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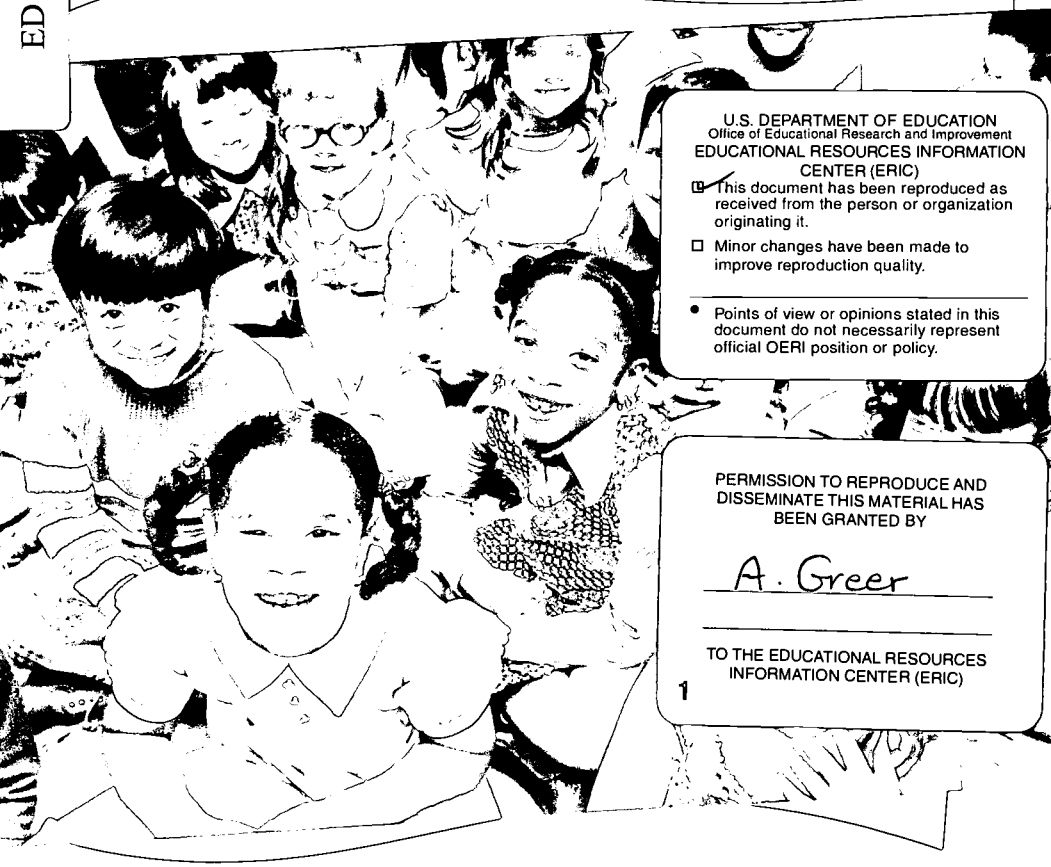
ABSTRACT

Purpose shapes vision and vision shapes purpose. Any reasonable effort to restructure schools must begin with a serious consideration of the purposes of education. In chapter 1, purpose in the life of organizations is examined. Chapter 2 shows how historical circumstances have shaped both the purpose and the structure of schools. Chapter 3 discusses the need for a reformulation of the purpose of schools. Chapter 4 explains how the suggested vision relates to such restructuring efforts as participatory leadership, accountability, and assessment of schools in general. Chapter 5 provides a framework for considering the structural elements that need to be changed. Staffing, distribution of knowledge, and use of time and space are addressed. Chapter 6 discusses change from a marketing perspective, using concepts from the field of marketing that are relevant to research about the change process. Chapter 7 is about creating systems to change systems. Chapter 8 considers the evaluation of performance and the advantages of results-oriented management. Chapter 9 presents specific steps that a superintendent can take to bring about restructuring of a district. Chapter 10 suggests strategies for sustaining improvements once they are in place. (Contains 47 references.) (RKJ)

FOREWORD BY BILL CLINTON

PHILLIP C. SCHLECHTY



SCHOOLS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

LEADERSHIP IMPERATIVES FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Schools for the Twenty-First Century

Schools for the Twenty-First Century

Leadership Imperatives for Educational Reform

Phillip C. Schlechty

Foreword by Bill Clinton

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Contents

Foreword

School reform is an issue that concerns many more people than just those directly involved in the field of education. Since the *Nation at Risk* report was released in 1983, much has been written about the crisis in public education. Some have used gloom and doom language to urge change in schools. Others have focused on specific changes that should be made. There has been no dearth of descriptions of exactly what is wrong with our schools.

In *Schools for the Twenty-First Century: Leadership Imperatives for Educational Reform,* Phillip Schlechty describes the current state of American education from a unique perspective. Drawing on his background as a sociologist, he provides perspective on *why* schools are the way they are—and presents not a criticism of what schools have done in the past but a formulation of what they must do now to prepare for the future.

Schlechty's concepts should have great impact for educators. He avoids jargon and uses many examples from the business community to make what he writes comprehensible even to those who have no background in or direct association with education. The

opening up of the real issues involved in school reform is central to his message about how to get started on it.

Schlechty offers no quick fixes, nor does he recommend steps prescribed by outsiders. Rather, he works closely with business and community leaders, as well as school boards and school personnel, in making real changes. When he works in my home state of Arkansas, Schlechty always insists that those who begin a restructuring effort accept the necessity of a long-term commitment. Warning that the effort to improve schools should be neither a stopgap nor a piecemeal process, he emphasizes that there will have to be a break in business as usual in public schools.

Schlechty's predictions are not based on theory alone. Despite his belief that there are eight standards that are crucial to the success of any restructuring effort, each of the sites where his program has been adopted looks a little different. This is because, as someone committed to producing positive change rather than just creating a following among educators, he insists that each local effort at restructuring reflect the values and expectations of the particular community and be built on the strength and talents of local citizens.

Many of Schlechty's suggestions have been carried out in the Jefferson County Public Schools, which are often considered a national model for restructuring. He has also worked with and consulted for hundreds of school districts throughout the nation.

Schlechty is striving for schools that look and feel different from those we now have. He believes that academic performance will improve when teachers perceive students as customers of knowledge work. He also believes that teachers who view themselves as leaders and inventors and their administrators as leaders of leaders will be treated as professionals and will act like professionals.

Because of the success of restructuring efforts in the handful of school systems and schools with which Schlechty has worked closely, he is in constant demand by educators and business and community leaders alike. In both his talks and his writing, his vivid use of metaphors and frequent, telling anecdotes take his audience right to the heart of his vision and help them remember it to share with others.

Many believe that it is crucial not only to those in education but to everyone else, as well, that we create schools for the twenty-first century. As more and more people begin to share that vision, it is increasingly likely that school reform will become a reality. Readers who are committed to school reform will find much that is useful in this book. Furthermore, even when we disagree with Schlechty, he causes us to think in new ways about the task before us.

December 1989

Bill Clinton
Little Rock, Arkansas

Preface

As America's business leaders are coming to understand, traditional ways of doing business will not suffice in a society that is increasingly dependent on the application of knowledge and information as the primary means of raising productivity and improving the quality of life. Indeed, businesses such as Ford Motor Company have undergone fundamental restructuring in the last decade—a change so dramatic that few who worked in the original Ford plants would recognize the nature of the work being done today. Early pioneers of the American factory system and assembly line would be even less familiar with the pattern of social arrangements and the system of management that are coming to be commonplace at Ford and other corporations as well. Ideas such as employee involvement in decision making (including the right to stop the assembly line to correct a flaw) were unheard of even twenty years ago. Today, some employees do have the power to make such decisions.

The factory system depended on routinization, standardization, and centralization as the primary means of organizing human action. It was this system that enabled America's economy to outstrip those of the other nations of the world. Decisions to change the

system are not easily taken. Business leaders have made such decisions not because they want democracy in the workplace. Rather, they have begun to find that—in an environment where the application of knowledge and the ability to work with information are essential to the improvement of quality and productivity—those who have knowledge must be in a position to apply what they know. Thus encouraging worker involvement has less to do with truth, justice, and beauty than with the desire to increase productivity and quality.

It is my thesis that school leaders, like business leaders, must come to understand that if America's schools are to meet the needs of the twenty-first century, then—like America's corporate structure—they must be reinvented. It is not enough to try to fix the schools; they must be reconstituted in fundamental and radical ways. In a word, the schools, like America's businesses, must be *restructured.*

Restructuring Defined

The term *restructuring* is used in many different ways. For some, restructuring means decentralizing budgets. For others, restructuring denotes the uses of team structures for instruction. For still others, the word means teacher empowerment. Such lack of precision in the use of the term has, of course, resulted in a great deal of confusion. Worse, failure to use the term *restructuring* in a commonly agreed upon way has led to many an acrimonious debate. Unfortunately, some of these debates have led to the outright rejection of the idea that schools should be restructured, regardless of the meaning given the term. For example, a top official in the National School Boards Association refers to restructuring as "the *R* word" because he assumes that restructuring is a union ploy to take over the management of schools and thus to take power away from school boards. In this book, restructuring means altering systems of rules, roles, and relationships so that schools can serve existing purposes more effectively or serve new purposes altogether.

Structure and Culture

Changing the structure of schools—or any other organization—is no simple task. Social structures are embedded in systems of

meaning, value, belief, and knowledge; such systems comprise the *culture* of an organization. To change an organization's structure, therefore, one must attend not only to rules, roles, and relationships but to systems of beliefs, values, and knowledge as well. Structural change requires cultural change.

Too often, those who would change the structure of schools fail to appreciate the link between structure and culture. After much hard work aimed at changing the organization's structure, it becomes clear that very little of substance has actually changed in the way the system functions or in the way teachers and students behave. In the school business, as in other aspects of social life, it often seems that the more things change, the more they stay the same.

School Improvement and School Reform

At least part of the debate surrounding the term *restructuring* has to do with disagreements over the need to improve schools, as opposed to reforming them. Almost all parties to the debate agree that schools could be better than they are. The question is: Better at what?

For some, the problem is rooted in the failure of the schools to teach the "basic skills" to all children. Providing a basic education for everyone has long been an avowed purpose of education. Thus efforts to change schools so that all children master the basic skills aim at school improvement. For others, and I count myself among this group, the problem goes well beyond the failure of the schools to teach all children to read, write, and cipher. The fundamental problem is that schools do not prepare all children to function effectively in the world of ideas. The schools do not prepare all children to think critically and creatively. The schools do not prepare children to be lifelong learners. In brief, schools do not prepare the young for life in an information-based, knowledge-work society—the society in which America's children now live and in which they will be required to function as adults.

Many overlook the fact that schools have never before been expected to serve such a grand purpose. In the past, a basic education was assumed to be the right of every citizen. It was also assumed, however, that schools could not be expected to teach all

children "higher-order thinking skills" and what Peter Drucker (1974) calls "knowledge-work"—that is, work which requires one to use ideas, symbols, abstractions, and theories. Indeed, during the 1920s and 1930s officials from agencies like the Carnegie Corporation and university deans were more concerned that schools were trying to educate too many students too well than that they were educating too many too poorly (see, for example, Pritchett, 1923; Gauss, 1927). In the 1920s, leaders assumed that excellent education should be reserved for the relatively few who, as the saying went, "have an aptitude for such learning." Today schools are expected to *develop* aptitudes, as opposed to simply identifying them. Such expectations surely require schools that will look very different from those Americans are used to.

The Future Is Ahead, Not Behind

Some who call for school improvement and school reform look to the past for guidance. There was, they argue, a time when our schools were better. Nonsense! There are more good schools today than at any time in the past. If there are also more bad schools, it is because there are more schools trying to educate children who, in the good old days, would have been working in factories and sweatshops.

Those who are serious about school reform must first understand that American's schools are not less effective than they once were. American's schools are clearly *better* at doing what they were expected to do in the past. The problem is that schools today are expected to take on tasks that they have never been held responsible for before. And, even more fundamental, the present school structure grew out of a set of assumptions about the purpose of schooling that is inconsistent with emerging social and economic realities.

Those who would restructure schools must therefore consider the purposes schools have been designed to serve, as well as the purposes schools could be designed to serve. It is, after all, the past that has given our schools their structure—and the way we envision the future will shape the new structures we try to create.

Leaders and Leadership

Throughout *Schools for the Twenty-First Century,* I use the words *leaders* and *leadership.* To me, a leader is a person who is in a position to influence others to act and who has, as well, the moral, intellectual, and social skills required to take advantage of that position. Obviously, people who occupy positions of top authority in organizations have more opportunities to lead than those at the bottom of the hierarchy. Unfortunately, not all who occupy positions of authority have the capacity to influence others. The only way these people can get others to act is through the exercise of their authority.

The exercise of authority—by which I mean the use of the official power assigned to an office (such as the power to dismiss, to punish, and to reward)—can maintain the status quo, but it does not enlist hearts and minds in the ways that are needed if the future is to be invented. Inventing the future demands *leadership.* Just as there are those in positions of authority who have opportunities to lead but lack the capacity to act on their opportunities, others have limited authority but tremendous capacity to lead. Thus leadership potential can be found at all levels of the organization.

The question of leadership is, at least in part, a question of whether those who have the ability to influence others are willing to *use* their capacities and whether the organization encourages them. People at the bottom of an organizational hierarchy, if they are to be effective leaders, must learn to influence those above them—and they must be encouraged to do so, just as those who would lead from the top must learn to enlist the hearts and minds of those below them rather than simply exercise their authority in ways that gain compliance without commitment.

As Warren Bennis (1989) has observed, leadership is currently in short supply, and those who have the capacity to lead are in great demand. Chief among the attributes of those who lead is that they know where they are going and where they are trying to get others to go. With such knowledge, leaders are able to stay the course even when those around them falter. Above all, leaders demonstrate persistence and passion. It is for such men and women, wherever they

exist in the education hierarchy, that this book is written. It is my hope that in reading this book, education leaders (superintendents, principals, and teachers) and those in a position to influence them (parents, legislators, school board members, business leaders, and civic leaders) will come to grips with the issue of educational purpose—and, as a result, will envision schools in more useful ways and invent structures that will truly lead American education into the twenty-first century.

Overview of the Contents

Purpose shapes vision and vision shapes structure. Thus any reasonable effort to restructure schools must begin with a serious consideration of the purposes of education. In Chapter One, I discuss purpose in the life of organizations and concentrate explicitly on purpose in schools.

In Chapter Two, I show how historical circumstances have shaped both the purpose and vision of schools and, consequently, have shaped the structure of schools as well.

In Chapter Three, I discuss the need for a reformulation of the purpose of schools and the consequent visions that will guide the restructuring of schools. I then offer such a reformulation and elaborate on the kind of vision this reformulation might engender.

In Chapter Four, I explain how the vision I have suggested for schools relates to such restructuring efforts as participatory leadership, accountability, and assessment of schools in general.

My intent in Chapter Five is to provide the reader with a framework for considering the structural elements that need to be changed if schools are to be made more responsive to the needs of children and society. In this discussion I attend especially to issues related to staffing, distribution of knowledge, and use of time and space.

Chapter Six discusses change from a marketing perspective. Though I know of no research literature that views the problems of change from this perspective, I have found concepts from the field of marketing especially useful in guiding my efforts. I have also found that these concepts allow me to give meaning and practical

relevance to much that researchers have discovered about the change process.

In the remaining chapters, I discuss various problems associated with promoting change in schools—beginning with conceptualizing and sharing a vision that is compelling in the local community and ending with strategies for sustaining improvements once they are in place, as well as strategies for ensuring that things do not get worse while one is trying to make them better. Along the way I discuss participatory leadership, results-oriented management in schools, methods for creating a policy framework to ensure flexibility, and many other topics of significance for deliberations and actions related to school restructuring.

Tone and Origin of the Book

This book is not a cookbook for those who would restructure schools. Rather, it is designed to provide the reader with some ideas and "ingredients" that may be useful in inventing recipes to satisfy local tastes. There are no magic herbs to sprinkle over school systems. What we need is courageous, informed, and imaginative leaders—leaders who are willing to work hard and take major risks in order to invent the future of public education in America.

In writing this book I am less concerned with convincing scholars that my interpretation of events is precisely correct than I am with persuading educators that these suggestions constitute a reasonable course of action. My writing style, therefore, is often closer to that of the journalist than that of the academic. Where my interpretations contradict what researchers believe to be true, the community of scholars will no doubt be critical—as they should be.

This book is based on experience, not research. Over the past two decades, I have participated in a variety of efforts to reform and improve public schools. My first introduction to systematic school reform came with the National Science Foundation's curriculum development projects that resulted from the panic following the Russian launching of Sputnik I. From 1968 to 1975, I and many others worked hard to ensure that these new curriculum materials (*Sociological Resources for the Social Studies*, for example) were successfully implemented. I learned much about the problems of

managing and directing change in schools. In the mid 1970s I wrote a book, *Teaching and Social Behavior: Toward an Organizational Theory of Instruction* (1976), about the way the structure of schools influences teachers' and students' performance. The book was not a best-seller, but I learned a great deal in writing it. I learned, for example, that given the way the typical school is organized and managed, it is a tribute to the talents of teachers and administrators that the schools do as well as they do in meeting the needs of the young.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, I had the opportunity to work with, shape, and lead a number of efforts to restructure and reform schools and teacher education. Not all these efforts were successful, and many were controversial. The fact remains, however, that I gained much experience in the management of change, especially change of the sort envisioned in the restructuring agenda. It is this experience that has shaped the thinking in this book.

Beginning in 1984, I became associated with the Jefferson County, Kentucky, public schools, where I had the opportunity to provide leadership for a major school reform initiative in the seventeenth largest school district in the nation. As a result of that effort, the Jefferson County Public Schools/Gheens Professional Development Academy was created, with the express purpose of supporting school restructuring in the Jefferson County public schools.

At present, I serve as president of the Center for Leadership in School Reform, funded in part by the Matsushita Foundation, the BellSouth Foundation, and the Gheens Foundation. This center is affiliated with the Jefferson County public schools but is separate from the school district. The center's purpose is to provide school leaders, especially superintendents and union leaders, with a responsive cadre of experienced practitioners who can provide consultation, planning assistance, training support, and technical assistance in the effort to invent and install reform-oriented leadership structures in local school districts.

This book has been written in part because the center's outreach activity has revealed that many school leaders, business leaders, civic leaders, and political leaders are eager to improve their school system but do not know where to start. Moreover, the language of school reform is sometimes frightening to board members

and parents, as well as to certain teachers and administrators. Calls to restructure schools are viewed by some school board members as demands to turn the running of schools over to the unions—a prospect that few board members find attractive. Calls for increased accountability are viewed by many teachers and administrators as nothing less than directives to "teach to the test" and excuses for vilification of the "education establishment" by the local press and syndicated columnists.

As the reader has probably already discovered, I am an advocate of radical reform, if by *radical* we mean "to the root." I am not, however, suggesting that our present schools be abandoned. Nor do I suggest that our present schools be destroyed so that we can start over. Reform does not work that way. The schools we now have will shape the schools we will have, whether we like it or not. As I have mentioned, history shapes culture and structure, and culture and structure shape schools (and other organizations as well). It is for this reason, more than any other, that the opening chapters of this book give heavy emphasis to history and its consequences.

Acknowledgments

Writing a book requires help and cooperation from many people. During the writing process, authors are notoriously self-centered; they take advantage of everyone. Some writers yield to the temptation to assuage their guilt by thanking nearly everyone they can think of who might have contributed something to their work. I will resist this temptation. Many have contributed: You know who you are, and I thank you.

I would especially like to acknowledge my debt to the many teacher/leaders and superintendents with whom I have worked and from whom I have learned, though I could not begin to name them all. There are many in Charlotte, North Carolina, and Louisville, Kentucky, and still others in Washington, D.C.; Virginia Beach, Virginia; Miami, Florida; Hammond, Indiana; Santa Fe, New Mexico; San Diego, California; and Wilmington, North Carolina. And people in many other places have contributed to my thinking and given me opportunities to learn.

I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Donald Ingwerson, superintendent of the Jefferson County Public Schools; Laramie Leatherman, vice-president of the Gheens Foundation; and the members of the Board of Education in Jefferson County, Kentucky, for their support and understanding. I have learned much in the past five years that I could not have learned had I not had the opportunities that teachers, administrators, school leaders, and business leaders in Jefferson County have provided to me. I am also grateful for the personal and professional support of Sophie Sa, executive director of Matsushita Foundation, Inc.; and Patricia Willis, executive director of BellSouth Foundation.

Numerous individuals made direct contributions to the production of this book. I especially want to thank Thomas Payzant, superintendent of the San Diego Schools; Marilyn Rauth, assistant to the president for educational issues, the American Federation of Teachers; and Marty Vowels and Tena Lutz, staff members of the Center for Leadership in School Reform. Each made substantial contributions to improving the content of this book, as did Hugh Cassell, a superior editorial consultant.

Finally, thanks to my wife, Shelia, who has tolerated much so that I can learn what I need to learn.

Louisville, Kentucky
December 1989

Phillip C. Schlechty

The Author

Phillip C. Schlechty received his B.S. degree (1960) in history and political science, his M.A. degree (1963) in education, and his Ph.D. degree (1967) in education and sociology, all from the Ohio State University. At present, he is president of the Center for Leadership in School Reform, a nonprofit corporation committed to providing support and assistance to school leaders who are engaged in restructuring schools. His primary activities are speaking, lecturing, conducting seminars, and consulting with education leaders and policymakers. His primary interests are in leadership development, the restructuring of schools, and change management.

Schlechty has led a nationwide program to implement curriculum materials developed by the National Science Foundation and has created two organizations aimed at restructuring relationships between universities, state education agencies, and public schools in North Carolina.

Prior to moving to North Carolina, Schlechty served as a classroom teacher. While in North Carolina, from 1969 to 1984, he served as a professor at the University of North Carolina.

The research and action Schlechty initiated in 1978 eventually led to his serving as special assistant to the superintendent of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina, school district. In this capacity, he became known as the architect of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Teacher Development Program.

From 1984 to 1989, he served as executive director of the Jefferson County Public Schools/Gheens Professional Development Academy, an organization he conceived and instituted. The purpose of the academy is to serve as a catalyst for school restructuring and as a general support system for school reform and leadership development in the district.

Schlechty has been the recipient of the American Federation of Teachers Quest Citation and the American Educational Research Association's Professional Service Award. He is the author of numerous books and articles, the most recent of which is *Reform in Teacher Education: A Sociological View* (1989).

Part One

The Purpose of Schools

1

A Future in Jeopardy

Why the Schools of Today Must Change

Purpose refers to an organization's reasons for being. Purpose does not refer to goals. Goals are set and pursued so that purposes may be fulfilled. Goals are targets; purposes have to do with values and commitments. One of the most important acts of leadership is conceptualizing, articulating, and communicating the purpose of the organization that is being led, for purpose defines the way the organization will be envisioned. Moreover, purpose defines the kinds of goals the organization will pursue.

In the late nineteenth century, the railroad magnates believed the purpose of their organizations was to move freight and passengers by rail. In brief, they viewed themselves as being in the railroad business, the rail freight business, and the rail passenger business. In the early part of the twentieth century, mass-produced automobiles and trucks, an improved highway system, and later airplanes caused the railroads considerable trouble. In fact, competition from these sources, combined with other leadership failures, drove many rail lines into bankruptcy. If, as numerous management theorists contend, the leaders of the railroad industry had conceptu-

alized the purpose of their business differently—if they had thought of their enterprise as the freight transportation business, for example—the results for railroads might have been quite different. If railroaders had thought of themselves as being in the transportation business, they would have viewed trucks and airplanes as new technologies for their business rather than as competition. They would have viewed an improved highway system as a subsidy (just as they viewed free land in the nineteenth century as a legitimate subsidy) and would have lobbied for improved highways, rather than lobbying against them.

In brief, getting one's business right is one of the leader's most important acts. And getting one's business right is not simply an exercise in philosophy: It is a question of survival. To get one's business right, one must consider what purposes the enterprise has served in the past, as well as the purposes the enterprise could serve in the future. As Peter Drucker (1974) suggests, these are the crucial questions: What business are we now in? If we continue in our present business, what will our business be like five years from now? Ten years from now? What business would we like to be in ten years from now? What must we do today and tomorrow to be in the business we want to be in ten years from now?

The Purpose(s) of School

The basic position taken in this book is that the present crisis in public education in America has its origins in the fact that leaders of the education enterprise, like the leaders of the railroad enterprise, have never had their business right. If they had, the problems that education now confronts would not seem so intractable. This is not said as a criticism of either railroad magnates or educational leaders past or present. With regard to railroads, up until the turn of the century, indeed well into the twentieth century, the railroad business was a perfectly good business to be in. The flaws in the assumptions on which the railroad enterprise was based did not become apparent until the railroads' environment changed. Only then did it become clear that the way the leaders of the railroads had conceived their business made it impossible to respond and adapt to the needs and potentials of a changing world.

The problem with schools is similar. The American public school system was invented at a time when it seemed that the purpose of education was, or should be, to promote republican/Protestant morality and civic literacy. The environment assumed by this purpose was rural agrarian and was populated, in large part, by white Anglo-Saxons. During the 1840s and much more rapidly during and after the Civil War, this environment underwent major shifts. Instead of a society comprised of white Anglo-Saxons, America became a society composed of increasing numbers of new immigrants, many of whom did not fit the Protestant Anglo-Saxon mold. Some were Irish and Catholic (or German and Catholic); some were Eastern European and Jewish; later many were Italian. And during the same period the United States admitted to its citizenry another large population that had lived in America at least as long—and often longer—than most Anglo-Saxons: the black Americans who until 1863 simply did not count in the educational equation.

Simultaneous with the large influx of non-Anglo-Saxon, non-Protestant people, there were additional economic and demographic shifts. Instead of being a society of farmers and shopkeepers, America became a society of industrialists and factory workers. Instead of being a society of farms and small towns, America became a land of cities, slums, and, later, suburbs. Clearly schools designed to serve a rural agrarian society were not appropriate to the needs of the urban industrial society America was becoming.

And what did that society need? What purposes were schools to fulfill? What was needed—or what was assumed to be needed—were schools that could Americanize the immigrant child and select and sort children in terms of their potential for carrying out work roles in the urban industrial economy. What the industrial society required, or so it then seemed, were a well-educated elite and the masses trained for semiskilled or low-skilled jobs. In those days and times, only a few educators and progressive politicians believed that every child could learn. Most business leaders knew better, for Social Darwinism was the order of the day. Thus the purpose of American education shifted from an emphasis on providing a basic education to promote a common culture (though this purpose remained) to selecting and sorting youngsters in a way that was consistent with the needs of an industrial society.

Of course, not all Americans, and certainly not all American educators, were satisfied with the view that the schools should be the handmaiden of American industry. Many educators viewed schools as instruments to serve very different purposes indeed. These educators, commonly referred to as progressives, argued that the purpose of schooling should be to redress the evils of urban industrial society and ensure the ascendance of humanistic and democratic values in a world that was becoming, in their view, polarized between those who had and those who did not. Some of the more radical progressives went so far as to assert that the purpose of school should be nothing short of reconstructing the society and that the growth and development of the individual child were the prime values to be served by schooling.

Confusion of Purpose and School Reform

By the late 1960s and certainly by the mid-1970s, many educational leaders were coming to feel paralyzed by the institutions that were trying to lead. And when one considers the multiple purposes schools were called on to serve, the sense of paralysis is understandable. The common school, so called because its purpose was to provide a common core of learning for all Americans, had been organized and structured on the assumption of a relatively homogeneous community and a general agreement on values. Though the assumptions that gave rise to these structures were clearly violated in urban schools, many of the forms of the early common schools persisted in urban schools, especially elementary schools. At the same time, new structures began to emerge—for example, the high school and the vocational school—to respond to the need to select and sort as well as to "Americanize." Compounding this situation was the fact that many of the men and women who taught in and who led America's schools believed that the schools should be, first of all, an instrument for changing the social order.

The confusion was in no way relieved by the fact that many of the critics of public education from the 1940s through the 1970s charged that there was much wrong with schools, and what was wrong primarily was that those who ran schools were soft-headed progressives—educationists at best, but more likely socialists or

communists. In addition, researchers, especially during the late 1960s and the early 1970s, began to suggest that the schools could not change the social order even if they dared. (See, for example, Jencks, 1972.) This view—coupled with the demand that the schools save society from Russian scientists (the *Sputnik* reform movement) and the simultaneous demand that the schools become point institutions in the civil rights revolution (to say nothing of the liberal demands for a more human and "relevant" curriculum)—created among many educators a feeling of hopelessness. By the late 1970s it was clear to leaders, especially political leaders in the southeastern United States, that something needed to be done to improve schools. There were, of course, many proposals. For some, the answer was "back to the basics." Still others thought the answers lay in greater accountability, better and more rigorous testing, and strengthened links between productivity and pay. A few saw the answer in the research on effective teaching and effective schools.

