. 19-20):

- The provision of companionship. It provides interchange with another human being over a difficult process. The coaching relationship results in the possibility of mutual reflection, the checking of perceptions, the sharing of frustrations and successes, and the informal thinking through of mutual problems.

- The provision of technical feedback. In the course of training, team members learn to provide feedback to one another as they practice their new skills.

- Analysis of application and extending executive control. During the transfer period one of the most important things the participant learns is when to use a new model appropriately and what will be achieved by doing so.

In an analysis of 56 studies of teacher training, Joyce and Showers (1983) found that when coaching was added to the inservice experience, participants had a high level of implementation. When coaching was omitted, transfer of the training experience was inconsequential.

Collegial Supervision

Professional Development Components of Incentive Plans

Incentive plans that lack components to support professional development are potentially detrimental. Such plans are not likely to produce appreciable improvements in teaching but, rather, are likely to produce dissension in faculties. It is unfortunate that even mentor/master-teacher programs function basically as reward systems that do not seriously attempt to improve teaching. The most promising aspect of mentoring -- providing consistent, meaningful attention to new or seasoned teachers -- is not included in most incentive programs. In Illinois, for example, mentors were provided only three days out of the year to assist other teachers -- a token effort. This negates the most promising aspect of career-ladder programs: the identification of a cadre of teachers with outstanding classroom skills who can participate in the development and professional growth of other teachers.

A study by Hart (1987) probed the responses of groups of teachers to different career-ladder features in a district that redesigned the pay structures, supervision, and collegial and authority relationships. A survey instrument was administered and 389 usable responses were collected from the district's teachers. Teachers were asked what influence they saw teacher-leaders having on other teachers in their schools. The teachers responded that teacher-leaders contributed to the development of other teachers and were involved in professional issues of curriculum and instruction. Teacher-leaders' work was seen as extending beyond individual classrooms and into the greater school environment. The respondents felt that the career-ladder teachers should work for the improvement of the school as a whole and have influence over all aspects of the school enterprise, including classroom and school discipline.

The study found that those still in early career, who research has indicated are most likely to leave teaching, were most positive toward the tasks and effort of career-ladder teachers. Those in early mid-career were significantly more positive toward both career-ladder tasks and the value and legitimacy of peer supervision and observation. Those holding leadership positions were most favorable toward career growth opportunities in power and decision making in schools. Teachers specifically identified collegiality as a focus of career-ladder teacher efforts. However, highly experienced teachers (more than 10 years) not only did not involve themselves in the interaction with career-ladder teachers but also did not assess the career-ladder teachers' efforts as positively as did the other teachers (Hart, 1987).

Incentive plans may still fail even though they include provisions for support for improvement if they ignore the organizational realities of schooling and the limited time and expertise of the administrators who presently evaluate and work with teachers. Properly designed mentor-teacher, master-teacher, and career-ladder programs have the advantage of providing an expanded source of leadership and support by and for teachers and can facilitate systematic plans for school improvement (David, 1987). This cadre of career-ladder teachers allows districts to use the full potential of master teachers to provide exemplary models and assistance for beginning teachers. It results in more resource people to deal with staff development and other professional responsibilities and provides a framework for using teacher expertise and experience in organizational decisions (Burden, 1985).

Collegial Supervision -- Solution to a Dilemma

Collegial supervision offers a strategy for addressing many of the problems of supervision and evaluation. One such problem is the dilemma between (a) evaluating a teacher in order to make decisions about retention, promotion, and tenure and (b) working as a colleague with the teacher on professional development. Supervising and evaluating teachers demand an especially delicate balance that some principals are able to accomplish but many cannot (Acheson & Smith, 1986). A second problem results from the time required for effective evaluation and supervision. It is assumed that principals have an effect on instruction through the close supervision and evaluation of teachers' activities. Yet, evaluation and supervision as they are being practiced in most schools are not frequent activities. Effective evaluation and supervision require follow-up for which principals have limited time (Wilson & Firestone, 1987). Although spreading the responsibility for teacher evaluation among more administrators has enhanced the quality of evaluation, the ratio of teachers to supervisors is so high that observation for summative purposes still occurs only twice a year in many schools. While this may suffice for purposes of retention, the evaluator represents the administration and a relationship based on trust may be difficult to establish. The problem remains of how to provide the non-threatening, ongoing, supportive supervision that research has shown to be essential for teacher professional growth (Ruck, 1986).