Few leaders in education, and fewer critics from outside the education establishment, have addressed the fundamental question of purpose. Rather, each proponent of a school reform argument assumes that schools would be better off if one or another traditional purpose of education were clearly placed at the top of the education agenda. The *Paideia Proposal* (Adler, 1982), the writings of E. D. Hirsch (1988), and the critiques of William Bennet clearly articulate strands of arguments that are reminiscent of assumptions articulated by Horace Mann as a basis for the common school movement. Similarly, the *Nation at Risk* report (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), with its emphasis on "reasserting" high standards, more rigorous graduation requirements, and more rigorous testing, is based, at least in part, on the assumption that the schools have lost their credibility as agents for selecting and sorting the population. If schools are to serve the purpose of selecting and sorting, truth in labeling is necessary. A high school diploma should mean that the recipient has met a clear and well-known standard, or so the argument goes. The Holmes Group report, *Tomorrow's Teachers* (1986), and to a lesser extent the 1986 report of the Carnegie Task Force on Education and the Economy, *A Nation Prepared,* with their emphasis on the professionalization of teaching and the technical skills of teachers, clearly endorse the

assumption that every child can learn and it is the school's mission to ensure equity as well as excellence. Though the authors of these reports do not readily fit the label "progressive educators" and few would be considered radicals, many of their themes would be familiar to educational reformers from the progressive era.

The school reform movement cannot proceed much further, I believe, until its leaders come to grips with the purpose of schooling for the twenty-first century—for, as we will see in the next chapter, the purpose one assumes an organization serves shapes the way the organization is envisioned. And the way in which organizational leaders envision their organization goes a long way to explain the structures they create and the solutions they support and pursue.

The Leadership Imperative

This book proceeds from the assumption that the key to school reform is effective leadership. At present, there is considerable confusion regarding the sources of initiation for change. It is nowadays commonplace to accept the proposition that those who are to implement change must be involved in the decisions that lead to the change. Such a view has led to the notion, mistaken I think, that change must start at the bottom. Conversely, most thoughtful students of the change process understand that effective change requires that those in positions of authority must, in the long run, provide support, encouragement, and direction to serious change efforts. Without such support, changes cannot be sustained—at least they cannot be sustained short of a palace coup or peasant revolt.

Because the role of top-level leaders is crucial in the change process, some argue that change must start at the top. This view, I think, is just as mistaken as the view that change must start at the bottom. Change begins wherever someone is in a position to recognize the need for a change and has the capacity to conceptualize and articulate the nature of the change. Change can be most effectively implemented when those whose energy, commitment, and goodwill are needed to support the change believe in, understand, and support the change. Thus those at the site of change must be involved in decisions regarding the change. And for change to be sustained—

especially changes that are structural in nature—it is essential that those in positions of authority actively support (as opposed to passively tolerate) the change. Structural change, after all, requires systems of authority to be altered, systems of reward to be redesigned, and the symbols of power and prestige to be rearranged. Such fundamental changes cannot occur unless those who have control over the resources of the organization (the moral and symbolic resources as well as the financial and physical resources) can be persuaded to use their control in ways that support the change.

Effective Followers

In a recent article with the interesting title "In Praise of Followers," Robert E. Kelley (1988) makes a number of points that need to be kept in mind as one considers the roles of various individuals in leading and supporting restructuring efforts. Kelley (p. 143) writes:

> Bosses are not necessarily good leaders, subordinates are not necessarily effective followers. Many bosses couldn't lead a horse to water. Many subordinates couldn't follow a parade. Some people avoid either role. Others accept the role thrust upon them and perform it badly.
>
> At different points in their careers, even at different times during the working day, most managers play both roles, though seldom equally well. After all, the leadership role has the glamour and attention. We take courses to learn it, and when we play it we get applause and recognition. But the reality is that most of us are more often followers than leaders. Even when we have subordinates, we still have bosses. For every committee we chair, we sit as a member on several others.

Kelley goes on to observe that the skills, abilities, and attitudes it takes to be a good leader are strikingly similar to those required to be a good follower. (Research conducted by the navy during World War II led to the same conclusion.) Perhaps Kelley's most critical point is that "effective followers see leaders merely as co-adventurers

on a worthy crusade, and if they suspect their leader of flagging commitment or conflicting motives they may just withdraw their support, either by changing jobs or contriving to change leaders" (p. 144).

Changing rules, roles, and relationships in schools—which is what is required if schools are to be restructured—will require leaders to learn new ways of leading. Restructuring will also require subordinates to learn new ways of following. To lead the restructuring effort, those in authority should not confuse loyalty with obedience. Restructuring requires that one's loyalty be bound to principles and visions, not to individual leaders. Leaders are expected to be loyal to the same principles and advance the same visions. If they are not, then it is the leader who is disloyal. Principals who operate in traditional modes will need to learn to lead leaders and others who are empowered to lead, rather than to boss subordinates. Among the things they will need to learn is that "good leaders know how to follow—and . . . set an example for others" (Kelley, 1988, p. 147).

Given the adversarial relationships that have evolved in many school districts, schools are not likely to be restructured until leaders and followers learn to disagree agreeably and learn how to trust and be trustworthy when special interests are at stake. This requires that all parties learn to act responsibly toward their organizations, balance in ethical and forthright ways the interests of these organizations (and their own interests as well), and learn to behave responsibly toward leaders, toward co-workers, and toward themselves. They will also have to appreciate the difference between leadership and followership roles and understand as well that "groups with many leaders can be chaos. Groups with no leaders, but made up of effective followers, can be very productive" (Kelley, 1988, p. 148).

The union leader who treats restructuring as a mechanism to ensure workplace democracy combined with the idea of "one person, one vote" does nothing to advance the cause of participatory leadership in schools, for example, and directly feeds the fears of those who see restructuring as a means of destroying lay control of schools and installing union control. The superintendent or board member who sees restructuring as a means of undercutting union

solidarity or destroying collective bargaining agreements does nothing to advance the cause of effective education and does much to undermine the credibility of strong union leaders who are willing to risk much because they know that the future of public education is at stake. The building principal or central office supervisor who resists restructuring and the empowerment of teachers on the grounds that teacher empowerment takes power away from their "bosses" is probably not a leader in the first place; but if these figures are to retain their power in restructured schools, they must learn to lead rather than to boss.

Restructuring requires that all who participate in the life of the school unlearn many things that have been taught in the past and learn new skills and abilities. It requires leaders to learn to be followers and followers to learn to be leaders. Above all, if schools are to be restructured so that each child will be successful at working on and with knowledge, and if the sacred purpose of schools is to be the production of knowledge work at which students are successful, then all who work in and around schools must subject themselves to the common discipline these goals and values demand. Some days the pursuit of such goals will demand that one lead; on other days, one must follow. But every day it is expected that all will manage themselves well without supervision, that they will be committed to the purpose for which schools exist and to the particular efforts their school is making to pursue that purpose (they will discipline themselves and others by results), that they will continuously build their competence and focus their effort in ways that are designed to produce optimal results for students (they continue to grow and develop, they apply what they learn, and they share what they learn with others), and that they will provide leaders and others with the feedback they need rather than the feedback they want. (See Kelley, 1988.)

Boards of Education

If boards of education are to guide school restructuring, and if local school boards are to retain (or in some cases reestablish) their traditional preeminence in the development of educational policy, then board members must come to understand that it is not reason-

able, possible, or even desirable to expect boards of education to lead school reform or school restructuring. What the school board can do is conduct its business in a way that develops reform-oriented leadership in the district: Board members can ensure that these leaders are identified and placed in positions to direct the reform effort, and they can ensure that, once in place, these leaders will move the district in a direction that is consistent with the values and goals of the community. Moreover, board members must recognize that the continuity of purpose, vision, and structure depends on the board's ability to maintain a steady course despite changes in superintendents and even changes in the membership of the board.

Board members, like superintendents, principals, teachers, and students, should be accountable for results. And the primary results for which they should be accountable are those that have to do with establishing conditions for designing and sustaining a leadership system that will, over time, drive the school district toward excellence. This means that the board members must work with the leaders they employ to develop a shared vision of the school. It means that they must commit themselves to developing policies and supporting programs that will advance that vision. It means that they must commit themselves to resisting the installation of programs that serve special interests but do not advance the school system's capacity to achieve its purpose: assuring that students are provided schoolwork at which they are successful.

Boards of education must create the conditions of invention in school systems, but board members cannot provide leadership to the school district. Rather, board members ensure that such leadership is provided by those they employ to serve the interests of the community and its children. Perhaps the greatest burden school reform places on board members is that they must develop a much more subtle understanding of educational issues. Only boards of education, working in consultation with educators, parents, and other community leaders, have the moral and legal authority to assert what kinds of knowledge have social and cultural value within the context of the local school system. This authority is circumscribed by state law, state regulations, and court rulings, of course, but the fact remains that boards of education do have considerable authority to assert what the next generation should know,

understand, and believe. This is not a minor burden, and the proper execution of this duty will require board members, as well as teachers and students, to function as knowledge workers. And it is in carrying out this duty that the board of education sets the direction of the local school system.

The Teachers' Union

Union leaders, initially from the American Federation of Teachers but increasingly from the National Education Association, have been in the forefront of thinking and action with regard to restructuring schools. To be sure, many local union leaders still view restructuring as just another management ploy to break the union or to undercut gains made through collective bargaining. And sometimes union leaders do seem almost obsessed by the concept of restructuring. Yet much of the best thinking and clearest direction for restructuring schools has in fact been provided by leaders of local teachers' unions as well as national leaders.

It is my view that fundamental restructuring of schools cannot occur without strong support and affirmative leadership from teacher leaders. In schools where collective bargaining is in place, the formal leaders of teachers are the elected leaders of the teachers' union. Even in school districts where collective bargaining does not exist, there is likely to be a formal leadership structure sanctioned by the teachers. To fail to involve these formal leaders in the critical decisions that must be taken if restructuring is to proceed is not only ill-advised, it is a violation of the very assumption upon which restructuring must proceed—that those whose support is needed to make the new system work must be involved in its design. Indeed, if restructuring is to work, the relationship between organized teachers and boards of education must itself be restructured so that trust is nurtured and distrustful adversarial relationships are diminished.

It is significant, I think, that the large urban school districts which have made the most progress toward restructuring are those in which union leaders and superintendents have worked out new ways of relating and new ways of thinking about traditional labor/management issues. As Pat Tornillo, a union leader in Miami, has

observed: "If teachers are to be empowered, the union has to empower them just as much as does the board." Leading the union into rethinking traditional ways of doing things is a critical function that can only be fulfilled by union leaders. Their capacity to fulfill this function—along with the capacity of top-level administrators to reeducate middle-level supervisors and central office personnel—will determine the degree to which a local school district can, in fact, be restructured.

Business Leadership

Reinventing schools, like the reinventing of America's business enterprises, calls for unconventional thinking and a great deal of risk taking. Indeed, those who would lead the school restructuring movement would do well to find ways to relate to, and learn from, those business leaders who are even now facing similar problems of their own.

In my own experience, I have found that business leaders, especially those who are themselves confronting problems that cause them to think about restructuring and culture building, can be powerful allies in the school restructuring effort. Among other things, such leaders, once they are fully enlisted in the school reform movement, can help serious reformers convince impatient newspaper editors and politicians who want instant results with little investment of time or dollars that the kind of reform that is needed takes time and requires considerable investment in human resource development, leadership development, and training generally.

Such views are not commonplace in public bureaucracies. And when those who lead these bureaucracies call for more money for training and more long-term thinking, the reaction is likely to reflect a distrust of their motives. When a CEO from a corporation like Xerox or Ford points out the difficulties of restructuring and advocates the need for major campaigns in training and leadership development, politicians and editors tend to listen. Business leaders who are confronting problems similar to those faced by America's schools need to understand that they are in a unique position to form partnerships with school leaders. For in a very real sense, those who are leading the restructuring of schools and those who are

leading the restructuring of America's enterprises are in the same business. Even more, the success of school leaders at restructuring schools will determine the long-term success of American business. Thus mutual interest as well as civic morality argue strongly for strengthening the relations between business leaders and school leaders.

Such relationships must put aside past antagonism and past suspicion. Business leaders and school leaders must proceed on the basis of mutual trust and respect. In a democracy, education cannot afford to be the handmaiden of business interests, any more than education can afford to be the handmaiden of any other interest group. At the same time, business leaders and school leaders must come to understand that the emergence of the information-based economy is creating a condition where the need for alliances between business and education is even more compelling. And business leaders need to understand that the reason these alliances are necessary is not so that schools can be run in a more businesslike manner. Schools are not businesses. Rather, as America's businesses are being restructured, business leaders are learning that human resource development, continuing education, and continuous growth and development are the keys to business survival. Thus, to stay in business, businesses must be in the school business as well. It is in defining the purpose of schooling and the business of schools that education leaders and business leaders are likely to find the basis for creating the kind of relationships that will be needed if business is to make a significant contribution to the improvement of education in America.

Concluding Remarks

Before school reform can proceed, those who lead schools, those who influence these leaders, those who follow, and those who are called on to provide support must think clearly about the purpose of schools and the schooling enterprise. Until there is a general consensus regarding the purpose of schools and until this purpose is articulated in a way that is consistent with the conditions of an emerging information-based, postindustrial society, substantial improvement in the performance of our schools is unlikely. It is this

premise that has guided the development of this book. And because of this premise, the first topic to be considered is the nature of purpose—how different conceptions of purpose shape the images leaders formulate of the schools they lead. It is from these images that conceptions of how schools should be structured emerge, and it is within the context of these structures that the drama of school reform is being acted out.

2

How the Past Has Shaped the Present

The Shaky Foundation of School System Structures

The way that leaders conceptualize the *purpose* of their enterprise will, in the long run, shape the way their organizations are envisioned and structured. Out of these visions, structures (rules, roles, and relationships) emerge, meanings evolve, and values are realized and made manifest.

In the preceding chapter I suggested that three different, often competing and clearly contradictory, conceptions of the purpose of schools have shaped present thinking about the issues confronting those who would reform and improve our schools. In early days of the republic, most educational leaders assumed that the purpose of schooling was to promote republican/Protestant morality and develop the kind of literacy thought to be essential to fulfilling one's civic duties. Such a view of the purpose of schooling persists even today, and there are many who subscribe to it. During the period following the Civil War, however, another concept of schooling gained a significant following. In this emerging view, the purpose of schools was thought to be to Americanize the immigrant child and to select, sort, and standardize students according to their ability to fit into the urban factory system.

Partly in reaction to the view that schools should be designed to serve primarily economic and chauvinistic ends, and partly as an outgrowth of the general progressive movement that spread through America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many educational leaders and some political leaders articulated yet another purpose for schools. These progressives began to look to the schools to serve social reform purposes as well as political, economic, and cultural ends. Rather than selecting and sorting children, schools were to remediate social ills. By the early twentieth century, and perhaps even more so by the 1930s, many thought that the "real" purpose of schools was to serve as an engine of social reform—a means by which the injustices inherent in an urban industrial society might be redressed. This chapter explains how these differing conceptions of the purpose of schools translated into different visions of schools and how these differing visions led to the chaotic, confusing, and internally contradictory structures that typify schooling in America today.

The School as Tribal Center

Implicit in much of the early thinking about the nature and purpose of education in America was a nearly religious reverence for its possibilities. Indeed, much of the mythology of America is tied to the view that education is not only liberating but essential for liberty. Thus the survival of the republic depended on the young coming to understand and respect the traditions upon which the republic was based. And it was also essential that these same young people be literate enough to fulfill their civic duties.

The schools that were created, the so called common schools, had many of the characteristics of a tribal center designed to induct the young into the traditions of the tribe. Citizenship and cultural enlightenment became the basis for the school curriculum. The curriculum became, in effect, a repository of the lore of the republic—the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant republic. And the school became the center of the tribe or, more accurately, the center of the community that was assumed to exist and which it was assumed the schools were designed to serve.

It is not surprising that the study of ancient cultures, espe-

cially those in Greece and Rome, was the central feature in the education of the young, for it was to these cultures that educated Americans looked for guidance in the republican experiment. Nor should it be surprising that classics of English literature had an important place in schools, for in this literature one finds set forth the values of Anglo-Saxon culture. Finally, it is not surprising that the early McGuffey's Readers contained Protestant morality tales, for America was, after all, a Protestant nation, or so it was held.

If the curriculum is viewed as the lore of the tribe, then there is a certain logic to the assumption that teaching is a sacred profession; for those who hold and transmit the traditions of the tribe have a sacred role. And, as if to confirm the sacred image of teaching, many teachers in the nineteenth century were products of women's seminaries. It was, in fact, from these young women that many early teacher training institutions (commonly referred to as normal schools) got their inspiration and direction. The sons of New England may have gone to Harvard and then to the missions of the West and Hawaii, but the daughters went to the seminary and then to the frontier to keep school. Of course, some of the sons took their considerable talents to the schools as well. And many of the sons of affluent families "in the west" went east to get a university degree and returned to their native states to be schoolmasters, principals, and superintendents. If the teacher was a priestess, the schoolmaster was surely a high priest. Furthermore, like most members of sacred professions, teachers and "schoolmen" were seen as in the community—but not of it—in Willard Waller's term "friendly strangers" (Waller, 1961).

Such a view, of course, had implications for the rules, roles, and relationships that would typify schools. Teachers may not literally have had to take vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but teachers were not well paid (concern about pay was viewed by many as a sign of weak commitment to the profession) and female teachers signed contracts that precluded marriage and regulated their courting behavior. As Waller has observed, teachers were viewed as sexless creatures who, if they had offspring at all, had them by some asexual process like budding. Later, as the number of children outstripped the number of women willing to forgo marriage, the rules were changed a bit. Women could marry, but they could not get

pregnant—that is, they were not permitted to teach beyond the first trimester.

Similarly, male schoolteachers were looked upon with some suspicion and considerable disdain (mixed with respect and awe). Those who yearn for the good old days when all teachers were competent, committed, and respected would do well to remember that Ichabod Crane is as much a part of American folk stories as is Miss Dove. Indeed, in 1932 Willard Waller characterized the stereotype of the teaching occupation as an occupation comprised of unmarriageable women and unsalable men.

Students, of course, were seen as neophytes to be inducted into the tribe. The respect owed teachers was respect for elders and their presumed wisdom. The concept of *in loco parentis* had its origins in the tribal images that were held of schools and the schooling process. Likewise, the invention of the lay school board combined a reverence for democratic institutions such as the New England town meeting with an abiding faith in the assumption that those who were elected would themselves be representative of the elders of the tribe. School boards would work, it was held, because those who were on the board would be community leaders. Those who invented lay school boards did not imagine a day when election to the school board was a way of *becoming* a community leader. For the early designers of America's schools, service on a lay board was a duty community leaders would bear; board membership was not viewed as a political opportunity or a chance to make a statement.

Like all characterizations, the vision of the school as tribal center breaks down when put to empirical tests. Certainly the ideas undergirding the common school, the common curriculum, normal schools, and lay school boards were not born out of tribal instincts. Teachers in many communities never heard of, let alone attended, a female seminary, and many schoolmasters never attended a real university (of which there were none before the Civil War). But teachers did look upon teaching as a calling and a social service, something akin to the ministry. And early boards of education were as much concerned with the moral competence of those they hired as they were with their proficiency in the classroom. There was certainly much in the curriculum in addition to the lore and myths that undergirded a Protestant republican view of the world, but one need

only inspect the original McGuffey's Readers to understand that republican morality and Protestant values were never far from the classroom.

Certainly there are few responsible leaders in education today who would take America's schools back to the common school days or return to McGuffey's Readers, though some would indeed go that far. Certainly few believe that teachers should take vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, though there are many who find teachers' concerns with salary issues a very disturbing trend. "After all," such critics seem to ask, "who wants to be ministered to by a priest who is more worried about his paycheck than the souls of his flock?"

The common school has disappeared from America except in a few isolated areas. Teachers and principals, superintendents and boards of education, no longer occupy the same position they once held in the life of the typical American community. Yet there is a residue of sentiment shaped by myth, folklore, and oral tradition which suggests that if only America's schools could return to those days of yesteryear when teachers were dedicated and well educated and every parent supported the school, all would be well in America's schoolhouses.

The School as Factory

The influx of non-English-speaking and non-Protestant people, urbanization, and industrialization all had major impacts on American education. The small New England village with its assumed value consensus simply did not translate into the increasingly multiracial, multiethnic world of urban America. And as schools came to be expected to serve economic as well as cultural and civic purposes, the image that educators came to hold of themselves and their enterprises began to shift as well. While once the common school was viewed as a community center where the young were sent to be socialized as well as educated, the urban high school, junior high school, and, to a lesser extent, the elementary schools came to be viewed as institutions to be managed and a set of educational experiences to be organized. As Callahan (1963) has observed, school leaders, like the industrial leaders they looked to as models and guides, sought the Holy Grail of scientific management. Effi-

ciency became the prime value; differentiation, standardization, control, and rationality became the operating guides.

Schools designed to select and sort begin from the assumption that standards must be established and then maintained. And it must be one standard for all, else standardization is impossible, or so some think. Thus a new concept was introduced to American education: the concept of school failure. The concept of failure was rendered operational in schools by a number of novel devices—for example, the graded school system and the graded reader. These two devices alone were powerful tools for the introduction of failure into America's schools. By introducing the notion of school grades (first grade, second grade, and so on), it was almost assured that some would not "make the grade." Indeed, educators who insisted that children should not fail were viewed as "soft" and were later seen as the culprits who caused the supposed erosion of standards in America's schools. "How," it was asked, "could schools have standards if no one failed?"

The vision of the school that began to emerge in the late nineteenth century camé to full flower in the early twentieth century with the invention of the American public high school, the tracked curriculum, and the emergence of vocational schools: the school as factory. In this image, the curriculum is an assembly line for students: a fast curriculum for fast students, a modified curriculum for the not so fast, and a vocational curriculum for others. In some schools, these curriculum differences were referred to as the college preparatory curriculum, the general curriculum, and the vocational curriculum. From among the redbirds, bluebirds, and buzzards of the first grade reading groups would come the "wood chippers" of industrial arts and the "grinds" of the gifted programs.

In this vision, students are viewed as products to be molded, tested against common standards, and inspected carefully before being passed on to the next workbench for further processing. And because students were (and sometimes still are) viewed as products of schooling, they were viewed as bringing the basic raw material to schools. The quality of this raw material—the student's aptitude for succeeding in the college preparatory curriculum—is, of course, determined primarily by family background, euphemistically referred to in education circles and among social scientists as socio-

economic status (SES). Children from poor families simply are not good raw material for the educational enterprise. On the other hand, the children of the affluent do quite nicely in school. And thus the variance in school products from slums and suburbs can be explained—or so some would argue.

If students are products and a student's background determines the quality of the raw material, who then are teachers and principals and what is the role of the superintendent and board of education? There are at least two conceptions of teachers that are consistent with the factory image of schooling. First there is the view that teachers are, or should be, highly skilled technocrats: professionals in the sense that engineers, accountants, and architects are professionals. A second view is that teachers, in general, are not very skilled, not very insightful, and, within the context of "real" professions such as law and medicine, not very bright.

In schools where the first view of teaching prevails, emphasis is placed on technique and technical training. Curriculum design and curriculum supervision become centerpieces in the control structure of schools. In such schools it is assumed that the technical skills of teachers are sufficient to do things right, but it is up to others to judge what teachers ought to do. Hence the quest for the one right method of instruction. Where the second conception of teachers is operative, the control structures of the school are the control structures of the factory: tight supervision and product inspection. Curriculum design and the quest for teacher-proof materials dominate the thinking of many central office functionaries, but the curriculum guides must be made simple for teachers as well as students. Above all, the curriculum must be articulated with the tests that will be used to inspect the students who are the products of this controlled and rational process.

The role of the principal in the school as factory shifts from chief priest of the tribal center to manager of the industrial center. Skill in supervision becomes a highly valued commodity, as does the ability to manage time effectively. The ability to coordinate complex schedules for others to follow becomes the quintessential skill that a principal, especially a high school principal, must possess and display.

The superintendent becomes the plant manager working for a board that sometimes views itself as the executive board of the company. Indeed, some school districts go so far as to pay board members a salary so they can be fairly compensated for their management and executive responsibilities. The board collectively operates as the chief executive for the school system; the superintendent, like the plant manager, is employed to do what the "boss" assigns.

Like the tribal image, the factory image does not describe the empirical reality of school life. In even the most factory-like schools, some teachers continue to function as moral and intellectual leaders rather than as technocrats. And certainly some teachers are not very effective technocrats in spite of efforts to make them so. Similarly, there are principals who function as leaders rather than managers and as coaches rather than supervisors. The factory image, however, makes it more difficult for all of these things to happen. Indeed, when they do happen and are discovered, they are causes of celebration in the press and among researchers. Researchers have made much of the fact, for example, that there are schools in large bureaucratic school systems that do work—if by work one simply means that such schools do produce higher test scores, especially in the early grades and with poor children. These schools are sometimes referred to as "effective schools." Generally speaking, though, researchers find that the principals and teachers in these schools find ways to get around the existing bureaucracy and impose a different structure.

There are any number of boards of education who do not endeavor to manage schools and who approach their jobs as moral and intellectual leaders in the community. But far too many school board members see their position as an opportunity to run something—an opportunity that some may never have experienced prior to serving on the board.

There are superintendents who are visionary leaders, who cause trouble by insisting on confronting problems and changing schools to deal with the problems. There are superintendents who view their job as creating conditions in which others make good decisions rather than reserving all decision making to themselves. But such superintendents are all too rare. Most try to run a tight

ship, make sure that problems are concealed if not solved, and keep the assembly line running with minimum downtime.

The School as Hospital

A third vision of the school, the school as hospital, grows out of the perception that the legitimate purpose of schools is to redress the pain and suffering imposed on children by the urban industrial society. In this view, injustice and inequity in society place some children at a disadvantage or at risk. It is the school's obligation to ensure that these children receive an even break in life. And education is the great equalizer.

Poor children do not bring to school the resources that the more affluent bring, but poor children are entitled to the same education. To achieve this end, schools must concentrate on the needs of the children. Indeed, the purpose of school is to meet the needs of children, however those needs are manifest. If children are hungry, feed them; if they are ill-clothed, clothe them. Personal hygiene should be taught, sex education is a necessity, and teachers must carefully study each child so that every student receives precisely the treatment he or she needs.

On the surface, few would argue with this view of the schools. Yet anyone who has been around the school business knows that the hospital view of schooling is, nowadays, more the property of professional educators than of the lay public at large. Indeed, many critics believe that the real problem is that schools have gotten away from their purpose—to educate children—and have taken on services that should be provided by other agencies. Many educators, on the other hand, are adamant in their view that equity goals require a commitment to children beyond that which the factory-oriented schools would provide, as well as an awareness of cultural diversity that is seldom reflected in the programs of those who view the schools as tribal centers. So many educators are committed to this view, in fact, that they frequently launch campaigns to advance their cause among their peers and with other groups as well. The recent concern with "at-risk youth," for example, gets much of its energy from educators and the organizations that represent them (such as the National Education Association).

What would the school look like if it were organized to treat every child and meet his or her needs regardless of cost? First, it is clear that the teaching occupation would have to be professionalized. Teachers would view themselves as service-delivery professionals, much as physicians and lawyers are service-delivery professionals. The primary obligation of such professionals is to meet the needs of clients. Clients place trust in service-delivery professionals because they assume that the professional is a member of a self-policing occupational group that has command of a body of skills and knowledge over which the group exercises a relative monopoly. Such professionals need a great deal of decision-making autonomy, because only their peers are in a position to judge the quality of their performance—or so it is sometimes argued.

Students in this model are clients to be served. Theoretically, at least, the hospital model elevates the importance of a student from that of "product," though it keeps the student in a dependent role—that is, the role of client dependent on the expert. The curriculum becomes a prescription, and the ideal prescription is highly individualized. Heavy emphasis is given to diagnostic testing and the use of scientific instruments. Indeed, schools oriented toward the hospital model would favor intervention strategies (treatments) based on research and derived from clinical trials.

The role of principals, superintendents, and board members in the hospital model becomes more problematic. In some instances, principals are seen as chiefs of staff; in other cases, they are viewed as functionaries who manage the necessary bureaucracy. The role of the superintendent and the board varies as well. In some instances, those who take the hospital image seriously reject the idea that lay boards have any real role in the governance of a truly professionally run school. More typically, a governance structure made up of professionals and laypersons is advocated.

One reason for the ambiguity regarding the top-level governance of schools is that hyper-professionalized teaching is further from empirical reality than either the tribal image or the factory image. Put differently, educators have sufficient daily experience with the image of the school as tribal center and the school as factory to suggest what the image would mean in practice. They

have less experience with teaching as a fully developed service-delivery profession.

The idea of teaching as a service-delivery profession with students as clients and schools as hospitals is not, however, totally alien to educational thought and practice. The argument underlying the Holmes Group recommendations on reform in teacher education and the role of major research institutions in the preparation of teachers is based, in large part, on the idea that teaching is, or should be, in many ways parallel to professions like law and medicine. Indeed, the idea of the professional development school (an idea I helped to formulate) is based on the concept of the teaching hospital.

Much of the literature written by special educators, and much of the policy surrounding the education of the handicapped, uses language strikingly reminiscent of medicine; words like *diagnosis* and *prescription* are used often, and the term *instrument* seems ever present. Nowhere, in fact, is pretentious clinical language, the language of the laboratory and the hospital, more in use than in special education and remedial programs—the two places in school where one is most likely to find academic "casualties."

Those who are critical of the idea that teachers should be afforded professional status frequently use three arguments. First they argue that teachers do not have command of a special body of knowledge (as do physicians and lawyers) and that there is in fact no special body of knowledge available to teaching. Pretensions in the field of educational research are precisely that. Even if there is something worth knowing, the nature of teacher education is such that few teachers would have learned it.