Separating professional development from evaluation may be the best way of easing the tension between the role of evaluator and the role of professional-development colleague. This move would also alleviate the problems resulting from the limited time principals have for such activities (Acheson & Smith, 1986). If the two functions are separated, many of the teaching staff will have to adapt to new roles. Currently, teachers are accustomed to having administrators as both supervisors and evaluators. With teachers assuming responsibilities for collegial supervision, administrators will need to change with, adapt to, and complement the new roles that teachers will play. There are several advantages to the development of these new roles: teachers are likely to respond more positively to a new kind of leadership, and the new roles will provide opportunities for professional advancement for teachers who do not with to become administrators (Acheson & Smith, 1986).

Instructional Support Functions Carried Out by Teachers

Such support roles are not entirely new for teachers. It is not unusual for principals to share responsibility with staff members either informally or in a more structured way. Principals have develcped a variety of strategies for meeting the enormous and varied demands of their role. In the evaluation of teachers, the most common strategy is to delegate a portion of the responsibility for summative evaluations to others, such as the vice principal or department chair. In some districts, staff positions have been created to meet the need for more frequent teacher observation. However, most of these positions have been at the administrative, rather than at the teacher, level (Ruck, 1986). Gersten, Carnine, and Green (1982) reported studies where active instructional leadership was provided to teachers not by principals, but by carefully trained supervisors and staff consultants. They found that while specific types of leadership tasks appeared to be necessary for instituting and maintaining change, it was less important who performed these instructional support functions.

Instructional support is currently being provided in many places under a variety of names (e.g., peer supervision, peer coaching, collegial observation, collegial supervision). Successful programs are characterized by several elements. Ruck (1986) identified the following:

> First, the supervision process is usually totally removed from summative teacher evaluation. Trust between peers is maintained by a high degree of confidentiality.
>
> Second, participation in the process is usually voluntary, and teachers are often able to choose their own partners. Thus, the process has a built in component of commitment and mutual respect.
>
> Third, all programs contain a degree of structure, usually including a goal-setting process, a procedure for observation, and a format for sharing information.

Finally, where peer supervision is successful, the principal provides a school climate conducive to collegiality and instructional improvement.

Peer Involvement in Supervision

The use of teachers in mentoring and providing instructional support for other teachers is the basic philosophy undergirding the concept of peer review. Peer review is a strategy for improving teachers' classroom performance that uses teachers to observe and provide professional development for other teachers. Peer review, as discussed by Darling-Hammond (1985), goes beyond providing instructional support. It includes the various means by which professionals determine the content and structure of their work as well as the qualifications necessary for individuals to claim membership in the profession. It includes peer control over decisions that define acceptable practice as well as peer evaluation of individual practitioners.

There are several reasons for the current interest in peer review programs. Current evaluation practices in most school districts are sorely inadequate for making important personnel decisions involving merit-pay or career-ladder promotions, and peer involvement is seen as a way of expanding the staff and expertise available for evaluation. In addition, peer involvement is seen as part of a larger agenda for professionalizing teaching, for ensuring that teachers have both the autonomy and responsibility needed to increase their voice in decision making and their effectiveness in the classroom (Darling-Hammond, 1985).

Peer Support Services in Maine

The state of Maine has developed a pilot incentive program that uses teachers to provide support and peer review. Maine's 1984 teacher-certification law, which evolved from a report prepared at the request of the State Board of Education, included provisions that (Kastuck, 1986):

1. provided an opportunity for the development of local career-ladder programs;

2. gave local school teachers a larger participatory role in the certification process;

3. mandated the establishment of *support systems* for providing assistance in professional development for beginning teachers and experienced teachers, and for recommending teachers for *Temporary Master-Teacher Certification*;

4. required *teacher action plans* to establish professional growth objectives for all candidates seeking professional and masters level certification;

5. provided for provisional, professional, and masters levels of certification; and

6. established pilot projects through 1987 that were designed to test all the components of the law, develop processes and procedures for staff development, generate a variety of program models, and provide recommendations to the legislature in 1988.