Second, they argue that the concept of lay control is central to education in America, and the professionalization of teaching, especially if it proceeded along the lines pursued by law and medicine, would be a threat to lay control.

Third, they argue that professionalization of teaching would lead to anarchy, since teachers would be in a position to prescribe whatever they think the student needs, regardless of the directives of administrators or the commandments of the school board. Indeed, administrators would be working for the teachers, rather than the teachers for them.

At this point I will not consider the merits of the school as hospital, nor will I consider the merits of the arguments against professionalizing teaching. I will observe, however, that of all the issues in the restructuring argument likely to raise debate, the concept of teaching as a profession like law and the concept of teacher empowerment are certain to produce strong reactions, both pro and con.

The Problem Defined

America's educators have had considerable success in running schools where there is value consensus. The school as tribal center has a long tradition in America, and where the assumptions upon which such schools are based are reflected in the community, such schools still work—if by work one means satisfies parents and keeps community leaders relatively happy. Many private schools and some magnet schools achieve such homogeneity of view by the simple expedient of accepting only children whose parents value education as the school defines it.

American educators also know how to make schools work to achieve effective selecting and sorting. The solution, if one wants to call it that, is to establish high (or at least rigorous) standards for performance and deportment and then to reward those who comply and punish those who do not. From time to time, principals "turn inner city schools around" by asserting the tight control of a shop foreman, setting clear standards, and inspecting, inspecting, inspecting. These principals are usually willing to accept casualties in the form of dropouts, expulsions, and discipline referrals. So long as the community agrees that the school's purpose is to establish standards and determine who meets them, factory-like schools work as well as tribal centers—at least these schools work for the children who survive them.

There are, of course, schools organized on principles strikingly similar to those governing hospitals. Some of the university-based laboratory schools had features something like hospitals, as did a number of schools represented in the celebrated Eight Year Study (Aiken, 1942). Students in these experimental schools gener-

ally did as well as or better in academic areas than students in other schools. Students in the experimental schools were generally superior to students from traditional schools in creativity, the ability to make independent judgments, and the ability to work in groups. Despite these successes, these schools eventually abandoned their experimental programs. Why? Largely because they found the norms and procedures used to support the selecting and sorting function almost impossible to resist. For example, many of the schools in the Eight Year Study did not report letter grades for students, a practice that caused concern on college and university campuses. Initially some leading colleges provided special waivers to students from these experimental schools, but eventually the schools began to be pressured to indicate "what grade they would give the student if the school were to give grades."

The problem, of course, is that in the real world of public schools, circumstances contrive to make such clear pursuit of historic purposes difficult. The value consensus assumed by the tribal center image seldom exists even in a neighborhood, to say nothing of an entire urban school district. In many of America's urban communities, teachers are not even viewed as "friendly strangers," for they are unknown to everyone except their immediate peers and a few involved parents. Urban America permits anonymity for teachers as well as for parents and children. Anonymity is not, however, a foundation for building the kind of moral base that will sustain a sacred profession.

Schools that become too effective at selecting and sorting eventually become known as sources of high dropout rates, a major problem in the politics of American education. As it becomes clear that those who do not meet the standard, whatever the standard is, are most likely to come from families that are poor and of particular ethnic extraction, community pressure will mount to ensure equal access to educational opportunities. And, over time, measures to restructure the old factory to serve the selecting and sorting function while meeting social service needs will lead to friction, conflict, and increasing inefficiency. It is to deal with these frictions that tracking arose, and it is in response to these frictions that much of the present-day special education enterprise has developed.

The Public Reaction

Policymakers have recognized the problems described here. The response has been of several varieties. The first, and most specious, response is to argue that teachers have become lazier or more incompetent than teachers in the good old days, and what is needed is a good dose of accountability coupled with merit pay. The assumption here is that, in the past, American educators knew how to teach the children of the poor, as well as children without strong family support, to read, write, and cipher. Some poor children did succeed in school, just as some now succeed. Indeed, a significant proportion of today's teachers themselves come from among the "respectable" poor in rural America and blue-collar families in urban America.

What many critics overlook, though, is that for good or ill many more students are sticking with school than in the past. One can argue that they are not learning what they should learn, but those who did not attend school in the past certainly learned less. In 1920, some 22 percent of the twenty-five to twenty-nine-year-olds in America had completed four years of high school. By 1940 the number had increased to 41 percent. By 1960 the figure was 64 percent. By 1985, some 87 percent of all twenty-five to twenty-nine-year-old Americans had completed four years of high school.

Whether schools are doing more for children today than in the past may be debatable, but schools are surely doing no less. At least they are keeping more children in contact with the school where something worthwhile might happen. (Unfortunately, it can be argued that bad things might happen as well.)

A second policy initiative is to increase choice for parents through such devices as vouchers and tuition tax credits. The idea is that parents will choose schools that best suit the needs of their children or are consistent with the parents' values. In effect, some policymakers and reformers believe that vouchers and tuition tax credits might create artificial communities of interest and value, much like the communities that many private schools now create through selective admission standards. In such cases, assumptions about the way schools should be organized and managed could be quite consistent with the assumptions upon which the common

school was based—updated to take into account modern technology. More likely, tuition tax credits and vouchers will lead to self-selection into schools that are themselves organized to select and sort. The self-selection would be on the basis of decisions regarding which schools had standards appropriate to the child, that is, schools where the child could "make the grade."

On the surface, permitting parents to select schools where their children can make the grade sounds like a noble notion, and in some circumstances it could be. So long as the dominant mode of school organization is aimed toward selecting and sorting, though, the poor and uninformed will choose schools with low standards and the well-to-do will choose schools with high standards. What we need are schools that have high standards but are designed to ensure that every child, or nearly every child, will be able to meet those standards.

Concluding Remarks

If public education is to survive as a vital force in American life, there must be a reformulation of the school's purpose. That reformulation must contain elements of all three of the prior formulations—tribal center, factory, and hospital—for each of these statements of purpose still has meaning in American society.

Those who would deny that schools must promote a common culture do not understand that schools are not only designed to develop individuals; schools are also established as the means by which societies, especially democratic societies, perpetuate the conditions of their existence.

Those who would deny that schools should serve the purpose of civic literacy overlook one of the most basic understandings upon which the American republic is based—that liberty and ignorance cannot long abide each other. Either ignorance will be overcome or liberty will be eroded. And literacy is essential to ensure the defeat of ignorance.

Those who would deny that schools are places of work and that schools do serve economic as well as cultural and civic ends must overlook the fact that, for the first time in the history of humankind, in America at least, education is essential to livelihood.

There was a time, not so long ago, when an illiterate person could find productive employment. This is less true today than in the past. Even relatively low-status positions in the service sector require a level of literacy not required of the short-order cook at Ptomaine Tommy's Diner (a place where I worked and ate). To use technologically based consumer products and to assemble children's toys at Christmas, one needs more ability to work with symbols and ideas than our grandfathers needed to carve wooden dolls and our grandmothers needed to knit socks.

Women and men who do not work easily with ideas, symbols, and abstractions, who cannot solve problems in a self-conscious way, and who have no categories into which they can place information will find themselves in difficulty—not only in the workplace, but in the kitchen, the nursery, and even a bass boat. In this age of fact, as C. Wright Mills (1959) has indicated, it is not more facts that people need. Citizens need ideas, concepts, and refined sensibilities to make sense out of the facts that bombard them daily and overwhelm their instincts as well as their understanding.

Finally, anyone who fails to appreciate the demand for equity in the pursuit of excellence and anyone who believes that academic success is simply a matter of hard work and individual initiative must also believe that the poor deserve to be poor. There are people who believe such things, but this book is not for them. Certainly academic success, or any other kind of success, demands commitment, discipline, and initiative. Schools cannot make children successful, but schools can create an opportunity structure where children will succeed. Schools cannot, for example, provide students with supportive parents. But schools can be organized to provide significant adult support to children who do not have supportive parents.

In sum, what we need is a formulation of schools that honors the cultural and civic purposes suggested by the tribal center image of schools, the purposeful activity and economic link suggested by the factory metaphor, and the nurturing and child-centered emphasis suggested by the concept of the school as hospital. Above all, we need a formulation of purpose that will lead to a vision which will enhance and empower students as well as honor and reward those to

whom society turns to educate the youth: teachers, principals, superintendents, and all who work in and about school.

In the next chapter I formulate a version of such a purpose and describe the image of school that would flow from this formulation. Subsequently, I will explain how such a vision might be translated into reality.

3

New Purposes for a New Era

Reinventing Our Schools

Much of the initial force behind the present school reform movement grew out of concern that American education was not preparing students to compete in the emerging information-based global economy. Given that our present system of schooling was designed to meet the needs of first an agrarian rural society and then an urban industrial society, it should not be surprising to find there is a need to redesign our schools. Such a redesign must begin, I believe, with a fundamental reconceptualization of the purpose and vision that will provide the framework out of which restructured schools might emerge to meet the needs of the twenty-first century. This chapter indicates a direction that might be pursued in the quest for a new vision of schools and schooling.

The Knowledge-Work Society

Nowadays it is commonplace for management theorists, journalists, and futurists to argue that America is becoming an information-based society and economy. There is, unfortunately, a great deal of misunderstanding regarding the term *information-*

based and the related terms *knowledge-based, knowledge work,* and *learning-based.* At present there is no standard meaning for these terms, so I will explain my intent when I use them. Following Drucker's lead (Drucker, 1974, for example), I define the term *knowledge work* as putting to use ideas and symbols to produce some purposeful result. Work is simply physical or mental effort expended to produce something. Thus the term *knowledge work* focuses attention on the idea of expending mental effort. At this moment, the reader is engaged in knowledge work in an effort to understand my meaning. As I write these words for the anonymous reader, I too am engaging in knowledge work, for I am trying to construct a pattern of symbols (words and ideas) that will convey what I intend.

To say that American society is shifting from an industrially based society to an information-based society is to say that the means of production increasingly involves the use of information (a form of knowledge) to increase wealth and improve living standards, health standards, and education standards as well. In an information-based society, knowledge work is the primary mode of work, since information provides the primary means by which work is accomplished.

To many people, unfortunately, the argument that America is becoming an information-based, service-oriented society means that manufacturing will play an increasingly small part in the U.S. economy. Such a view is misguided. The point is that the basis for manufacturing will shift from an emphasis on machinery and muscle to an emphasis on the management and use of knowledge.

Consider, for example, that at present fewer than 2 percent of Americans farm, yet America's farms produce more today than they did when the country was agriculturally based and over half the population was employed in farming. What accounts for this fact? Obviously, the American economy's shift from an agricultural base to an industrial base accounts for many improvements in farm productivity—at least until recently when the applications of *knowledge* to farm problems (genetic engineering, chemical fertilizers, improved nutrition for livestock) brought about dramatic improvements in yield. Farms did not get more productive because a stronger and faster breed of horse was produced to pull the plow. Farms

became more productive when reapers and tractors were invented. Machine power is different in kind from animal power, not just different in degree. Agricultural production increased even more dramatically when knowledge workers began to turn their attention to agriculture. Knowledge work is different in kind from physical work, not just different in degree. And the application of knowledge can magnify the effects of manual work and the work of machines many times over.

The basic argument that compels many business and labor leaders to commit themselves to improving education in America is the argument that the only possible way for America to compete in a global economy and maintain the present standard of living is to increase the capacity of the citizenry to do knowledge work and to increase the number of citizens capable of such work. Jobs that do not require a significant use of knowledge are too labor intensive to demand the wages American workers are paid. If these jobs are to exist at all, they will exist in lands where labor is cheaper—or American wages will be depressed to the global rate. The alternative is to enrich the knowledge base of work in America and develop a work force that can employ this base effectively and imaginatively.

Thus if manufacturing is to be maintained in America, the basis for the production of goods must shift from investments in machines to investments in knowledge. And investments in knowledge are inherently investments in people, for humankind is the only knowing "kind" so far as we know.

An Important Aside

The images I will shortly explore cause me to use words that I know from experience make some educators, journalists, and university professors uneasy if not outraged. I will, for example, refer to students as knowledge workers and customers of knowledge work, teachers as leaders and inventors, the curriculum as raw material, and principals as leaders of leaders or leaders of instructors (rather than instructional leaders). I will equate schools to corporate entities like IBM, and I will suggest that superintendents might better be thought of as CEOs of the largest knowledge-work business in

the community rather than as priests to be treated with respect or plant managers to be bossed around.

For many this image is at once too commercial and inherently anti-intellectual. The idea of the student as worker suggests to many the idea of drudgery and compliance rather than excitement and creativity. The view of the school as a knowledge-work enterprise suggests that one is simply legitimating the schools as handmaidens to business interests, just as Marxist and neo-Marxist scholars have long asserted is already the case with schools in America.

Are not words like *student* and *teacher* perfectly good words, critics will rightly ask? Should the effort not be to invest these words with respect, rather than invent new words and a new jargon? The problem is that these words now convey meanings that are antithetical to the way schools should be structured if they are to serve the purposes the twenty-first century will impose. For many, *teacher* is synonymous with instructor and conveyor of knowledge. In schools of the future, teachers will not be sources of information; they will be guides to information sources. Too often the word *student* stirs up the image of a child sitting passively, receiving instruction from an adult. In the school of the future, students will produce knowledge, not simply receive it.

The need to use new language to create new thoughtways seems clear. But the reason I have chosen the language used here has to do, as well, with my view of the nature and effects of knowledge work within the context of a democracy. I will begin my argument there.

Knowledge, Power, Democracy, and Equity

"Knowledge is power," so Francis Bacon's saying goes. Historically such statements have found more basis in the pious hopes of academics and philosophers than in empirical fact. In early colonial days and up through the Civil War, landownership was power in America. Indeed, in many states the right to vote was tied to ownership of land. It was assumed, of course, that landowners would also be among the more knowledgeable in the community, for they had the wherewithal to buy education. But the sons of landowners did not get a college degree to get power. They went to

college to confirm the power they had and the status to which they and their families aspired.

After the Civil War, ownership of the means of production (I am not a Marxist, but I am a realist) became another avenue to power. Certainly inventors like Edison used knowledge as a basis of generating wealth, but many of the most wealthy and (as Edison illustrates) most inventive have had little formal education. Andrew Carnegie built libraries, but he was not a graduate of the academy. Certainly there has been a high correlation between education and income, but it is debatable whether education produces income or income produces education. Certainly the link between education and income, and between education and power, is not as direct as some would have had the young believe. Now, however, it is becoming clear that as American society becomes more information-based, those who have knowledge and know how to use it do have power. Indeed, the major democratic revolution that many reformers have looked for may come about precisely because the means of production in an information-based society is based on knowledge and the ability to put it to work to create, to invent, and to solve problems. Those who have knowledge-work skills will have access to the levers of power and those who are denied knowledge will be denied access—just as those who owned no land were denied the vote in the early days of America's democratic experiment.

Put differently, unlike land that one can get through inheritance, luck, or fraud, as well as through hard work, planning, and initiative, knowledge is not as easily controlled (though despots try and nation-states sometimes succeed). Above all, the ability to use knowledge is a private and personal possession. Companies can, perhaps, buy knowledge workers, but they can never own them; this is one of the reasons why large companies do so much to engender employee loyalty and are so fearful of industrial espionage and corporate raiders. Knowledge workers, if they are good at what they do, are of much more value to employers—and to the body politic—than those who have no means to amplify their own importance and power other than the withdrawal of muscle and brawn.

Knowledge workers, to be effective, require a much more open environment than despotic states and nondemocratic regimes are likely to tolerate. Indeed, a reasonable argument can be made

that one of the compelling forces behind the current wave of reform in the USSR is the recognition that the Russian economy, like the American economy, can only succeed on the basis of effective applications of knowledge and that the tools of the despot do not nurture the growth of knowledge or the growth of knowledge workers.

As numerous observers have noted, those who work with ideas and symbols are less tolerant of authoritarian leaders than those who are ill at ease in the world of ideas. These well-educated people—who have been referred to as "gold-collar workers" (Kelley, 1985)—are as interested in life-style as in standard of living. Certainly, few youngsters who graduate from high school and go no further with their education would be considered gold-collar workers. But the kind of work now being done by gold-collar workers, and the values that this form of work seems to engender, will surely be taken into account by corporate America. And what affects the structure of corporate America will, eventually, affect other institutions as well.

It is reasonable to expect that, as the American economy becomes more information-based and as the mode of labor shifts from manual work to knowledge work, concern with the continuous growth and learning of citizens and employees will increase. Moreover, the conditions of work will require one to learn to function well in groups, exercise considerable self-discipline, exhibit loyalty while maintaining critical faculties, respect the rights of others, and in turn expect to be respected. As I remember my idealized civics lessons, this list of characteristics could as well be a list of the virtues of a citizen in a democracy.

I am personally persuaded that the professional leaders who work in and around many of America's advanced knowledge-work businesses (IBM, the Bell Companies, AT&T) are more socially conscious and ethically sensitive than were the robber barons of the past and many entrepreneurs of today. One need not share my optimistic view of professional executives, however, to accept other parts of the argument. One need not be an admirer of America's corporate leaders (some of whom I admire, some of whom I find abhorrent) to understand that in the information-based society, commitment to human development and creating the conditions of freedom, growth, and respect in the workplace are not simply ethical choices.

Investing in people is simply good business, for in the information society, knowledge and the ability to use it are power. And those who have knowledge are the employees.

The Educator's Choice

Corporate leader after corporate leader, when asked what they "want from the schools," in the end respond, "We need people who know how to learn." Knowing how to learn, to learn on purpose, to learn from class, from books, and from instructors, actively to seek information to solve problems, to use others as resources in solving problems—these are far more complex qualities to develop than simple skill in decoding words and manipulating numerical symbols. Schools may not be teaching all children to read, write, and cipher, but even if schools were perfect in this regard, they would not meet the needs of the information-based society America is becoming. What is wanted is a school system that can ensure that all children will learn to read, write, and cipher and at the same time ensure that all children will learn how to think. This is a challenge that has never before faced public education in America.

The ability to think and solve problems; to take the creative turn; to draw upon a rich vocabulary based on a deep understanding of language and the human condition—these are all attributes that thoughtful business leaders will seek in the future work force. Those who have simply "mastered the basic skills" and those who get through high school by taking courses that call upon them to engage in low-level recall, to be punctual in turning in assignments, and to place their name in the appropriate blank on the test form may get diplomas, but they will not do well in America of the twenty-first century.

Those who are committed to school improvement (as opposed to school reform) have set for themselves the task of assuring that the schools improve their capacity to teach the "basic skills" to all children. Confronted with the failure of schools in this regard, especially with those children that educators now call "at risk," such a goal seems noble and worthwhile. Much has been learned about how such goals can be achieved in the existing structure. There is considerable research evidence, for example, that given the

way schools are now structured, smaller classes, direct instruction, and techniques derived from behavior modification research in laboratories do have positive consequences in the acquisition of basic skills. Indeed, much of the special education enterprise in schools is based on such assumptions, as are many remediation programs.

What would happen if schools were structured differently? One cannot be certain, but there are some hints. Cooperative learning—a technique of putting children in work groups and assuring that children with different backgrounds and differing abilities have experiences in working together in productive ways—has proved to be effective in developing basic skills in youngsters of wide ranges of background and, at the same time, developing skills in thinking, group problem solving, and so on. The National Writing Project (see, for example, Dunham and Mills, 1981), which involves teachers and students in active participation in writing and sometimes results in teacher and student publications, is another example.

The problem with most of these efforts is that the present structure of schools with their emphasis on lockstep grading systems, classes meeting on a regular schedule, standardized grading periods, and skill testing at short intervals (a year is a short interval in the life of a human being) creates conditions in which many of the most promising innovations are difficult to implement and even more difficult to sustain. The present structure of schools simply does not accommodate the new means of doing the job. Indeed, the structure is so impervious to change that new technologies, no matter how promising, are generally rejected. (See Schlechty, 1976, for a detailed discussion of this point.) If schools are to serve the purpose that the emerging information-based society is asking them to fulfill—in brief, to develop students as thinkers, problem solvers, and creators—then the structure of schools must be redefined to accommodate technologies appropriate to the task.

For schools to become the kinds of organizations they need to become, it is first necessary for educational leaders to think of themselves as leading and working in knowledge-work organizations. They must think of themselves as leading organizations whose primary purpose is to invent knowledge work for students so they will learn what they need to know to function in a knowledge-work

world and an information-based society. In addition, standards of performance are high and well established. They must be, for good knowledge-work organizations manage by qualitative results, not by programs and procedures. Leaders in knowledge-work organizations, at least good leaders in good organizations, worry more about doing the right thing than about doing things right (that is, the way things have always been done). Effective leaders know that "if you do what you've always done, you get what you've always got."

The point is that a shift to a knowledge-work metaphor does not lower standards or force one into an anti-intellectual argument. Quite the opposite. The knowledge-work metaphor, properly understood, *insists* on standards, for it is standards, rather than rules and procedures, that govern life among knowledge workers. Moreover, knowledge work demands extreme attention to elements of culture, for it is with cultural elements (ideas, propositions, beliefs, symbols, and modes of explanation) that knowledge workers work. Finally, like the hospital, knowledge-work organizations must be attentive to the needs of the human beings with whom they interact, for these human beings are the most important resource in the organization. Knowledge work is human work.

The School as Knowledge-Work Organization

Implicit in the image of schools as knowledge-work organizations is the idea that there would be a fundamental shift in the way curriculum is conceived. Rather than viewing the curriculum as a body of lore to be passed on to neophytes (usually with the neophytes in a passive, receiving role), rather than thinking of the curriculum as an assembly line down which students go, different tracks for different qualities of raw materials (students being the raw material), and rather than thinking of the curriculum as a prescription to be administered to each student depending on his or her needs and deficiencies, in the knowledge-work school the curriculum becomes a body of material to be worked on by students, processed by students, molded and formed by students. In effect the curriculum becomes the raw material for the knowledge-work process.

Rather than being concerned with scope and sequence, teach-

ers would concentrate on richness and texture. The assumption, of course, is that the richer the curriculum (I did not say the more diverse), the richer the knowledge-work products will be. If the texture of the curriculum is such that students can grasp and handle it (intellectually speaking) as opposed to some of the pallid materials that now confront them, surely more students will be attracted to the field of knowledge work.

In the knowledge-work frame, students are at one and the same time workers and customers. As workers, students are active participants in the knowledge-work process. Their job is to take the knowledge embedded in the curriculum and process it in a way that makes it their own. As customers, students are provided with knowledge work, for the product of school is knowledge work that gets students engaged in working on and with knowledge and keeps them engaged. Getting and keeping customers for knowledge work is as much the business of schools as getting and keeping customers for automobiles is the business of Ford Motor Company.

Teachers become both inventors and leaders. On the one hand, teachers are called upon to invent knowledge work for students at which they will be successful and from which they will learn things that are valued by society and its leaders. On the other hand, teachers are called upon to get students to do knowledge work. And getting other people to do things is the art and science of leadership. Thus the argument regarding the teacher's role in curriculum leadership and instructional leadership becomes moot, for built into the school as a knowledge-work enterprise is the idea that teachers are leaders.

What, then, is the role of the principal, the superintendent, the board of education? In some ways the role of the principal and the superintendent reverts to a bygone era when the schoolmaster was viewed as the chief priest. There are, however, very real differences between knowledge-work organizations and tribal induction centers. In knowledge-work organizations, good ones at least, top leaders and middle-level leaders, in this case superintendents and principals, view themselves as leaders of leaders, creators of conditions in which other leaders thrive, and developers of leaders. In the school organized to pass on traditions and lore—that is, the school as tribal center—tradition and paternalism create a system of rights

and privilege that make it difficult for innovative arrangements to emerge.

Leaders in knowledge-work organizations manage by values and results. They do not manage by programs or tight supervision; they direct, not control. Leaders in knowledge-work organizations cause others to decide, they orchestrate, they coach and encourage. In knowledge-work organizations, leaders lead through teaching and sometimes preaching. Leaders of leaders in knowledge-work businesses—well-run knowledge-work businesses—express visions and assess results. Such is the role of the principal and superintendent in the school envisioned as a knowledge-work environment.

In specific terms, the principal becomes a middle-level executive in a corporate enterprise (Indiana calls its school systems "school corporations" and has done so for years) and the superintendent is the CEO. And as with other top leaders, one role of the superintendent is to educate others, including other community leaders, about the nature of the education enterprise, its problems, and its prospects. The superintendent in fact becomes the chief educator of the community, for the superintendent's role is to educate the community about education.

For superintendents to carry out such a role, the conventional relationship between the school board and the superintendent must change. The job of the board would be, as it should be in any case, to make the superintendent successful, not simply to set policy and monitor performance. If the superintendent fails or the school system fails, then the board has failed. Indeed, any board that hires a superintendent with whom it is later dissatisfied should look to its hiring procedures or its own lack of clarity in expectations. Perhaps the greatest test of a board's competence—and a condition for which board members should be held most accountable—is the employment and support of top leaders who succeed. Top executives do fail, but good top executives seldom fail if they have a strong and knowledgeable board. If the top leadership of a school system fails, either the board has failed to select wisely or it has failed to support a good leader. In either case, the failure of top leadership in schools, as well as in other enterprises, is a failure in those who hired them. (See Schlechty, 1987, for a detailed discussion of school board/superintendent relationships.)

Concluding Remarks

Assuming that the reader is convinced, as I am convinced, that there is a need to bring about fundamental reform in schools and assuming that the reader agrees that the knowledge-work metaphor provides a useful frame for discussion, what else is needed? There are, I think, three imperatives. First, some mechanism must be created for articulating and disseminating a vision of schools that is compelling within the local context. Second, a strategy must be created for developing and marketing the vision in a way that meets local needs. Finally, decisions must be made about which structural elements must be changed to pursue the vision, and a strategy must be devised for ensuring that these changes are made and institutionalized. The rest of this book is addressed to the issues raised by these three imperatives.

Part Two

The Ingredients of Invention

4

The Power of Vision

Creating and Sharing the Seeds of Innovation

Causing a compelling vision of an enterprise to be created and articulated is an act of leadership. An equally important leadership act is developing, refining, and molding this vision so that it is widely understood and embraced throughout the organization. The present chapter is about both these concerns.

Who's on First?

Recent discussions of teacher empowerment, shared decision making, and participatory leadership have, unfortunately, led some principals, teachers, and superintendents to believe that behind these discussions is the assumption that no idea is worthwhile unless it comes "from the bottom up." This is a wrongheaded and potentially harmful misconception. Just as one's ideas do not become better because one has been promoted, they do not necessarily deteriorate as one moves up the hierarchy. (And all organizations have some sort of hierarchy.) The reason for this bottom-up preference, I think, is that ideas, regardless of their source, are more likely to be acted on if people understand and believe in them. Usually,

those at the bottom of an organization are going to be called to act on nearly every idea of significance. In general, though not always, people believe in their own ideas more than they do the ideas of others. Thus it makes sense that ideas generated from the bottom up will have more initial support, precisely because those most directly affected own the ideas. Does this mean that the way an organization's purpose is articulated and the way the organization is envisioned and directed must start at the bottom? Not necessarily. What it does mean is that the way purposes are articulated and the way vision is expressed must take into account the needs and values of those who are expected to act on these expressions.

Ideas begin with individual women and men; they do not begin with groups. Groups do not think anything. Groups simply create structures for thought and action. Indeed, groupthink is a dangerous commodity if an organization is to be creative and responsive, for groupthink is inherently conservative. What is needed are group structures that encourage individuals to think creatively and group structures that reward individuals for such thought. If an idea starts at the bottom, there must be a means for it to reach the top in a compelling form; if an idea starts at the top, there must be mechanisms for assuring that it flows down the hierarchy in a compelling form. And conceptualizations of vision and purpose are, above all, ideas.

It is for this reason, perhaps more than any other, that a pattern of participatory leadership is so commonly found in organizations where there is a strong culture and a definite commitment to a clear purpose and common vision. Participatory leadership creates conditions in which ideas in their most compelling form can flow up and down the organization. Furthermore, embedded in patterns of participatory leadership are processes for determining the power of ideas for action. Most important, in effective leadership systems these processes are known and understood by almost all who care to be involved. (Even the best organizations have a few people who just do their job.) The answer to the question "who's on first?" is that nearly everyone is—for coupled with the act of creating a shared vision, focused on a compelling purpose, organizations must develop or fine-tune leadership structures that ensure that an

idea that is being expressed somewhere in the system can be engaged and refined everywhere in the system.

Participatory Leadership

There is, at present, considerable discussion of workplace democracy, shared decision making, and participatory leadership. Behind these discussions lies the assumption that those who are affected by decisions should be involved in them. The questions are why and how. There are at least two answers to the question of why. One answer has to do with truth, beauty, and justice and focuses on interests, parties, and factions. The second answer has to do with organizational effectiveness and focuses on results.

When dealt with in terms of truth, beauty, and justice, the question of who should be involved in decisions and in what ways can only be resolved by weighing the interests at stake and endeavoring to create a mechanism for taking these interests into account and balancing them against each other. The Constitution of the United States is an excellent example of such a mechanism. It offers participatory leadership as the means of resolving issues and maintaining order in a society that manifests diverse interests yet is committed to democracy. And as the *Federalist Papers* so clearly demonstrate, the framers of the Constitution were aware that they were dealing with issues of truth, beauty, and justice, as well as the interests of factions and coalitions.

Looked at from an organizational effectiveness perspective—a perspective I prefer when dealing with the realities of school life—the question of participatory leadership might better be framed as a question of effectiveness rather than a question of truth, beauty, and justice. Indeed, it seems likely that one of the reasons why those who control our schools distrust the idea of teacher empowerment and are able to gain allies in their suspicions is that the arguments for participatory leadership have too often been framed in terms of truth, beauty, and justice rather than in terms of organizational effectiveness.

Many view teacher empowerment as a means of taking power from principals and reassigning it to teachers or their unions. It is easy for a conservative principal, superintendent, board member,

teacher, or parent to give a resounding response of "Hell, no!" to the question "Do you want to turn the schools over to the unions?" (Unless, of course, the question is raised at a union meeting.) It is more difficult to get a "Hell, no!" response when the question is "Do you want your schools to be more effective and for children to learn more and for more children to learn?" What leaders in American business are learning, and what educational leaders must learn as well, is that treating employees as important contributors to the enterprise, valuing their contributions, and involving them in the decision-making structure so that they can contribute increases not only productivity but employee satisfaction as well.

The bottom-line argument for a pattern of participatory leadership, the enhancement of teachers' status and authority, is, in my view, much more appropriately framed in terms of child benefit than in terms of teacher benefit. Participatory leadership is a preferred mode of decision making in schools, and in other knowledge-work organizations as well, not simply because it is democratic and right (though these things are also true). Participatory leadership makes sense in school because this pattern of leadership promises to yield better decisions and better results. That such a promise is not hollow is attested to by the fact that some of the greatest recoveries in American business (Xerox and Ford, for example) have been based in large part on restructuring aimed at empowering and developing all employees—from the lowest in the hierarchy to the highest. And as these restructured systems demonstrate, one of the first results that should be expected from participatory leadership is the creation of a strong and compelling vision of the future of schools and school systems.

Results and Learning

A pattern of participatory leadership is essential to the creation of a shared vision directed toward a clear purpose—especially when that purpose has to do with working on knowledge and with knowledge workers. In similar fashion, a results orientation is critical to developing a nonpolitical, effectiveness-focused pattern of participatory leadership. And a shared vision is essential to the development of a results orientation. Thus shared decision making,

shared vision, and a results orientation are all part of the same cloth. In the long run, it is impossible to have one without the other, or so I believe.

A clearly articulated purpose and a well-thought-out vision that is consistent with that purpose indicate what a school is all about, the school's reason for being, as well as the general ways in which those who live out their lives in the school will go about serving this purpose. Equally important, purpose indicates the results that are worthy of pursuit, as well as the results that are irrelevant, trivial, or even harmful.

What then is meant by results, and what kinds of results are important in schools that function as knowledge-work organizations? To answer this question, we must return once again to purpose. In the school as a knowledge-work organization, the purpose of school is simple: It is to invent schoolwork (knowledge work) at which students are successful (students can do it and do do it) and from which students learn something that is of consequence to those on whose support the school relies. In sum, the purpose of school is to ensure that each student is successful at doing schoolwork and that each student is provided with schoolwork at which he or she can experience success. A shorthand way of expressing the purpose of schools as knowledge-work organizations is to say that the purpose of school is student success.

The results schools pursue, then, center on the creation of schoolwork that has a number of qualities: The student can do what he or she is expected to do; the student is motivated to do what is expected by the work assigned; the student persists with the task when he or she does not meet with immediate success; the student finds sufficient satisfaction in the work or in the consequences of doing the work that he or she is motivated to pursue similar work in the future; and the cumulative effect of student success at doing schoolwork (knowledge work) is that students learn things that are valued by society at large, by the local community, by parents, by teachers, and by the students themselves.

On the surface, this discussion may not seem all that different from a discussion dealing with a school that claims its purpose is "to educate children" or "to ensure that every child learns." (It is now popular to speak of the learning-focused school.) That learn-

ing is a consequence of schooling (or should be a consequence of schooling) is not to be denied. Indeed, learning is inexorably tied to school, just as transportation is tied to the automobile business. Schools that do not produce learning will be devalued, just as automobile companies that fail to produce reliable cars will fall into disrepute. But automobile companies are not in the transportation business. (Railroads are in the transportation business.) Automobile companies are in the business of producing automobiles that satisfy customer needs at a price customers will pay and from which a decent return to investors can be derived. Schools are in the knowledge-work business (that is, the schoolwork business). What school is about, its reason for being, is to invent forms of schoolwork that will engage the young and cause them to invest their talents and resources (energy, enthusiasm, wits) in doing the work (purposeful activity) in ways that satisfy the students themselves and from which results flow that satisfy the adult community as well.

From time to time business leaders come to conceptualize the purpose of their enterprise as "to make a profit." In pursuit of this purpose, they produce shoddy goods, depress wages, allow capital goods to deteriorate, and engage in accounting tricks such as accelerated depreciation. For a while, such measures work and the bottom line looks good. Eventually, however, such businesses fall into decline. Why? Because the leaders forget, if they ever knew, that the purpose of business, in the most basic sense, is to produce a product that will get and keep customers and from which a reasonable return on investment can be secured. Slick advertising, flashy incentives, and high-pressure sales can get customers for shoddy goods, but these strategies will not work in the long run. Such strategies get customers, but they do not keep them.

Learning-focused schools too often become test-focused schools. The results pursued are gains on test scores. Test scores, if they are valid, are not irrelevant to school any more than profit is irrelevant to business. But test scores, like profit in business, are the result of the way the school does its business. Test scores and learning generally are not the business of school. Learning results are results toward which schools should be managed, just as profits are results toward which businesses in America are managed. Test

scores and other measures of learning are not, however, the results by which schools must be led. If schools are to serve the purposes demanded by the twenty-first century, student success at doing schoolwork (knowledge work) is the result toward which all school activity must be oriented.

Leading for Success

Schools are effective to the extent that they produce results which satisfy all the constituencies that must be satisfied in order to maintain the commitments and resources needed to sustain the school in the pursuit of its purpose. It is not enough for schools to produce test scores that satisfy the press and the business community if this result is accomplished in ways that dissatisfy students. Nor can test scores be produced by means that teachers find morally reprehensible or professionally indefensible. Such a strategy may work in the short run, but eventually student disaffection will develop to the point where parents will object, dropouts will increase, or teachers will rebel and sabotage the system.

Given the critical nature of results to the survival of schools, as well as to the possibilities of restructuring schools so they can move effectively into the twenty-first century, educators and their critics must become more sophisticated in discussing results than is now the case. Above all, they must learn to distinguish between the results toward which one manages and the results by which one leads. The results toward which organizations are managed are those results that people outside the organization, but critical to its survival, expect. Corporations that do not produce profits for stockholders, for example, will eventually lose their shareholders' confidence. A court system that does not produce justice will eventually lose the confidence of the citizenry. A school that does not produce learning results (I did not say produce students) that are valued by the community (parents, business leaders, board members, politicians, and taxpayers) will lose support.

But the results toward which one manages are not the results by which one leads. Results-oriented leadership requires that leaders focus on the *purpose* of the enterprise rather than the conse-

quences of the pursuit of that purpose. It requires the automobile manufacturer to concentrate on producing automobiles that will satisfy customers and bring them back for more. It requires leaders to know the customer and the customer's needs and to create products that meet those needs. In school, results-oriented leadership requires leaders to concentrate on the qualities of schoolwork (knowledge work) provided to students. It requires the creation of measurable indicators of these qualities and constant application of the measures. Indeed, it is through the use of these measures that the merit and worth of decisions are judged. (Good decisions produce better results; bad decisions produce worse results.) It is through the use of these measures that improvements are made and problems recognized.

What, then, are these qualities that must be attended to and measured? Earlier in the chapter I pointed them out: The student can do what he or she is expected to do; the student is motivated to do what is expected by the work assigned; the student persists with the task when he or she does not meet with immediate success; the student finds sufficient satisfaction in the work or in the consequences of doing the work that he or she is motivated to pursue similar work in the future; and the cumulative effect of student success at doing schoolwork (knowledge work) is that students learn things that are valued by the community, by parents, by teachers, and by the students themselves. In sum, students should experience success in doing the work (the results by which schools should be led) and should learn things that are valued by the constituencies whose support must be maintained (the results toward which one manages). Thus in schools that are conceived as knowledge-work organizations, teachers and administrators lead by reference to student success; they manage by reference to student learning. Teachers and others know they are doing the right things when students succeed; they know they are doing those things right when students learn what various constituencies expect them to learn as a condition of continuing support. (Lest the reader think I mean simply financial support, I add quickly that moral support and repute are forms of support as well. Students themselves show a lack of support for school when they drop out or withdraw.)

Success Defined

Success is an accomplishment in an area where the outcome is problematic. Failure, therefore, is not the opposite of success, for failure is part and parcel of the definition of success. One cannot succeed where the possibility of failure (lack of attainment) is nil or nearly so. To say that I successfully defended myself from my two-year-old daughter is not much of a success. To say that I successfully defended myself against a two-hundred-pound hoodlum might be something to brag about.

One of the major problems confronting those who would invent success-oriented, success-producing schools is that it is easy to fall into the trap of believing that success means doing what one can do without failing. (In speeches, I sometimes refer to this as the Carnation Milk Assumption—the assumption that happy cows give happy milk.) Success is not lack of failure. Success has to do with attainment, achievement, accomplishment. One does not achieve by doing what one knows how to do; one achieves by risking failure. Thus a success-oriented school sets student expectations that ensure the risk of failure but, at the same time, it creates the conditions for producing success. This is what is meant, I take it, when the effective-schools advocates speak of "high expectations."

To create these conditions, one must be extremely attentive to developing useful and relevant measures of student success and failure. Students who repeatedly fail to accomplish a piece of schoolwork will soon learn that such work is not for them. What these students need in the face of such failure is quick and rapid support, and if support does not help, students need a different kind (I did not say lower quality) of schoolwork.

Measuring the Qualities of Schoolwork

Quality either is or it is not. Quality is not a question of more or less. As Philip Crosby (1979, pp. 14–15) has written:

> The first erroneous assumption is that quality means goodness, or luxury, or shininess or weight. The word "quality" is used to signify the relative worth of things in such phrases as

"good quality," "bad quality," and that brave new statement "quality of life." "Quality of life" is a cliché because each listener assumes that the speaker means exactly what he or she, the listener, means by the phrase. It is a situation in which individuals talk dreamily about something without ever bothering to define it.

That is precisely why we must define quality as "conformance to requirements."

If one defines quality schoolwork as schoolwork that "conforms with requirements," one is then forced to specify what the requirements of schoolwork should be. Most educators have been taught to state requirements in terms of students—for example, the student will. . . . The idea that quality control in schools has to do with what the school offers the student as opposed to what the student does in response to that offering may at first be offputting. Yet that is precisely what the knowledge-work framework causes one to think about. Within this framework, the purpose of school is to get students to do schoolwork (knowledge work); thus the school serves its purpose when the student is engaged in schoolwork. But what schools do is invent schoolwork that students can do and from which they will learn things of social and cultural value.

To begin to measure the quality of schoolwork (knowledge work), one must think hard about the requirements that schoolwork must meet. One of the first requirements is that students must succeed in doing the work assigned. This does not mean they can do what is assigned on the first try or that all students can do the same work. It does mean that schoolwork which students cannot do and at which there is little prospect of future success is not quality schoolwork. Thus quality schoolwork for one student may not be quality schoolwork for another. One indicator of the quality of schoolwork, then, is the rate and frequency with which students complete an assignment when there is a risk of failure (that is, they achieve, attain, and succeed); the performance, moreover, must conform to the requirements of the task. In other words, when students do quality work, then the work has one of the qualities quality schoolwork must have.

Teachers and administrators might develop any number of

measures to get a handle on such a quality indicator, but measure they must. Those who would lead by results must be as able to specify the results by which they lead. As an example of measuring student success, a faculty might decide that one way to get a handle on student success is to monitor student failure. One way to do this is to have teachers provide the principal—or to review within their teams and departments—a list of students who have not experienced success in the past week. (The teacher's judgment is all that is needed here.) If the teachers use tests, fine; if they guess, that is fine too.

Over a period of weeks the teachers and the principal will build up a list of failures—by week, by period, by teacher, by time of day, by grade level, or by whatever other category one might reasonably believe accounts for school failure. (At present, most schools assume that the only meaningful category is "by student" since it is believed that school failure is somehow the student's fault.) Given such a list, the principal and staff could begin to analyze this information (something like statistical process control) to discover insights into when and where failures occur. In one instance, it was discovered that the reported failure rate increased toward the end of the grading period. After considerable thought, it was concluded that teachers became more attentive to signs of student failure toward the end of the grading period since they were "really going to grade them soon." This discovery led to serious discussion of ways to create better early warning systems for school failure and ways of getting quick support to students when these warning signs appeared.

A classroom illustration seems in order here. Suppose a teacher decides that homework is an important schoolwork activity in which to get students engaged. Homework assignments are given. Some students turn them in; some do not. Some students are late; some are punctual. Some students complete the assignment "in conformance with requirements"; some do not even come close. The typical school response is to ask, "What is wrong with the student?" The framework suggested here encourages one to ask, "What is wrong with the assignment?" One thing is certain: Students cannot learn from an assignment they do not complete, any more than a manufacturer can make a profit from a product that no

one will buy. It is in this sense that quality is defined by the customer. There is no noise in the forest if no one is there to hear the tree fall; Alpo is no good if the dogs won't eat it (even if the masters love it); schoolwork has no quality if the children don't do it.

The teacher concerned with inventing quality schoolwork for children could begin to count the rate and frequency of student success with homework assignments. Again data could be collected by student, by day of the week, by type of assignment (some call for writing, some call for filling in blanks, some require home resources such as books), or by type of instruction. (Were the expectations provided in writing or stated orally at the end of class?) In analyzing these data, it is almost certain that the teacher will discover that, in addition to the fact that some students just seem never to turn in their homework, there is much more involved than just the student. There are, perhaps, certain kinds of homework that some students never turn in but other kinds they always turn in. Some students, for example, will spend hours doing homework if their products involve interaction with peers. Other students prefer to work alone and will only comply with group assignments if forced to do so.

I am not suggesting that these illustrations are definitive statements of what should be measured or how. What I am suggesting is that there are many ways of measuring the quality of schoolwork. I will once again state what I take to be the most important quality indicators: The student can do what he or she is expected to do; the student is motivated to do what is expected by the work assigned; the student persists with the task when he or she does not meet with immediate success; the student finds sufficient satisfaction in the work or in the consequences of doing the work that he or she is motivated to pursue similar work in the future; and the cumulative effect of student success at doing schoolwork (knowledge work) is that students learn things that are valued by the community, by parents, by teachers, and by the students themselves.

Who Measures?

Everybody measures. In a success-oriented, participatory leadership environment, everyone, including students, must learn to measure, for it is measurement of progress toward agreed-upon

goals that provides direction. Without such measures, the only other source of direction is a programmatic control structure which assures that things are done right (even if they are not done effectively).

In education, it is commonplace to view measurement as an esoteric science to be done by "the experts." The reason for this tendency is obvious. Most of the things measured in school are things that only experts can measure and for the most part only experts can understand. Psychometricians, at least good psychometricians, know the strengths and limitations of the tests they develop, just as accountants and auditors understand the strengths and limitations of various accounting tests. It is, perhaps, not without significance that test and measurement specialists in education are viewed in much the same way as accountants are viewed in the business world—with a mixture of awe and disgust. On the one hand, accountants and psychometricians do have special skills that help business leaders and educational leaders know whether they are doing their business right and whether the results by which they are leading are the results by which they should be leading. On the other hand, accountants and psychometricians cannot measure the results that must be measured if the enterprise is to achieve its goal: profit in business, learning in school.

If results are to affect decisions and actions, then school leaders must believe in the results, believe the results will make a difference, and believe they can make a difference in the results. Moreover, they must believe in the way the results are measured and they must believe in the worth of measuring results. Such a belief structure is the cultural bedrock upon which school reform must be based. It means that school leaders—and by this I mean teachers as well as principals and superintendents—must attend more carefully to developing and implementing alternative measures of results than many are now prone to do. And more than that, it means that schools must be organized to provide teachers and administrators time to think through the results they wish to achieve and alternative ways of measuring them. In addition, educators must be trained in new ways of thinking about the assessment of results and must be brought to understand that, properly conceived, leadership by results is a liberating rather than a stultifying experience.

Concluding Remarks

The key to restructuring our schools resides in a reformulation of purpose and the creation of a vision of schools that is consistent with this purpose. Regardless of the way the purpose is stated, the statement must be based on the bedrock belief that every child can learn and that every child will learn if he or she is presented with the right schoolwork to do.

I am also convinced that schools must be managed by values and vision rather than by programs and the exercise of bureaucratic authority. For this to occur, some system of participatory leadership must be installed; teachers must be empowered to act as leaders; students and their needs must be made central to the education enterprise; principals must view themselves as leaders of leaders; and superintendents, like CEOs in well-run businesses, must see themselves as chief teachers as well as chief managers.

Finally, I am convinced that none of this can happen without the creation of a results-oriented culture and a leadership structure that uses results to discipline and direct action. Failure to discipline shared decisions by results means that the decisions will be disciplined by reference to the interests of factions, groups, and parties, rather than the interests of children.

5

The Capacity to Respond Quickly

Building Adaptability into the System

The first question those who would restructure schools must answer is: What are the present rules, roles, and relationships that impede the capacity of schools and teachers to respond to the needs of students and invent schoolwork products that satisfy those needs? I would answer the question like this: Anything that stands in the way of flexible allocation of resources must be considered a candidate for restructuring. My reasoning is based on the observation that it is in the deliberate allocation of resources that results-oriented decisions are enacted.

What, then, are the resources that schools can allocate and what are the present structures (systems of rules, roles, and relationships) that preclude flexible allocation of these resources? People, knowledge, time, and space are the chief resources available in schools. Money is a proxy for resources. Money is not, in itself, a resource. Money pays salaries; money buys time and space. Money, invested in research and development, produces knowledge. Thus the ability to use money flexibly ensures that teachers and principals have maximum control over the resources they need to control if they are to pursue results in a thoughtful and systematic way. It is

for this reason that restructuring efforts will, eventually, lead to greater budgetary discretion being assigned to building-level administrators and teachers.

The Human Equation

People are the chief resources in the education enterprise. This is not a pious platitude; it is a social fact. What goes on between and among people in school is what accounts for the results of schooling. One of the primary goals of school, therefore, should be to ensure that the interactions among people are productive. Furthermore, school leaders need to ensure that these interactions focus on the purposes for which schools exist—ensuring that every student has success at working on and with knowledge and that, as a result of this success, the student learns things that are socially and culturally valued. To achieve this end, faculties must be in position to allocate human resources in ways that seem most likely to produce optimal results.

There are, at present, a number of structural elements in schools that preclude flexibility in the allocation of human resources. Chief among these, I believe, are the concepts of the school class, grade level, and the Carnegie unit in high school. The idea of distributing students into classrooms comprised of thirty or so youngsters and a single teacher is an accident of history rather than a calculated decision. It is more than coincidence that the size of the typical classroom approximates the size of the one-room school of common school days. Similarly the graded school, which places thirty or so children of a relatively common age in the same classroom, is a convention imported from Prussia to help with the problem of standardization. Arranging schools in classes and classrooms, and grouping children by age or ability or sex or any other characteristic, represents only a few of the possibilities for grouping children for schoolwork. One could just as well group children according to the tasks that must be performed to carry out a particular piece of schoolwork or according to any of a number of other grouping arrangements one might conceive. The Carnegie unit is another convention. Invented primarily as a means of satisfying the interest of higher education in having a basis for judging college

preparedness among youth, the Carnegie unit became a standard measure in American education just as the pound, the quart, and the inch are standard measures in American commerce.

The problem with these conventions is not that they exist. Conventions are necessary for human action to proceed. There is, for example, no good reason for driving on the right side of the road as opposed to the left, but it is nice to know that everyone is supposed to do the same thing. The problem arises when upholding the convention becomes an end in itself. And, perhaps equally unfortunate, destroying the convention can also become an end-in-itself. Nongraded schools are not inherently better than graded schools. Nor are schools where students are organized as flexible work groups, rather than as classes, inherently better schools. High schools that are organized to promote graduation by exhibition (see Sizer, 1984) are not necessarily better than high schools that ensure that each student endures so many minutes of instruction in each subject each day and each week. But any of these alternative forms might be better—if by better one means that more students experience success in accomplishing knowledge-work tasks they might not have been able to accomplish without coming to school and if by success one means that more students learn more of what society thinks students must learn in order to function in the emerging social order and contribute to its maintenance and continuing development.

The problem is that the concept of the graded class and the Carnegie unit have both become so enshrined in law, policy, custom, and regulation that the structures which support these conventions are almost impossible to change. Through the use of language that has to do with class size, preparation periods, and student/teacher ratios, the concept of the school class is embedded in school board/union contracts. It is not without significance, I think, that in school districts where the union and the board have joined together to advance restructuring, one of the most common moves has been to relax the restrictive language enshrining the concept of the school class. Furthermore, remember that many union leaders insisted on this language in the first place—not only because they were concerned with the welfare of teachers, but because they were concerned with the success of children. So long as

schools are organized as they now are organized, reducing class size is a reasonable and responsible goal. Class size becomes a different issue when the very concept of the school class is reexamined.

School system policies regarding the way personnel are to be allocated (so many teachers per so many students, one teacher aide per so many teachers at certain grade levels, and so on) all reinforce the idea that the school class is the right, proper, and only form of structure. State and local testing policies that test by grade (as opposed to age or a teacher's recommendation that a child is now ready to take a particular test) enshrine the concept that age grading is the best, if not the only, appropriate structure. The Carnegie unit and state requirements of so many minutes per week (or, worse, so many minutes per day) of instruction in specified subjects or "skill areas" make it nearly impossible for teachers and administrators to consider such possibilities as devoting six or eight weeks to intensive instruction in one area (for example, science) in which everything else involves a science theme and culminates in a scientific exhibition (for example, a vital science fair, where the history of the telescope might be seen as important as an astronomy exhibit). Certainly such things do happen, but they happen with considerable difficulty and at some risk to those who encourage them.

As was demonstrated in the 1960s, there is no particular virtue in open classrooms, nongraded classes, or any of a number of other types of restructuring one might consider. Indeed, unless such efforts are anchored in a clear vision of what school is about and oriented toward results indicating that purpose is being pursued in ever more effective ways, the upshot will be anarchy and confusion rather than reform. But until policymakers create conditions that permit the concept of school class, the graded school, and prescribed minutes of instruction to be one option among many in the effort to produce results, restructuring will not occur and schools will continue to fail to meet the needs of students and society.

Certification requirements—and the bureaucratic tendency to substitute specialization for professionalization—constitute additional barriers to the effective allocation of human resources in schools. There are, of course, numerous special-interest groups wishing to demonstrate that all these specialties are really necessary and meritorious. And these people may be right in their views. It

may be, for example, that teaching middle-school students is such a highly specialized calling that one needs special training quite different from what one needs to be an effective high school teacher.

From observations I have made in highly effective middle schools, I am persuaded there is some truth in the assertion that a person who is effective in the typical high school would have trouble in an effective middle school. But I am also persuaded that the typical high school would be more effective in meeting the needs of high school students if it were structured more like outstanding middle schools—at least the thought is worth pursuing. (Good middle schools, as Lipsitz [1984] has shown, are generally organized in ways that are radically different from the typical high school or junior high school.) It is unfortunate that so many middle-school people believe that the justification for the middle school's structure is the unique needs of adolescents. In my view, essentially the middle school's structure makes it possible for a school to meet the needs of students of whatever age or disposition, for good middle schools are structured for flexibility and responsiveness. Present patterns of certification and specialization make it difficult to implement radically different patterns of instruction in schools.

What is sometimes overlooked is that many of the so-called specialties that have become institutionalized in the structure of present schools were created to make up for pathologies caused by the present organization of schools. The role of guidance counselor, for example, was developed, at least in part, out of the observation that in the large urban high school, the lack of personal attention afforded to students by teachers and the lack of time for teachers to provide that attention make it difficult for students to get the support they need. In too many schools, however, the guidance counselor has become one more bureaucratic functionary carrying out scheduling assignments, handling discipline problems, coordinating testing programs, and so on. The problem of depersonalization still exists (see Sizer, 1984).

I am not suggesting that all forms of specialization be abandoned in schools. Nor am I suggesting that licensing is unnecessary. I am, after all, on the National Board of Professional Standards for Teaching, and I do not give my time to causes I do not believe in.

What I am suggesting, however, is that licensing and certification are problematic areas in education and should be regarded as such.

Teachers and school administrators are not isolated professionals. They do not practice alone. Teaching, at least teaching in school, is inherently an organizational enterprise that is conducted among others and coordinated with the activity of others. Thus the public protection afforded by the licensing of independent service-delivery professionals like physicians is probably not needed for teachers and school administrators. The protection of students is an obligation of the system that employs the teacher. Students are protected from malpractice, or should be so protected, because those who employ teachers are themselves informed professionals and would not, or should not, employ someone who would do harm. One hopes, in fact, that school districts employ only those who promise to do some good. Those who develop certification and licensing laws should be concerned that those who teach and those who administer schools are competent. But they should also be aware that their decisions may so straitjacket teachers and schools that the harm done to students may be greater than if the certifying authorities had been more flexible in their views.

The bias of teachers against differentiated staffing must also be addressed. It seems clear that, properly conceived, team arrangements in schools increase flexibility and responsiveness. What one teacher cannot do, sometimes a team of teachers can do. This means that some teachers will be called on to lead other teachers or to take on functions other than presenting information to a group of students sitting in a classroom. Even now, in places like Miami, Louisville, and Rochester, considerable progress is being made in this regard.

In the twenty-first century, it is unlikely that the teacher as performer and provider of information will be a familiar figure in school. Rather, the teacher as leader, as coach, as organizer, goal setter, instructor, and director will be in evidence. For this to happen, local union leaders will need to follow the lead of national figures like Al Shanker and accept the prospect and benefits of a differentiated staffing structure where, in exchange for more adult attention to students, it may be necessary to increase the ratio of paraprofessionals to teachers. Maybe it is time to structure schools

so that there are more adults and fewer teachers. This is a thought worthy of consideration, but a thought that will not be considered so long as the prime goal is reducing class size by increasing the number of teachers.

Conventional teacher thoughtways will need to change on this matter. It may be, for example, that on a given day a teacher might be responsible for instructing (providing information and direction to) a large number of students at one time but would only be expected to coach, support, and consult with fifteen or so. It is time to acknowledge, I think, that much of what we now do in school probably does not need to be done—and much that should be done cannot be done so long as we keep on doing what we have always done.

Policymakers and educational leaders must fully appreciate that one of the most powerful tools at the disposal of those who would increase the effectiveness of schools is the capacity to group students and staff in different ways and to alter roles and structures in any way that increases student success. Group size and group composition are two critical variables that schools can control if permitted to do so. It is through manipulating such variables that school performance can be improved. If significant school improvement is to occur, we must abandon policies that make it difficult to control these variables.

Access to Knowledge

In the information-based society—more than either the agricultural society out of which American schools were formed or the industrial society the schools came to serve—access to knowledge and the ability to use it will be critical determinants of one's life chances. Children who, as a result of their school experiences, learn to manipulate symbols, deal with ideas, and solve problems will be in a much better position to benefit from the opportunities that will be made available by technological advances than will their less well educated peers.

E. D. Hirsch, Jr., in his book *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (Hirsch, 1988), argues convincingly that one of the reasons that middle-class children seem to do better in

school than lower-class children and one of the reasons that many middle-class and upper-class children do not do as well as one might expect is that children, especially lower-class children and now children generally, are culturally illiterate. By this Hirsch means that students do not possess the background information—the knowledge of events, people, and places—to which writers and speakers refer. Thus when schoolwork goes beyond simple decoding and calls for comprehension—that is, calls for knowledge work—students who do not have the requisite information are handicapped.

One need not accept all that Hirsch says to appreciate the good sense of his arguments. I am writing this book for a general audience, but some of my references are to situations that are more familiar to educators than noneducators. At an earlier point, for example, I referred to cooperative learning and the Bay Area writing project—two references that most knowledgeable educators will understand. There is reason to wonder, however, whether a general audience will understand the references and, if they do not, whether the points I was trying to make will be clear to them. If knowledge is to be equitably distributed—and it must be if we are to pursue goals of equity as well as excellence—then children must be provided with experiences that give them equal access to that knowledge. Equal access to knowledge does not mean the same curriculum for each child; rather, it means a highly differentiated curriculum aimed at common learning. The uncommon curriculum for common learning may be a more appropriate slogan for schools of the future than is the concept of the core curriculum. Core learning, perhaps; but uniform schoolwork for all children, probably not.

As advocates of the "whole-language approach" are beginning to show, the ability to read is associated with a wide range of literacies beyond the ability to decode words or manipulate arithmetical symbols. And different students from different backgrounds, indeed from different cultures, come to school with different literacies at their command and deficiencies in others. What we need are schools that ensure that all students develop the literacies they need to access the knowledge that constitutes the common culture. I would argue, for example, that any school is deficient that does not provide a student with the literary background and the scientific

background to read popular newsmagazines with understanding. This does not mean that students need to take courses in science or literature, though they might do so. It does mean that the school's work structure should be organized so that students are expected to work with information of a scientific and literary nature—and the information they will be expected to work with will be that which is most germane to the larger social and cultural discourse. More than that, it means that the work structure will be designed so that all students are motivated to engage in such work, and the results of that engagement will produce outcomes that "conform with requirements."