Of particular interest is the requirement to establish *support systems* and *teacher action plans*. The legislation required that the pilot schools develop the procedures for establishing the *support systems*. A support system had to include a majority of classroom teachers, but administrators and persons outside the school or district might be included on the support-system team. Each candidate for advancement on the career ladder was to be recommended by a school support system. The support-system team observed the teacher's classroom performance and helped the teacher develop a teacher action plan for professional growth. An appropriate staff development program was outlined to correct deficiencies or to help the teacher acquire the skills and knowledge necessary for recommendation for master-teacher certification. A positive recommendation from the support system was necessary for a candidate to be considered for master-teacher certification.

The teacher action plan described the basis on which the support system's recommendations were made. The plan had to include a description of the candidate's teaching skills, professional skills, and subject-matter knowledge at the start of the review period, and the identification and description of the skills, knowledge, or experiences that were to be developed, improved, and/or achieved in order for the candidate to receive a positive recommendation.

Importance of Peer Coaching

The establishment of *support systems* for providing assistance in professional development for beginning teachers and experienced teachers is a form of *peer coaching*. Peer coaching consists of a number of support functions: giving technical feedback, analyzing the application of practice, adapting practice to the needs of the students, and providing companionship and moral support (personal facilitation) (Joyce, Hersh, & McKibbin, 1983). Peer coaches are those who are recognized as competent themselves in the teaching behaviors to be learned. In the classroom they coach the teacher as he/she takes the first steps toward learning new behaviors, help him/her figure out how to teach the students how to respond to those new behaviors, and to adapt different teaching strategies to match his/her characteristics (Showers, 1983). Showers found that most teachers will not integrate new teaching strategies into their instructional repertoires without coaching. Coached

subjects in her study admitted that without coaching they would have discontinued use of the new teaching behaviors. Coaching appears to be a necessary condition for transfer of training when the object of training is the development of new classroom behaviors.

Establishing norms of collegiality is vitally important to the success of any coaching, observation, or supervision activity. The basis of each of those activities is the observation of another teacher's performance in order to make informed comments about the latter's work. There is risk involved both for the teacher doing the observation and coaching and for the teacher performing. Such activities entail judgment and evaluation, a fact that cannot be minimized. If teachers are to pool their expertise for instructional improvement, then the observer must be able to perceive the strengths and weaknesses of the lesson and share them with the teacher. The observer/coach must provide meaningful feedback or the process has no value (Ruck, 1986).

Making judgments and evaluating effectiveness are skills requiring professional expertise. Therefore, teachers need training in basic supervision methods if they are to be effective in helping one another. Observer/coaches should be fairly knowledgeable about what teachers do and how they do it. Detached from the pressures of conducting a lesson and maintaining discipline, the observer should be able to clarify things the teacher might have missed. More importantly, the observer/coach should offer a different perspective that will help the teacher to gain a more accurate picture of the teaching act or to better define the nature of the problem if there is one (Ruck, 1986).

Summary and Implications

Incentive proposals are being offered as a response to problems such as current and predicted shortages in the number of qualified teachers and administrators, a decline in the academic ability of new entrants to teaching, the lack of a career path in teaching, the need for improving administrators' leadership ability, and the need to reward outstanding performance. Unless provisions for professional growth are an integral component of an incentive system, however, the chances are slim that leadership, teaching, or student learning will improve.

Incentive programs generally fall into two categories -- merit-pay and career-ladder programs. The concept underlying most merit-pay proposals is that staff can be motivated to perform more effectively if some form of monetary incentive is available for outstanding performance. The concept behind most career-ladder proposals is that compensation and career structures should be re-designed so they provide incentives for professional development much like those of other professional occupations. There is evidence that proposals to provide merit bonuses for

outstanding performance may be counterproductive. True career-ladder programs, however, appear to have the potential to provide intrinsic rewards in the form of recognition and status for excellence, options for diverse work responsibilities, opportunities for career advancement, career options and control over these options, opportunities to act as mentors, greater collegial interaction with peers, the chance to use a wider spectrum of abilities, and opportunities for professional growth.