Such a view of the curriculum requires one to go far beyond what is meant by "individualized instruction," which too often means lowering expectations for certain students. The uncommon curriculum for common learning also requires one to go beyond ability grouping or other modes of simplifying the complex realities of school. Essential knowledge must be embedded in a variety of forms of schoolwork so that students who are motivated by, inclined toward, or interested in one form of schoolwork will not be deprived of crucial information simply because of the line of work they have chosen.

Some students, for example, seem more interested in artistic expression than scientific exploration. Does this mean that the artist should be denied (or be allowed to avoid) science? I think not. It does mean that if the school is to meet the student's needs and capitalize on the student's interests, forms of schoolwork will have to be invented that foster scientific inquiry as a basis for artistic expression. Similarly, the scientifically inclined should be encouraged to engage in work that causes them to think artistically about science.

Such curriculum inventions are not easy to come by, and they take time to develop. Furthermore, such inventions are as likely—indeed more likely—to come from teachers than from curriculum designers operating from afar. But for teachers to engage in such inventive work, the role structure of schools must be redefined. At a minimum teachers and principals will need time (and perhaps a place) to think and create. Moreover, the relationship between teachers and curriculum specialists will need to change dramati-

cally. Instead of being a central office functionary and quasi-supervisor, as is now too often the case, the curriculum specialist will have to become a member of a production team, probably led by a classroom teacher, which has as its goal producing schoolwork (knowledge work) for students—schoolwork that students will do, at which students will succeed, and from which students will learn socially and culturally important information and values.

The call for flexibility in curriculum and more teacher autonomy in the design of schoolwork is not a call for a return to the 1960s. The idea that the young are the best judges of what they need to learn is an idea that has little merit outside the romantic conversations about the purity and innocence of youth. Education is the means by which society creates the conditions for its perpetuation. To do this, the needs and interests of the young must be taken into account, but meeting the needs of children is not all that education is about. Education is about helping children grow up to be vital, significant, self-aware, and reflective adults capable of living useful lives in a democratic information-based society.

Common learning is what school is about. School is not about common schoolwork. For some students, the best way to learn about the Constitution is to read the *Federalist Papers;* for others it may be to write a play based on the *Federalist Papers.* The important thing is that all students should be sufficiently conversant with the Constitution to understand the basis of debates dealing with abortion, school prayer, and the equal rights amendment. Certainly schools today are not producing such results; but neither did schools in "the good old days," at least for most students. The common curriculum only worked for the uncommon students—those whose parents cared enough about education or believed in education enough to keep their children in school. It is well to remember that a brief fifty years ago fewer than 40 percent of American parents were so inclined.

Time and Time Again

Perhaps more than any other organization, schools are time-bound and time-conscious. The rhythm of school life is dictated by the seasons of the year, holidays, festivals, and, in some instances,

local celebrations. In Louisville, Kentucky, for example, teacher in-service days are planned around the Kentucky Derby and the opening of school is calculated in a way that does minor harm to the traffic patterns associated with the state fair.

Many teachers have been recruited because they viewed teaching as one of the few occupations that provided a professional line of work and the opportunity to be home with their children when they were "out of school." The school day has a definite beginning and a definite end—no overtime, at least for students. And if there is overtime, especially for students, it is either a punishment (such as detention) or a voluntary contribution to the school, usually the nonacademic side of the school (such as athletics).

But apart from broader issues of time and seasons, schools are time-bound within themselves. Days are broken up into periods, especially in high school, and school years are broken into grading periods. In the elementary school the idea of periods is not so prominent as in high school, but state mandates regarding the number of minutes of instruction in certain subjects make elementary schools nearly as time-bound as high schools constrained by the Carnegie unit. The result is that teachers, faculties, and principals have—and, more important, *feel* that they have—little control over the way time is allocated in school. Furthermore, the one commodity that teachers and administrators say they do not have enough of, even more so than money, is time: time to teach, time to converse, time to think, time to plan, time to talk, even time to go to the restroom or to drink a cup of coffee. The time situation is so harried in schools that many teachers' unions have launched major campaigns to ensure that teachers are free from students for a lunch period of not less than twenty minutes. Time is indeed precious in school.

Students too are caught in the crunch of inflexible time, though they seldom express their experiences in the same way that teachers and administrators do. Students generally respond to the time crunch, especially as they get older, as something of a balancing act. Good students know that when they get behind in tough subjects, the best solution is to ease up in subjects where they excel and concentrate on their weaknesses. This may not be a bad notion, but it certainly does not encourage excellence. Rather, it encourages the compromises that lead to mediocrity. And for the student who

excels in no area, the test is a test for survival. (It is, in fact, a source of wonder that so many students go to school each morning knowing that the best that will happen to them is that they will not be late, no adult will scold them, and they will not be noticed in class, yet nevertheless they stay in school and try to do some kind of schoolwork.)

I am not an advocate of prolonging the school year for students, though I am in favor of a longer school year for teachers. The reason I do not favor a longer school year for students is that I am old-fashioned; I believe children need time to grow up outside the constant supervision of adults. Summer off provides some of that time. The reason I favor a longer school year for teachers is that I believe teachers are adults and professionals. In America, most gainfully employed adults assume a twelve-month work year, with vacations, weekends, and holidays off, to be normal. I think teachers should be afforded a normal life and then be given summers off, if they choose, as a fringe benefit.

The idea that the school year has 180 to 200 days (North Carolina has 200 days for teachers and 180 for students) does, however, present problems for teachers and administrators. For example, one of the unintended effects of the truncated work year for teachers is to simultaneously suppress and inflate teachers' salaries. In 1986, the average salary for a person with four or more years of college (the typical teacher) was $33,443. The average teacher's salary for the same year was $26,551. If teachers had been working a twelve-month year (260 days minus vacation and holidays), the average teacher's salary, prorated on a daily basis, would have been $35,371—about $2,000 more than the average for all college graduates.

Given the seasonal nature of school, summertime could be an ideal time for teachers to work together to develop the kinds of schoolwork for which they had discovered a need in the previous nine months. This, in addition to participating in workshops where other teachers would present their own inventions (thus avoiding duplication of inventive effort) and other self-improvement activities such as lectures and seminars, could productively occupy teachers for a considerable period of time.

Creating time during the school year is another matter.

There is no doubt that more adults will be needed in school, but as I have indicated, perhaps more teachers will not be required. Indeed, some of the near adults that are in school—that is, high school students—if properly assigned work and if properly supervised would learn much and could help younger students learn much as well. When I say "learn much," I mean learn much about what they are trying to help others learn as well as learn something about those they are trying to help. Few teachers would deny that "I never really learned my subject until I taught it." Teaching could be an enrichment activity for all students—and it should be, for the information society is a teaching and learning society. Peer tutoring and cross-age tutoring are not new ideas, but viewing the school as a knowledge-work organization may give these old ideas, as well as many other old ideas, new meaning and new significance.

Perhaps the most powerful way to create time, especially time for teachers and time for students, is to organize the rhythm of school life around the work of students rather than around the instructional performances of teachers. As schools are now organized, students spend a great deal of time waiting and observing (see Goodlad, 1984). If educators believe, as so many often say, that learning is an active process, schools are certainly not organized in accord with this fact. The problem is that schools are organized on the assumption that for learning to occur the teacher must be providing information to the young or at least be in a position to provide information (for example, monitoring seat work). With the technological advances of the past two decades and those that are almost certain to arise in the next twenty years, there are now many new sources of information and feedback to students.

I am not suggesting that every child should be taught by the computer. I am not suggesting that teachers be replaced by machines, television screens, or video monitors. I am, however, suggesting that technology can relieve teachers from some of the more time-consuming and inefficient aspects of their traditional role, such as imparting vast amounts of information in lectures. This is not to say that teachers would never lecture; they would. But the lecture, or sustained teacher monologue, should be replaced with more effective and time-efficient technologies whenever possible. Not only would such a move provide teachers with additional time

to coach, consult, and conduct seminars and discussions, it would also provide students with information when they needed it and when their work called for it, rather than when the teacher's schedule permitted it.

Some readers will recognize that this proposal is strikingly close to some of the modular scheduling ideas of the 1950s and 1960s. And the reader may be tempted to add that, for the most part, these prior efforts with flexible scheduling failed. There were failures, true. But if one looks behind these failures, the reasons may have more to do with the conditions of implementation and the limitations of technology than with the concepts upon which flexible scheduling was based. First, the high schools continued to maintain a departmental structure, causing schedules to be designed around subjects rather than students. (Most elementary teachers, if not in a tightly supervised bureaucracy, even now engage in flexible scheduling as a daily routine.) Second, computer technology was not available to handle the massive amounts of data that must be handled to schedule large numbers of students into complex work patterns. Third, flexible scheduling often accompanied (though I do not believe it caused) a loss of clear focus in school and became part of the scene of curriculum anarchy that typified much of the educational community during the 1960s.

The reforms envisioned by the knowledge-work image of schools are quite different from the changes envisioned by the advocates of modular scheduling in the 1960s. In the past, the assumption was that bigger is better and specialization is the key to all. Thus modular scheduling often accompanied school consolidation. The drive was to make it possible for teachers to specialize—some teachers were perceived to have skill in large-group instruction, for example, some with small groups, so roles would be specialized according to the teacher's skill. The knowledge-work school begins with the assumption that less is more and that teachers need to be generalists rather than specialists. (The reader who needs persuasion should consult Sizer, 1984.) Moreover, the creation of the microcomputer has the potential of making the most complex scheduling problems relatively easy to solve (though the way computers are now used in many schools seems to make these problems even greater than they were in the past).

Finally, by grouping students as performance teams and work teams and by assigning teachers (including teams of teachers) to lead these student teams, much of the scheduling of student work can be simplified and made part of the teacher/leader role. In schools of the future, it will be understood that giving and receiving instruction is not schoolwork (knowledge work). Giving and receiving instruction is preparation for knowledge work. Knowledge work begins when the student does something with the information received and in the process makes the information his or her own.

Space and Place

Over the next fifteen years, 50 to 75 percent of America's public school buildings should be replaced or undergo major renovations, since most of the buildings that now house schools were constructed in response to the postwar baby boom that occurred between 1945 and 1967. These buildings, many of which are now forty years old and most of which will be at least forty years old by the year 2000, are clearly going to need major overhauls in the near future. This condition presents an unusual opportunity for educators and architects to consider the way space should be designed to accommodate the educational programs that are likely to be in place in the twenty-first century. Whether school leaders will be able to take advantage of this opportunity depends, in large measure, on the willingness of the citizenry to invest in restoring the physical infrastructure that is decaying all around us.

Among the considerations that designers should take into account (if and when they get the opportunity to do so) is the fact that if schools are to be designed as knowledge-work organizations, then classrooms need to be designed as workspaces, rather than as places for performances to occur. Indeed, the very concept of the classroom needs to be reconsidered. Places for instruction must be provided, but so do places for small groups of children and adults to converse without interruption. Recognizing that children will, after all, be children and that schools have a legal responsibility for the safety of the young, it is going to be necessary to consider ways in which groups can have privacy and quiet, yet be under adult supervision. The glass-enclosed seminar room, for example, provides

some privacy while assuring that students are visible to adults. Individual work stations with computers will have to be provided. All of these items and more are needed. Above all, the space must be capable of quick and inexpensive redesign. Thus movable walls and portable cubicles should become commonplace.

Those who design schools must also keep in mind that schools are not simply places for children to work and learn. Schools are places where adults work and learn. Training rooms, seminar rooms, and rooms with one-way mirrors for observing demonstration procedures without interrupting them should be built into every school. Teachers need executive-quality meeting rooms, and every school should provide them.

Life-style is at least as important a motivator to do quality work as is standard of living. If teachers and administrators are to behave as professional leaders and if students are to view their work as serious knowledge work, then the environment in which that work is done should reflect the school's purpose. In the nineteenth century, when teaching was viewed as a sacred profession, the little red schoolhouse and the church in the valley by the wildwood had a striking resemblance. The high schools built in the twentieth century, at least many of them, reflected the factories they were designed to emulate. The schools of the twenty-first century must reflect the ambiance of institutions where serious knowledge work occurs and where those who work are treated with dignity rather than as cogs in a machine.

Centralization Versus Decentralization

If schools are to be structured as effective knowledge-work organizations, their structure will have to permit considerably more flexibility than is now the case. Flexibility will be needed for many reasons—not the least of which is because highly competent people seem to do better in environments where they can exercise their judgment on important matters and schools will need to compete as never before for competent college graduates. Moreover, flexibility makes it possible to respond quickly to unanticipated possibilities (what teachers call the teachable moment, for example) and unanticipated problems. It is the ability to respond quickly to opportuni-

ties and problems that separates truly excellent organizations from the mediocre. And it is this need to increase the capacity of schools for quick and flexible response to the needs of students, as much as any other factor, that leads reformers to urge the decentralization of school administrations.

Bureaucracies are systems that rely on centralization of authority, standardization of tasks, and specialized job descriptions. The purpose of bureaucracy is to rationalize the way problems are managed and programs are administered. The style of problem solving in bureaucracies is to assign problems to positions rather than to people. In a bureaucracy the critical question is: What department has the authority to deal with this issue? Problems are passed up the hierarchy; solutions are passed down the hierarchy.

It is now becoming clear that this mode of organization, while sometimes efficient, is far from effective. In truly rational bureaucracies, duplication of effort is theoretically avoided by developing clearly specified job descriptions and clear lines of authority. But as men and women who work in such organizations know, not only do bureaucracies not avoid duplication of effort, they often discourage the expenditure of any effort at all. Indeed, much of the effort expended in bureaucracies has to do with getting around the system, around the rules, and around the procedures so that work can get done.

Advocates of decentralization have an image of centralization that is consistent with what I have just described. They contend that those on the front lines of education are in a better position to deal with problems than those who are further removed. Moreover, they argue, problems take on unique configurations within a specific context and no specific regulation can take into account all the possible permutations of events.

Those who oppose decentralization of curriculum design and budgetary decisions argue that in order for school systems to operate as systems—as opposed to separate school districts around each schoolhouse—central control is necessary. Implicitly, the opponents of decentralization assume that present methods of bureaucratic control are doing, or can be made to do, the job. In my view the opponents of decentralization vastly overestimate the amount of control central personnel can exercise in a centralized system. They

also underestimate the capacity to establish and maintain central direction in an administratively decentralized system through the careful expression of vision, values, and beliefs and careful attention to results.

At present, much of the faculty's energy in large bureaucratic school systems is spent inventing novel forms of evasion of policies promulgated "downtown" or at the statehouse. The curriculum guide, for example, is a subject of ridicule in many school systems. The only time the guide is taken seriously is when central office personnel are present. I have been in school systems where central office personnel believed that central directives and mandates regarding curriculum and instruction were having a much greater impact on classrooms than direct observation would lead one to believe. It is, it seems, a condition of bureaucratic life that leaders need to delude themselves regarding the impact of their decisions and subordinates have an interest in maintaining this delusion. I have, for example, personally observed situations where the need to keep the central office from knowing what was really going on was sufficiently strong that elaborate code systems were established to inform teachers when "they" (central office supervisors) were in the building. In one school, the word was passed through a public address system in the principal's office (with the principal's knowledge). So far as the outsider was concerned, the announcement had to do with a meeting after school; so far as the teachers were concerned, and they put it this way, it was "time to quit teaching like you should and teach like they wanted you to teach." In a similar way, two governors have told me that they too overestimated their ability to control schools and classrooms through mandates from the top. As one said, "Of all the lessons I have learned since getting into the [school reform] business, the most important is to never underestimate the power of local boards and local superintendents to sabotage something they do not believe in or want to do."

When central control of matters related to curriculum and instruction does have effects in the classroom, one of two conditions typically exists. In by far the most common case, the school system has developed an elaborate inspection and control system that enforces standard procedures through very tight—and expensive—

forms of supervision. In these cases, teachers tend to engage in ritual compliance, doing as they are told without much enthusiasm.

In some school systems, however, central direction is taken seriously. In such cases one typically finds that the system has invested a great deal in involving teachers in the creation of policies and programs and even more in training and informing those who were not directly involved in formulating policies, procedures, curriculum guides, and so on. Moreover, in such situations it is commonplace for the principal to take the lead in conducting training and work sessions at the building level where frank discussion of the meaning and intent of central directives is carried out. Most important, mechanisms are established whereby individual teachers and school faculties have—and *feel* they have—an impact on subsequent thinking about policies and procedures. Moreover, statements of policy and procedure are viewed as temporary guides to action, rather than regulations inscribed on tablets of stone. The policy is regularly reviewed in terms of its effects on results; when it is found to be lacking, it is changed or abandoned. For this situation to work, top leaders must have their business straight—and they had better have communicated their intentions to those below them. Equally important, the system must provide the training and support that will give teachers confidence that they have the skill to do what is expected of them. This type of system is based on human values and human commitments, not on rigid control structures and impersonal management systems.

Thus the question is not one of centralization versus decentralization. Rather the questions are: What is best decentralized and what is best centralized? What can be centralized and what can be decentralized? What cannot be decentralized and what cannot be centralized? In those areas where choices are possible, what decision is appropriate in the situation at hand? It seems clear, for example, that school systems as agencies with taxing authority or authority to procure funds for budgets through some other agency (such as county commissioners) cannot totally decentralize the budget-making process or even the budget decision-making process. School systems can, however, create conditions in which classroom teachers and principals have considerable discretion in the use of funds once

these funds are allocated. Numerous school systems (Miami-Dade, for example) are experimenting with such procedures even now.

Organizations that attempt to control action from the center through mandates, inspections, and tight budgetary restrictions, leaving little discretion to lower-level personnel, are generally less productive than "decentralized" organizations. And, paradoxically, these highly centralized organizations sometimes (perhaps frequently) have less real impact at the local level than do organizations where top-level leaders lead through the expression of values and attention to results rather than the promulgation of regulations and attention to compliance with program specifications.

Concluding Remarks

Much more could be said regarding the topics taken up in this chapter. The danger, of course, is that the reader will take what is said as prescriptive rather than suggestive—and the more that is said, the greater the danger of prescription. What is needed is invention, not prescription. The basic materials which make up that invention are people, knowledge, time, and space. Leaders who structure the relationships among these elements in the most imaginative ways will be the leaders who invent the schools for the twenty-first century.

6

The Ability to Rally Support for Change

Managing to Satisfy the Needs of Constituents

Substantial change in rules, roles, and relationships and in the system of beliefs and values that give meaning to these structures places great demands on those who are required to modify their own performance in response to these changes. Principals who were recruited, trained, and rewarded for "running a tight ship" and always "being in control" must unlearn and relearn much if schools are to be led in a participatory way. Union leaders and school administrators who have learned to arrive at collective bargaining agreements through adversarial negotiations will need to unlearn and relearn much if they are to produce the cooperative arrangements that schools as knowledge-work environments will require.

Creating a flexible work structure and a policy environment that permits and encourages restructuring is critical. But unless an internal and external support system is put in place, it is unlikely that the structural and cultural changes that are needed to turn schools into knowledge-work environments will, in fact, be implemented.

Marketing Change

Sales begins with a product and then endeavors to persuade customers that they want or need what the product offers. The tools of sales are advertising, promotion, and incentives. Marketing, however, begins with the customer—what the customer values and what the customer needs. Effective marketing organizations are effective because they relate their production capacities to what their customers value.

Too often, those who try to bring about change approach the task as a sales problem. Just as sales tries to break down market resistance to a new product, leaders of change concentrate on overcoming resistance to change. Just as sales organizations spend time and energy on advertising and finding ways to manipulate the customer to adopt a positive frame of mind toward the product, leaders of change spend time trying to make others believe that their proposals will be in the customer's own best interest or serve some value the customer wants served.

Marketing change, by contrast, begins from the view that change must satisfy the needs and values of those whose support is essential. Marketing change proceeds from the assumption that overcoming resistance to change is not the same as creating commitment to change. It is one thing to get people to tolerate change; it is another to get them to support change with their own time, energy, and creative capacities. If schools are to be transformed from their present structures to more productive forms, those who lead change must take a marketing approach rather than the approach of the salesperson.

Defining the Market

A market consists of all the potential customers for whatever it is that an organization has to offer or is prepared to create. Customers are people who have valued resources they can exchange for whatever it is the organization has to offer. In commercial transactions, customers usually buy goods or services in exchange for money. In the context of change, customers are asked to exchange their time, energy, support, creativity, and insight for something of value

to them. The customers for change are all those whose support is needed to bring the desired change to fruition. The key is to know your customers well and understand the values they bring to the transaction.

Segmenting the Market

Customers differ from one another in what they value and what they expect from a product. To deal with these differences, marketing experts engage in a practice called *market segmentation.* Market segmentation proceeds from two commonsense observations. First, for any product or service there are likely to be multiple values at play, but the truly critical values are limited in number and relatively easy to identify. Second, these critical values are likely to be manifest in different ways within different groups in the market population. Thus the trick is to segment the market so that the values which come into play are taken into account and to group the customers (for analytical purposes) in ways that reflect significant clusterings and emphases on these values.

In the effort to market change, educational leaders need to answer the following questions: If this change were to be implemented, what are the critical values held by the various constituencies who would be affected? Are these values likely to be manifest in different ways by different groups or subgroups? Which of these values are likely to be served by the change and which will be threatened? How can the proposed change be organized and implemented so that the values served are increased and the values threatened are minimized? Can these modifications be made without threatening the integrity of the change? If so, why not make them? If not, is the proposed change possible at the present time or will lack of support eliminate the possibility of success? If the change is not possible, what might be done to prepare the situation for the change?

The beginning point for answers to such questions is the development of a clear understanding of the change that is being implemented and a clear understanding of the values held by various groups and constituencies whose interests will be affected by the change. In the preceding chapters, I have suggested strategies for

arriving at decisions regarding the specific form changes might take in a given context. Here I will concentrate on strategies for bringing about such changes.

Whose Support Is Needed?

It is tempting to answer the question "whose support is needed?" with one short statement: Everybody's support is needed. Such an answer is not very helpful. Certainly it would be useful if everyone were supportive; certainly a change as massive as the one proposed in this book would affect the interests of nearly everyone in American society. But the fact is that the active support of some groups is more critical than others. Among the groups whose support is most critical are teachers and teachers' organizations; school administrators and the groups that represent them; parents; civic, business, and political leaders including governors and legislators; and taxpayers generally. It would also be helpful, of course, to have support from the federal government, higher education, a variety of professional associations, trade associations, unions, and so on. But the key "market" for change is those persons, groups, and agencies that will be called on for active support—by changing the way they behave, by giving up traditional interests, or by providing additional funding.

The Establishment: A Point of View

Many of the more caustic critics of American education attribute most of what is wrong with schools to the characteristics of those who teach and those who run America's schools. For these critics the solution to quality education is simple: Employ better teachers and administrators and dismiss the nonperformers who presently occupy too many classrooms and offices. For these persons, school reform must run over or run around most of those who now teach or manage in America's schools.

I am not a defender of the status quo in education. I have done my share to shed light on the quality of education and the qualities of educators. (See, for example, Schlechty and Vance, 1983.) At the same time, I have little sympathy for those who insist

the problems of quality in education stem from the qualities of those who teach. I long ago came to the conclusion that given the way America's schools are organized and given the way the education institution is situated in American society, American society gets more from teachers and administrators than it is reasonable to expect. Moreover, I have little sympathy for those who argue that the reason for the failure of America's schools—if failure it is—stems from the rise of teachers' unions. Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers has provided some of the more radical ideas to emerge in the education reform debate, and some of these ideas will do little to swell the rolls of the union or enlarge its treasury. Shanker has seriously suggested, for example, that the school of the future may need fewer teachers than are employed today. Such suggestions do not come from leaders whose only interest is building members and protecting the status quo.

Mary Futrell, of the National Education Association, has recently set forth a number of proposals that a few years ago would not have been approved by the organization she leads. How has she done it? By leading her organization, just as Shanker has led his, to understand that the way the problems have been framed in the twentieth century may not be the way problems will need to be framed in the twenty-first century. And if problems are framed in unconventional ways, unconventional solutions are almost certain to follow.

Having made these observations, I would quickly point out that there are many in the education establishment who are opposed to any real change in the status quo and many more who, while not opposing change, will give little energy to support it. But such is the case in every organization. The questions for leaders who would bring about change are: How are the positive forces mobilized? How are the negative forces minimized? The answers lie in a careful assessment of the values that need to be served—and an understanding of the values that might be threatened by real changes in the structure of schools.

Gaining Support from Within

Upon accepting a position with the Jefferson County (Kentucky) public schools and accepting responsibility for creating and

leading an organization intended to provide training and support for teachers and administrators as they undertook the business of restructuring schools, I realized that most of my work would involve bringing together existing resources and using them in new ways. Jefferson County's public schools, like all public schools in Kentucky, are underfunded, at least by national standards.

One of the obvious units that would be involved in my efforts was the existing staff development unit. This unit, comprised of people who were by reputation extremely competent in their work, became the focus of my attention in my early tenure. I asked many of these persons, "What is your business?" Though the specific answer would vary from person to person, the fundamental response was that the business of the staff development unit was "training and improvement."

At the same time I was interviewing the staff development personnel, I took it on myself to ask teachers and administrators in the district what they wanted from the staff development unit. Not one person said that he or she wanted to be trained; not one said he or she wanted to be improved. Rather, they talked about opportunities to share with colleagues the feeling that they were sometimes talked down to or treated as if they were uninformed. Participation in various training programs often took teachers away from their students, they said, and staff development programs were held at inconvenient times and in undesirable places (such as the school cafeteria).

Based on these conversations, plus numerous talks before and since with hundreds of teachers and administrators, and based on research conducted by people like Susan Rosenholtz, Gary Griffin, and Judith Warren-Little, I have come to the conclusion that there are four basic values toward which educational reform efforts must be oriented if they are to gain the support of teachers and administrators. At the same time, any reform effort that threatens these values will be resisted. These values are (1) the need for positive recognition and affirmation; (2) the need for variety, both intellectual and professional; (3) the need to feel that what one does makes a difference and that doing things differently will make a difference as well; and (4) the need for affiliation and collegial support and interaction. We now turn to these four basic values.

Providing Recognition

Those who would market change by concentrating on how it will solve current problems will create resistance at the same time they create commitment. The reason is straightforward. Present problems have their locus in current reality, and we all are part of that reality. Concentrating on current reality forces one to ask: Who is to blame or who must change? To suggest that one should change because what one is doing is somehow wrong is to threaten one's status and feelings of self-worth. Such results breed defensive reactions, lack of creativity, and rigidity of response. What is needed—indeed what is required—is a means of encouraging people to support change that elevates their feelings of worth rather than denigrating them and making them confess to prior sins.

It is for this reason that a compelling vision is so important. Visions are not reality. Visions are intended realities. Calling upon one to change and invest oneself in the invention of a new world is much different from calling on one to atone for past sins. Affirming that one is important to the future of an enterprise not only affirms the person, it affirms the enterprise itself.

Obviously, teachers and administrators who occupy different positions in schools will find certain aspects of a vision affirming and others threatening. Reformers who suggest that empowering teachers means taking power away from principals may win support from some teachers, but many principals will find such a prospect less than attractive. On the other hand, the view that principals themselves must be empowered in order to empower teachers has appeal to both principals and teachers. The fact that it is an accurate appraisal of the situation also makes the argument persuasive.

The point is that those who would lead change need to consider the symbols they use to communicate their vision. Change leaders should never create losers unless they intend to dismiss them from the organization. Losers may not be able to do much else, but they surely can sabotage.

Intellectual and Professional Variety

Change of the magnitude suggested in this book is as much intellectual work as it is technical work, legal work, policy work,

and training. It requires those who participate to think differently. It is not enough that they simply behave differently; they must come to think and feel differently as well. What change leaders in education need to understand is that most teachers and most administrators *want* to think. The problem is that schools, as they are presently organized, breed mindlessness (see Silberman, 1970). For many teachers, the opportunity to read, to think, to argue and converse about important issues, and the opportunity to lead others in such exercises, are in themselves incentives for a positive inclination toward a change effort. Many teachers crave to lead, though they do not want to be administrators. Many teachers want, as many other people want, to be in a position to make their opinions known and their beliefs felt. If the dynamics surrounding a change process can respond to this need, considerable support for the change can be engendered. If this need is overlooked or suppressed, however, support will be less enthusiastic and resistance more likely—or so I have found.

Many teachers resist what they call "theory" and consider "philosophical discussions" irrelevant to their daily lives. Many have taken such antipathy to mean that teachers and administrators are anti- or nonintellectual. Some are. But more find intellectual discussions that confuse rigor with rigor mortis boring. Many find theoretical discussions that are not anchored in empirical reality to be mere wool gathering. When being intellectual is associated with romance as well as precision (see Whitehead, 1967), most teachers respond with excitement, for teachers are people who work daily with words and ideas. When the ideas that are presented in theory help them make sense of their own experience and contribute to their understanding of what is going on around them and what is happening inside them (Mills, 1959), teachers and administrators usually respond. And when teachers and administrators are positioned in the change process in a way that ensures that they really matter and their views will be taken into account (a form of job variety for many), they often respond to the change with enthusiasm.

Fostering Success

"In teaching, what do you consider a good day?" When asked this question, most teachers would agree with the statement, "A

good day is when the students do what I want them to do; I don't have to coerce them; they seem to enjoy it; and no one interrupts my class." (See Lortie, 1975, for support of this assertion.) Such a day would be considered a successful day by most teachers. For teachers, then, getting students to do what the teachers want is success in the classroom. Changes that promise to increase the teacher's success are much more likely to be embraced by teachers than changes that have no impact on success or even threaten to erode it.

This condition causes a number of problems for those who would lead change in schools. First, because of the press of school life, teachers and administrators tend to think of success in the short term. Immediacy pervades school life. Consequently, efforts to bring about changes that do not produce immediate results—or, worse, changes that disrupt routines that are presently bringing a modicum of success—are likely to be resisted. Teachers trying for the first time to work together in teams and make team decisions, for example, frequently find the activity frustrating. They sometimes conclude that they could do better and save time if they simply continued to work alone. Thus after a few fitful starts, the team approach in education is sometimes abandoned.

A second problem is that old habits—no matter how ineffective they may be when compared to potential new habits—are in the short run more success-producing than new habits with which people have little experience and over which they exercise little control. People like to feel they know what they are doing. Change creates uncertainty. Uncertainty threatens success. Thus those who would get teachers and administrators to support change must provide a basis of security for those who will take the risk of trying new ways, for old ways are at least comfortable.

Finally, teachers and administrators believe, and rightly, that anytime they are absent from "their post" things are unlikely to go as well as if they were there. Long ago, Willard Waller (1961, p. 234) observed that "schools are threatened because they are autocratic, and they are autocratic because they are threatened." Principals often fear leaving their buildings because something might go wrong. Teachers feel the same way about their classrooms.

Until leaders can find ways of assuring people that things will be taken care of while they are attending to other matters, many

teachers and administrators will find it difficult to be enthusiastic about supporting a major change initiative. Teachers know, for example, or believe they know, that no substitute teacher can do what they would have done if they had been in class rather than attending a planning meeting, seminar, or training session. Parents, too, believe this to be the case. What is needed, therefore, is a means of dealing with this very real problem. Teaming arrangements make it possible for teachers to be gone without fear of loss to students, for example, and participatory leadership makes it possible for the principal to leave the school without feeling that no one is in charge. But such solutions are available only if change leaders are willing and able to invest the developmental funds needed to invent these solutions. Specifically, I believe that fundamental restructuring requires temporary staff additions to take up the slack while new norms are being established and new attitudes are emerging. Developmental funds and developmental resources are then critical to school reform. But more on this subject later.

Collegial Support

It is commonplace to observe that teaching is a lonely occupation for those who need adult companionship and adult interactions. Since most adults need affiliation with others and since teachers are adults, it seems reasonable to assume that the way schools are now structured creates a need for collegial support. Moreover, what little opportunity there is for adults to deal with each other as adults will be jealously guarded, and changes that threaten collegiality will be resisted.

Those who would lead change in schools must be especially attentive to designing the changes and their implementation in ways that foster collegiality. At a minimum, the change and the process by which it is introduced should not threaten existing patterns of collegial support—unless they can be replaced by patterns that are even richer in opportunities for adults to take each other seriously, as adults, in school.

Too often changes are introduced in a way that fosters competition and rivalry among teachers, rather than encouraging collegial support. Increased rivalry is one of the reasons why many

teachers find merit pay and certain forms of career ladders less than attractive. Principals who know they must depend on teachers for support and friendship as well as compliance are hard-pressed to engage in teacher evaluation that threatens these crucial patterns of collegiality. Teachers, too, find it difficult to engage in peer evaluation—not only because of a tradition of union solidarity but because such evaluations are too often framed in ways that threaten the delicate patterns of peer support that exist in an organization where peer support is rare.

Thus leaders who would make teaching a public act—rather than a private act that takes place behind closed doors—must be aware of the need for collegiality and take it into account when marketing change. Such is the reality of school life.

The Outside World

In the preceding sections I have given considerable attention to the values and needs toward which leaders of change must address their efforts if they are to gain support from teachers and school administrators—in other words, the support of the establishment. It is important, however, that outside constituencies (parents, union leaders, business leaders, and others who influence school policy and action) be taken into account as well.

Whatever change occurs in schools will, in the long run, depend on the endorsement of teachers and administrators. Anyone who believes that schools can be changed in any significant way without the support of teachers, teachers' unions, principals, and boards of education sees school life far differently than I do. But other constituencies must be involved in school reform, as well. Their values and their needs are much less clear than those of teachers and administrators. For one thing, there is simply not as much information on the needs and values of these constituencies as these values relate to schools and school reform. Furthermore, the way these values are manifest varies considerably depending on local context. (This is not to say that the values and needs of educators do not vary as a result of contextual differences, but it is my impression that the variance is not so great as with parents, business interests, and taxpayer groups.) Thus discussion of the values toward

which school reform efforts must be addressed to gain the support of these constituencies is certain to be less precise than when teachers and administrators are being considered. There are, however, general points that can be made.

Clearly the needs of some outside groups are quite different from the needs of other groups—so different, in fact, that it is easy to assume these needs are mutually exclusive, which leads to the easy assertion that "you can't satisfy everybody." Certainly you cannot satisfy everybody, but sometimes educators could do better than they do. The key to doing better is learning to hear what the various customers are asking for. Often business leaders who want test scores to go up are asking for nothing more than convincing evidence that schools are doing what they are supposed to do—getting students engaged in activity that results in each child's learning things that are socially and culturally valued. To tell a newspaper editor that test scores are not good indicators of the quality of education being provided—without offering alternative measures which will assure that the job is being done—will not satisfy the editor any more than a "trust me" satisfies the person who deals with stockbrokers, insurance agents, physicians, and lawyers. Parents, too, sometimes express concern with test scores. Yet I have seldom observed parents who were concerned about test scores so long as their child was doing well in school. Parents who are satisfied with their own child's progress in school seldom concern themselves with data that other children are not doing so well.

The point here, of course, is that the customer is never wrong. But to say that the customer is never wrong is not to say that the customer is always right. The business leader who is dissatisfied with test scores is unhappy with the performance of the school or unhappy with the evidence regarding that performance. Test scores are something on which to fasten the dissatisfaction. The case of the parent is similar. If this need is to be satisfied, parents and community leaders must have some product that will persuade them the schools are performing as they want them to perform. Until educators develop such products, test scores will continue to dominate the thinking of many outside of the schools.

Sometimes all they want is some attention and acknowledgment that they too are important and deserving to be taken into

account. Physicians have learned the hard way that technical competence is not all that matters if one wants to avoid malpractice suits. Bedside manner is important as well. Instead of calling parents and telling them how Jenny is doing in school and what they can do to make her do better, a marketing-oriented educator would call the parents and ask how Jenny is doing and what the school can do to make her more successful. Instead of parent advisory groups, which too often turn into special-interest groups, a marketing-oriented leader of educational change would use such devices as the focus-group interview where various constituencies are asked to express their needs and concerns. And these views would be taken into account in shaping the change and the change process.

Concluding Remarks

Change requires commitment of energy and resources. It requires people to take risks and break habits. It causes discomfort and uncertainty. It creates needs as well as satisfies them. When undergoing change, people need more support and security than when their world is stable; these needs must be satisfied for substantial change to go forward.

Identifying the customers' needs and values and then finding ways of satisfying them is what marketing is all about. Those who would lead change must understand that, in the best sense, those they would lead are customers. What the leader wants from the customer is commitment, enthusiasm, risk taking, and inventiveness. What the customer wants is to be assured that he or she is an honored participant (rather than a pawn to be manipulated), a respected intellect deserving of support, and most of all a valued colleague. Such values must always be satisfied if leaders are to lead. But in times of change, where stress is high and security low, these values reign supreme—and woe be to the aspiring leader who denies them. The old-style salesman may have believed "let the buyer beware." Such a view no longer suffices in the world of commerce, and it will certainly not suffice in the changing world of education.

7

The Creation of Change Systems

Tackling Problems at Their Source

In education, as in many other fields, it is commonplace to talk about change in terms of individuals. Individuals lead change and individuals resist change. But when one considers changes of the type suggested in this book, more than individuals are involved. Systems are involved. Patterns of power, privilege, and prestige are involved. Histories and biographies are involved as well as individual men and women and current offices and positions. To bring about change in such deeply ingrained structures, leaders must think beyond individual personalities, beyond change agents, and beyond personal actions. Leaders must think of inventing change systems.

This chapter is about creating systems to change systems. I begin from the observation that one of the primary reasons schools are so resistant to change is that most school systems have little developmental capacity. Schools are organized to maintain and defend the status quo; school systems, at least most school systems, are not organized to ensure continuous improvement and development. Indeed, it is commonplace for school leaders to look to the outside—

textbook publishers, university professors, professional consultants, and so on—for the primary sources of innovation in their schools.

Certainly some schools have research departments, but for the most part these departments concern themselves with testing, projecting enrollment patterns, and assessing student performance. Few are concerned with devising responses to the problems such studies raise. Few schools, moreover, have dedicated developmental funds, and the funds and resources that are targeted for development are likely to be co-opted to meet the organization's maintenance needs. It is commonplace, for example, for developmental grant funds to be diverted to underwrite staff positions that have been cut from the general budget. Travel funds, which were officially designated to support conference attendance by teachers as a developmental activity, somehow become diverted to rewarding teachers—or administrators—who have performed above and beyond the call of duty but for whom the system has no legitimate way of providing reward or recognition.

It seems unlikely, then, that fundamental change can be implemented in school systems, especially large school systems, unless a developmental system—a change system—is invented and installed. Without such a system, change will go by fits and starts, and what starts as developmental resources somehow gets turned to supporting the status quo. (See Schlechty and Whitford, 1983.)

Essential Functions

For change to occur, five functions must be fulfilled. First, the nature of the change must be conceptualized. Second, people who are going to be called on to support the change but who were not involved in the conceptualization process must be made aware of the change. Third, feedback from those who were not involved in the initial conceptualization but who will be called on for support must be solicited and, where possible and appropriate, incorporated into the change process. Fourth, activity to implement the change must begin, and people must be motivated to act in directions indicated by the change. Fifth, a system of ongoing support and train-

ing must be provided for those who are being asked to support the change.

For purposes of simplification I refer to these functions as the conceptualizing function, the marketing function, the developmental function, the implementation function, and the service and support function. In my view, a school system that is serious about reform must commit resources to creating a staffing structure and role structure which assure that these functions can be carried out on a daily basis. In this chapter I describe the general configuration of such a system.

The Conceptualizing Function

Thinking is the most important act of leadership in a change-oriented environment. Although it is seldom discussed in the literature on change, all who think about change know that the way problems are conceived and the way futures are envisioned—especially the way that the system's leaders think about problems and envision the future—will shape the course of action taken within the organization. Intellectual leadership, the ability to think through problems and conceive alternative futures, is an essential quality in any organization that is undergoing a fundamental change. Embattled organizations employ public relations specialists to help think of ways out of problems. Change-oriented organizations, by contrast, employ intellectual leaders to conceptualize alternative futures.

Does this mean that those with authority in the system need to be intellectual leaders? Probably not—though it might help if they were at least friendly toward the world of ideas. What is important is that those in authority, especially top authority, in the school system appreciate the importance of solid thinking and careful conceptualization in the process of bringing about change.

Improvement-oriented school systems do not need gurus or dynamic change agents brought in from afar. What these organizations need are people capable of hard and systematic thought who will give sustained attention to the conditions the school system confronts and provide ways of dealing with them. It is convenient when such thinking comes from the head office—for eventually the

thinking will have to emanate from that office or it will be to no avail within the system. If, however, the superintendent, the principal, the union leader, or whoever heads the organization is not inclined to provide such intellectual leadership, these top officials must create conditions that ensure that it will be provided.

In a massive change endeavor, of course, no single person in an organization has the facts and the intellectual capacity to conceptualize all the problems that must be addressed. From the outset, such work is teamwork. Sometimes the superintendent or principal will be the appropriate leader of such a team; sometimes these people are better team members than team leaders. The important thing is that the top leader must be involved in the conceptualization process. The top leader can encourage others to do the thinking, but if the leader wants the thinking to go anywhere he or she must join in the thinking too.

What must the intellectual leaders of the school system think about? First, they must think about the present circumstance. As the school system is now organized, what purposes does it serve and what additional worthwhile purposes could it serve? Are the elementary schools serving more selecting and sorting purposes than nurturing and developmental purposes? To what extent are the remediation programs and special progams now conducted by the school system a response to the casualties the system itself has created? Asking and answering such questions is hard and risky work. Those who ask such questions must have courage, and they must be supported from the top.

Second, the intellectual leaders must consider the future—the future as it is likely to be and the future as they might like it to be. For example: Given demographic trends and our present purpose and structure, are we going to be more or less effective in satisfying our community in the future than we are now if we keep on doing what we are doing? If we intend to replace our present teachers with college graduates who are at least as well qualified as the present work force, are our present salary structure, career structure, and working conditions likely to attract such people? What would it take to move our school system from its present configuration to a knowledge-work structure? Assuming we would like to move to a

knowledge-work orientation, what are we now doing that is consistent with such a view? And the list of questions could go on.

One result of serious efforts to ask and answer questions like these—especially if the questions are addressed by serious teams of teachers, principals, union leaders, and central office administrators—is certain to be the creation of new channels of communication and new patterns of thought that will eventually lead to new visions and new formulations of old problems. It is from such humble beginnings that the reinvention of schools must proceed.

Finding and Developing Intellectual Leaders

One of the chief tasks of leaders in knowledge-work organizations is to teach. Indeed, teaching, coaching, consulting, and inspiring occupy a great part of the day for most middle-level and top-level leaders in many of America's businesses. (See, for example, Peters and Waterman, 1982, and Grove, 1985.) The concept of the developmental leader is becoming widespread in business and it should become widespread in schools. (See Bradford and Cohen, 1984.) And the developmental leader is first of all a teacher.

In my view, school reform cannot proceed far unless top leaders take their obligations as teachers much more seriously than is the case in many school districts today. Superintendents and principals need to be informed about current issues, but more than that they need to take it on themselves to ensure that those with whom they work are informed as well. Principals should be prepared to assume the role of teacher educator in a school building, as must union leaders and others who would exercise authority for and over the education system. And one of the highest priorities of the superintendent must be to serve as the chief educator in the community.

Superintendents, principals, and union leaders must develop reading lists and conduct seminars for teachers, administrators, and other union leaders that explore the issues being addressed in the current reform agenda. This is being done in some places, but it must be done in every school that is serious about reform. Teachers, administrators, and union leaders need to sit down together and study the best thinking in the field of leadership and management.

I find it difficult to see how a school leader can be serious

about school reform and not be familiar with the writings of Drucker, Bennis, Peters, Waterman, and Grove as well as the work of certain educational writers and thinkers. These same works are useful to teachers—perhaps more useful than some of the intellectually vacuous materials they are exposed to on "in-service days." (For the uninitiated, *in-service* is a term educators use for a particularly noxious form of required continuing education where teachers come together, usually in an auditorium or cafeteria, and get "in-serviced.")

Given the school system's drive for action ("let's do *something,* even if it's wrong") and the tendency of the present school organization to encourage what Silberman (1970) has called "mindlessness," it is sometimes difficult to get school leaders, especially superintendents and central office staff, to undertake serious study. There is, of course, no way to *make* such a thing happen. But unless it happens, nothing much of a positive nature is likely to happen—or so I am prepared to argue. This fact is recognized by top corporate leaders. When these leaders get serious about turning their business around or heading it in a different direction, one of the first things they do is invest in study and training opportunities for themselves and their employees.

Intellectual leadership emerges in school systems when top leaders are viewed as valuing ideas, valuing the reading of books, and valuing the interchange of ideas that leads to creative formulations and innovative solutions. To establish such values, those in authority—in the superintendent's office, the union office, and the principal's office—must model what they value. People know what is expected by what is inspected and by what is respected. The superintendent who asks his or her staff "Have you read . . . ?" will shortly catch the staff reading. The superintendent who is too busy to read will have few intellectual leaders to call on when in need.

Ready, Fire, Aim

Having made a plea for intellectualism and thoughtfulness being infused in the change process, I would quickly add that without a penchant for action, a ready-fire-aim attitude, change will not occur either. (See Peters and Waterman, 1982, and Peters and Aus-

tin, 1985.) Planning cannot be separated from implementation, nor should it be. The act of planning is itself an implementation activity. Decisions regarding who will be brought in to help conceptualize the problem inevitably shape decisions regarding the other constituencies that will later be involved in the process. The superintendent who decides to overlook principals in the early formulation of a new vision will have different problems in gaining their support than will the superintendent who involves principals at an early stage. Nevertheless, involving people at an early stage is not always best. Some constituencies have such a heavy investment in maintaining the status quo that their early involvement would disrupt the creative conversations that need to occur in initial formulations. The quality that separates good participatory leaders from great ones is the ability to decide who needs to be involved and when.

More important than decisions regarding who should be involved in planning and when, however, are the signals that top leadership sends about the seriousness of its intent. If change is going to occur, people in the organization must *believe* that things are going to change. It is the obligation of top leaders to ensure that this message is delivered and heard. This is no easy task, especially when it is not clear exactly how things are going to be different. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the CEO of Ford Motor Company, which has been undergoing major restructuring, describes the past ten years as "Ford's version of hell." Change requires leaders to lead—to step beyond the data and beyond the plan. Indeed, the decision that a plan is needed, if properly framed, can be a clear signal that things are going to be different. Of course, it can also be a signal that things are going to stay the same by virtue of assigning problems to another study committee.

Marketing and Development

For change to occur in schools, some person or unit must accept responsibility for conceptualizing and articulating an initial version of what that change involves, the problems it addresses, and the futures it anticipates. This is difficult and risky work, but it is only the beginning. The real difficulties arise in creating a market-

ing and development system that will make it possible to translate rough ideas and visionary plans into operating systems.

Visions of the future, no matter how compelling they may be to their creators, are not shared visions until others in the organization understand and embrace them. For this to happen, the vision must be shaped in ways that meet the needs of those whose support is required to move the conception from abstract thought to concrete action. It is this articulation and communication of the vision and its implications for action—and the concomitant modification of the vision and plans of action in order to satisfy those whose support is needed—that I term the marketing and development process.

Those who are expected to support a change effort will eventually expect to have four questions answered. First, they will want to know what they are being asked to support. They will want to understand the concept and its implications for them and their lives. Second, most of them will be interested in feasibility: Can it be done? Does the leadership have the will to see it through, or is this just one more *passing fad?* Third, most of the group will want to know if they should do it, and if so why. And finally there is the practical question: How do we do it?

One of the reasons why so many change efforts fail in schools is because too little time is spent in answering the first three questions. Typically someone provides an awareness session—a this-is-the-hottest-idea-in-town session. Immediately trainers begin to "train" people to do whatever someone believes must be done to move the change along. And the more things change, the more they stay the same. The problem is that little attention has been given to either marketing or development. Such procedures are nothing more than hard-sell tactics, and products that must be sold hard are not likely to satisfy many people very long.

Once a vision has been articulated or a change conceptualized, those whose support is needed must be made aware of what is being proposed. Initially, those who need to be made aware may simply be those whose immediate interests are involved (for example, teachers at a building where teaming is being considered). Later, as the primary target has interacted with the idea and caused it to be reformulated in ways that satisfy their needs and interests,

others need to be involved. (In the case of team teaching, parents will probably need to be involved but not before the board of education.)

Those who think such a process would take too long should consider the alternative. Failure to take time in the beginning usually results in the need to take corrective time in the middle and frequently leads to the abandonment of a good idea because "we didn't like it" or "it didn't work here." Time spent doing things right is not wasted; it is time saved. And what leaders need to understand is that marketing and development (as the terms are used here) are integral parts of the implementation and training process that is needed to ensure the successful installation of an innovation. The marketing and development activity that surrounds the creation of a new vision is in fact training and staff development. By the time a new vision has been articulated in a way that will satisfy the constituencies that need to be satisfied, those constituencies will be aware of the vision and prepared to support and pursue it.

What, then, is needed to establish such a marketing and development capacity in a school system? As with most such questions, there is no single answer. There are, however, some general principles that can serve as guides to developing answers in a given context. First, someone must assume central responsibility for assuring that these functions are carried out. What is everyone's job is no one's job. Moreover, whatever person or office is assigned this task must be well connected to the top of the organization. If the change involves a school system, then the superintendent must be the focal point; if it involves a building or a department, then the principal or department head must be the focal point. Ideally the superintendent, the principal, or the department head would assume responsibility for the marketing and development function. If that is not possible (and in most cases it is not), the person who is responsible must be empowered, feel empowered, and be *perceived* to be empowered to speak for the head of the organization. The ability of the marketing and development unit to respond quickly and thoughtfully to the "customers" for change will go far to determine how the change will be received and supported.

Second, the marketing and development unit (whatever it is called and wherever it is located in the system) must have a budget that is as independent as the school system can make it. The rules

that govern budgetary expenditures for development cannot be the same rules that govern expenditures for established programs and procedures. In the course of development, unforeseen opportunities arise and unexpected problems occur. In the effort to help teachers become informed about the proposed change, for example, perhaps with just a little help they could visit a school site where some of the ideas are already being played out. If this possibility was not anticipated at budget time, there will be no line item to support such an undertaking. Or, worse, suppose someone thought there might be such a need, so budget provisions were made to support the activity, but during the year it becomes clear that there is either no need or no opportunity. The temptation will be to spend the money anyway, even though it would be better spent next year. It is in precisely such situations that useful school/business partnerships might be developed. It is also in such situations that not-for-profit local education foundations can be most useful. These organizations can receive and expend funds more flexibly than is possible in most public bureaucracies. And, in my experience at least, business executives have a better understanding of the meaning of developmental costs than do many public bureaucrats and politicians.

A third principle is that those who are assigned responsibility for marketing and development must demonstrate an unusual capacity to listen and to hear. At the same time, they must be able to persuade and to argue. They must be able to present the vision in the best possible light, but they must be willing to listen to, and treat seriously, even the most trivial criticism. This is not a common attribute in human endeavor generally, and it is certainly a quality that is lacking in education. Yet it is precisely this quality that is needed to lead marketing and development aimed at inventing schools for the twenty-first century.

I am suggesting here that the creation of a marketing and development capacity in a school system requires a type of leader who is all too rare in all organizations—the developmental leader. (See Bradford and Cohen, 1984.) For the developmental leader the key result is the growth and development of others; for the developmental leader the goal is to help others succeed. The developmental leader gives away success that rightly belongs to him or her and absorbs failures for which others are to blame. The developmental

leader is neither a masochist nor a martyr. Rather, the developmental leader is a person who understands that the best way to get others to perform is to believe in them and give them support, training, and opportunities to try. And the developmental leader, too, needs support, training, and opportunities to try. Indeed, the challenge to those who would reform America's schools is to find and support developmental leaders who can achieve the ends they set for themselves and the school systems they head.

The reader who is located in a small school district, or in a school district with major financial problems, may very well feel that none of this discussion is relevant. Perhaps not. There are organizations that probably cannot generate the energy to lead school improvement and school reform. Indeed, there are probably school systems that are so debilitated that they cannot even follow the lead of others. With imagination and creativity, however, most school systems can do whatever their leaders decide they can do. For example, there is nothing to stop leaders in small school districts from joining together to invent developmental organizations, funded, governed, managed, and led in a cooperative manner. Many small schools have done so; many more are preparing to do so; and many others could do so if their leaders had the will.

Even in large school districts, one often hears this explanation: "That's fine, but we can't fund the programs we already have in place." Leaders ask, "What needs to be done that is not being done now?" But good leaders also ask, "What are we now doing that we can quit doing so we can do what we need to do?" Such choices are hard, but they must be made if real change is to occur. Inventing systems that are designed to bring about change will cause official leaders to change as well. If school systems change in the ways they must change, so will the role of superintendents, the role of school boards, and the role of the central office as well. That is the reason school reform is so threatening. It is also the reason it is so exciting.

Motivation and Support

If the present effort to restructure schools fails, much of the failure will be attributable to an ironic fact. Unlike businesses that are undergoing restructuring efforts (Ford, Xerox, IBM, BellSouth,

Rohm and Haas Kentucky, Inc.), educators invest little in training and support for those they expect to sustain the change—teachers, principals, and school staff generally. Furthermore, what little is invested is too often spent on forms of training aimed at improving things at the margins (making conventional teachers a little better at what they conventionally do by making them more conscious of what they have been doing all along) rather than developmental programs aimed at causing teachers and administrators to think differently about their work and work differently because of what they come to think.

As a person who has participated in a number of leadership development programs both in schools and in business, I am frequently struck by the fact that most programs for business executives, including entry-level managers, are intellectually more challenging than programs for school leaders. Moreover, the programs for executives typically have more class—and by class I mean everything from the ambiance of the meeting place to the quality of the materials to the fact that executive training sessions usually are accompanied by refreshments, which is seldom the case with teacher "in-service." The best teachers can expect, quite often, is a cup of coffee in a cafeteria where the custodian is cleaning up during the training session. The chairs are hard, the afternoon is late, and personal obligations await. This is not an atmosphere conducive to serious thought or feelings of self-esteem.

Those who would lead others in change efforts need to understand, I believe, that within the context of occupations and work there are basically only two kinds of incentives. One kind deals with standard of living, which usually gets translated into salary, fringe benefits, bonuses, stipends, and so on. The second category has to do with life-style, which generally gets translated into conditions of work, the way one is treated by others, the way one comes to expect to be treated, one's access to those things one needs to feel fulfilled and satisfied within the work setting, and one's opportunities to realize personal as well as professional values.

Money is an inducement to do work; it is not an inducement to do work well or differently. At least money is not nearly the inducement for quality performance that some proponents of merit pay insist. Teachers clearly are not motivated by money, though the

lack of money discourages them. Too little pay leads to feelings of injustice and deprivation, which leads to job disaffection. Job dissatisfaction can lead to performance deterioration. Pay increases for those who are poorly paid may improve the work of the poor performer, though it is doubtful that pay will improve the work of those whose performance is satisfactory. People pursue excellence and strive for improvement because they believe in what they are doing. Status, repute, dignity, values, and beliefs are much more important motivations to maintain or improve quality than money, and these things are more clearly signaled by the conditions of work (and play) than by the salary structure and pay scale.

Change involves risks. Change requires men and women to give up habits and comfortable customs. Habits may be bad for an individual—as well as for those with whom she or he associates—but as a former chain-smoker I can testify that even bad habits are comfortable and hard to give up. Let me push the smoking analogy a bit further. Many people who are quitting smoking nowadays do it for social and status reasons rather than for health reasons. I knew for years that cigarettes were probably going to kill me. It was not until I began to feel like a social outcast that I decided to quit.

The point here is that too often leaders of change efforts rely on inducements like stipends, extra pay for extra work, and similar devices to encourage teachers and administrators to participate in change-oriented activity (planning groups, seminars, committee meetings, attendance at lectures). As Joyce and Showers (1987) have shown, it takes much more to bring about change than a few training sessions, some stipends, and a charismatic speaker or two. To encourage change, an improvement-oriented culture must be created. People who take risks and step out in front must be celebrated as heroes and heroines. But to know who the heroes and heroines are, leaders must be clear about how they envision the future of the organization. Heroes and heroines are those who are making notable contributions to inventing that future.

The unfortunate fact is that in the typical school system, change-oriented leaders at the building level often find it necessary to hide their light under a bushel simply for self-protection. ("If they knew downtown what was really going on, they'd have my hide.") Moreover, any leader who gains too much positive ac-

claim—whether a teacher, a principal, or sometimes even the superintendent—is fair game for sabotage and disclaimers. Why is this so? Because schools are reward-starved organizations, and the few rewards are in any case generally petty. In some high schools, for example, high-status, experienced teachers get their own room or at least their own desk drawer; low-status, beginning teachers travel from room to room and have no desk. Petty rewards make petty people and petty fights. Without big things to think about, little things worry one to death.

If schools are to reformed, one of the first things that must be restructured is the reward system and all of those systems that impinge on life-style (as opposed to standard of living). Indeed, I would argue that in the typical school the life-style is so pallid that almost any change that comes to be associated with an improvement in the style of life will be embraced. If teachers are to behave as leaders and executives, they must be treated as leaders and executives. At a minimum the training and support they receive should be of executive quality and delivered with the style and verve one would expect in a corporate leadership development program. In many school systems, staff development and "in-service" miss this goal by miles. And the college extension courses for teachers are too often a far cry from the business schools' version of such programs for young executives.

Concluding Remarks

Unless school districts develop a much stronger and more visible human resource development capacity and until teachers know that the safety net such a commitment provides will be present in the long haul, the prospect of fundamental school reform is bleak indeed. As I travel about the country and listen to reformers and policymakers speak, I come away increasingly convinced that the greatest threat to the present drive to restructure schools is that educators underestimate the importance of their own continuing education. And among those who do have an appreciation for the critical role that human resource development plays in restructuring schools, few have found a way to communicate their beliefs in convincing ways to policymakers and those who develop budgets in

schools. The power of education to bring about change is an article of faith with educators. It is time educational leaders acted on that faith when it comes to the education and development of teachers and administrators. School districts and states that argue for restructuring but fail to build solid systems to provide training, support, and leadership development opportunities will never achieve what they intend. Restructuring requires, more than anything else, a commitment to the proposition that the school's most important resource is the human resources the system employs.