Depending on the goals of the incentive program, the evaluation process will be either formative or summative. When the purpose of the evaluation is to improve performance, then formative evaluation is necessary. When the purpose of the evaluation is to determine who gets retained, promoted, or rewarded, summative rather than formative evaluation is necessary. Theoretically, most of the evaluation conducted in schools today purports to do both simultaneously. In practice, however, most evaluation addresses summative goals.

Administrator evaluation has been, and in most places still is, a very haphazard activity. Most principals are contacted infrequently and rarely supervised or evaluated on a regular basis (Murphy, Hallinger, & Peterson, 1985). Although the personnel policies of most school districts include both accountability and improvement in their statement of goals, few systems are designed to provide administrators with the systematic feedback on performance that they need in order to plan their own professional development. In many cases, little encouragement and/or financial support is given at the district level to provide comprehensive administrator development. Administrator professional development has been characterized as a jumble of *quick fix* sessions designed to deal with specific topics. This type of training seldom resembles the comprehensive, long-term, professional development program that is likely to significantly increase a principal's effectiveness. The Leadership in Educational Administration Development (LEAD) programs have been funded to establish research-based professional development programs for administrators.

Teacher evaluation, in particular, is time consuming, potentially disruptive to staff and administrator relationships, often distrusted and criticized by teachers, and seemingly ineffectual in improving instruction. In the practice of teaching, ethics, best strategies, and the handling of specific classroom problems are often highly context-specific. The effect of different teaching behaviors varies for students of different socioeconomic, mental, and psychological characteristics and for different grade levels and subject areas. The increase in state mandates regarding teacher evaluation raises questions about whether the mandated evaluation systems promote or constrain teacher development.

Regardless of how well-designed the evaluation system is, improving teachers' instructional behavior depends on effective staff development. An evaluation system can establish criteria for the behavior expected of teachers (a form of job description), it can identify teachers' strengths and weaknesses in relation to that criteria, but it cannot insure improvement. While almost every teacher wants to

perform better each year, the opportunity or support for improvement is usually missing. Teachers often express concern about the lack in their districts of provisions for staff development to improve performance areas or to acquire skills that are needed for advancement. It is an extraordinary accomplishment for teachers to substantially improve their performances on their own. The conditions of teaching make it difficult for teachers to do other than what they have already learned to do. Without the support and norms resulting from school-wide inservice programs, teachers find it difficult to sustain the effort necessary for changing their classroom behavior.

The problem of linking evaluation and professional development is compounded by the organizational nature of school systems. Because of the loose coupling of school systems, staff development is typically disconnected from any overall agenda or program for school improvement, including personnel evaluation. Both lack of resources to commit to professional development and the *menu* driven aspect of most staff-development programs are additional sources of problems. Enough research has been done, however, to provide a blueprint for effective professional development for those who care to use it. Research has identified the following as considerations in planning effective staff development: the context in which it takes place, administrative support, participant involvement in planning, responding to expressed needs and providing opportunity for choice, content, continuity, practice and feedback, collegiality and coaching.

Incentive plans may include provisions for support for improvement, but ignore the organizational realities of schooling and the limited time and expertise of the administrators who currently evaluate and work with teachers. Properly designed mentor-teacher, master-teacher, and career-ladder programs have the advantage of providing an expanded source of leadership and support by and for teachers and can facilitate systematic plans for school improvement. Collegial supervision offers a strategy for addressing many of the problems of supervision and evaluation by using teachers in mentoring and providing instructional support for other teachers. This requires an organizational structure flexible enough to allow schools to adjust staffing, schedules, and material resources to accomodate such features. Futhermore, incentive plans grafted on to old organizational structures have little chance of success. In the final analysis, the retention of skillful, experienced teachers and the development of school leaders may depend more on organizing schools for steady improvement -- in ways that assure continued professional growth -- than on any extrinsic consideration such as pay for performance (Bird, 1984).

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