8

A Focus on Results

Evaluating Performers and Performances

Mission statements and visions come to life in systems of evaluation. Thus the saying goes: "People know what is expected by what is inspected and what is respected."

The view of the school as a knowledge-work enterprise—the student as a customer and worker, the teacher as a leader and inventor, the principal as a leader of leaders, and the curriculum as the raw material with which students are called upon to work—can only be established and maintained in a system where self-regulation and self-control replace bureaucratic control and management. Evaluation and assessment, properly conceived, are key elements in building such a results-oriented, self-regulating environment. Thus evaluation is central to restructuring schools.

The Purposes of Evaluation

Performance evaluation serves a variety of purposes. First, it should provide those who work in the system with a basis for knowing what is expected and what they are to do with respect to those expectations. Second, it provides people with information from

which to judge how well their performance, the performance of those they supervise, the performance of their department or unit, and the performance of the system in general conform with requirements and expectations. Third, it provides a basis for analyzing the sources of performance problems and a grounds for taking action to correct these problems. Fourth, it provides a data base for assessing the merit of any corrective action that is taken to address performance problems the evaluation system might reveal. Finally, it provides a basis for personnel action—both actions intended to celebrate heroes and heroines and actions intended to lead to dismissal.

One of the unfortunate consequences of what I have elsewhere referred to as the "bias of educators toward individualistic explanation" (the tendency to attribute the cause of all events to individual actions) is that educators have been much more attentive to the evaluation of performers than they have to performance itself. It is commonplace for educators to speak of improvement-oriented evaluations, but in practice most educators view evaluation as a punitive tool used to demonstrate who is inadequate at doing what.

Performers and Performances

Performers give performances. But the quality of a performance is determined by many factors in addition to what the performer does. In acting, for example, a great performer with a terrible script, incompetent direction, or a weak supporting cast is not likely to give a remarkable performance—at least not in the sense he would wish.

Because most of the serious thinking about evaluation in education has been done by people trained in psychology and psychometrics, educators are much more attuned to the evaluation of performers than they are to evaluation of performance. Even program evaluation, which leans toward the evaluation of performance rather than performers, quite often relies on data that are nothing more than summaries of the actions of individual performers. For example, a group of students perform on a test, the test score is averaged, and this average is used as one of the bases for assessing the worth of a program. Testing has, in fact, become so much a part of the evaluation system in education that many educators use the

words *evaluation* and *testing* as synonyms. In recent years, for example, many states have attempted to develop "evaluation instruments" based on the research on teaching. Few see these instruments as a means of collecting data that might be useful for evaluative purposes. The instrument itself is designed to be the evaluation.

The use of evaluation and testing as synonyms is, in part, the result of the careless use of language. But such usage also suggests careless thinking about the nature of evaluation in systems where the intent is to get others to perform and where the results are themselves performances. Schools, no matter how they are envisioned, do not produce widgets or easily defined products. What schools produce are activities for students to take up and do (that is, students perform schoolwork); as a result of these doings, it is hoped that students will learn socially and culturally valued things.

A sound evaluation system that is results-oriented centers on performance evaluation rather than performer evaluation. The evaluation of performers—that is, the assessment of individual behavior—is done only under special circumstances. Suppose, for example, the person is new to the school district and there is no clear basis for determining whether the person possesses the requisite skills, understanding, attitudes, and beliefs to perform in acceptable ways. Or suppose the performer is expected to undertake a new or different job or the characteristics of the present job have changed in significant ways and there is no basis for determining whether the individual has developed the proficiencies needed to carry out the tasks assigned. And there is the case where performance (that is, intended results) is not what is needed and there is reason to believe that the cause of the poor performance is some flaw in the performer's actions.

In education, there is an unfortunate tendency to assume that when performance is off there is a problem with performers. In a results-oriented evaluation system, the primary concern is to provide data that will make it possible to assess performance, determine the extent to which performance conforms with requirements, and, where performance does not conform with requirements, provide a basis for determining why this is the case and what can be done to correct the problem. Performance evaluation seeks to solve problems; it is not intended to place blame.

By way of example, the CEO of Rohm and Haas Kentucky, Inc. reports that there was a time in the history of his company when his supervisors approached personnel evaluation very much as educators do. Specifically, they assumed that the performance of individuals accounted for the performance of the system. When something went wrong in the system, something had to be wrong with somebody in the system; some operator was either to be remediated (in education this means "in-serviced") or disciplined. With a change in management style, Rohm and Haas began to engage in what they call "multiple-causation analysis." When things were not going as they should—for example, production was off either qualitatively or quantitatively—teams were assigned to figure out what the problem was and recommend ways of fixing it. What they discovered, according to the CEO, is that about 85 percent of the events they had previously assigned to operator error were in fact system problems beyond the operator's control. If the system stayed the same, sooner or later a new, different, retrained, or duly chastised operator would "mess up" just as in the past.

There are obvious parallels in school. I recall working in a school system where "time on task" became a high-priority item. Workshops were conducted, and supervisors were trained to assess the extent to which students were on task. What was overlooked was that some of the biggest distractions to "on-task" behavior had their origins outside the classroom. Among the more obvious distractions were incessant announcements from the principal's office, custodians washing windows while class was in session, grass cutting during the school day, and staggered dismissal times that led to older children walking by the door of the first grade class. (There is nothing a first-grader wants more than to be a sixth-grader—or so it sometimes seems.) In this case, multiple-causation analysis was not employed. When time on task did not increase, the training was revised and the observation schedule was intensified.

Self-Evaluation: The Key to Success

In a results-oriented school district envisioned as a knowledge-work enterprise, teachers and principals would know that the result they are after—and upon which they will be evaluated—is the

rate and frequency with which they invent and develop schoolwork at which students are successful. They would know that, in the long run, the school district is accountable for assuring that as a consequence of this students acquire knowledge skills and attitudes that are socially and culturally valued. And they would know that these results must be achieved in ways that are consistent with the beliefs and values that comprise the cultural orientation of the school district.

In such a context, philosophical statements like "respecting the dignity and worth of individuals" take on a powerful meaning. Such a statement says: "We are after results—that is, getting children to do schoolwork—but there are some things we won't do to get those results and one of those things is to violate human beings, their integrity, or their dignity." Outside the context of a purposeful and results-oriented school district, such statements are too often nothing more than lip service to satisfy the requirements of accreditation agencies.

Given that performers know what is expected of them and the values that must be upheld to meet these expectations, the most powerful form of evaluation is self-evaluation. Properly led, a results-oriented system creates conditions in which each person is asking the question: "Am I doing all I can do to ensure that this school is getting the results it should get without violating the values we (the members of the school community) hold sacred?" Of course, such a condition does not occur until people come to understand and embrace what is expected and what is valued in the system. And it is in creating this internalization of expectations and values that the evaluation of performers becomes so important. Evaluation is, after all, the primary means by which people learn what is expected and the primary means by which they come to value their performance in regard to these expectations. It is this situation that gives rise to the statement I expressed in the opening paragraph of this chapter: People know what is expected by what is inspected and what is respected.

Fostering a Culture of Self-Discipline

Elsewhere (Schlechty, 1989) I have written extensively about the relationship between evaluation and the development and

maintenance of a self-evaluative culture. I will not repeat myself here. I will, however, point out a number of considerations that must be taken into account when creating an evaluation system.

First, induction is a process by which aspiring individuals new to a group, role, or organization learn what is expected of them, learn to do that which is expected, and learn to value what they do in ways that are consistent with the values placed on these "doings" within the group. Those who would build a culture where self-control and self-evaluation are the primary means of maintaining quality must therefore give careful attention to the induction process.

Second, the better the group's understanding of its purpose, vision, values, beliefs, and orientation, the more likely the group is to have a powerful induction process. Thus clarity of vision and belief is critical to creating a value-driven evaluation system.

Third, the goal of induction is to bring individuals to internalize the group's expectations to the point where they monitor their own behavior in ways that are consistent with group standards. In other words, the individual exercises self-control rather than needing to be controlled by others. Thus the more effective the induction system, the less the need for external evaluation.

Fourth, effective induction systems are based on detailed and intensive performance evaluations of those who are new to the group and to roles within the group. Formal and informal feedback to performers—especially when the performer is uncertain how to proceed or is new to the group, organization, or role—is a powerful mechanism for building and maintaining a strong culture.

Fifth, evaluations that guide performance in the right direction are evaluations that are taken into account in the system of status and rewards that typifies the group (Dornbusch and Scott, 1975). Put directly, unless an evaluation has personal consequences, it is unlikely that anyone will heed it. Inspecting is not enough; respecting, taking into account, is also required. Thus celebrations of positive performance are essential tools in developing a strong evaluation system.

Sixth, evaluations that are not linked to the possibility of something *good* happening are inherently punitive and necessarily threatening. If, for example, all that can happen to you for getting a

good evaluation is that nothing bad happens (you do not get fired or get a reprimand), then your only reward is a lack of punishment. The only way employees in such systems know they are meeting expectations is when they do not get into trouble. I have, in fact, heard principals say, "I know I must be doing all right when I don't get into trouble and some of my peers do." An appropriate slogan for such a school system would be "Your failure is my success"—to be put right up there alongside Peters and Waterman's "We're no worse than anybody else."

Seventh, the closer the evaluator's status is to that of the person being evaluated and the more confident that person is that the evaluator can see what he or she is evaluating, the more likely the evaluation will be taken into account and affect behavior. (See Dornbusch and Scott, 1975, and Schlechty, 1989.) Thus the evaluation of new teachers should be, at least in part, the responsibility of teachers with whom they work and beginning principals should be evaluated by other principals as well as by superiors.

There is no single place where school systems could more appropriately invest time, money, and resources than in the creation of a comprehensive evaluation system—a system that focuses on new teachers and new administrators (principals, assistant principals, and so on). This evaluation system should take into account the principles cited above, but more than that it should express the values, beliefs, and purposes of the school system of which it is part. Value-free evaluations occur only in valueless school districts. Strong leaders always find a way to express what they value in the evaluations they give. If they value nothing, they will express nothing. If the values they express are not shared by others, the leader will be accused of being arbitrary and capricious in evaluation. Thus leaders who would use evaluations to direct a system rather than to control individuals must first get their own values straight and then make sure that others share these values.

Evaluating Performance

When performers are evaluated, the behavior of individuals is the focus of concern. Developing a successful performance evaluation system, however, involves much more than teachers' behavior. It also involves the purpose of the system for which the evaluation

procedure is being designed and the results (products and services) the system is attempting to produce. Moreover, performance evaluation systems must take into account the requirements the products or services must fulfill, the specifications they must meet, and the end they must serve. Taking these elements into account, the challenge is to develop measures that ensure that the product or service "conforms with requirements."

Throughout the preceding chapters I have argued that the "product" of school is knowledge work (schoolwork). At the same time I have argued against the prevailing view that the student is the product of schools. Nowhere is the significance of this reconceptualization more clearly revealed than when the discussion turns to performance evaluation. A number of problems arise when one assumes that students are products and then attempts to assess the qualities of these products. Because there is considerable variability in human performance and because that variability is even greater among developing children, any effort to apply a uniform performance standard to children is likely to have detrimental effects on some just as it rewards others. Some children, for example, come to school able to read. Other children, upon entering school, need considerably more language experience before they should even be expected to read. The creation of a first-grade reading level that all six-year-olds are expected to achieve almost assures that some children will learn they are reading failures long before there is any reason to expect them to be successes in reading.

In my view, reading assessments—and most other assessments as well—should only be conducted when a teacher, or group of teachers, indicates a child is capable of doing well on the assessment. The purpose of the assessment should be to validate the teacher's judgment rather than to test the child's ability to read. From time to time diagnostic tests may be appropriate, but even these should be used sparingly and only when teachers believe the test will give them valuable information they do not have and cannot get in any other way.

Stating and Measuring Results

Results cannot be used to direct activity unless they can be measured, and results cannot be measured until they can be stated.

Thus educators must be clear about what kind of schoolwork they believe the students should be successful at doing and at what point in time they think a given proportion of the population ought to be successful at doing that kind of work.

If, for example, one of the intentions in giving children certain assignments (schoolwork) and certain instruction (information, opportunities to practice, and opportunities to observe and receive feedback) is to ensure that they will develop skill in reading (decoding and comprehending), then one of the first things a faculty must do is define a *reader.* In essence, faculties must state the requirements to which a student's performance must conform before she or he can be called a reader because one of the socially valued results of schooling is that schools produce readers.

Having stated what a reader is, a second decision must be made. How long, at a maximum, would it take a child to become a reader if he or she came to school minimally prepared to read? The point here, of course, is that some children will come to school nearly able to meet whatever standards are established, and other children will need years of schoolwork before being able to meet such a standard. The problem for the school system is to make certain that each child is provided with schoolwork that will ensure that, prior to exit from school, each child will in fact meet the standard.

Leading by Results

To lead by results, one must have a clear understanding of the results toward which the system is being managed. In the reading illustration presented above, for example, it is assumed that as a result of schooling, children will become readers. Regardless of the researcher's uneasiness with words like *cause,* the fact is that civic leaders, political leaders, and parents expect school to "cause" the young to read. How are schools to accomplish such a goal? By providing schoolwork at which students are successful and from which children learn to read. Schools do not teach children to read; schools provide children with activities that, if they can accomplish them, will result in their learning to read. Reading is a consequence of doing schoolwork. Reading, in itself, is not schoolwork.

The argument being presented here may at first seem to be nothing more than an exercise in semantics. It is more than semantics. Learning to read is something the student does; it is not something the school does. What the school does is create forms of schoolwork that are believed to increase the student's opportunity to learn to read. If the child can be brought to do the schoolwork, the argument runs, then the chances are improved that the child will learn to read. On any given day, and at any given time, teachers really have no way of knowing that a child has "learned to read" or is becoming "a reader." What the teacher does know, or could know, is whether the student has the capacity to do the work assigned. And the teacher could also design work so that its successful completion would require the development of language skills.

At the classroom level, results-oriented leaders (and teachers are leaders) should be concerned with seeking evidence that students do the work the teacher assigns in a way that "conforms with requirements." But conforming with requirements is not enough. Success, rather than conformance, is the purpose of school. And success, the reader will recall, has been defined as an achievement in a performance area where the outcome is problematic. Thus students should be provided work that requires them to do things they could not do before and in effect requires them to risk failure. When students do fail, however, the teacher should look to the assignment—or to the support and instruction the student received in undertaking the assignment—for insight.

It is not the purpose of school to make students successful; it is the purpose of school to provide students with schoolwork at which they will experience success and from which they will learn things that are socially and culturally valued. It is the obligation of results-oriented leaders to develop and use measures that ensure that this purpose is being fulfilled in progressively more effective ways. For example, teachers and principals need to develop measures of the quality of schoolwork, just as educators now develop measures of the quality of student performance on schoolwork. And these measures need to be constantly modified and improved. Such measures are not research tools, they are leadership tools. Issues of reliability and validity are not totally cast aside, but credibility and utility are issues of equal importance. If those who must lead do not

believe in or understand the measures or if the measures are not useful, then they are not measures by which one can lead. Leadership is a moment-to-moment activity. Leadership has long-term effects, but it takes place in the short term. What we need, then, are measures that can be used in the short term and can be disciplined in the long term by the results toward which school systems should be managed and oriented—that is, student-learning results.

Managing for Results

In a results-oriented system, it would be reasonable to set such goals as these: 100 percent of the students nominated by teachers as qualified should pass a given test and, as children matured and were given schoolwork that developed reading skill, larger percentages would be nominated to take the test. Such goal statements make it possible to provide a degree of assurance that students will not experience failure because of a testing procedure. At the same time, such statements would focus attention on assuring that students were provided schoolwork that would help them develop essential knowledge and skill (assuming the test, in fact, tested for such knowledge). Goal statements are properly conceived as the results toward which the system is managed and by which the system is directed.

Consider the following by way of illustration. Through a goal-setting process, school district officials decide that by the time children are nine, at least 50 percent of them should be able to pass a given test at a level now set for "eighth-grade reading level." During the three years children are in school, teachers provide schoolwork that will call upon some to decode words and begin to comprehend the words they are decoding. Other students with less-well-developed language skills might not be expected to do schoolwork that required decoding or comprehension until they were nine.

When the time for the test arrives, teachers judge that fewer than 50 percent of the students are prepared to pass it at the desired criterion level. Consequently, fewer than 50 percent are given the test; of those who take it, all pass. Now the question arises: Is it reasonable to expect 50 percent of nine-year-olds to pass a test at the stated criterion level? If it is not reasonable, then change the per-

centage of children expected to pass—but do not change the criterion. If it is reasonable, then one needs to review the kind of schoolwork being assigned and being done—for obviously the desired results are not forthcoming.

Now assume another scenario. Teachers nominate 70 percent of the students in their classes to take the test. Only 55 percent pass. On the one hand, the goal has been exceeded by 5 percent; but in exceeding the goal, teachers have produced unwanted failures as well. The questions are: Why did teachers make so many misjudgments, and what can be done to prevent a similar occurrence next year?

Now one final scenario. Suppose that in the case where teachers nominate fewer than the 50 percent expected, the teachers say that more students could have passed the test but the teachers did not want to take the risk. The question now becomes: What must teachers do to have a better data base from which to make judgments about the likely performance of children?

Concluding Remarks

The concept of the normal curve and the notion that most people are average are ideas that have a devastating effect in school. They condemn to mediocrity all but the few. What one needs to understand is that nothing short of excellence should be expected of anyone. Some students might be capable of performances that have different qualities than those of other students, but the performance of every student (and every teacher) should be a performance of excellence. What does this mean? It means that the performance, whatever it is, conforms with requirements and that in terms of the requirements it has no flaw. If, to be a reader, one must be able to decode and comprehend what is written in newsmagazines, then one should not be called a reader until one can do so. If to be a reader means to engage in literary criticism, then one should not be called a reader until one is capable of literary criticism.

One reason why public schools fail to meet public expectations is that neither public school personnel nor the public itself is very clear about the results that are expected or the results that are reasonable to expect. For example, I believe it is reasonable and

desirable to expect that, given the right kind of schoolwork, nearly all children can learn to read at a level that allows them to evaluate arguments and ideas critically. I am not so sure that it is either reasonable or desirable that all students should be literary critics. Excellence requires that performance fully conforms with requirements. Different requirements produce performances with different qualities, not performances with lower qualities. If educators are to move toward excellence, they must first take it on themselves to define the qualities that constitute excellence in a performance. Then, and only then, will school leaders be in a position to discipline the results by which they lead (that is, the results upon which they make daily decisions) by reference to the results for which school systems should be managed (that is, what students learn).

Part Three

Leadership for the Twenty-First Century

9

Leading a School System Through Change

Key Steps for Moving Reform Forward

In one of his many books, C. Wright Mills tried to convey what he would do if he were to assume a variety of positions in the national life and his goal were to avert a nuclear holocaust. (See Mills, 1985.) In one chapter, Mills indicated the kind of sermon he would preach if he were a member of the clergy, which he certainly was not, and which he never, to my knowledge, promised or threatened to be.

In writing the present chapter I feel something like Mills might have felt in composing his sermon. I am going to write as if I were a superintendent of schools, which I am not, and which I never threaten to be. I have, however, worked with many superintendents; some have been exemplary. From working with, and for, a number of very good superintendents I have learned quite a bit about the strengths and weaknesses of the office as well as something of the qualities of the men and women I have observed in this office.

In this chapter I am more interested in considering the qualities of the office than I am in discussing the qualities of any particular occupant. I know, as does anyone who thinks about the matter, that strong superintendents will take advantage of the positions

they occupy; weak superintendents will be overwhelmed by the responsibilities imposed by the office. Similarly, even the strongest superintendents are constrained by the limitations of the office (and some school boards, state agencies, and legislatures constrain superintendents more than others). And even weak superintendents will have a considerable impact (for good or ill) on the lives of teachers and children.

Where I Would Begin

There are two things I know about the office of superintendent. First, whatever moral authority resides in, or is bestowed upon, the school system, that authority resides in the office of the superintendent. Second, the superintendent can delegate to others nearly anything he or she wants to delegate (so long as the board consents) except the moral authority that resides in the office of superintendent. In the long run, therefore, who the superintendent is, what the superintendent values, and the style of operation supported by the superintendent will be manifest throughout the school system.

Superintendents who do not use their office to lead will create a school system incapable of leadership in the community. So long as the community does not look to the schools for leadership and so long as the school board does not want, or will not tolerate, leadership from the schools, such superintendents survive and do quite well. Superintendents who use their office as a forum from which to lead will create an organization capable of leadership.

There are two caveats. First, if the board and the community prefer a passive, perhaps even submissive, role for schools and school personnel, strong leaders will not last long—or if they do survive, they will cease to be strong leaders. Second, if the prior superintendent was strong and developed a commitment to a shared vision, the new superintendent had better take the predecessor's vision into account or his or her tenure is likely to be short. Strong leaders build cultures that outlive them; they lead even when they are gone.

Given these beliefs about the office of superintendent, I would want to be sure that the board of education and the union

leadership of the district are willing to support strong leadership from the superintendent. The problem I would anticipate—especially in a system where the history of leadership has been less than outstanding—is that many in the audience I would want to address (board members and union leaders) would take *strong* leader to mean *authoritarian* leader.

I would first make it clear that authoritarian leaders are, as leaders, weak. That is why they are authoritarian. Weak leaders must use the power of their office (that is, they must use authority) because they do not have the capacity to get action from others by any other means. An authoritarian is nothing less than a person who resorts to his or her authority to compel others to act. Moreover, authoritarians seem to enjoy compelling others to obey.

Given the tendency to confuse strong leaders with authoritarian leaders, I would need to be careful in explaining what I mean by strong leader. And from the outset I would need to be educating all who would listen that while I am committed to participatory leadership, I do not view a participatory leader as a laissez faire leader. Nor is a participatory leader a democratic leader. A participatory leader is a leader who invites others to share the authority of the office and expects those who accept the invitation to share the responsibility as well. A participatory leader is a leader who is strong enough to trust others with his or her fate, just as he or she expects their trust in return.

Unfreezing the System

Having established the desire for leadership, I would begin to assess the system's belief structure. At the same time, I would begin to express my views of the world of education. I would talk with many people regarding their beliefs. I would review old statements of mission and philosophy to see if there had, in the past, been an effort at developing a shared expression of authentic beliefs. I would not, however, be overly impressed with the typical school philosophy that expresses the desire to educate each child to the maximum of the child's potential and to prepare each for a productive life in a democracy. I am in favor of such goals, of course, but they do not drive an organization toward excellence.

I would seize every opportunity to express my beliefs about school and the purposes of schooling. These statements would be sensitive to local language and local custom, but they would also be jarring sometimes and initially a bit off-putting. I would choose this course because I believe that one of the superintendent's roles is to serve as chief educator in the community. If the education the superintendent is to provide includes a fresh or more powerful vision, then it is important to use language that is educative.

Familiar language is not a good instrument for setting forth a new vision. A new vision requires a new language, at least until the old language can be unloaded of its prior meanings and recharged with new meaning. The word *teacher,* for example, is strongly associated with the idea of giving instruction, imparting knowledge, providing information. The word *student* often connotes a passive role and subservience to traditional authority. Such meanings need not attach to these words, but, at present, terms like *teacher, student,* and *school* connote images that should not be implied if a new vision is to be set forth. Therefore, I would insist on linking the word *student* to active terms like *worker, knowledge worker,* and *customer.*

The purpose of the school system I envision is to get students actively engaged in working on and with knowledge. I would link *teacher* to words like *executive* and *leader* because such terms convey the leadership posture I believe teachers must assume in the schools of the future. Furthermore, such terms place teachers in that category of professionals with whom they have the most in common (professional executives) and dissociate them from the service-delivery professions like law and medicine which I believe are inappropriate models for teachers in coming years. I would insist on describing schools as knowledge-work organizations if for no other reason than that such language links schools to the future of American society and conveys the notion that schools are about something purposeful—doing schoolwork.

This I Believe: What About You?

Shortly after deciding to set on a restructuring course, I would begin to compose my version of a belief statement for the

district. Since I do not have a particular school district in mind, I am not certain exactly how this statement would come to be framed. But I do know that it should contain at least the following principles:

We Believe

1. Every student can learn, and every student will learn, if presented with the right opportunity to do so. It is the purpose of school to invent learning opportunities for each student each day.
2. Learning opportunities are determined by the nature of the schoolwork (knowledge work) students are assigned or encouraged to undertake. It is the responsibility of teachers and administrators to ensure that students are provided with those forms of schoolwork at which they experience success and from which they learn those things of most value to them, to the community, and to the society at large.
3. All school activity should be focused on the creation and delivery of schoolwork at which students are successful and from which they gain skills and develop understanding that will equip them to participate fully in an information-based, knowledge-work society.
4. Properly conceived, schools are knowledge-work organizations. Students are central to the operation of schools for they are the primary recipients of what the school has to offer—the opportunity to work on and with knowledge and knowledge-related products.
5. Teachers are leaders just as executives are leaders; principals are leaders of instructors or leaders of leaders. The curriculum is the raw material upon which students work, and all parts of the school system are to be organized in whatever fashion produces the greatest likelihood that students will be successfully engaged in working on and with knowledge.
6. The primary role of the superintendent is to educate the community about education, to promote the articulation and persistent pursuit of a compelling vision, and to ensure that results, rather than programs, dominate the attention of all.

7. Teachers and principals are accountable for results, and the results expected are that all students will be provided schoolwork at which they experience success and from which the students gain knowledge and skills that are socially and culturally valued.
8. It is the obligation of the superintendent, the board of education, and all members of the community to provide teachers, principals, and students with those conditions and forms of support that ensure optimal conditions for performance, continuing growth, and development.
9. As a responsible and ethical employer, the school system has an obligation to ensure working conditions that confirm the professional status of all educators and the importance of the tasks assigned to all who work in and around schools.
10. Continuous improvement, persistent innovation, and a commitment to continuing growth should be expected of all people and all programs supported by school district resources, and school district resources should be committed to ensure that these expectations can be met.

Next Steps

Immediately after I had composed a belief statement with which I was satisfied and others might endorse (I would be doing a great deal of management by roaming and talking while I was drafting the statement), I would approach the board of education with four proposals. First, I would ask the board to commit to the development of a system-wide mission statement based on the beliefs I had outlined. The time frame for the completion of such a draft would be nine months (a school year).

Second, I would propose that the board develop a policy statement assuring that, within a reasonable time period, at least 2 percent of the school system's operating budget would be committed to human resource development. (At present, the human resource budget for most school systems is substantially less than 1 percent.) If the district is a collective bargaining district, I would also work with the union leadership to negotiate a supporting provision in the union contract, thereby symbolizing even more clearly

my intent to institutionalize a commitment to human resource development. And, depending on the maturity of the union/management relationships in the district, I could be persuaded to advocate some sort of governance arrangement that guaranteed the union a say in the way these funds are expended. My goal would be to signify that human resource development is a high-priority, permanent commitment of the district.

Third, I would ask the board to create a new position in the school district that I will here call an enrichment/demonstration teacher. During the first year, the number of these positions should represent 1 percent of the regular teaching force, but within three years the number should be at least 2 percent of the teacher work force. These special teachers would be employed on a twelve-month contract. They would be specially trained and supported. Their job would be to develop and implement in any classroom in the district a self-contained lesson or series of lessons (perhaps organized like a workshop) that would constitute an enrichment activity for the students and a demonstration lesson for other teachers. More specifically, the lesson should be so fine-tuned that no student would get this material unless a demonstration teacher were available to provide it. Moreover, it should be designed to show other teachers techniques and materials they can incorporate into their regular work should they choose to do so.

The demonstration teachers would also serve as substitute teachers to support the training and development functions that would be going forward in the district. When teachers are taken from their classrooms for developmental work, their students would get an enrichment lesson rather than an ill-prepared substitute teacher. In addition to making it possible for regular classroom teachers to participate in developmental activities without compromising their own success in the classroom, the role of demonstration teacher would be inherently developmental throughout the system. Apart from the obvious training opportunities provided by having demonstration teachers present in the schools on a regular basis, these teachers would themselves be undergoing continuous development and training. Indeed, if the role were constructed so that esteem attached to being appointed a demonstration teacher, and if such appointments were temporary (two to three years), such

roles could do much to enrich the school system's reward structure and provide for the continuing growth and development of outstanding teachers in the district.

Fourth, the board would be informed that, in the long run, I would want to establish a high-level office in the district responsible for coordinating all human resource development and school improvement activity, as well as supporting local school initiatives to improve their capacity to produce results and to seek other sources of support and cooperation for the district's efforts to invent schools for the twenty-first century. Though I would not expect action immediately, I would request that the board approve, in concept, the direction proposed.

Finally, I would present the board with my action plan for the following nine months. This plan is described below.

The First Year

We have been assuming that I would be functioning as a newly hired superintendent. Actually, such an assumption is not necessary. If I were an established superintendent who had come to the conclusion that I needed to move the system in a different direction—and many superintendents are coming to such a conclusion—I would do pretty much the same things.

What is important, I think, is that during the initial period of a change effort everything must be done with sufficient drama and flair that people *believe* things are going to change. The system must be unfrozen before it can be put together in new ways. This process of unfreezing creates uncertainty, fear, and anxiety and can threaten the tenure of the superintendent, board members, and others. But without such activity things will surely not change much.

As part of the unfreezing process, I would indicate to the board that I did not intend to spend as much time, during the first year, on the matters that often occupy superintendents. Insofar as possible I would delegate responsibility for the day-to-day routine of running the school district to others and would provide only general supervision. If the school district already had a tradition of participatory leadership and true team management, this would not be a new departure. If, however, the system had previously operated

as a top-down bureaucracy, such a move would be sufficiently alarming to require discussion. If the prior situation was top-down bureaucracy, I would probably be accused by some of "not doing my job"—until it was learned that I was in the process of redefining my job.

During the first year of implementing a plan to reinvent schools, I see the superintendent's role as primarily concerned with teaching, listening, reacting, developing, and learning. Indeed, during this first year the superintendent must not only be head of the school district but also the head of human resource development, marketing, and product (vision) development. Obviously I need help. How do I get it?

The first step would be to take the board and top union officials (if a collective bargaining unit) or other elected teacher leaders away on a retreat. Its focus would be on my statement of beliefs. (I might hire an outside consultant to facilitate this meeting if I were not confident that someone inside could do the job.) My goal would be to ensure that those in attendance fully understood what I meant by these statements and why I made them. Moreover, I would want to see how this audience reacted to my proposal and I would want to hear how these beliefs could be modified to gain the strongest possible support.

Following the retreat with the board and union leaders, I would rewrite the belief statement in light of the comments I had received. Copies of the revision highlighting these changes, along with copies of the initial statement, would be sent to all who had participated in the retreat. (It is not enough to hear people; they must see and hear themselves being heard.) If a particularly strong piece of advice were not taken—there is no obligation to take all advice—I would make sure that the person understood why the advice was rejected. He or she might not like my reasoning, but would know I took his or her views seriously. Watching strong superintendents at work, I have observed that people are more concerned that their advice be heard and taken seriously than that it be acted on. Most people—except the unreasonable and those who fasten on single issues at the expense of all other considerations—understand that the complexity of school life makes it difficult to do everything everybody wants all the time.

Simultaneously I would call a meeting, again probably in a retreat setting, with all central office department heads and all those who have, or think they have, authority at the district level. With these people I would repeat the process I initiated with the board and the union. And I would again revise the statement based on their comments and again inform everyone who attended about my revisions. Next, in cooperation with the union president, I would hold meetings with principals and building representatives. The purpose of these meetings would be to repeat the process yet another time. At this point, though, I would begin to shift tactics. Once I had been through a round with the principals and building representatives, I would work with the president of the board, the union president, key leaders among the principals, and key influentials from the central office hierarchy and the union hierarchy to enlist members for a steering committee. This committee would take the revised revision (or the revised revised revision) of the belief statement and rewrite it, taking into account the views of building-level faculties. Principals would be instructed to work with key teachers to lead their faculties through an exercise similar to the process the principals themselves had been through. Faculties would then be asked to rewrite the belief statement in a way that would satisfy local concerns.

Here my goal is to get ideas from each building. It is also to help principals develop skills as developmental leaders. (Depending on the circumstances, I or someone I had confidence in would probably conduct workshops to prepare principals for this task.) Another goal would be to encourage collaboration between teacher leaders and principals. Through such a process, one could develop a belief statement that is officially endorsed by the board and the union—a statement in which most teachers and administrators believe and in which they are involved. It is upon such a foundation that schools of the future might be built.

Translating Beliefs into Action

Humankind aspired to go to the moon for many generations. It was not until the 1960s, however, that such a goal became attainable. And at the time this goal was set, it was not in fact attainable—

the technology was not in place, and there were many things scientists had yet to learn if moon travel was to be possible. Tang, the orange-flavored fruit drink, had not been thought of, for example, and some of the problems of reentry were beyond imagining. Yet a president pointed to the moon and said, "We'll be there within this decade." And we made it.

Of course, many factors contributed to the success of the United States' moon program. But one should never underestimate the significance of the fact that scientists and laymen had a relatively clear notion of where the moon was and what the moon was. And through the exercise of strong leadership, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson were able to develop and sustain a commitment doing whatever was necessary, including inventing yet to be imagined technologies, to achieve the vision they had set.

One of the greatest barriers to school reform is the lack of a clear and compelling vision. One cannot get to the moon if one does not know what the moon looks like or where it is. A belief statement like the one set forth above provides a moral equivalent to the moon. Such a belief statement indicates a world that one wants to invent, to create, to make real. Surely we know that under present circumstances every child cannot learn. The belief statement asserts that it is possible to invent a world in which every child will learn. And I could go on.

Unlike Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, school superintendents must first invent the moon before they can turn their attention to devising the means of getting there. It is for this reason that superintendents must exercise strong leadership in developing and articulating throughout the school system a shared vision that is at once compelling and inspiring. Teachers will not be inspired by goals like reducing dropout rates or improving test scores. They will, however, respond to the challenge to invent schools in which both teachers and students have increased opportunities for success—schools in which every teacher is a leader, every leader is a teacher, and every student is a success. At least I have found that teachers and principals and custodians and board members will respond to such visions. But such visions are only compelling when they have the moral authority of the superintendent's office behind them.

Beliefs and visions alone are not enough, however. Beliefs must be supported by actions that translate a vision into concrete reality. What then does one do once the vision has been inculcated to the point that, in Peters and Waterman's (1982) terms, it is held bone deep by most of those who work in and around the school district? First of all, such a dramatic event does not occur overnight or even in a year. Action to translate beliefs into reality must begin even before the vision is widely shared. Indeed, it is in the act of translating the vision that it comes to be shaped and embraced. It is in the act of translating the vision that it takes on meaning for all who participate in the organization.

Second, and probably more important, the specific actions that are needed will depend on the dynamics that surround the creation of the vision. One must learn to think in the long term (strategic thinking) and plan in the short term (tactical planning). Engaging in strategic planning and developing detailed action agendas to achieve a long-term goal may be fine in theory and textbooks, but as the creators of strategic planning models (General Electric Corporation) have discovered, strategic planning is not all it is cracked up to be. Selecting a future and pursuing it with all the energy, wisdom, and resources at one's command require strategic thinking in the long run and purposeful action in the short run.

If a plan is effective, its implementation will change the environment in ways that cannot be anticipated in the short term. Since long-term plans must be made in the short term and are based on assessments of present reality, rather than on the reality that is being invented, long-term plans are necessarily based on faulty assumptions. This is why strong leaders understand that planning is an act of implementation and that one cannot separate planning from doing. Planning *is* doing—and what one does affects future plans.

There are, however, two observations that would guide my short-term actions toward the long-term agenda. First, if schools are to become the dynamic organizations they must be to satisfy the conditions of the twenty-first century, then the school's management and leadership style must shift from management-by-programs (making sure people do things right) to leadership-by-results (insisting that people do the right things and giving them latitude

to judge what those things are). Second, productivity in knowledge-work organizations is productivity through people. To improve the productivity of knowledge-work enterprises, one must invest in people, support people, and develop people. Indeed, human resource development becomes the linchpin upon which all improvement efforts are based. The strategy of the knowledge-work enterprise begins and ends with people—the support of people, the development of people, and the creation of an environment in which people feel free to express themselves as creative individuals and feel supported when they try and fail.

Given these observations, my early efforts to restructure the school district would focus on two priorities (in addition to creating a compelling vision statement). First, I would want to improve the school district's capacity to lead by results. Second, I would want to ensure that the district had a human resource development capacity that was adequate to the tasks set by a results-oriented leadership system committed to continuous improvement and perpetual change.

Creating a Results-Oriented System

Most discussions of results-oriented management in education proceed from the tacit assumption that students are products of the school—in other words, the factory model of schooling. David Kearns, the CEO of Xerox Corporation and a thoughtful advocate of restructuring in schools, makes this assumption clear when he asserts that the reason for restructuring schools is that they are producing too many defective products, by which he means students. A results-oriented management system will have little chance of success so long as students are viewed as products. Such a view allows for too much scapegoating, and it is based on assumptions that are not believable to teachers and administrators.

In an effective results-oriented management system, those who are held accountable for results believe that these results are important and that they themselves can do something about them. The results most commonly advocated by those who would make school systems and teachers "more accountable" are results such as test scores and dropouts—results over which teachers and adminis-

trators feel they have little direct control and in which they have little confidence as useful measures of quality. In the short term at least, it is probably preferable to avoid such measures if one's intention is to develop the confidence of teachers and administrators in the concept of leading by results.

To many teachers and to many administrators, the reason for low test scores is that the "raw material" they start with is not very good. As I indicated earlier, this means that the children were born to poverty, their parents are less supportive of the schools than they should be, television is distracting them, and on it goes. There is, furthermore, considerable evidence to support the educator's view on these matters, which makes it even more tempting to blame the victim. (In a recent national survey conducted by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, nearly 80 percent of the teachers interviewed believe that most of the causes for school failure have to do with things over which teachers have little control—parental support, nutrition, child abuse, and so on.)

The advocates for accountability and results regard the educator's reluctance to use these "obvious" results to assess school performance as irresponsible. Many, in fact, think such reluctance is evidence that teachers and administrators are trying to escape accountability. To these critics, especially members of the business community and the press, schools are not producing the results that are needed and these results are best indicated by test scores, dropout rates, and the like. These critics, therefore, push schools to produce better test scores and lower dropout rates.

Some go so far as to suggest that merit pay will help since the real problem is that teachers are not working as hard as they could. Just put a little money on the line and test scores will improve. Nonsense! Schools will never improve if educators allow others to put them into the test-score, keeping-children-in-school, reducing-vandalism-rates, and reducing-suspensions business. And educators who put themselves in this business are playing a dangerous game. In the short term, certain things can in fact be done to improve test scores marginally. By articulating the curriculum with the test, for example, a euphemism that means teaching to the test, one can improve scores. And as some districts and teachers have shown,

there are even more direct means of improving test scores, not the least appealing of which is to cheat.

Test scores, dropout rates, vandalism rates, and suspension rates are results toward which school systems need to be managed. Such measures indicate whether the school is doing its business as it should. If students do not come to school or if they do come to school and tear the school apart or tear each other apart, there is something wrong with the way the school is doing its business. Test scores and dropout rates can be used to indicate that something is wrong—just as profit margins and market share can be used to indicate that something is wrong at Ford or General Motors—but such scores cannot be used to indicate *what* is wrong. Furthermore, there is little that teachers and building-level administrators can do in a direct sense to affect these scores, any more than a first-line manager at Ford can directly affect profit or market share.

What teachers and administrators can do is ensure that the school does its business right. And what is the business of the school? To produce schoolwork that will engage the young to the point that they try it, stick with it, and succeed at it. If students do this work but test scores do not improve, dropout rates do not decrease, and vandalism rates do not diminish, it may be that students are being given the wrong work. The fact remains that the students most likely to fail are those the schools are not getting engaged in doing schoolwork—the dropouts, the truants, those who are euphemistically termed "at risk." Futhermore, even those who are doing well on tests are sometimes not challenged to excel at the schoolwork they are assigned, for the schoolwork assigned is work they can do without succeeding. (Recall that I defined success as an achievement in an area where the outcome is problematic—that is, where there is some risk of failure.) Many of the most talented children in school will resist restructuring, too, because restructuring will place them "at risk" in that they will have to learn to do forms of schoolwork that will stretch their talents and cause them to learn things they would not have learned outside of school.

The results by which school systems must be led are the results that are consistent with the purpose of school, as that purpose is articulated in the school's vision statement and belief structure. In schools as knowledge-work enterprises, the school's busi-

ness is to ensure that each child, each day, is successfully engaged in working on and with knowledge and knowledge-related products. The results by which schools should be led, therefore, are results that are clear indicators of student success.

Those who would manage by results in school must understand that student learning is a result of student success in doing schoolwork; evidence of learning is not a short-term indicator of student success any more than a quarterly profit statement is an indicator of the quality of an automobile. Quality indicators have to do with the nature of the product itself—and in schools as knowledge-work organizations that product, simply stated, is schoolwork.

What is needed is a results-oriented management system that focuses internal attention on producing quality schoolwork for children. If this can be accomplished, test scores, dropout rates, and so on will improve, just as Ford Motor Company and Xerox have found that as they began to emphasize customer needs and product quality, rather than engineering and accounting, profits began to increase.

Clearly one of the new technologies that must be put in place is a means of measuring the qualitative aspects of schoolwork, for it is by such qualitative results that schools of the future must be led. This problem is too important to turn over to the measurement specialist. The inventors of these measures must be the people who will use them and be directed by them—that is, teachers, principals, and superintendents. It is hard work and it is heady work. Such work takes time, and it is never completed, for measures wear out just as slogans wear out and just as today's innovations become stale and routine next year.

Measures must focus attention on elements of systems that people believe can make a difference in the results toward which the system is managed. If teachers believe that doing homework increases learning, for example, then homework results need to be measured. Do students do the homework? Are there certain kinds of homework students are more likely to do than others? At what rate and frequency are various kinds of homework assignments turned in? These are results teachers can believe in—and teachers can invent measures of such results in which they can have confidence.

What is needed is a style of leadership that insists on the creation of such measures and provides the training and support necessary to ensure that the measures are constantly being invented. Thus if I were a superintendent, one of the first things I would do is to educate myself and others about the problems and prospects of quality measures. If I went outside the school district for help, I would be very cautious about turning to conventional education measurement specialists, for most of these experts are by training and inclination psychometricians. Psychometric procedures have their place in the education enterprise, just as accounting procedures have their place in business. But businesses that are run by the accounting department usually fail, and I suspect that one of the reasons for our present distress in education is that we have too long allowed the psychometric interests to determine how our schools are led and evaluated.

Human Resource Development

If teachers and school administrators are to behave as leaders rather than as managers and technicians, then school systems must invent leadership development systems that are at least as sophisticated as those in the business sector. Teachers are not independent professionals as are physicians and attorneys. Teachers are, of necessity, part of a "corporate" structure, and their effectiveness is at least partly determined by the way the "corporations" in which they work are organized and managed. Teachers have effects, but schools have effects as well.

The continuing education of teachers and administrators is, or should be, the responsibility of the employer, just as is the case with other corporate employers (including hospitals and law firms). Teachers and administrators should be expected to participate in continuing education because it is part of their job, not because it is a requirement to keep their certificates or licenses current. If it is part of the job, it must be viewed that way, not as a nonessential requirement to be satisfied in some ritual fashion. The quality of work in continuing education, for example, should be as much a part of an employee appraisal system as is the quality of work in any other part of the work of the teacher or administrator. Participation

in continuing education is not enough; quality participation is expected—or so it should be. Work days and work years should be adjusted to accommodate this expectation.

In large systems, this probably means creating a facility to support human resource development, school improvement, and leadership development activity, perhaps something like the Jefferson County Public Schools/Gheens Professional Development Academy in Louisville, Kentucky. This organization, which I helped to create, is designed to function much like a leadership development center for a large corporation combined with certain characteristics that have come to be associated with teacher centers. Besides carrying out a variety of training and development programs, the academy is officially charged with encouraging local school faculties in the effort to restructure their schools. At the same time, the academy works with district personnel to create a supportive environment at the top as well. (See Kyle, 1988.) In smaller school districts, providing appropriate support may mean creating a consortium arrangement with other school districts to invent a human resource development system that can meet the needs of a variety of school districts and maintain quality at a level that might be impossible in a single small district. Alternatively, state education agencies might create organizations that could respond to the human resource development needs of smaller school districts. Illustrations of such systems abound in the United States. In any case, school districts must have a clear vision of where they are going so that existing organizations might better serve them. And where these organizations do not exist, new organizations can be invented. Moreover, it is critical that the organizations designed to serve teachers and administrators in local schools be responsive to these schools as opposed to some externally imposed mandates.

Another possible source of support for human resource development is local institutions of higher education. Assuming that these institutions are oriented toward schools as customers for their services, and assuming that their reward structure is such that qualified faculty are encouraged to provide responsive support to schools, universities and colleges can be valuable allies in the quest for superior human resource development programs. Unfortunately, it often turns out that these institutions are structured in ways that discourage professors from responding to the human resource

development needs of school districts. Furthermore, these structures often discourage faculty from linking their private agendas to the larger cause of school reform. Unless such links exist or can be created, efforts to use higher education's resources to support human resource development in schools can be more bother than benefit—at least I have found it so.

As a superintendent, I would approach the university as if I were a customer for services. I would try to negotiate with leaders in the various departments to provide the training and support my school district's programs seemed to need. I would listen to their advice. I would however, be prepared to commit the school district to producing what was needed if a preferred-customer arrangement could not be worked out. Moreover, I would ensure that the products and materials the university delivered to the school district were tailored to meet the system's needs. I would not take any old course, workshop, or seminar that was sitting on the shelf waiting for someone to buy it.

If schools of education and universities are going to contribute to reinventing our schools, they too must become inventive. There is much that colleges and universities can do, and should do, to help restructure schools, but in many instances such help will not be available until higher education, especially that part of higher education which has to do with the education of teachers and administrators, has undergone its own form of restructuring. School leaders must do all they can to support reform in higher education, but school leaders must also be prepared to move on their own if higher education cannot be restructured to provide the support that is needed. (See Schlechty, 1989, for a detailed discussion of the restructuring of teacher education.)

Above all, I would keep in mind that local teachers and local administrators are the greatest resources available for increasing the human resource development capacity of the school district. What we need are structures and commitments that liberate the potential that is already there.

The Restructuring Agenda

Creating the capacity to assess results by which one can lead and by which decisions can be disciplined is an essential prerequi-

site to the systematic restructuring of schools. Without such a capacity, one has no basis for determining how well restructuring decisions are working in practice and no basis for analyzing what parts of the system need to be further restructured. Creating a human resource development capacity is essential to assuring that the needed training and support system will be available when restructuring efforts place strains on individuals and systems. But neither measuring results more effectively nor creating an improved human resource development system constitutes school restructuring. School restructuring begins with a vision that is compelling and satisfies values held by those who live and work in schools. Restructuring occurs when rules, roles, and relationships are altered in whatever way seems appropriate to assuring that the vision can be pursued in progressively more effective ways.

What, then, must be restructured? As a beginning I would nominate the following elements as likely candidates. First, the pattern of decision making that typifies schools probably needs to change. Participatory leadership will be the mode of operation in healthy school districts committed to student success. I would, therefore, be likely to assess all schools and departments in terms of their capacity for and commitment to shared decision making. I would encourage results-oriented, shared decision making in every area of school life and would orient the human resource development unit in a way that would provide whatever training and support would be required to ensure that this operating style could be implemented.

Second, I would explore ways of reorienting the school district departments that are not located in school buildings but are staffed with people whose skills would be useful to building-level principals and teachers in their efforts to invent schoolwork for students. The role of the central office supervisor or curriculum coordinator, for example, might be restructured so that these positions were locked into building-level work teams which principals and teachers might establish for the purpose of creating new curriculum materials or for studying alternative uses of technology to support local instructional activity. The critical point is that I would want to structure the central office so that its personnel were responsive to building-level initiatives rather than being in a posi-

tion to control or direct (except through expert advice) these initiatives. This would mean, I suspect, that few central office personnel would have independent budgets beyond what they need to support their personal activities (such as access to a pool secretary). I would, of course, want to have central coordination of effort. In a small school district, the superintendent alone could probably provide the coordination. In a larger district some assistance would be needed, but my goal as superintendent would be to have a lean and responsive central staff. The focus of this group would be to support building-level initiatives, to provide a collection and monitoring point for the assessment of results, to serve as a catalyst for innovation, and to facilitate the exchange of information about improvements and advances.

Third, eventually I would want a thorough review of policies, procedures, rules, and regulations. My goal would be to identify pointless constraints on building-level decisions. Subsequently, a strategy for changing these constraints would be developed. Special attention would be given to providing training and support where changes in policy called upon teachers and building-level administrators to assume responsibilities that had heretofore resided in the central office. A strategy for creating political coalitions with the teachers' union and superintendents from other school districts, as well as with local legislators, would also be developed, since many of the more constraining elements in school district life have their origin in state law and state regulations. It would be my intent to assert the legitimacy of the superintendent in the political arena as well as in the educational arena, since in a democracy politics and education are necessarily interwoven.

Fourth, public education dealing with education issues and the building of alliances with local groups and agencies concerned with the quality of education would be a high priority. If a local education foundation did not exist, I would work to have one established. This foundation would serve as the conduit and coordinating point for school/business partnerships and would energetically seek developmental funding from nongovernment sources (such as local foundations). I would also work closely with the media. I might try, for example, to write a regular superintendent's column in the local newspaper, based more on the style of Albert Shanker's

column in the *New York Times* than on the style of a local education "puff piece." The column's purpose would be to educate the community about education. Similarly, I might try to have a local education issues program on radio or television. I would certainly take advantage of opportunities to speak to local groups regarding my assessment of the local situation within the national context and with regard to prospects and problems as I see them. In my view, superintendents who tell the community what the problems are and invite community help in solving them do better, in the long run, than those who try to conceal the problems until they can deal with them. Sometimes a strategy of candor will backfire, but in over twenty years of superintendent watching I have seen fewer superintendents get in trouble for their candor than for their efforts to conceal.

Finally, I would try to see that each employee, department, administrative unit, and school faculty would be required to submit a growth and improvement plan. The plan would clearly focus on one interrelated set of questions: What can I do differently next year to increase the rate and frequency of student success in my area of responsibility? If I do these things, what will I need to know that I do not know now and what support will I need in order to learn it? If I do these things, how will I know that what I thought would work did in fact work, and will others be convinced? The same plan would contain a deletion clause that called upon every person and unit to indicate one thing they were prepared to quit doing because they had found better ways to spend their time, energy, and resources.

Such a procedure could not be, and should not be, installed without a great deal of support and training. It needs to be modeled from the top. Therefore, the superintendent should expect to file a similar plan. (It would not be a bad idea for board members as well.) And the goals of the exercise should be kept clearly in mind: to maintain a focus on results; to encourage innovation and continuous improvement; and to promote growth and development in all parts of the system.

Concluding Remarks

Obviously, if I were superintendent there would be many things I could not do. There would also be many things I would

need to do that I would prefer not to do. And time would often preclude my being as thorough as I would like. But of the actions I have listed above, there is not one that I have not seen some superintendent do in some form and with considerable effect. There are men and women in superintendents' offices who are as deserving of recognition as any of the CEOs who appear in the popular books on leadership. The school reform movement depends, in large measure, on the ability of these strong leaders to find their voice in the national debate on education reform. In my opinion, this voice is now muted. Most of what is heard from superintendents in the national debate comes from the reactionary, rather than the progressive, members of the superintendents' ranks.

10

A Bright Future Secured

Developing Strong Leaders for Our Schools

Schools today are in a position similar to that of the railroad business from 1900 to 1930. After a period of great success the railroads were in trouble, but few of the leaders really understood the trouble they were in. World War II provided a respite, but the relief was temporary. Eventually railroads faced bankruptcy and federal takeovers. Why? Because the leaders of the railroad enterprise did not get their business right in the early days, and for the most part they have never gotten it right. Even as late as 1920, the railroads might have been restored to health had the leaders understood they were in the transportation business and, based on this understanding, started to buy trucks and create airlines. By the time railroaders tried to get into the trucking and airline business it was too little and too late. Someone else had preempted the field.

Getting on Track

There is a very real possibility that the American public school system will go the way of the railroads. The railroads have not disappeared. Nor will the public schools. The railroads simply

decayed and became a second-class mode of transportation. The public schools may decay as well and become a second-class option for education of the young. The signs of decay are already around us, and radical responses are already apparent. One need look no further than Chicago or Chelsea, Massachusetts, to understand that there are those who believe the decay has gone so far that extreme measures are called for—and some of these measures strike squarely at the heart of what is public about public education.

Educators and citizens who value the American system of education, and who believe, as I do, that excellence in public education is directly linked to excellence in all other areas of social life in a democracy, have a special interest in ensuring that the leaders of American education, unlike the leaders of the railroad industry, get their business right before it is too late.

Where to Begin?

Most who have come to positions of leadership in education arrived there at a time when society seemed to be demanding what J. M. Burns (1979) has called transactional leaders: people who can balance forces, deal with antagonistic groups, and somehow negotiate a course in a stormy sea. What the reinvention of American education calls for—just as the reinvention of other institutions in America requires—are transformational leaders: people who can create visions and goals that cause men and women to transform the institutions of which they are part.

Such leadership is in short supply, but the future of America's experiment in public education and democracy may well be determined by the willingness of today's leaders to learn to lead in new and uncharacteristic ways. Educational leaders, if they are to be visionaries, must learn to be troublemakers, for new visions cause trouble. Unfortunately, many educational leaders got where they are by being problem solvers, not by being troublemakers. Boards of education must learn to value visionary leaders, even when these leaders cause a bit of trouble and even when they seem to thrive on chaos.

If the creative capacities of teachers are to be liberated, educational leaders must learn to teach others to make decisions. Many

who are in positions of authority in schools got where they are by making decisions alone and then gaining compliance with these decisions. Leaders of schools for the twenty-first century must learn to teach others to make decisions rather than reserving decisions to themselves.

If new structures are to be invented, then educational leaders must be risk takers. Yet many who lead our schools made it up the education hierarchy by minimizing risks. Significant improvement means that failure is likely on occasion. Leaders must learn to maximize the potential for success just as so many have learned to minimize the opportunity to fail.

The place to begin, then, is in the development of leaders—leaders capable of commanding the confidence they must have to invent the schools American needs for the twenty-first century.

Developing and Renewing Leaders

For the most part, public schools have relied upon colleges and universities to prepare people for leadership positions in schools. If the arguments advanced in this book are taken seriously, it seems likely that school systems will need to take more responsibility for growing their own leaders. This will mean major investments in leadership development programs. Some school districts (Jefferson County, Kentucky; Miami-Dade, Florida; Hammond, Indiana) are even now implementing such programs. Though the content and style of these programs differ, the leaders in each school system are expected to undergo common training experiences, read common literature, and work on real problems as part of their ongoing training. Furthermore, because teachers are viewed as leaders, much of the leadership training provided to administrators is provided to teachers as well. Indeed, in these schools it is common to see teachers teaching administrators, just as it is common to see administrators behaving like teachers. Indeed, both Jefferson County and Miami-Dade view one of the leader's primary roles to be that of teaching and one of the teacher's primary roles to be that of leading. Official documents in both school districts contain the phrase "Every Leader a Teacher, Every Teacher a Leader, and Every Student a

Success." It is by turning such slogans into operational realities that schools for the twenty-first century will be invented.

Concluding Remarks

In writing this book I have taken some risks. Chief among these is the risk that those who know me—and even more those who do not know me—may be led to assume that I have suddenly embraced an overly rationalized view of the way schools (and other organizations) work. Moreover, there is a danger that by using the knowledge-work metaphor, as I have in the preceding pages, some will believe that I have underestimated the significance of *play* as a part of learning and *playfulness* as an important component of the life of the mind.

For what it is worth, I continue to be impressed with the nonrational components of human action. I recognize that chaos and confusion are more apt to define the reality of most leaders than are predictability and reason. On the other hand, I believe that the act of leadership is, in part, an effort to impose order on chaos, to provide direction to what otherwise appears to be adrift, and to give meaning and coherence to events that otherwise appear, and may in fact be, random. Concepts and theories are intended to organize and simplify experience so that future experience can be better managed. What I have tried to do is provide the reader with some ideas with which to organize present experience and by which to formulate notions about how future actions might be oriented.

To those who fear that the work metaphor imposes a grim picture of the exciting reality of the life of the mind, I can only say that for me both play and work are purposeful activities. Work has as its purpose something beyond itself—for example, a product. Play, on the other hand, has purpose within itself—that is, play deals with intrinsic values. In my view, schools present children with too little work and too little play. Too often children are presented with activity that has no meaning beyond itself and little meaning within itself. In this book I have concerned myself with ways of conceptualizing the work life of schools in ways that will make schools more productive. I leave it to others to imagine ways

whereby the play life of schools can be made richer and more rewarding—rewarding not only to students but to adults as well.

Schools are not alone in their need for visionary, creative, passionate leaders. Leaders with a clear understanding of their organization's purpose, a realistic understanding of their organization's capacity to achieve this purpose, and a compelling vision of how their organization could be made to pursue this purpose effectively are in short supply. The difficulty is that—in schools more than in most organizations—creative leadership is discouraged at the top as well as the bottom.

Clearly it would be useful if great leaders occupied every office of authority in every school system in America, beginning with the superintendency and the office of the union president and moving throughout all positions in the system, including the position of teacher. Unfortunately, the schools we now have do not encourage the development of such leaders. Thus to the extent that these leaders exist in our schools they are there almost by accident. Those who would change our schools must therefore take them wherever they find them—in the classroom, the principal's office, the union, the supervisor's office, the superintendent's office. And beginning with these natural leaders, school reformers must create systems that develop leaders as well as systems that identify them.

As Kelley (1988) and others make clear, leadership and followership cannot be separated. It is true that those who occupy positions of authority determine, in the long run, the prospects of school reform. They make this determination, not so much because they are leaders, but because they are in a position to determine, within limits, who among their subordinates will be empowered to lead. And the more powerful the leader, the more likely it is that subordinates have been empowered to lead. It is in this sense that the concept of "every leader a teacher and every teacher a leader" makes sense. And when every teacher is a leader, every child can be a success.

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